

SUGAR BOUNTIES AND SOCIALISM.

THE bill introduced by Mr. Hiscock to reduce the Treasury surplus proposes to take off one-half of the existing duty on raw sugar, and to compensate the Louisiana planters and the sorghum and beet-root growers by a bounty of \$2 for each ton of cane or sugar beets grown (not necessarily worked), to be paid by the Treasurer of the United States. It provides in addition a scale of bounties for all kinds of sugar made—from cane, beets, or what not—amounting to about seven-eighths of a cent a pound. The surplus will thus be reduced in two ways, first by lessening the income, and second by increasing the outgo by a gratuity amounting to some five millions of dollars.

There is little likelihood that Mr. Hiscock's bill will come to a vote. Probably it is introduced merely as a "feeler" to enable the Republican politicians to judge how far they can go safely in the socialistic experiment of diverting public funds to private interests. That the bill is of the very essence of socialism, no one can doubt or deny. The protective tariff is a socialistic contrivance, although it is not so regarded by those who support it. By exciting prejudices against "foreign industry" and in favor of "home industry," thus keeping a pseudo-patriotic point of view uppermost, its advocates have managed to conceal its real character even from themselves. The aim of a protective tariff is to give to some people by law an advantage over others in matters of business, in dollars and cents. This is socialism, but, as we have said, the popular apprehension has not yet recognized it as such.

We are referred by the advocates of sugar bounties to the example of Germany. The *Tribune* "points with pride" to the remarkable development of the sugar industry in that country, secured by payments of money from the public treasury, and asks, "Why should not this country encourage the same industry by the same means?" Why not encourage every industry by the same means? That is exactly what the Socialists demand. Germany is the headquarters of socialism. The only difference between Bismarck's socialism and that of Karl Marx is in the detailed application of it. Bismarck has the advantage of physical power, but Marx and his followers have that of logical consistency. Brute force is a temporary and shifting element. Intellectual force is a permanent and growing power. If there were no other elements to be reckoned with in Germany but the socialism of Bismarck and that of Marx, the latter would triumph over the former in the course of time, as surely as chemistry triumphs over alchemy or astronomy over astrology. But the eventual salvation of Germany is to be found in the fact that both varieties of socialism are unscientific, pernicious, and destructive, and destined to a common burial, although they may work a great deal of mischief and some bloodshed before they are mutually effaced. Both take their stand on the principle that the Government can make a wiser distribution of the products of labor than natural laws effect. They differ only as to the mode of carrying this principle into practice. "Protection" aims at this result, and if we allow

that protection is right, we shall not have much standing ground for opposition to sugar bounties or any other kind of bounties. Let it be understood that any trade (which means a certain number or class of producers) are not doing as well as they think they ought to, and their claims for appropriations of public money are as good as those of the sugar-planters and the beet-growers. The complete and perfect expression of the idea would be a bill granting pensions to all the people of the United States. The socialism of Marx would limit the pension to the needs of the pensioner. That of Bismarck and of Hiscock would limit it only by the judgment of the governing power.

Mr. Hiscock's bill provides in effect that there shall be no reduction in the price of sugar to the consumer. This proviso is found in the clause which says that sugars from all countries where there is an export tax shall continue to pay the present duty. This means that we are to discriminate in favor of Germany, which country has no export tax, but gives a bounty to her beet-sugar growers, and against all the countries for whose trade we are so anxiously struggling, and from which nine-tenths of our imports of sugar now come, viz.: Cuba, Brazil, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, the English and French West Indies, etc., all of which, with two insignificant exceptions, collect an export tax as the only means of obtaining a revenue from the planter. In all such countries the only method available for the Government to collect taxes is to impose them at the shipping ports; hence all their revenues are from imports and exports. Is it any of our business how these countries collect their taxes? Has not Mr. Hiscock's experience as a Congressman taught him the immense difficulty of changing a revenue system? If so, why should he suppose that the sugar-growing countries could, at a moment's warning, even if they wished to do so, change theirs? Our enlightened Congress, which for years has been haggling over the worst revenue system in the world without accomplishing any change, proposes offhand to upset the revenue system of nearly every sugar country, by helping the planters to bring a pressure to bear on their own governments to relieve them from a tax which now comes out of their pockets. This is what cannot be done. The duties on imports in those countries are so high now that they cannot be increased. Consequently there is no source of revenue to make good the repeal of the export tax on sugar. The only effect of this clause in the Hiscock bill will be to give an advantage in our market to Germany and France—two countries which notoriously discriminate against our products.

