

THE COST OF A NATIONAL CRIME.

THE CONSERVATIVE published recently an article entitled the "Hell of War and its Penalties." Since then the report of the secretary of the treasury has been issued and the following facts have been compiled therefrom by Edward Atkinson, of Boston:

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1897, deducting from the receipts the amounts recovered for bonds advanced to the Pacific railroad, and applied to the payment of those bonds and interest, the deficit was	\$103,000,000
The secretary computing the deficiency in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, at	112,000,000
Total	\$215,000,000

The proceeds of the war loan and fifteen million dollars over will therefore have been expended within the six months after Jan. 1, and on June 30, 1899, another deficit will be drawing cash from the treasury reserves. This congress will expire March 4, and the new congress will not meet unless in extra session until December, 1899, in the middle of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900.

The secretary computes the revenue from taxation in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, at	\$510,000,000
Expenditures at	540,048,378
Deficit	\$30,048,378

The population for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, will be somewhat less than 78,000,000, but, adopting that number, the normal revenue and expenditure at \$5 per head would come to \$390,000,000.

According to the secretary's estimate all the existing taxes will yield per head six dollars and fifty-two cents (\$6.52), while the computed expenditures will come to over seven dollars (\$7.00) per head.

Additional taxation will therefore become necessary, even if the secretary's sanguine estimates of revenue and expenditure are justified.

It will, however, be observed that he assumes that the revenues now derived from sugar and tobacco will continue as they are. But if the imperialist or annexation policy prevails, the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico cannot be treated on any other basis than the Hawaiian group; hence a necessary loss of revenue in 1900, computed by myself at not less than 80 cents per head, or \$62,000,000, to be added to the deficit computed by the secretary of \$30,000,000, making \$92,000,000. This sum must be provided from new sources of direct internal taxation.

But it will be remembered that the secretary's estimates of expenditure in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, are wholly inconsistent with the increase of the army recommended by the secretary of war or the increase of the navy recommended by the secretary of the navy. Neither is any provision made in these estimates for the construction or

renovation of coast defences in Cuba, Porto Rico, or Hawaii, nor is there any provision made for public buildings in these islands. The Philippines are also wholly ignored.

The only safe computation that can be made for the fiscal year 1900, if the imperialist policy prevails would be as follows:

Revenues as compiled by the secretary	\$510,000,000
Deduct loss of revenue on sugar, tobacco, rice, and fruits	62,000,000
Net revenue under existing laws, less loss on sugar, etc., at \$6 per head, or \$1 above the normal rate of \$5	\$448,000,000

EXPENDITURES.

As per secretary's estimate	\$540,000,000
And for proposed increase of army to 100,000 men, increase of navy, coast defences in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, only \$1 per head	78,000,000
Total at a fraction under \$8 per head	\$618,000,000
Deficit	\$170,000,000

This deficit of over \$2 per head must be provided by direct taxation. 78,000,000 persons taxed at \$8 per head pay

\$624,000,000

If taxed at the nominal rate of \$5 per head, which has sufficed for 21 years, the sum would be

390,000,000

Cost of Imperialism, \$3 per head \$234,000,000

This policy will raise the tax on every family of five persons from \$25 to \$40 a year.

But the whole cost is not even yet disclosed. The increase of the army from 25,000 to 100,000 men can only contemplate service in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines of a force of at least 60,000 out of the 100,000, leaving 40,000 for home service where 25,000 have amply sufficed.

At least one-half the force of 60,000 will either die or become disabled every year. According to English experience in India, and French experience in their tropical colonies, of a death rate of 100 in each 1,000, five per cent will be sent home every year to be supported in hospitals or at the public cost from venereal diseases only, by which more than half the army is infected.

Yet the secretary of the treasury reduces the estimate for pensions in 1900 below that of the present year. This can only be due to inadvertence, but how much must be added no one can compute.

In my previous guarded analysis I overestimated the income from the war-revenue act now in force. All my other computations are more than sustained by the report of the secretary of the treasury.

The money cost of the national crime which the advocates of imperialism propose to commit in the face of the declaration of President McKinley that such an act would be one of "criminal aggression" will be not less than \$3 per head, \$15 per family, in amount \$234,000,000, in the next fiscal year, and probably more.

The pretexts upon which this so-called policy of imperialism is promoted con-

sists of mixed motives of piety, profits, and patriotism.

To the advocates who hope for a great field in missionary service we may put the question, how many of the youth of America will you subject to vice as a sacrifice for each heathen convert that you may make?

To the advocates of the expansion of commerce we will put the question, how much will you increase the power of the people of the Philippine Islands to consume American goods when in fact during the last ten years they have bought of us on the average one hundred thousand dollars' (\$100,000) worth a year? Yet we have bought of them annually in the same period an average of seven million dollars' (\$7,000,000) worth, mainly of sugar and hemp, and from the export duties on these products the Spanish government has secured its principal revenue; such export taxes being forbidden by the constitution of the United States.

To those who set up the pretext of patriotism we call attention to the reflex of militarism, the pauper labor of continental Europe waiting for its remedy until the masses who carry the guns turn them against the classes who carry the sword—to their oppression in the conscript service, which is eating out the heart of Europe.

To the workmen we put the question, how long will you bear an additional tax on the articles of common use which are consumed not in proportion to ability but in proportion to numbers, from which the principal revenues of the United States are collected, such additional tax upon every one of your families of five persons surely coming to not less than fifteen dollars (\$15) a year?

The pretexts are piety, profits, and patriotism; the conclusions vice, venality, and pauperism. These are the constants which surely accompany the rule of blood and iron and the control of the masses by the military classes.

Running a free lunch counter in Cuba and paying three millions of dollars to alleged soldiers of Cuba for having fought or run to free themselves is an expensive and absurd proceeding of our common and beloved Uncle Sam. This is especially observable in the light of those precedents made by the legislative branch of this government wherein aid to drouth-stricken settlers in Nebraska and to drowned-out farmers on the lower Mississippi was denied because no constitutional right existed for giving of alms. It seems now however that a humanity and benevolence which can not be lawfully exercised at home, by being generous in the bestowal of public money upon our own citizens, may jump from Florida to Cuba and exercise all sorts of extravagance in behalf of hungry hybrids, mulattoes and half-Spanish-half-Indian creatures. Beautiful benevolence!