## PLAN SUGGESTED.

**The Graduated-Cumulative Tax—Can the Excess Be Shifted?**

The question is asked: Could those who would be required to pay the higher rate per cent. under the graduated cumulative plan of taxation shift the excess upon the consumer and thereby defeat the purpose of the tax?

For the benefit of those who may not understand what is the purpose, mainly, of having the taxes to increase in rate with increase in the values of properties, and how they may be made to apply under all conditions and circumstances, I will first explain in regard to these matters.

To start with, the principle purpose of having the ordinary taxes levied upon the plan proposed, is to prevent the monopolization of lands, mines, lines of manufactures and so forth, by parties intent upon controlling prices solely in their own interests.

The modus operandi of the tax can be shown as follows:

Case 1. To prevent the monoplization of any industry by the concentration into one enormous and over-sized establishment the entire capital employed in that class of industry:

Upon all values of $1,000 or less the lowest rate of taxation shall be charged and collected.

Upon all values exceeding $1,000 and not exceeding $10,000, the rate of taxation charged and collected shall be: For the first $1,000 above the original $1,000, one and one-tenth times the lowest rate.

For the second $1,000 above the original $1,000, one and one-fifth times the lowest rate; and there shall be added one-tenth to the rate of taxation for each additional $1,000 of value until the rate of taxation has become double that of the lowest rate and the original capital has equalled $10,000.

Upon values exceeding $10,000 and not exceeding $100,000, the rate of taxation charged and collected shall be: For the first $10,000 above the original $10,000, one and one-tenth times the rate assessed against $10,000. For the second $10,000 above the original $10,000, one and one-fifth times the rate assessed against $10,000, and a like increase of rates with increase of values shall continue for all sums not exceeding $100,000.

Upon all values exceeding $100,000 the rate of taxation shall be: For the first $100,000 above the original $100,000, one and one-tenth times the rate assessed against $100,000, and a like increase of rates with increase of values shall continue without limit.

Fractional values remaining after deducting the total of the units of increase shall be assessed at the rates corresponding to the next higher units of increase.

It will be observed that this plan of taxation would effect the prohibition of monopolies, if it did at all, through being a discourager in general to enlargements beyond what constitutes adequateness or completeness. Why it would be better, to say nothing of the benefits of the absence of monopolies, if all industries were only so large as is necessary to completeness and no larger, I will not stop here to answer (it not being the subject under discussion) any further than to say that a system of small and thickly distributed wholes would be far better for the people in general than a system of vast and widely scattered wholes.

Case 2. To prevent consolidating, by purchase, pool or trust agreement, the entirety of any particular line or class of establishments:

If any lot or parcel of taxable property, separate and distinct from others, be one of two or more of the same class owned or controlled by the same party, firm, corporation or association, the rate of taxation upon the value of said property shall be the rate which would be imposed upon property possessed of the united value of these properties.

Case 3. To make the above provisions effective, as against outsiders, if they are the enactments of an individual State:

If any dealer in agricultural, mining, manufacturing or other products, shall handle, buy or sell the products of trusts and monopolies when those of other than trusts and monopolies can be obtained for mercantile purposes, the yearly average amount of such products kept in stock shall be assumed to be a part of the property of the trusts and monopolies from whence the said products were obtained, and shall be subjected to a rate of taxation equal to what would be imposed upon a property possessed of the united value of the properties included in the said trusts or monopolies.

Now let us come to the main question. Can the excess proportions of this tax be shifted? If they can, the plan of taxation would be worthless as an instrument for the prevention of monopoly; if they can not, it would prove to be an efficient and wholesome remedy. By the use of some ideal, and then real, instances, I shall endeavor to demonstrate a negative to this question.

Here are some ideal instances:

1. John Plowman owns 160 acres of farm land worth $2,000; taxation at one and one-tenth cents on the dollar, $22.50. By living upon his land and cultivating it himself and managing it to the best advantage he supports himself and pays his taxes with comparative ease.

The Scottish Landown & Skinum Syndicate own 20,000 acres of land equally as valuable per acre as John Plowman's, upon which they pay but little taxes and which they are holding for a rise. The Legislature possesses a cumulative tax law and this syndicate find their taxation to be over $60 per quarter section. Is there any way under the sun by which they can retain their large acreage and crawl out of paying the excess taxation from their own pockets? Can they shift it onto the renting class when that class will be able to obtain all the land they want from the owners of smaller and less heavily taxed tracts? Could they hope to make up for this extra taxation by an attempt with hired help to produce more cheaply than do those who own moderate sized farms and do their own work. If not, I have gained my point so far as this tax relates to the prevention of land monopoly.

2. The flouring mill owners organize a trust for the purpose of lowering the price of wheat and elevating the price of flour; capital, $50,000,000; taxation under the graduated-cumulative system of taxation, 10 to 50 cents on the dollar, according as the graduation is moderate or rapid. A few mill owners in Kansas and Missouri refuse to be controlled by the trust and draw out. Under a straight rate of taxation what would be the result? The rebellious mill owners would be rapidly and completely ruined. How would it be if Kansas and Missouri each had a graduated-cumulative tax law? The rebellious or anti-trust mill owners, by virtue of the lower taxation, would undersell and draw the trade from the trust mill men to such an extent as to force them into bankruptcy if they persisted in maintaining their trust. There would be no shifting of the excess tax.