A SHAMEFUL BUSINESS.

THE Old Dominion Steamship Company, which does perhaps a larger freight business than any other domestic line, and employs a large body of stevedores, has been in the habit of employing a number of them by the month in order to be sure of a steady supply of labor. This practice of employing by the month was recently forbidden by the Knights of Labor, but the company, of course, disregarded the prohibition, and found no difficulty in filling

the places of the men who struck under it. The Knights, being foiled in this direction, bethought themselves of the plan of frightening the foreign steamship companies into a boycott, and have actually succeeded in doing so. They sent around notices on dirty pieces of paper requesting these companies not to take freight from the old Dominion Company, and the result was that several of them—we do not know exactly at this writing how many—have not only refused to accept new freight from that line, but have broken contracts already made with it—that is, have refused to honor through bills of lading given by their own agents.

When one considers that nothing has yet happened to these companies, that they are not yielding after actual experience of the loss or danger of resistance, that their discreditable conduct is the result of what is called in England "sheer funk"—that is, of the kind of terror which destroys shame—and that some of them are Englishmen, representing English honor and manliness in a foreign port, it is, it must be admitted, a very extraordinary affair. When we call to mind the great amount of business the foreign steamship companies do at this port, it would seem to be a matter of ordinary comity that they should aid their American customers in defending private rights against mob violence or intimidation. In other words, they owe it to the Old Dominion Steamship Company and to all the decent and intelligent people of America to aid them in resisting the scamps and ruffians, who are trying to ruin this city as a centre of trade and commerce by their lawlessness and disorder. Foreigners who live here for the purpose of soliciting American custom, certainly have duties as well as rights. They have no business to claim the protection of the American law, and then, when the occasion comes, not only refuse all assistance in upholding the law, but make common cause with the law-breakers against members of their own calling. It would have been bad enough if in this case they had simply allowed themselves to be frightened into refusing to receive, as common carriers, any honest man's goods; but to break their contracts openly and brazenly, and have nothing to show in excuse or extenuation except dirty postal cards from unknown persons, is still worse. They ought to be made to suffer for it in some way, and we trust they will be. If the law cannot reach them, we trust the reprobation of the mercantile community both here and in Europe will.

The Knights of Labor have, during the past few months, been rapidly losing their hold on the skilled labor of the country. The trades-unions of the artisans are rapidly breaking away from them, because they do not care to have their trade interests managed by the votes of the unskilled laborers who compose the vast majority of the Knights. The stevedores, coal-heavers, and miners are, wherever they are concentrated in large bodies, still under control. The Knights have 3,000 of the coal-heavers of the Pennsylvania lines now on strike in New Jersey, and their activity among the stevedores and longshoremen is incessant. Most of the steamship lines have for some time past found their business

seriously interfered with by the Local Assembly and the Walking Delegates. There is no difficulty in getting plenty of un-knightly labor, as the Old Dominion Company has found. The difficulty is in protecting the men from mob violence. Unless there is a large force of police present, the Knights attack them on the wharves and pursue them to their homes, and keep them in terror of their lives. But of course the police protection is not always at hand, and, before it can be obtained, half days or whole days are lost in loading and unloading. The shipping business at this port is already suffering seriously from this cause. It had already enough to contend with in the shape of corruption and extortion among harbor-masters and other officials. It might stand extortion, or it might stand violence, but it can hardly stand both. If there be no improvement here, New York must lose its commercial supremacy.

