THE SYSTEM OF AMERICA. | them.

The Seven Kinds of Free Traders-George Shearman and Their Supporters-Hewitt and Others Who Think Protection No Longer Necessary-Mills, Morrison, Hurd & Co.—The Original Secessionists and Anti-Nationalists - The Anglomaniacs—The Importers—The Philanthropists - Arguments by Dr. Van Buren

[Copyright by The American Press Association.] And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of biasphemy.

And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the tragon gave him his power and his seat and great

And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death, and his deadly wound was healed; and all the world wondered after the beast. And they worshiped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshiped the beast, saying, who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him? And there was given unto him a mouth speak-

ing great things and biasphemies, and power was was given unto him to continue forty and two months. — Rev. xiii, 1-5. The term "Free Trade" has about seven different shades of meaning. It therefore serves to unite, by a common bond of discontent with protective policies, as many distinet classes of dissentients from existing tariff measures. Neither of these seven classes, if called on to frame a biil satisfactory to the others, could do so without sacrificing either its views or theirs. But all can at present unite in opposing existing protective

These seven classes are: 1. Those who, like Henry George, Professor W. G. Sumner, Thomas G. Shearman and, I think, Professor Perry, say that custom houses in our own country should be abolished, and that all collection of revenue from imports should cease, regardless of the course that may be pursued by any and all other

define itself, would disappear.

There are probably but a few of these in all. They consist chiefly of those visionaries or mercenaries who take up free trade either as a hobby to make a name by, or as an apple cart to make a living out of. The alternative which their policy involves is, either logically or avowedly, a nearly single tax on either land alone, or land and capital, as a means of running all government, local. state and national. To practical men their position explodes itself in two directions. viz : one economic, and the other legislative or constitutional. In the economic sense, asin the first instance all state and local taxes throughout the United States. To intensify this inequality would be to increase the relative disadvantages under which American manufacturers, bankers, ship owners, farmers, traders and all other persons using land and capital struggle in the competitive race with their foreign rivals. manufacturers and bankers, but it would policy" would be to increase on American workmen the heaviest and most multifarious of all taxes, the loss of employment.

But in a constitutional sense the policy 2 as the Federal government has no power to lay direct taxes on land, but was formed expressly to establish a government which should lay duties on imports. The "single tax" free trade scheme, therefore, is disposed of by the two objections: 1. The government under which we live has no power to enact it. 2. If enacted it would terminate all industries of which the product commands : higher price here than it commands abroad. and would preclude the possibility of wages being higher here than : the lowest paid foreign country. The former fact renders it a proposal looking to political revolution-the

latter to general famine. II. A second class of free traders consists of those who, like Mayor Hewitt, of New York; Mr. Hazard, of Rhode Island; Mr. Schoenhof, and a few others, have some relation to or connection with manufactures, and who conceive that American manufacturers have passed the infantile stage, and are now ready for free competition with all the world, provided only they can get their taxes as favorably adjusted, their raw mmterials as low, and their labor as low, as their foreign competitors now have them. They profess to believe that what American manufacturers now need is to so reduce their cost of production as to divide with Great Britain the privilege of selling American cotton goods, and perhaps a few other manufactures, in India, China, Brazil, Mexico and the West and East Indies.

The points at which this notion is out o jd at with good judgment are many. A few of them are these:

(a) The barbarian markets thus referred to could not have been opened to us except by a military force, which we have not, in most cases, put forth, and are not prepared to put forth, and when opened by British armies, navies, bankers, shippers and merchants remain securely in the grasp of the power whose arms and money opened them to trade. Mere cheapness does not control them against these antecedent influences, when these influences have given British merchants possession. Our consular reports made while Mr. Evarts was secretary of state show, from all quarters of these barbarian markets, that they cannot be controlled by mere cheapness has brought to bear either in the form of transportation, long bank credits, etc. Hence the vision of a trade in the "world's markets" is a delusion, like the hannel of venison which the dog saw in the water below him-the mere reflection of that he held in his mouth. To drop our crip on the home trade in order to grasp this foreign trade is exactly of a piece with the policy of the dog in dropping the real venison in order to grass the ideal. For all foreign trade is as purely a reflection of our home trade as the vision of a haunch of venison in the water is a consequence of holding the venisor over it. So long as the dog held the venison in his teeth he could see its reflection on the water. When he dropped his hold both disappeared. So long as we make the best poshomes it is folly to talk of the greater opportunity this will afford us for visiting, for powants visitors from among the neme And foreign nations never want the goods of manufacturers who are unequal to he task of supplying their own home

b. In most lines of manufactured goods the portion of the American market which toreigners still supply, netwithstanding the tariff, would be worth more to our manufac-Surers than the entire foreign trade. Thus In cotton goods Europe's trade with us, notwithstanding all our duties, amounts to a larger sum every year than all the purchases of foreign cotton goods made by all the popelations of Mexico, South America and the West Indies. Hence the unappropriated portion of our home market will be worth more to our producers of cotton goods than it would be worth to them to have the monopoly of supplying the whole foreign supply