3. All the railroads of Kansas, except one of the main lines, are consolidated under a single management and up go their rates. Result, supposing there was a graduated-cumulative tax law, same as that which would happen to the flouring mill trust. The attempt to charge the excess taxation upon the public would drive the patronage to the low-taxed road, and bankruptcy would be threatened to the trust. The effect upon the railroads of such a tax would be no different from the effect upon other classes of industry.

Now look at the actual instances:

1. The State banks were driven out of existence by a 10 per cent. tax upon their circulation in favor of the National banks.

2. Foreign manufacturers are forced to give way to home manufacturers by a tariff which has the same effect upon the foreigner that the excess of the graduated-cumulative tax would have upon the over-enlarger or consolidator.

A tax can be shifted when it is laid with equal force upon all establishments of a class, big or little, mischevious or beneficial. An attempt has been made to discourage the manufacturer of liquor by a heavy tax upon the article. No visible effect has been produced because all pay the same rate per gallon. A tax to be felt as a discourager in one direction and an encourager in another must be made to discriminate against one in favor of *another in the same line of business.* A lighter tax upon the Illinois than upon the Kentucky distilleries would soon result in the obliteration of the latter. So a lighter tax upon independent liquor or other manufacturing establishments than that placed upon combination establishments will cause the combinations to succumb. A cumulative tax will drive out the overgrowths and combination because it discriminates against those malformations of capital and can not be made not to do so by any shifting of the excess tax by those against whom it is aimed. W. V. MARSHALL.

Santa Fe, Kan.

## DON'T BE FOOLED.

**Shylock, Free Trade and Protection—Shylock's Demands.**

Don't be fooled by protection or free trade humbugology. In protected America as in free trade England, Shylock exacts his pound of flesh and gets it.

In protected America Shylock says to those who work for him: "I pay you, as wage workers, ten cents more than you would be paid for the same work in England; but I charge you, as consumers, twenty cents more for the product of your labor, for I must get here the same rate of profit as I get on the other side of the Atlantic."

In free trade England Shylock says: "I pay you, as wage workers, ten cents less than you would be paid for the same work in America, but I charge you, as consumers, the same rate of profit as I get in that country."

And so, no matter what prices and wages may be, computed in money, the earnings of the wage worker, computed in the necessaries of life, are finally the same under free trade and under protection.

Nay, under both the share of labor in its product is constantly growing less.

For instance: A high protective tariff is passed by the United States Congress. Shylock says to his English work people: "You must work for less wages and thus enable me, without reducing my rate of profits, to sell in America the products of your labor in spite of the American tariff."

Then he says to his American "hands:" "I have reduced the rate of wages on the other side of the water and am flooding this country with the products of British pauper labor, right over my own tariff dam. This tariff is not high enough and your wages must be reduced also, that I may get here the rate of profit that I get in England."

Strikes follow, here, there and elsewhere; but in the end the rate of wages goes down, everywhere, and Shylock, therefore, not only keeps up but increases his rate of profit.

And so we see that American protection serves to reduce English wages, while English free trade serves to reduce American wages; all for the benefit of the same Shylock—the capitalist class—taken as one international entity. —Workmen's Advocate.

## PROSPERITY.

**Is a Regular Decrease in the Per Cent. Paid to Mechanics Prosperity?**

In 1850 the wages paid to mechanics and in operatives' manufacturing industries represented 23 per cent. of the value of the finished products of those industries. Since then the share of labor in that product has steadily decreased. It was 20 per cent. in 1860; 18 per cent. in 1870, and 17 per cent. in 1880. The census of 1890, however dishonest, will unquestionably show a further decline.

And people wonder at the general dissatisfaction and restlessness of labor while the country is so prosperous!

Well, if by the word "country" is meant the capitalist class, we grant that the prosperity of the United States is stupendous; for, in spite of waste in good living and luxury of every sort, that class is accumulating wealth at the rate of three thousand million dollars a year, or nine million dollars per day.

But, if this collective expression, "country," is intended to embrace the men, women and even children, who, by their hard labor, create those three thousand million dollars of accumulated wealth, besides producing all that is consumed or wasted, and yet live in wretchedness, then we say speak not to us of prosperity.

It is plain, however, that the so-called partnership of capital and labor can not long endure on its present basis of distribution. The time has come for the toilers also to be prosperous. Light is spreading among them. Thought is moving them to union. Suffering is stirring them to action.—Workmen's Advocate.

