


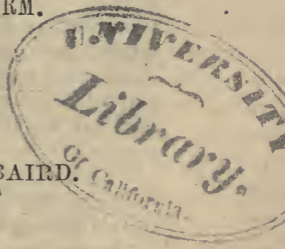
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THE RIGHTS
 OF
 AMERICAN PRODUCERS,
 AND THE
 WRONGS OF BRITISH-FREE-TRADE
 REVENUE-REFORM.

BY
 HENRY CAREY BAIRD.



No Right without its Duty.
 No Duty without its Right.

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PHILADELPHIA:
 COLLINS, PRINTER, 705 JAYNE STREET.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE brief articles here presented have from time to time, during the past few months, appeared in the editorial columns of the PHILADELPHIA PRESS. They embody an attempt to indicate certain inalienable rights belonging to American producers, which grow out of the inevitable necessities of taxation, and which have generally been overlooked in the discussion of politico-economic questions.

From them has been, as it is believed, developed a principle which, if established as such, is and must prove fatal to the so-called "free trade" alias "revenue reform" policy, which finds its inspiration in Great Britain, and is sent here for consumption with British railroad iron, cotton and woollen goods, and other merchandise. The foreign organization in New York, which propagates these doctrines in this country, is so manifestly and boldly in the interest of Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, and Staffordshire, that an exposure of its nefarious schemes has been found an easy task.

The attention and the criticism, friendly or otherwise, public or private, of presidents and professors of colleges, and teachers generally, as well as of editors, and, last but not least, of *all lovers of the truth*, are earnestly invited.

HENRY CAREY BAIRD.

PHILADELPHIA, 406 Walnut Street, Oct. 24, 1870.

RIGHTS OF AMERICAN PRODUCERS.

What is British Free Trade ?

WHAT is British free trade ? It is that extraordinary governmental policy which would grant privileges to foreigners which it withholds from its own people ! It is that system of legislation which would permit those foreigners to send the goods, wares, and merchandise, the products of their labor, into your country untaxed, without contributing toward the support of your city, town, county, State or National Government, while you pay for those purposes taxes upon real estate, sales, incomes, manufactures, corporations, transportation, furniture, watches, light, heat, books, newspapers, bonds, mortgages, deeds, notes, checks, food, spirits, ale, medicines, law, etc. etc. ; in a word, upon all you eat, drink, wear, or are obliged or desire in any manner or form to use, have, or enjoy, excepting only the air you breathe. Can such a system be based upon any principle of right or justice, or can it be expedient in any country or among any people ?—*Press*, May 24.

British "Free-Trade."

"In Belgium and France we find matter posted for a sou, and hence the anomaly spoken of with deserved reprobation in the *Times* of the 13th instant, of a large firm of coal merchants sending out thirty thousand circulars which have been printed and posted abroad, and are delivered in London, from Belgium, for the small charge of one-half penny ; and, indeed, for some eighteen months—for so long the post office, now Rowland Hill has gone, has been asleep—wine merchants, dealers in foreign provisions, silks, bric-a-brac, and French goods, have sent their circulars from even the most distant part of France to our doors for one sou (one-half penny), while Englishmen were precluded from sending a circular from the city to Charing Cross for less than a penny." —*London Publishers' Circular*, June 15.

"The anomaly" above indicated and condemned is in England by no means exceptional. Under the

much-vaunted and until recently universally-fashionable policy called "free trade," it is more generally the rule than the exception thereto. To allow to foreigners greater facilities in the transmission of mail matter is quite consistent with and by no means more wrong than the system pursued for nearly a quarter of a century as to trade.

Is not every Englishman who is engaged in any branch of productive industry subjected to the most onerous and grinding taxes, Imperial and local, for the support of the State and the different divisions thereof? Is not his foreign rival, almost without an exception, entirely exempt from all British taxes whatsoever? Hence, as has recently been pointed out in these columns, British "free trade" consists in granting to foreigners privileges which are denied to your own people, and so far from being based upon any grand and immutable principle of justice, as is claimed for it, it is based upon a positive wrong. How absurd in those who, like the *London Times* and *Publishers' Circular*, believe in British "free trade," to object to what may be called British *free postage*—for foreigners! If "free trade," so called, be right, so must be "free postage"—for foreigners. If the latter be wrong, so must the former. Upon principle they must stand or fall together.—July 9.

Revenue Reform.