for the balance of the continent. For it must always be borne in mind that Mexico presented cotton fabrics of the finest texture to Cortez on his arrival four centuries ago, and has always since endeavored so to shape her tariffs as to produce her own cottons, and has many hundreds of manufacturing establishments for that purpose. Each of the South American states has the instinct of protection natural to all free governments, i. e., governments free from oreign dictation. Each of the English colonich has the same, and hence English export trade depends largely on the Turkish, Egyptian, Hindoo and Chinese markets, which are the only markets English goods can enter without being met by protective duties. In and charts of prices, in "Principles of Economic Philosophy." Cassell & Co., New York. these markets England has -partly by past

wars, coercion, pripery and diplomacy-secured a 3 to 5 per cent. buty, which is something she cannot get rom any of her own colonies or from any nation which is free

from her coercive military power. Our nominal privilege of selling goods in these markets in rivalry with the English is worth exactly as much + our equally available privilege of buying out the landed estates of the British nobility, by paying more money for them than their present owners would be willing to forego to keep

c. To obtain these visionary profits of the foreign markets we are asked to take off protective duties from all raw materials of manufacture. As about every article of food, clothing, shelter or utility is directly or indirectly a raw material of manufacture, this amounts in principle and effect to taking duties off from everything. Food of every kind is a raw material of the manufacture of iron and clothing and, contributes as large a portion of the ultimate cost of producing either as wool or iron ore. And yet, in their turn, clothing and iron and steel implements are consumed in producing food. Each is raw material of the other. If free trade in wool is the true route to cheap wool, much more is free trade in clothing, ready made, the true route to cheap clothing, since by free trade in the finished product we save at once all the saving there is to be made on each of the raw materials, and each of the intermediate processes which are essential to the final product. So if free trade in from ore, coal and lime is the true route to cheap iron, much more is free trade in all the finished products of iron and steel the true route to cheapness in them. The free traders try to sneak and edge into free trade backward when they ask free trade on the fleece and not on the coat, or on the iron and not on the hoe, ax or plow. d. The withdrawal of protection from a

preduct which the protecting country has all the natural facilities to supply has been fied repeatedly and has always resulted, neither in increasing the permanent supply nor reducing the permanent price, but only in transferring the place of production of a part of the supply to some other country. Iron and steel in the United States were legislation. In this sense free trade is a fog | brought to the highest gold prices they bank, which depends on its vagueness for its have ever borne in 1837 and 1857 by existence, and which, if it should attempt to few years of free trade, because free trade so far extinguished the cources of domestic supply as to bring the price of the foreign supply, when we were brought to the necessity of relying largely on it, up to a higher price than the domestic supply had borne. The foreign supply of most commodities is just large enough to agitate our markets, but not to compensate for any shattering or cessation of the domestic production, which is usually from five to twenty times the importation. For this reason low duties on wool in 1851 to 1860 made wool both scarce and dear relatively to the protective period from 1866 to 1883. The domestic supply has been larger, more abundant and more rofitable to the wool growers and yet heaper and of better quality for the wool consumers-i. e., the woolen manufacturers under protection than under free trade, for the profits of every industry depend much more on the largeness or dimensions with which it is carried on than on the dearness of its product. It is far more satisfactory to suming that it could be adopted, it would sad- the iron and steel makers to make the 7,187,206 dle all our taxes on that very land and capital | tons yearly to which their product had risen which already are handicapped in their com- in 1887 under protection, though they sell it petition with English land and capital by the at \$17 per ton, than to get the \$38.50 per fact that the latter pay no taxes, while the ton for the small product (350,000 tons) of equivalent to holding that the government 1854, or even \$52.50 for the still smaller product of 1837. Making twenty times more,

they can well afford a price one-half less. In England especially the withdrawal of protection from the farmers in 1846 did not cheapen bread nor increase its quantity for consumption, but it did cause an immense crisis in England and famine in This would be very gratifying to foreign Ireland, and it caused 80,000 acres per year for sixteen years in Great Britain, which lessen the profits of the American, and I had previously been devoted to raising breadtherein I seen the inducement on their part | stuffs, to go out of cultivation between 1852 to pay wages to American labor. Then the and 1868. On this additional 80,000 acres per entrance of the "free trade and single tax vear, if it had remained in cultivation, the quantity of breadstuffs imported would have been produced and the supply and the price would have remained a constant quantity. Hence free trade in corn in England effected impossible of adoption in the United States, a displacement of the cultivation from domestic to foreign wheat fields, but no increase in the supply and no lowering in the price.* In the light of these facts the pretenses of the "free raw material" school of free traders is a more disguised fraud and imposition on the public gullibility than the failacies of the single tax school of Henry George, but not a whit less mischievous.

III. A third very numerous class of free traders, like Mills, of Texas; Morrison, of Ilksois, and Hurd, of Ohio, and President Cleveland, are the simply superficial class, who have had too much business on hand in packing primary conventions to give adequate investigation to any merely economic question. By their success in manipulating conventions they have been led to commit themselves to the task or profession of representing officially in congress and in legislalation the free trade sect or party. This embraces the equally superficial class throughout the country who have the privilege of voting, but lack the time or disposition to study political economy in one of its most complex phases.