## WATERED STOCK.

**How to Squeeze the Water Out—A Plan That Would Work.**

Two excellent articles recently appeared in the Hutchinson News, one entitled "What Does It Mean!" the other entitled "Let out the Water," both having for their object to attract attention to the people by railroad companies through the medium of "watered stock." We copy a paragraph from the first article, as follows:

The one thing above all others to-day that is oppressing our farmers all over this land is watered railroad stock. It is estimated that there is $160,000,000 of "water" in the Kansas railroad stock; that is just the mileage in Kansas alone upon which they try to earn a dividend of six per cent., amounting annually to nearly ten millions of dollars, wrung out of the people, not one cent of which is honest or should be collected. Is there any reason farmers in Kansas are hard up? And now Mr. Gould boldly announces that the present rates must be advanced beyond the present high figure even, in order that the stockholders who have this "water" can secure dividends. Happily, Mr. Gould can buy up all the railroads, but the people are learning how to make the rates, and they will do it.

And this from the second article:

In determining what a "reasonable and just rate" should be the question of what the railroad cost should cut no figure. The only question that should properly enter is "what is the road worth?" Now, if the Santa Fe road (we refer to it because it is the oldest Kansas road, the same principle is true of all the others) can be built and equipped today for $30,000 per mile, her rates for transportation of freight and passengers should be so adjusted that a reasonable dividend would be paid on that investment instead of on $73,000 per mile as reported to the Inter-State Commission by that road last spring.

The News is right. The Kansas Farmer, years ago, taught that doctrine. Now comes the question: How shall we get the water out? The easiest, the quickest, the cheapest and the best way to dispose of this "watered stock" business is to let it be done by the men who made it and their creditors. How is that to be done, you ask? Why this way—it will require two methods: First, let Government, State and National, determine what is reasonable compensation for the transportation of persons and property, and this without any reference to the cost of building, without reference to capitalization, without reference to indebtedness, either bonds or stock, but with reference only to what the work can be done for on the basis of modern conditions, as the News says, "what is the road worth?" Second, let the National Government establish a system of Inter-State commerce railways, beginning with—say, for example, a double-track frieght road from a convenient point in the northern part of North Dakota, extending in a direct line southward through South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Texas, to a deep water port on the gulf of Mexico. Let the road be built in sections, all progressing at the same time, every day's labor and every item of property needed being paid for in cash out of the public Treasury, so that when the road is completed it will be paid for, it will belong to the people the same as a common highway, or a court house, and the people would have the money as well as the road. Then transportation "at cost" would be reduced to practice, and there would be no further trouble about "watered stock." Creditors of railroad companies would finally get the roads at just what they would sell for on the open market. After that, the Government, acting as the agent of the people, having demonstrated what the actual cost of transportation is, all roads managed by corporations must come to that standard, or they will go out of business and their lands, covered as "right-of-way," will revert to the original owners or their heirs. Won't that, dear News, squeeze the water out?—Kansas Farmer.

## SUB-TREASURY SCHEME.

**Why There Should Be a Flexible Currency —What Warehouses Will Save the Producers.**

In your editorial, you say, Brother Hall shows that putting such a scheme into effect would conflict with the organic law of the Nation. Since Brother Hall's article was printed, decisions of the Supreme Court have been looked up, and like bills have been declared constitutional. You say it is not practicable. Emerson said: "The good farmer saw the possible farm." The good farmer is the practical man. The first railroad was thought impracticable because a cow might get in the way. Let our order forge ahead like the engine, and leave the politician crippled in the ditch.

You ask: "Shall we have a flexible volume of currency because we have a variable supply of products? The currency ought to be flexible, because all the agricultural crops of the country mature in the fall, and a larger volume of currency is needed to move it at that time. This fall the cotton crop was earlier than usual and had to be moved with the grain crops of the North. This drained Wall street, and money went to 80 per cent. It is estimated this cost the cotton farmers not less than $100,000,000. The hay crop is equal in value to the cotton crop. Grain and hogs took a tumble. If the sub-treasury had been in operation, the farmers of the entire country to-day would be $300,000,000 better off on this season's crop. This shows to me that we need a flexible currency, such as the sub-treasury would give us. Brother Hall's calls are very extravagant. Let us see. I have a barn with an iron roof that cost $400. It will hold 2,500 bales of cotton; eight such buildings would hold $1.000,000 worth. If the General Government should charge only 50 cents per bale storage, it would pay for warehouses and running expenses the first year, and she would have $8,000 interest.

Again, factories want protection through a high tariff against the cheap money of Europe. With a sub-treasury they would buy the warehouse receipts and order it shipped as needed, thus carrying their raw material at one per cent. instead of giving Wall street 180.

Nearly all the business of the country is done on credit. These ruinous rates force the manufacturers into cobinations to rob our class, as these bankers fleece them.

Will Brothers Chew and Hall be kind enough to pount out a better way to get money into circulation than the sub-treasury scheme?—E. H., in Journal of Agriculture.


**The McCook Tribune.**

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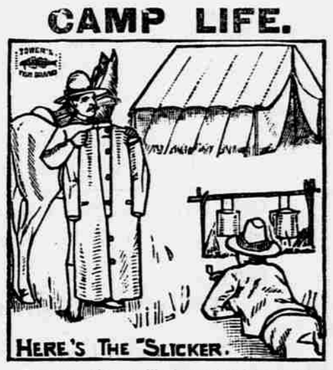


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