"Are the Revenue Reformers Criminals?" is the caption under which the New York *Evening Post*, the special organ, advocate, and friend of the British free-trade revenue reformers, prints a long article in defence of this new "free-trade" organization. In the course of that article it gives the tariff scheme, with the duties to be collected under it—the objective point of these so-called reformers, which is as follows, without the omission of a paragraph or a line, to wit:—

Tea at 25c. per lb.....	\$11,000,000
Coffee at 5c. "	12,000,000
Spices " 15c. "	2,000,000
Fruits " 2c. " for dried.....	3,000,000
Nuts " 1c. " 10 p. c. for green	450,000

Sardines at 30 per cent.....	300,000
Chocolate, cocoa, etc., at 7c. per lb.....	100,000
Opium at \$1 per lb.....	250,000
Liquorice at 10c. per lb.....	375,000
Flax, and man'fs of, average duty of 25 p. c.	5,000,000
Gloves of skin, \$2.50 per doz.....	1,000,000
Furs, 25 per cent.....	500,000
Silks, man'fs of, 35 per cent.....	10,000,000
Tin in blocks and pigs, 25 per cent.	}..... 2,000,000
Tin plates, 25 per cent.	
Tin, man'fs of, 25 per cent.	
Cigars at \$1 50 per lb.....	\$10,000,000
Tobacco at 25c. per lb.....	2,100,000
Spirits at \$2 per gall.....	15,600,000
Wines at 40c. per gall.....	5,400,000
Sparkling wines at \$6 per doz.....	1,620,000
Uniform duty of 3c. per lb. on sugar	} 40,000,000
“ “ 8c. per gall. on molasses	

Now the duties here contemplated, being generally and with but few exceptions levied upon products which we *do not produce* and must have, we ourselves must of necessity pay them, there being substantially no American competitors to keep down or regulate prices, or to oblige the foreign producers themselves to pay the duties in order to compete with such American competitors. These duties then become an absolute and positive tax upon Americans, from which there is no escape except by their ceasing to consume the products. Again, the general “reform” principle, as here developed, being, to levy no duty upon any product, the like of which *is produced* in this country, a few heavily excised articles almost alone excepted, foreigners are to be allowed free and untaxed access to our markets, here to compete with American producers, the mere fact of any article being largely produced in this country being the title by which, by the code of the “reformer,” the foreigner obtains the right to send such article into this country untaxed! As all of the people of this country must ultimately live off or from the product of American production, so must all taxes, National, State, and local, ultimately fall upon American producers, and upon them alone, unless we can make foreigners who seek our markets, and enjoy the advantages and

profits thereof, pay a portion of these taxes—precisely the thing which these British free-trade revenue-reformers intend *shall not* be done. Hence it follows, as an inevitable consequence, that this scheme of these “reformers” is that all American taxation of whatsoever sort and kind, almost without the shadow of an exception, shall be ground out of American producers, while foreigners are to be allowed to riot and grow fat in our markets untaxed. There is no escape from it under this so-called reform. Is such discrimination against your own people and in favor of foreigners actually a reform? Is it natural, politic, honest, or just? Is it not, from first to last, in all its bearings, odious and wicked, and would not its consummation be an unwarrantable act of tyranny, oppression and outrage? Are the men who propose it “criminals,” or are they only lunatics? Upon which horn of the dilemma will they hang? Let their friends answer!—Sept. 15.

NOTE.—The scheme of the “Free Traders,” or “Revenue Reformers,” as they now prefer to call themselves, is further illustrated by the following plan of the mode of levying tariff duties, as given by their organ, the “Free Trader,” published in New York, to wit:—

“The American Free Trade League long since adopted the following principles as the basis of a tariff which they would support:—

“1. The total amount of tariff income required shall be collected from the smallest possible number of articles;

“2. The rates of duty shall be fixed at those figures which will produce the largest aggregate amount of revenue, so as to require the taxation of the least possible number of articles;

“3. The highest rates of duty shall be levied upon articles of exclusively foreign production, of large consumption and not easily smuggled;

“4. No article shall be subject to duty which offers special temptation to smugglers to avoid even a low rate of duty;

“5. No article shall be subject to duty which will not yield a reasonable amount of net revenue;

“6. *No article shall be subject to duty which is produced in the United States;*

“In accordance with these principles, the League prepared and published in ‘The Free Trader’ for Janu-

ary, 1870, and has since distributed gratuitously many thousands, in pamphlet form, entitled *The Tariff as it is and as it ought to be*, a complete tariff, showing that at a low estimate \$130,000,000 gold could be collected from articles absolutely unobjectionable, and that *would not enter into competition with any single article produced in the United States.*"—*The Free Trader* Sept. 1870.

The animus of proposition sixth as well as that of the concluding words italicised in the last paragraph is particularly worthy of note, as establishing, beyond question or dispute, the open hostility of this foreign league to our own people and their industries.* Is it not a marvel that any American, no matter how great his necessities, should be found base enough to aid and abet an organization with such ends and aims in view?