When these gentlemen have once acquired the bias of representatives of a prescribed notion, the subsequent investigation which they make is predetermined in its quality by their bias, and does not help to correct their position. They study their case from that time forth merely to find materials to support a position previously assumed. The position was assumed from the politician's motive, and because those who adopt it believe it will win more votes of the kind open to be won by them than can be secured by any other course. These political pretenders take up free trade for what they can make out of it, in the same manner as they take up the profession of apologists for slavery, the rum power, Mormonism or the like, for what they

can make out of it. The stock in trade of this class of free traders consists of reckless, false and utterly conscienceless statements as to the pretended effect of import duties on domestic prices. They represent that every article in use on the importation of which a duty exists, provided it is imported in any degree, must be dearer by the amount of the duty, no matter how abundantly or cheaply it may against the other influences which England | be produced in this country. When shown that this is not true of any protected article conquest, diplomacy, subsidized lines of they jump to the opposite horn of the dilemma and say if the article is not increased in price, by the assistance of the duty but sells as cheaply here as elsewhere, why do you want any duty on it? The question thus evolved is merely a proof that they themselves belong to the class who prefer always to seize the economic poker by the red hot end. They set out by falsely assuming that duties only protect domestic productions when they raise prices of domestic products. Then on being shown that this consequence doesn't follow in a certain instance, they answer, then the duties did not protect. Let us cite a few cases: A protective duty of 3 cents per pound was placed on raw cotton in 1790 to prevent the cotton of India, Turkey and Egypt from suppresssible use of our home markets our foreign ing the proposed production of cotton in will keep on growing-but only as the inci- America, where the manufacture of imported dent to our home trade. When we lose our cotton had already got a moderate start. The duty simply said to the cotton growers, we insure you the whole American market, and when you can supply that you have your chance in the foreign. Without this assurance it is supposable that the experiment of raising cotton in America might never have been tried. By the year 1800 the export of cotton had risen to 17,000,000 pounds, worth \$5,000,000, but the duty on the importation of raw cotton was not repealed until 1846. It did not enhance the price of cotton probably after the year 1735, but it did prevent the sale of foreign own cotton in America until 1846, and to the extent of the American market it cave the American cotton growers a monopoly by law, concurrent with and independent of their monopoly by cheapness of production. The free trader might have asked the mestion, at any time between 1795 and 1846, Why continue the duty on cotton when it loes not enhance the price?" But to this the otectionist could answer effectually, "Why

> ness. They could, therefore, have no reason for removing a duty, after conceding that it had ceased to enhance the price. In the tariff debates of 1842 a free trade ongressman made a tearful harangue upon the iniquity of retaining the "tax," as he called it, of five cents per yard on calico, imposed in 1828. A free trader delights to call a tariff a tax, because, knowing the trick is a

peal the duty, since it has ceased to affect

any manner the price!" The last question

as apt as the first. Free traders do not

claim to aim at any other result than cheap-

bold untruth, he inters that it must be a cunning one. A protectionist orator replied by producing a sample of the taxed article and showing that when it was first laid on the article it was equal (though specific) to an ad valorem duty of 25 per cent. on the then foreign value of the article, but in fourteen years, the duty always remaining the same in fact, had risen to be equal to 100 per cent. on the foreign price, which had fallen to five cents, while as a tax it had wholly disappeared, for the American article was selling in our markets at only four and a half cents, while the foreign price with the duty added would have been ten cents. Still the duty was protective, for it effectually shut out the foreign product from the Ameri-

can market. But it was not a tax, because it did not enhance price. It was merely a fence. Four-fifths of the articles named as dutiable in our tariff list have traveled over this road, and the other fifth are well over it. Fifteen years ago the American Iron and Steel association issued lists of prices of iron and steel wares obtained from many English and American firms, showing that builders' hardware, cutlery, implements of every kind, agricultural, scientific and manufacturing, carpenters' tools and most finished products of iron and steel ready for use, sold as low in America as anywhere in the world. The stories told by free trade speakers and writers, in and out of congress, about Americonsumers being taxed on all they eat, drink and wear are simple square perpendicular falsehoods. The only imported articles whose price is affected by the duty are such raw materials of manu facture as unrefined sugar and molasses, and bar, pig, scrap and other unmanufactured the duties are paid in the first instance by the manufacturers. The question whether they ever reach or are ultimately paid by the consumers of refined sugars and of iron and steel merchandise, depends on whether the American prices of these are higher than the foreign or than they would be if the duties were removed. In iron and steel wares generally they are not. Hence on these the manufacturers bear not only the first but the last burden of the tax. On sugar the price of refined is at times on a level with the foreign, usually a cent or a cent and a half per pound above, and to this extent only the American consumer may be said to bear a tariff tax. But the duty on sugar is, as free traders concede, as near being a strictly revenue duty as our circumstances admit, since the quantity of crude sugar produced in our country is so small compared with the importation, that protection forms an unimportant motive in its enforcement. Thus the entire tariff tax on consumers reduces itself on analysis to the single one of the duty on sugar, and that is in nine-tenths of its quality and effect a duty for revenue only. And here let us remark, in passing, that a country which can produce everything finds it impossible to lay a duty on any article which shall operate to produce "revenue only" without "protection," for, whatever the article it is laid on, it will cause a somewhat larger production or use of the native article than of the imported. To the extent it does so it will protect. To the extent it protects it ceases to be "for revenue only" in its operation. Hence to hold, as Cleveland's henchman, W. L. Scott, does, that our government has no constitutional right to lay any duties save those which operate to produce "revenue only without protection" is has no constitutional power to lay any duties whatever, though to lay duties on imports

