

## ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE

Demosthenes, the great Athenian orator, whose masterly orations have been the models of eloquence for all public speakers from that day to this—in one of his public addresses—made this remarkable statement: "The strongest bulwark of a free people is distrust."

What did he mean by that? Not that men should distrust each other; not that you should suspect your neighbor; not that you should doubt the loyalty of your friend; not that you should question the fidelity of those who are bound to you by ties stronger and more sacred than those of a mere earthly friendship; not that public officials should distrust the people. No, none of these. What he did mean was that the people should distrust those whom they elect to represent them and look after their interests in an official capacity; or at least to such an extent that they would keep a close and constant watch on their every word and action. The one great trouble in this country today—and it has been so for many years—is a lack of the element of distrust among the people. In other words, the blind unreasoning faith of the people in the republican party, has been, and is today, the curse of the country. They have been led to believe their party could do no wrong. Ever since the days of Lincoln and his immediate successors, the republican party has won elections by fraud and deception.

For many years after the civil war it was kept in power by "waving the bloody shirt," as we expressed it then. They told the people that if the democrats obtained control of the government they would re-enslave the negroes, pay the southern debt and pension the southern soldiers. Of course that was a falsehood, and I think most of the men who uttered it knew it, but the people believed it and were thus held in line for the g. o. p. and the purpose of the party was accomplished. They preferred a victory on a lie, to a defeat on the truth. But the first election of Cleveland forever shut their mouths on that proposition. In 1876 they stole the presidency, and in 1896 they bought the election outright. Since then the party has been kept in power under the delusion of a protective tariff, which is the most gigantic humbug ever palmed off by his satanic majesty upon a credulous people. If republican readers had always told the people the real truth about their tariff policy, they would have voted right and put the party out of power long ago. Suppose, for instance, that in any of their platforms during the past twenty years, they had supplemented their tariff plank with this explanation:

"We are aware that this means taxing the many for the benefit of the few, and that the inevitable result of a protective tariff is to make the few immensely rich at the expense of the masses; to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. But it enables us to obtain from the protected interests enormous contributions for campaign purposes, with which to debauch the electorate, control the elections, and thus keep our party in power; and at the same time make millionaires out of many of our congressmen. Therefore we intend to continue this policy just as long as the people are fools enough to stand for it."

If this true elucidation of their tariff plank had been placed before the people, how many votes do you think they would have polled in any presidential election in the last twenty years? The question answers itself and shows plainly why the people have not been voting right and therefore have not been getting what they wanted. And this condition of affairs will be continued just as long as the people allow themselves to be deluded on the tariff question. It is the mission of the democratic party to enlighten the people and rid them of this horrible delusion. How shall we do it? By taking the broad ground, that the federal government has no legal or constitutional right to collect a single dollar of tax from the people, except what is required to raise sufficient revenue to meet maturing obligations and pay the necessary expenses of the government honestly and economically administered. The truth of that proposition is—in my opinion—absolutely incontrovertible.

And that is what we mean by a tariff for revenue only. Therefore, just the moment that any democrat admits that the principle of protection is right, that moment he is barred from advocating a tariff for revenue only. When the people are once convinced—and I believe they can be convinced—that a protective tariff is nothing more nor less than legalized robbery, they will quit voting for a party that stands for such an iniquity. I am aware that there

are a few sporadic protectionists in the democratic party; but if they are not willing to bow to the will of the majority, no one will object to their joining the party of protection.

I have said it many times, and I say it now. I would not give the snap of my finger for the success of the democratic party, unless it carried with it the triumph of democratic principles.

C. F. LOCKWOOD.

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## SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(J. F. Shinn, Blake, Oklahoma.)

- Q. What is a tariff?  
A. A tax indirectly levied.
- Q. Who pays this tariff?  
A. The consumer.
- Q. Who are benefited by the tariff tax?  
A. Manufacturers.
- Q. What per cent of our people are directly interested in manufacturing?  
A. Possibly one in one thousand.
- Q. Do the remaining 999 receive any benefit from the tariff?  
A. Yes; they receive the benefit and protection of national government.
- Q. What per cent of the tariff tax collected reaches the national treasury?  
A. About 12 1/2 per cent.
- Q. Where does the 87 1/2 per cent go?  
A. To collection agents, agencies, and manufacturers.
- Q. Do the manufacturers of these United States need a tariff tax or duty on imports to enable them to protect American labor and meet foreign competition?  
A. No; American labor receives higher wages than foreign labor, and yet American manufacturers export their wares, pay transportation, meet foreign competition, selling much cheaper to the foreign than to the home consumer.
- Q. Does not our tariff policy offer great inducements to foreign capital to invest their capital in American industry?  
A. Certainly. They are offered a fertile field for operation, where all things necessary to successful investment abound in almost inexhaustible abundance, where the tariff duty often pays a bonus over the cost of manufacturing, where if the American laborer refuses the price and conditions offered they are protected in bringing their cheaper foreign labor to take the place of the rebellious American laborer until he is starved into submission; where labor is on the free list, and the products of labor are protected.
- Q. Is not our unparalleled accumulation of national wealth largely traceable to this cause? Also the ever increasing clashing between labor and capital? Also the rapid concentration of the wealth of the nation into the possession of the few and largely responsible for the rapid and persistent monopolization of the industries and resources of the nation?  
A. Yes; with the financial, commercial and industrial power thus gained the mobilization of the interests of capital through the long established system of "log-rolling" "pooling," etc., is easy, and renders the complete monopolization of the resources of the nation not only possible but assured.
- Q. Can the American people even hope that the reapers of the golden harvest so temptingly spread out before them will generously correct these evils?  
A. Most assuredly not.
- Q. Can "effect" be permanently removed without first removing the "cause?"  
A. All are agreed that this is impossible.
- Q. Then why continue to wrangle over ways and means to regulate the "evil" while remaining as silent as the grave on the removal of the "cause?"  
A. Because the monopolistic power has grown to such mammoth proportions as to threaten the political life of any man or set of men who oppose this class interests. Political parties and business interests are threatened with demolition, panics, etc. This tentacle of the monopolistic piratical octopus must be lopped off if America would be free.