Yale College.

This venerable institution has, we learn, purchased the library of the late Professor Rau, of Heidelberg, containing 4400 volumes and 2000 pamphlets on politico-economic subjects. Such being the case, it is to be hoped that the learned faculty will set diligently to work to study these books, and, having mastered them we trust they will see clearly the folly and inconsistency of spending annually large sums of money in maintaining the Sheffield Scientific School while in the college teaching Professor Perry's British free-trade-revenue-reform Political Economy.

* Gen. Bidwell, one of the largest land owners in California, pays taxes upon his property to the amount of \$7,780. The Bidwell orchards have sold and shipped \$7,223.50 worth of fruit. The ranch has raised this season 54,000 bushels of grain, has sold over 10,000 bushels of barley, \$14,172 in cattle, and \$2,600 in horses.—*San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 1870.

Here is a farmer who raises many thousand bushels of fruit, only to hand the proceeds of their sale over to the tax-gatherer, and yet the "revenue reformer," demanding that "*no article shall be subject to duty which is produced in the United States,*" would allow the farmer of British Columbia to send into the markets of California, in competition with General Bidwell, the same kinds of agricultural produce without paying so much as the value of a bushel of apples towards American taxation!

In the Sheffield School it is daily and even hourly demonstrated how man may, by the aid of water, steam, electricity, machinery, the application of mechanical powers, and other means, obtain control of the wonderful and gratuitous services of nature,* and thereby diversify his pursuits, and reach a higher civilization and greater National wealth and strength; while in the academic department of the college this "revenue-reform" Political Economy is taught, the central and controlling idea of which is that all American taxation shall be borne by American producers, including those who avail themselves of these great natural powers, while all foreigners shall enter and enjoy the advantages and profits of our markets, and shall be allowed to compete with every class of American producers untaxed and unchallenged.

Unless Old Yale can make up her mind to do at least equal justice to American producers, upon whose productions the entire country must ultimately, directly or indirectly, but inevitably and solely live, and from whom all taxes must eventually be drawn, except we can make foreign traders pay a portion—precisely what the Perry scheme of economy intends *shall not* be done—she had better give up all idea of educating Americans for practical and scientific pursuits. Let her finally abandon the Sheffield School, and confine herself exclusively to the work of educating scholars in the academic department who will fill with credit to her the positions of American gentlemen, traders or shopkeepers, to buy and sell foreign untaxed merchandise. Is she not a heartless alma mater who, while she is turning out at the Sheffield School graduates who are to engage in practical pur-

* Three tons of coal represent the labor power of a man for his lifetime. Richard Garsed, Esq., of Frankford, Pa., manufactures, in every day of ten hours, 33,000 *miles* of cotton thread—obtaining from *seven tons* of coal the necessary power. Supposing it possible for such quality of thread to be made by hand, it would require the labor of 70,000 women to accomplish this work. Can it be cause for wonder why the diversification of industry is the one and only road to freedom and civilization as well as National power?

suits, is in the academic department teaching that system of "revenue reform" which maintains that all taxation shall be shouldered by American producers, while all foreign traders shall be allowed to go scot free even while they are competing with these very taxed Sheffield graduates? May she learn a lesson from the great German politico-economic library which shall convince her that, to be entirely just to her children, she must either abandon the Sheffield Scientific School or drive Perry's false and pernicious teachings out of the academic department of the college! As an institution of real morality and learning she can do no less, and with this advice we leave her to ponder over this grave subject.—September 17.

British Free Trade.

The foreign importers' British Free-Trade League of New York, having recently published a record of every member of the present Congress on the tariff question, the New York *Evening Post*, in objecting to the heads under which certain members are classified, uses the following language:—

"Mr. Holman, of Indiana, another Democrat, is also classed as a free trader, though he is quoted as declaring that to tax tea, coffee, and sugar is unequal and unjust."

It would then seem that to be what is called a "free trader," one must be in favor of taxing these three necessaries of life, so essential to poor and rich alike, and which, with the exception of sugar, are not produced by ourselves, and do not come in competition with American productions. While this is to be done, products which do compete with our own industries are to be admitted free and untaxed.

The real and true intent and meaning of this "free trade" then is: Pile a mountain of taxation upon your own people, and allow foreigners free access to your markets with all products which compete with these tax-ridden people! When duties on imports are levied, let them be only upon those products which you do not produce and must have, so as to make assurance doubly sure that your own people, and they only, shall pay these duties, while all for-

eigners escape. And this is called "free trade!" Was ever term more truly misapplied? Was ever animus so vicious hid under fairer cloak? Did ever wolf in sheep's clothing more boldly and more impudently stalk abroad? This may be, indeed is, British free trade; but it is not genuine and honest free trade.—Oct. 7.