was in fact the chief object of its formation. But W. L. Scott cannot name a single imported article on which a duty of from 40 to 60 per cent. can be laid without causing its production in the United States. The instant such production begins, whether the article be tea, coffee, castor beans, leather or pig iron, the duty ceases to be for revenue only and becomes protective, whether its motive was protection or revenue and the question whether a duty is for revenue or protection is not determinable by any possible action of the government which lays it. but must be solely determined by the persons who choose whether they will or will not produce in America the article on the im portation of which it is laid. Scott's position, therefore, is equivalent to saying that though the government might at the time a duty is laid have undoubted constitutional power to lay it, on tea or cinnamon for instance, yet if an American sets about raising tea or cinnamon in Florida this act, since it clearly converts the duty on tea or cinnamon from one for revenue only into one which pro

to change when a man strikes a spade into the earth to set out a tea plant. Great Britam cannot prevent her duty on tobacco from protecting the raising of tobacco in Ireland without expressly prohibiting such cultivation anywhere in the United Kingdom. Hence the government prohibits the cultivation of the leaf while it protects the manufac turer. This enables her to maintain a duty which does not protect. America, therefore, could only arrive at duties which would not protect by passing similar laws prohibiting the domestic production. But the Federal constitution vests no power in congress to prohibit a domestic production of any kind or for any purpose. And without this power t could not prevent its duties from protecting something. Hence, instead of its being rue that congress has no power to pass proection duties, it is, on the contrary, true that the constitution clothes congress with to power to prevent a duty from having a

rotective effect. IV. A fourth class of free traders finds its nucleus in the original Secessionists and anti-Nationalists. These from the first desired that the present United States should be a league of sovereign states, each of which should be free to secede, make war, maintain slavery. run state lotteries, organize filibustering expeditions, license vice, confederate with gambling and crime, and do every other thing except to maintain free schools, build roads, canals and colleges, promote industry and emancipate slaves. This set of men have always wanted thirty-nine sovereign states, all limited to about four industries, viz , raising cotton, corn, hogs, wheat and capitalized abor, otherwise known as slaves. They actually think this is the best the American people can do. Patrick Henry, John C. Cal houn and Jefferson Davis are the exemplars of this school. Its free trade policy derives its mainspring and motive from its intense hidebound bourbonism, which is but the political shell which surrounds its industrial inlolence and lack of economic brains. Modern representatives of this school south and north have been Robert Toombs John R. Floyd, L. Q. C. Lamar, Editor Watterson, Randolph Tucker, Frank Hurd, Fernando and Benjamin Wood, Franklin Pierce, Sunset Cox and all the "thick and thin" allies and upholders of the subjugated southern rebellion. All these men had bright points about them. Their sin consists in trying to make existing ignorance a stepping stone to their personal aggrandizement, instead of a theme for rebuke and a field for missionary effort. The hatred of all this class to a factory, an invention, any step in scientific regress, or any increase in the diversification of industries, is like the Indian savage's hatred for a farm or the Texan cowboy's hatred for a fence. It is the true conservative hatred which a Bourbon who is determined not to budge, move or yield an inch to the march of progress, feels for something which he does not comprehend, and is indisposed to become acquainted with. The creed of these men is that "Americans should farm-those in the north should raise wheat and beef and pork; those in the south should raise cotton. Those two industries are enough. Foreigners will come among us and build railroads, sell us our clothing, sugar, salt, iron and steel. Our seaport towns will handle these as importations. This is the way we lived as colonies, and what was good enough for my revolutionary forefathers is good enough for me. Niggers were made to work, and white men were made to boss the niggers. Any man not willing to

will see that never enough votes of this kind are counted to elect anybody." This wing of the free trade party, under the lead of Patrick Henry, opposed the adoption of the Federal constitution and the formation of this nation. Under the lead of Calhoun, fifty years later, it attempted to dissolve the Union, and so far succeeded as secure the repeal of the protective policy in 1823, which made secession easy twenty seven years later by making the Union weak A descendant of Patrick Henry, of Virginia. in the person of Mr. Breckinridge, of Ken-tucky. was the dramatic and emotional ora-

vote this ticket should be guaranteed the in-

alienable right to vote, but inspectors of

election in any well regulated communities

the same kind of smart intellectuality to the recent crusade for the Mills bill which pervaded the general management of the free trade rebellion in 1861-5. Under the lead of Toombs, Floyd and Jefferson Davis in 1820 this wing of free trade inaugurated the rebellion, and in their constitution covenanted that they would never enact a protective

V. A fifth class of free traders are the economic dudes, who think it the true Phi Beta Kappa "fad" to profess to believe in free trade because it is "English, you know." They would wear ulster overcoats, or part their bair in the middle, or add a drawling ah, at-ah, the-ah end-ah of-ah eachah word-ah, or rip up the carpets in their houses and substitute rugs, or build a high ferce around their patch of ground to shut out the peering eyes of neighbors, or perpetrate any other insular awkwardness, purely and solely because it is English. To this class it is sufficient to believe that free trade is an English fashion, and they take it as they do the Episcopal service or the queen's birth-