## EXPRESS COMPANY EXTORTION

Chicago, Illinois, November 14, 1910.—The Commoner: I saw an article some time ago in The Commoner concerning the high rate of the express companies' charges. Want to call your attention to the following data:

On December 7 our company shipped to Mrs. Sarah Walker, Augusta, Ga., thirty-two pounds of printed matter. Now the rate given in the express company's books is \$4.75 per hundred to Augusta, but in the back of the book where the graduated scale is, there is no \$4.75 rate, as

the rate jumps from \$4.50 to \$5.00 and we are charged at the \$5.00 rate for this thirty-two pound package. There is no estimate for a thirty-two pound package as the scale jumps from thirty pounds to thirty-five pounds; and we are charged for thirty-five pounds, having shipped only thirty-two pounds. In other words, the company gets a 50 cents per hundred rate higher than the regular rate given in their book, and they get paid for three pounds from the Alexander Supply Company they have not shipped.

On the same date, we made a shipment of eighteen pounds of merchandise to Albert Vollweller, Breckenridge, Minnesota, and were charged for twenty pounds.

On September 9 we sent eight pounds of printed matter to Arthur Brunsman, Green View, Illinois. We were charged for ten pounds.

On September 10 we shipped eighteen pounds of merchandise to Mrs. Jennie Brown, Grand Island, Nebraska. The rate per hundred is \$3.25, and we were charged at the rate of \$3.50 per hundred.

On September 5 we made a shipment of three and one-half pounds to Mrs. J. M. Jones, Alliance, Nebraska. The rate per hundred is \$4.75, and we were charged at the rate of \$5.00 per hundred, and for four pounds, instead of three and one-half.

This is no exceptional case, but is the usual course that the express companies follow in fixing the charges on us and any other customer. Is it robbery? If not, what is it?

ALEXANDER SUPPLY COMPANY.

## WAITING FOR THE RETURNS

The votes are all in; the counting has begun and ninety millions of people await the decision. How helpless one feels when the polls are closed and before the result is known! After awhile the victors will shout and the vanquished will mourn, but now uncertainty restrains the hopeful and comforts those who fear they are in the minority.

The nearest parallel is the experience of one watching at the bedside of a patient passing through a crisis. As then the slightest symptom is analyzed and every glance and movement of the hand noted, so as returns come in each precinct's vote is scanned to catch the trend of sentiment. Scrutiny is followed by comparison and verification, and finally shouts break forth from the friends of the winners, and the friends of those who lose retire to plan for the next election when they hope to profit by the lessons brought by defeat.

And what a tribute to the people! No thought of resistance to the popular will—only anxiety to know that will. How superior to all other forms of government is ours which derives the just powers from the consent of the governed—in which the joy of those who triumph is moderated by a sense of responsibility and a wholesome fear of the minority while the gloom which overwhelms the defeated is brightened by the conviction that "Truth crushed to earth will rise again."

## JULIA WARD HOWE

"Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory of the Coming of the Lord."  
O seer! whose soul illumined, in the nation's night of woe,  
Saw, through the murky storm-cloud, the morning's golden glow,  
And 'mid the crash of battle heard the silver trumpet blow,  
Hail and farewell tonight!  
Yet still thy grand reveille sounds on many a bloodless plain,  
Where men forget their bitter strife to join the nobler strain,  
And prophets and apostles swell the jubilant refrain,  
"Our God is marching on!"  
And still upon the mountains bleak, and in the desert heat,  
Where cohorts of the King make straight the highways for His feet,  
Their hearts take up the watchword, and with all His host repeat,  
"Our God is marching on!"  
O seer! with soul illumined now by heaven's transcendent light,  
We send thee from the camp-fires here our greeting call tonight;  
The watchword of the army that must conquer in his might,  
"Our God is marching on!"  
—Emily Huntington Miller, St. Paul, Minn.,  
In The Independent, New York.