Protection must be Demanded as a Right.

Too long in their contest with their enemies have American producers stood upon the defensive. All history goes to prove that where a combatant is placed in such a position he is *ipso facto* half defeated, and his complete and final overthrow then only becomes a question of time. The hour has, we believe, arrived when American producers should assume a vigorous offensive movement; and that they possess ample means for effectively and successfully so doing we have not the shadow of a doubt. In assuming a position of attack and carrying the war into the enemy's country, they should first, last, and always, demand as a right that which has hitherto been regarded by that enemy as a privilege, as a concession, or as a bounty extended to, if not a robbery committed by, American producers. The great cause of Protection can and should be placed upon the high moral ground of right and justice, and its advocates should then wrest from their enemies the rights and liberties so long and so persistently withheld from them. The grounds for these demands are as obvious as they are unassailable.

American production, furnishing all National power, is to the country, its commerce, and trade, on a large scale, what the water-wheel and the steam engine are to mills and machinery on a small one—the prime mover.* In the absence of this great National prime

* According to the census of 1860, the productions of manufactures, mining, and the arts in the United States for that year were of the value of \$1,885,861,676. Those of agriculture, though not given in full, may be approximately stated at \$3,000,000,000 at that date, notwithstanding the fact that they have been estimated much below this. In 1869 the total production of the country was estimated at \$6,825,000,000.

mover, as it may be called, all motion, nay, even the life of the body politic itself, must cease. As all of the people of the country must ultimately, directly or indirectly, live off of or from this production, so must all taxes, National, State, and local, be finally drawn from American producers, unless some portion of our taxation can be levied upon foreigners who seek our markets, and enjoy the advantages and profits thereof.

Such being the case, it follows that the American producer has a right to demand that his Government shall levy duties on foreign imports, and in so doing shall levy them, first and foremost, upon those commodities the like of which *are produced* in this country, for the following reasons:—

First. Because such commodities come in direct competition with the productions of American producers who are obliged to pay National, State, and local taxes; and to grant privileges to foreigners which are and must be withheld from ourselves would be a manifest and gross injustice on the part of the Government to its own people.

Second. Inasmuch as these commodities are such as are produced in this country, foreigners may be made to pay the duties thereon, as, having American competitors with whom they must compete, these duties must first be paid by them before they can place themselves in a position for such competition. If not made to pay these particular duties, there are no other taxes which they can, by any possibility, be made to pay in selling in our markets; and the heavily taxed American has an absolute right to demand that, enjoying the advantages and profits of these markets, foreigners shall take with them some of the many drawbacks and disadvantages which he himself is obliged to bear.

Third. Because if these duties are in whole or in part levied upon productions the like of which we do not ourselves produce, and must or will have, they must ultimately and inevitably fall upon the shoulders of American producers, thus causing them to be again taxed, indeed almost encompassing them by a network of taxation, escape from which is impossible.

Hence we develop the grand and immutable principle: *That the moral right of the Government to levy duties on articles the like of which are not produced in this country, only commences when it has exhausted all the means of collecting duties on such articles as are produced in the country, or until it has reached a full measure of the burdens imposed upon American producers and still finds itself in need of revenue. Then, and then only, may it, consistently with the rights of American producers, resort to other sources of taxation, including duties on the importation of commodities the like of which are not produced in the country.*

A government which cannot or will not comply with these conditions and extend this measure of justice to this large, and the most useful and most valuable class of its citizens, forfeits and should abdicate all right to collect taxes at all. A constitution which does not admit of this is an instrument of tyranny, oppression, and robbery as indefensible as would be the edicts of a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Nero, or that modern Cæsar who has just deservedly lost his crown. That the Constitution of this country was never intended by its framers to be such an instrument of injustice we are quite certain. The non-producers who will not consent to this act of justice, or cannot or will not find in some other land the producers off of whom they can live and feed, should at least be stopped from any longer keeping up the fraudulent pretence that this proper demand of those of their fellow-citizens upon whose shoulders rests the Republic is founded upon any other than the broadest and most enduring principles of right and justice.

As it has time and again been demonstrated in the clearest and most philosophical manner that the one and only road to civilization, wealth, and power lies through the diversification of the pursuits of the people, and that Protection is the necessary means towards that great end, what possible ground can there remain for the British free-trade-revenue-reformers to stand upon when it is shown that in their demands all moral right and justice are also on the side of American producers?—Oct. 11.

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