Have any of them investigated the quality of the arguments, and the effect of the action of the repealers of the corn laws in England in 1846! I have been able to discover none, either among speakers, writers or organizing managers, who have paid any candid attention to the economic aspects of the conflict whose result is popularly supposed to have made Great Britain a free trade country. That conflict was waged on the theory that it would make bread cheaper. The typical English economist of today, like Price, Jevons or Thorold Rogers, first admits that forms of iron and steel. In all these cases | the repeal did not make bread cheaper and then contends that it was not necessary that it should do so in order completely to yindicate "free trade;" for he says if it did not make bread cheaper, of course it could not have injured the farmers. He forgets to note that his admission converts the "great" leaders of free trade in England-viz. Villiers, Peel, Cobden and Bright-into economic quacks, who brought famine upon Ireland and financial revulsion on England upon pretenses whose untruth was a swindle on the English people. Thus he dedges the great issue to claim an elusive escape on a minor issue. When followed up on this side issue by the proofs that free trade in corn was followed by the withdrawal of farmers in Great Britain from the cultivation of breadstuffs at the rate of 80,000 acres per year or 120 square miles less of grain each successive harvest for the sixteen years from 1852 to 1868, the free trader again changes his base by saying, "What difference does it make whether they raist breadstuffs or meat-they undoubtedly all went to raising sheep and cattle." But when it is shown that the total number engaged in all forms of food cultivation shrank from 2,100,000 to 1,300,000 in twenty years, that there was a permanent depopulation of the United Kingdom, Ireland losing 3,000,000 and Scotland and England two-thirds as many more of their food growers, the free trader still a third time shifts his base and says, with Shadwell, "It is better that they lessened in this manner the pressure upon the means of subsistence." Then the protectionist follows up with proofs that the means of subsistence contract quite as rapidly as the population-that with waste fen and moor, and hence that the lessened remnant do not draw an increased main

ever. Thus, one by one, the free trade positions are yielded, and its battle assumes the forms of a retreat, because its successive positions have all been subterfuges, and not principles. Of all the so called histories of the free trade movement in England not one attempts to prove by price lists that corn or bread was made cheaper by the repeal of protection. though their rhetoric often implies it. Not one attempt to show that the farmers of whether its rate was 5 or 50 per cent. Hence | England were not driven out of the business of raising corn by the repeal of the duties on corn, with a rapidity that left a vacancy in the domestic supply exactly equal to the importation.

Now if the poor were not benefited, and the farmers were driven out, and the importers handled no more of foreign wheat than as domestic traders they would have handled of domestic wheat, who was benefited by the free corn legislation? It was paralleled exactly by the effects of

giving away corn in ancient Rome. The farmers of Italy raised so much less that the corn given away could not be made equal in quantity to the quantity whose production was prevented by the gratuity. tects, therefore reverts back to render the It naturally followed that so much exact, which before was constitutional, now a pense and effort was devoted to securing, breach of the constitution. In short, what is grabbing and dividing the gratuitous corn constitutional and what is not is thus made as had previously been devoted to cultivating and marketing the home corn which Italians had stopped producing. Hence free foreign corn left corn a trifle scarcer and dearer than the cultivated Italian corn had been. All forms and modes of getting hings cheap by importation at the cost of sacrificing and suppressing the domestic proluction are but repetitions of the Roman experiment of making bread cheap by giving away foreign corn-a policy that tended increasingly each year toward a famine in

> Another broad misconception underlying the notion that it is a bright thing to favor free trade because the English favor it, is hat the thing known as free trade in Engand is the same as the thing known as free rade in the United States. On the contrary they are opposite. Free trade in England is tke the subjugation of India, or the British solonial empire, or the British landed arisocracy, or any other peculiarly British hing, which can no more be transplanted and set down on this side in all its parts and abstance than can the established church or royalty. Free trade in Great Britian means hat when a country has protected its industries by tariffs, prohibitions, subsidies, wars of conquest, treaties and the like for 300 years, and has thereby come into possession of the mastery and precedence relatively to all other countries in capital, machinery, manufactures, banking and ships and steamers, and when its area of agricultural land is believed to be too small to supply its manufacturing populations with food, so that to continue to protect its farmers may impede the growth of its manufactures, it may with profit sacrifice the welfare of its farmers by withdrawing protection from them if it can thereby so cheapen food as to assist its manufacturers in under selling the cheap labor of China and Japan, provided adequate English armies so far hold those countries in durance as to give English manufacturers a substantially excluive control of their markets.

