

written on the page of its history an indelible blot of dishonor and infamy, and she would have been guilty of a most cowardly betrayal of the glorious traditions of liberty and democracy. In the second case America would have to sacrifice important interests and its intention of political and commercial expansion in the Orient.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS.*

Tune: "John Brown's Body."

What is this the sound and rumour? What is this
that all men hear?
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is
drawing near,
Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?
'Tis the people marching on!
Whither go they, and whence came they? What are
these of whom ye tell?
In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates
of heaven and hell!
Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve
a master well?
Still the rumour's marching on!

Chorus—

Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun, and lo! thereunder,
Riseth love and hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they
wend toward health and mirth;
All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of
the earth.
Buy them, sell them, for thy service; try the bargain
what 'tis worth.
For the days are marching on!
These are they who build thy houses, weave thy
rainment, win thy wheat;
Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter
into sweet;
All for thee this day and ever. What reward for
them is meet?
Till the host comes marching on!

Chorus—

Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun, and lo! thereunder,
Riseth love with hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!

Many a hundred years passed over have they labored
deaf and blind;
Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their
toll might find.
Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry
comes down the wind,
And their feet are marching on.

*To be sung at the meetings of the National Women's Trade Union League, announced in another column.

On we march then, we, the workers; and the rumour
that ye hear
Is the blended sound of triumph and deliverance
drawing near;
For the hope of every creature is the banner that
we bear,
And the world is marching on.

Chorus—

Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun, and lo! thereunder,
Riseth love with hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!

—William Morris.

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THE MORAL SIDE OF THE TARIFF.

Portions of a Paper Prepared for the International Free
Trade Congress Held at London, August
4th-7th, by President David Starr Jor-
dan, of Leland Stanford Uni-
versity.

Every argument for and against the tariff has been stated a thousand times. There is nothing new to be said. But at the bottom of every argument remains the necessary recognition of its primal iniquity. The fundamental idea in American polity is that of a square deal to all men, each standing on his own feet, with exclusive privileges or governmental aid to no man, and to no class of men. Inequality before the law, entail, primogeniture, church control of state, state control of church, class consciousness and class legislation, were evils which our fathers would not tolerate. They chose the hardships of Plymouth Rock, and later the hazards of war, rather than to put up with any of them. If there is one American idea or ideal to be segregated from the rest, it is this of equality before the law. And it is this ideal which is violated absolutely and continuously in the theory and in the practice of the protective tariff.

The protective tariff is a device for enhancing the home price of the articles it covers, by a tax on commerce, by forcing the body of citizens to pay tribute to producers at home. These producers may be capitalists or directors of industry, or they may be the laborers who contribute effort only without responsibility for the way in which effort may be applied. It matters not whether capitalists or laborers, either or both, actually profit at your expense or mine. The law intends that they should do so. It is a breach of the principle of equality before the law that either should thus profit. As a matter of fact, there is little gain to the laborer because continued immigration brings him new competitors, and because he is in his turn one of the general public who suffer from the commerce-tax. As wages are raised, so is the cost of living. For the director or employer of labor, the case is on the average not

much better because the cost of his product is enhanced by the tariff taxes on everything which enters into his process of manufacture. In so far as a tariff is successful, it is virtually prohibitory. That the evils of prohibitory tariffs are so little felt, is due to the fact that our country is a world in itself, with untaxed trade throughout a district comprising nearly half the specialized production area of the globe. Yet within this favored area it is possible sometimes to corner a product or to monopolize production. To this end the tariff naturally lends itself, though it would be unfair to declare it to be the parent of all trusts. It is enough to recognize that its general purpose is the same—the development through legal means of industrial and economic monopoly, the enrichment of a class or of a group of classes at the expense of the citizens at large. This is theoretically contrary to American polity. If the principles of our republic in regard to exclusive privileges are right, then the theory and the practice of the protective tariff are wrong. That it works through the method of indirect taxation, disguises but does not justify its iniquity.

The tariff is defended on the ground of the value to a growing nation of infant industries, of diversified economics. We may not deny that at times there has been a financial gain to the community through taxing the farmer to build up the manufacturer. It is not politically right or just to do this; but if it were, the policy in practice assumes the form of a vested right which becomes in time a vested wrong. Around these vested rights other conditions grow up, and a change of any sort works havoc with related or associated interests. Justice becomes possible only by the perpetration of varied forms of injustice. To touch the tariff in any way sends a shock through the financial world, throughout the body politic. Tariff revision is, therefore, a kind of effort which can be based on no principles. It is a blind rush among various choices of evils. The only way out is to make taxation blind, like other efforts at justice, its sole function that of raising revenue.

In another way the theory of the infant industry has proved fallacious. There are in America today no infant industries. They have grown faster than the nation has. Our huge industrial combinations overshadow the world. Just as in their alliance they dominate us, in some degree they have the whip hand over other nations. If anything American can take care of itself, it is our infant industries. Yet they demand the tariff as a necessity of existence as insistently as ever they did. The lull in the self-assertion just at present is due to the handwriting on the wall, not to any lessening desire to be fed at the public expense.

The actual injury to American prosperity traceable to the tariff, may not be enormously great. It has doubtless been exaggerated. It

lends itself to exaggeration. It makes us angry when we think of it and wrath means always a magnifying glass. Its greatest evil lies in the perversion of our theories of government, the introduction of the idea of class enrichment through legislation.

Doubtless much of the prosperity of the United States is due to the protective tariff—the prosperity of some of us. But in like degree the non-prosperity of some of us, some of the very same persons for that matter, is due to the same national meddling with individual rights. The apparent prosperity of any community could be greatly enhanced by taking property away from half the people to put it into the hands of the others who know better how to use it. Thus behind all discussion of sources and means of prosperity, the fact remains that democratic justice, that fundamental equity between man and man, can never be realized in America so long as any trace of the protective tariff remains on our statute books. It is another illustration of the truth that “they enslave their children’s children who make compromise with sin.” This law applies to economic lapses, to time-serving legislation, as well as to moral sins.

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UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed From the Original MS.

Dear John:—I believe the Republicans are going out. There is sign all along the trail. For one thing, captains of industry are selling off their stuff to get the money out of it before trust prices drop. You can get cut rates “way down” on a lot of things nominally high in the market. Besides the Republican Demies are reconciled to Bryan. He can get the party in; and the Bryan guard who stood with him at two Waterloos are loading as they advance, and have acquired the firm Bryan underjaw.

Only Bryan himself has changed. Darned if he don't begin to look like George Washington; and he won't have to cut no cherry tree before the people catch on.

What do you think? Is there anything in this transmigration of souls? Can a man be so great and fair and unselfish a patriot that he will grow to look like the Father; or rather, has G. Washington returned and stepped into the boots of Billy Bryan? All I can say is, look at his later photographs. There, sure as a gun, is the monumental George, false teeth, or plumpers, and all—younger, sunnier—he has got over lickin' you, and drifted into quieter waters; but still the best representative of the determined G. W. now walking.

Then there is a panic on, only kept from scar-