> But free trade in America lacks every one of these conditions. It means here that a country which is struggling for leave to manufacture one-half the goods it uses may with profit throw down the bars to a competing country which can in one week of atsolute free trade close every factory, furnace and foundry in the country, except a few flouring and lumber mills. In England free trade is the offer of the lion to meet the lamb in equal combat. Free trade in America is the offer of the lamb to meet the lion in open fight. The former requires no courage. The latter precludes all rescue. VI. A sixth class of free traders are the importers and merchants, who expect to handle the increased supply of foreign goods which would accompany free trade, and the newspapers which live upon the advertising patronage of the

importing class. This is the small but wealthy and solid nucleus of the entire free trade agitation in the United States. The effective work of the free trade leagues derives all its pap and sap from this class. It centers in New York, and for many years its most effective chiefs have been two or three leading New York merchants. One or more of them have kept an open house at Washington and established intimate relations with the journalists and politicians through whom free trade work could best be done. No brass band was sounded. No organization with long lists of vice presidents and secretaries was published. But when money was wanted in channels in which it would be supposed to express popular sentiment, control conventions or aid candidates, it was forthcoming. The work was all the more effective in that it issued no proclamations. In this respect the free traders have a great advantage over the protectionists. It is at all were located. times easier to borrow \$100,000 with which to control a newspaper, nominate a congress-

into a dozen languages. Let it not be in-

tor whose fluid economic perversary gave free trade work, however, can be too remote too superficial or too sluggish to find ample means for its sumptuous publication through the liberality of that nucleus of New York importers who constitute the spinal marrow of free trade propagandism in the United

> The tariff itself, however, is a great reformer of this class of mercantile free traders. obliged even A. T. Stewart to so far interest himself in American mills that his seal for free importations was tempered by his desire not to ruin the scores of American fac tories in which the larger part of the goods he sold were made. Many importers, however, fully realize that the country's ability to import and pay for its importations de pends on the general productiveness of its industries, and stands identified with a protective policy. In the long run it is the man who saves most that must spend most So, in the large, the nation that prodages most must import most. Our imports and exports under free trade never bore anything like as large a proportion to our population as they do today under protection. The population is only forty pe cent. more numerous than in 1860, the foreign trade is eighty per cent. greater in volume.

> VII. A seventh class of free traders are the generous, impassioned spirits, whose flue philanthropy is shocked by the alleged low rates of wages paid by protected employers in the iron and steel, salt, silk, coal, wooken. glass, leather and such like occupations. To such the only answer is: "Go and take t! profits yourself, and make the wages highby paying more."

"Sir," said a free trader to Horace Greeke "what would you say if I should assure vthat the profit on the manufacture of pa iron is three times the total cost of the lab. employed in it?"

"I should say," said Horace, "make yourself and get the profit." All the protected occupations are open t the truly benevolent as well as to the thor oughly economical or even mean. If you think higher wages ought to be paid in them because the profits are large, go into these occupations and pay the higher wages. If your theory be true, you will both increase your riches and serve the cause of labor. If your theory be false, you will probably stop spending your strength in propagating false doctrine. In fact, wages in occupations affected by the tariff are in each and every case a little higher than the same employes could get by working in any other, and are made low only by the fact that in many of them the processes of labor are so subdivided that only the very lowest order of working capacity is needed. Let us be thankful that no order of working capacity can be so feeble that a sufficient diversification of industries will not find it employment. At the same time no order of capacity for work can be higher than manufactures which some of

their departments employ and develop. And now against these seven kinds of free traders, who and what are the protectionists! They are the balance that remain after these are deducted from the whole population They perceive that all nations, including England even, have tariffs and policies more or less protective. They recognize as protection (1) England's duty of five shillings sterling per pound on manufactured tobacco, which absolutely confines the sale of manuevery diminution in population there is a factured tobacco in Great Britain to that corresponding surrender of land once tilled to made by British manufacturers. (2) They recognize as an enormous interference with freedom both of trade and production the store of food per capita from nature, but re- British duty of 3s. 6d. per pound on leaf | fected a rapid and complete cure. No its domestic culture, lest such culture may interfere with the revenue, thus despotically sacrificing the freedom of British producers to the interests of the revenue As more than half the customs revenue of England is derived from tobacco, and more than half the leaf tobacco imported mes from the United States, Amerion protectionists deny that the British tariff tands for free trade in any sense as between

America and England, and on the contrary assert that England levies on one of the chief products imported from America a discriminating duty four times higher than any duty laid in America on any English product, and that this duty is, as to the British manufacturer, thoroughly protective, however destructive it may be to the producer. (3) The American protectionists also recognize as protection England's annual subsidies paid to ocean steamer lines to the amount of from \$4,000,000 to \$6,000,000 a year for forty years past. They would that the American government had rivaled England's liberality in this tality, and give renewed health and sphere of protection. (4) They recognize as protection England's abstinence from all taxation of capital, land, ships and machinery, which pleces it at an advantage in all the competitions of British producers with American, since every dollar of the capital avested by Americans in land, machinery anks, ships and railways pays taxes on the

(5) They recognize as protection England's colonial and treaty system, the consequence of three centuries of foreign conquest, backed by her existing system of military protection to her export trade. By all these means England makes 500,000,000 barbarians tributary to the profits of her manufacturers and in some degree to the wages of her emdoves. She thus maintains, by means of oreign military protection to her export trade, and not, as some zealous dupes imagne, by means of her repleal of the protect ion once given to her farmers, a higher rate of profits and wages than is maintainable in rance, Germany or Russia, which have fewer facilities for practicing a military protection to their foreign trade.

(6) They recognize as protection also the xing of judicial rents ln Ireland by the evernment after free trade in corn bad de troved the power of the farmers to pay cus omary rents or even to enter into any free ontracts with their landlords. While England thus practices six distinct orms of protection, all of which are either

f a kind or in a degree unknown in America, American protectionists regard it as the neight of impertinence for Englishmen to pretend that English trade is any freer from islative influence than American trade. American protectionists further perceiv learly that free trade, in one form or another, brought on the severe commercial crisis of 1817 to 1819 in the United States, of 837 in the United States, of 1847 in England, and of 1857 in both the United States and agland; that the United States never passed brough twenty-four years without a compercial crisis, except in the recent protective eriod of from 1860 to 1888. Democratic administrations, however, usu

ally get in under a Janus faced platform, after protection has created a surplus in the reasury and a boom in prosperity, and go out leaving a deficit in the treasury and a commercial crash on the country. They are repeating now the exact role they accom-plished in 1833 to 1837, and again in 1846 to 1857—of finding the country prosperous and leaving it wrecked, and of finding the trea sury full and leaving it empty. Protectionists know that a protective tariff

tands in the same relation to a nation as the family income does to a family. They don't go about telling how deeply they would love the country if it would only dispense with its national income and its industrial fences. Protection means simply the level headed common sense of all mankind, refined in pass ng through the critical investigation of the world's acutest statesmen, and applied to the simple problem of looking out for home infirst. As the apostles were comdustry first. As the apostles were com-manded, in the most cosmopolitan of all in-junctions, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, beginning at Jerusalem," so protection says to men, "Let your foreign trade be based upon

Having thus pointed out the seven heads of the Free Trade Beast, the inquiry may, perhaps, be raised: "How about its ten horns?" The president, in that devoutly total abstinent spirit of which he is so distinguished an apostle, has assured the Democratic party that liquors of any kind are not necessaries It may, therefore, seem for the moment probable that the beast has cost his horns or at least that the number has been officially reduced below ten. We do not dissent from the truly Democratic proposition, now for the first time uttered by authority of that party, that the world can be run without any liquors whatever. We can hardly refrain from reminding the Democratic party however, of the untoward consequence which resulted to the Siamese twins from the adoption of the anatomic theory that either f them could survive without the other. When the cord that bound them was severed both expired. It is possible that a few things can be done by the Democratic party with less than its traditional ten horns. But it should bear in mind that whisky and Democracy have hitherto been such indissoluble twins that there are strong scientific grounds for apprehending that when the country gets ready to do without one the other will per-ish. In that case no further doubt will be felt as to where the ten horns of the teast were located. VAN BUREN DENSLOW.

He Drew the Line. man or run a convention in the interests of Minister (discussing religious matters) free trade than to raise \$5,000 with which to -Of course, Mr. Hendricks, one can be print a protectionist work of the value of too narrow in his ideas regarding the ob-Carey's, though when printed it may pass servance of the Sabbath, but there is fishing, for instance. Do you think it is ferred from this that Carey's works were so right to fish on Sunday?

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Frequently requires prompt action. An hour's delay waiting for the doctor may he attended with serious consequences, especially in cases of Croup, Pneumonia, and other throat and lung troubles. Hence, no family should be without a bottle of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, which has proved itself, in thousands of cases, the best Emergency Medicine ever discovered. It gives prompt relief and prepares the way for a thorough cure, which is certain to be effected by its continued use.

S. H. Latimer, M. D., Mt. Vernon, Ga., says: "I have found Ayer's Cherry Pectoral a perfect cure for Croup in all cases. I have known the worst cases relieved in a very short time by its use; and I advise all families to use it in sudden emergencies, for coughs, croup, &c." A. J. Eidson, M. D., Middletown, Tenn., says: "I have used Ayer's Cherry Pectoral with the best effect in my practice. This wonderful prepara-tion once saved my life. I had a con-

stant cough, night sweats, was greatly reduced in flesh, and given up by my physician. One bottle and a half of the Pectoral cured me." "I cannot say enough in praise of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral," writes E. Bragdon, of Palestine, Texas, "believing as I do that, but for its use, I should

long since have died."

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Nothing lasts but the church.

The Commercial Travelers Protective Association of the United States, has membership of over sixteen thousand and is probably the strongest association of the kind in the world. Mr. John R. Stone, their national secretary and treasurer, 79 Dearbone street, Chicago, in letter states that he has been severely troubled at times, for the past twenty years, with cramp and bilious colic which would compel him to take to his bed from three to six days-while in St. Louis at their last annual meeting he procured a bottle of Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhoea Remedy and has since used it with the best results. It is the only remedy he ever found that efone can safely travel without it. Sold by Dowty & Becher.

There is no great banquet, but sor fears ill.

You are feeling depressed, your appe tite is poor, you are bothered with headache, you are fidgety, nervous, and gen erally out of sorts, and want to brace up. Brace up but not with stimulants, spring medicines, or bitters, which have for their basis very cheap, bad whisky, and which stimulate you for an hour, and then leave you in worse condition than before. What you want is an alterative that will purify your blood, start healthy action of Liver and Kidneys, restore your vistrength. Such a medicine you will find in Electric Bitters, and only 50 cents a bottle at Dowty & Becher's drug store.

Nothing dries sooner than a tear.

The True Method

Of curing habitual constipation, an liver and kidney ills, is to avoid the use of the bitter drastic liver medicines and cathartics, and take the only pleasant liquid fruit remedy, Syrup of Figs. It cleanses as well as strengthens the system, and does not leave the bowels costive, so that regular habits may be form ed, and the invalid presently restored to health. It acts promptly and effectively; it is easily taken, and perfectly harmless. For sale only by Dowty & Becher.

In a leopard the spots are not observ

Their Business Booming

Probably no one thing has caused such general revival of trade at Dowty & Becher's drug store as their giving away to their customers of so many free trial bottles of Dr. King's New Discov ery for consumption. Their trade i simply enormous in this very valuable article from the fact that it always cure and never disappoints. Coughs, Colds. Asthma, Bronchitis, Croup, and all throat and lung diseases quickly cured You can test it before buying by getting a trial bottle free, large size \$1. Every bottle warranted

gentleness.

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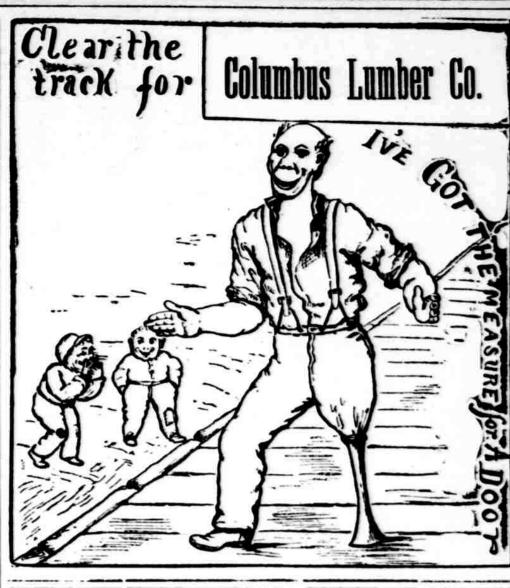
SANTA ABIE sooths and heals the nembranes of the throat and lungs, when poisoned and inflamed by dise se. It prevents night sweats and tightness scross the chest, cures colds, croup, asthma, coughs, bronchitis, pneumonia, whooping cough and all other throat ad lung troubles. No other medicine successful in curing nasal catarrh ALIFORNIA CAT-R-CURE. The formous and increasing demand for hese standard California remedies confirm their merits. Sold and absolutely maranteed by Dowty & Be package. Three for \$2.50.

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An Absolute Cure. The ORIGINAL ABIETINE OINT MENT is only put up in large two-ounc tin boxes, and is an absolute cure for old sores, burns, wounds, chapped hands and all kinds of skin eruptions. Will positively cure all kinds of piles. Aak for the ORIGINAL ABITINE OINTMENT Sold by Dowty & Becher at 25 cents per box—by mail 30 cents.

He cannot be viatuous that is not ligious.

On and after April 29th, the day oaches on the Union Pacific's No. 3 taken off, to better enable it to make time. This will add largely to the popularity that has already been gained by





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It is not good fishing before the net. Daily excursions have been arranged for over the Union Pacific Railway, to San Francisco, San Diego, Colton, Los Angeles, San Bernardino and San Jose, California, also to Portland, Oregon, at \$80.00 for the round trip. Tickets are good 60 days for the going passage and good for the return trip for six months from date of sale, with the usual stopover privileges in both directions within these limits. These tickets are also good In the husband wisdom, in the wife by way of Denver and Salt Lake City in each direction. The Agent, Mr. J. R. Meagher, tells us quite a number are thinking of making the trip soon, and it would be well for those intending to go in select parties to see him and arrange for their accommodations. Mr. J. B. Frawley, Traveling Agent, Union Pacific, at Omaha, is arranging for these select parties, and will be glad to give any fur-

> When my house burns it is not good playing at chess.

> ther information in regard to these ex-

cursions. Parties who prefer can corres-

pond with Mr. J. Tebbets, G. P. & T. A.

Omaha, Neb.

On the Great Salt Lake near Salt Lake City, on the Union Pacific, "The Overland Route," will be formally opened to the public on Decoration day, May 30th. Ample accommodations have been provided, and the Pacific hotel company will have charge of the hotel accommodations at this famous resort under the supervision of the Union Pacific railway. No pains or expense have been spared to make this the summer resort of the west. It is only eighteen miles from Salt Lake City on the Utah & Nevada branch of the Union Pacific. Trains will be run at frequent intervals daily between Salt I ake City and the Beach. Cheap trains, good baths, and excellent meals will be among the attractions.

No barber shaves so close but another nds work.

The Passenger Department known as the "Overland Flyer," will be Of the Union Pacific, "The Overland Route," has gotten out a fly-bill designed to call attention to the summer resorts along the line of this railway. It this fast train. After that date it will is a good bill and tourists, pleasure carry only passengers holding first-class | seekers, sportsmen and fishermen should tickets, to points where the train makes apply at once to J. S. Tebbets, General regular stops, between Council Bluffs Passenger agent, Omaha, Neb., for inand Ogden. Such passengers must pur- formation in regard to the points of inchase tickets for seats or berths in Pull- terest along the line, before deciding his own expense, and spent all the revenue be derived from them in giving them away. No



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