In view of this state of things, it cannot be too strongly impressed on the business community that their only hope of salvation lies in united resistance. Those who fancy, like these timid ship-owners who are breaking their contracts through "funk," that there are limits to the extortion and interference of the kind of men who control the Knights of Labor, are living under a delusion. The spirit which animates these men is precisely that which animates Macedonian brigands. They think they have got a lot of rich men in their power, and they mean to get all they can out of them—not all at once, but from time to time, as convenience or necessity dictates. The more easily they find their behests obeyed, the sooner they will issue fresh ones. Nothing can be more absurd than the idea that they have a maximum of extortion or violence in their heads beyond which they will not go. What they seek, and almost avowedly seek, is the money of all who save, and they enjoy the power which comes from terrorizing the peaceable and industrious. They like frightening a big ship-owner, and making him cringe and wheedle, particularly as they make a living out of it. Therefore resistance is not only the manliest and most public-spirited course, but the cheapest. It is expensive, doubtless, to carry on the shipping business in a series of rows with Walking Delegates and striking mobs, but it will prove in the long run by far the least expensive course open to people in any business in this city which involves the employment of large quantities of unskilled labor. We predict that if these foreign companies do not repent of their cowardice, they will soon find out that in troublous times it is the costliest vice of which a man or corporation can be guilty.

DECLINE OF THE MORMON THEOCRACY.

AFTER thirty years of stubborn conflict between the Government and the Mormon Church, and after five years' enforcement of the Edmunds law, though it can by no means be alleged that victory is achieved, the evidence is conclusive that the Church begins seriously to suffer, and that, if the campaign continues with vigor, the end is not far off.

True, no intelligent observer can deny the existence of such unpalatable facts as the following: Several scores of missionaries are sent out each year to proselyte; they bring back converts at the rate of some 2,000 annually, while every twelve months not less than 5,000 recruits are born. Colony after colony is drafted to occupy the best lands in Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada. The church machine is yet in capital running order. The priesthood is possessed of strength and zeal sufficient to make a vigorous fight both in the Great Basin and upon the Potomac. The people as a whole are sunk deep in ignorance and superstition, are in the main sincere and ready to suffer indefinitely for their faith, and hug their shackles and bless the hands which enslave them. Without doubt as many polygamous marriages are celebrated as ever, and the population is practically a unit in resisting Congress and the courts. And so abundance of toil and trouble is ahead.

But other facts are just as certain and significant. The number of baptisms in foreign regions is steadily falling off. Time was when they reached threefold or fourfold the present figure. It was demonstrated long since that Mormonism has no mission at all for the heathen; or for the adherents of the Greek and Romish Churches. Ever since Nauvoo days, probably 90 per cent. of recruits have been derived from the British Isles and Scandinavian countries, and of late from the Southern States. And, even in this limited area, the source of supply diminishes year by year, while the quality is falling off even more seriously. It has come to this pass, that the only class approachable is of those who are in such amazing ignorance as never to have heard of the fame of Joseph Smith or the wonderful Utah gospel.

The fanatical element in the Mormon Church also, grows less and less, and is confined mainly to those who joined when the religious craze or frenzy was on, who endured the fiery persecutions of Missouri and Illinois in 1834-46, and so are far past their prime. The rising generation, especially of the young men, is largely indifferent, or at least half-hearted, their faith being a matter of mere education or prejudice, while of thousands the adhesion is but superficial and formal, to save trouble, or for social or business considerations.

The Federal Government is making continual encroachments upon the political sphere at first claimed and fully occupied by the church, and is able at length to compel respect for its representatives and its commands. Early Mormon assumptions and defiance were astounding, and the degree of forbearance has been shameful; but progress, though slow, has been steady. Since the advent of District-Attorney Wm. H. Dickson and Judge Charles S. Zane, the will of the nation has begun to be felt in fear and trembling. In spite of the utmost of organized resistance by means and methods most unscrupulous, it is now easy to indict and convict polygamous saints, and to send them to prison. More than 200 have already received sentence in three Territories, some 350 more await their trials, and it is estimated that not far from 1,000, including almost every man

of note, have fled and hid from the face of the marshals. As showing that legal retribution moves on with accelerated speed, up to July of 1885 but nine had been sentenced in Utah, while a year later the number had increased to ninety-three, and during the last six months seventy-five more have been added. Still further, fines, costs, forfeited bonds, and lawyers' fees have entailed most burdensome expense. Ruinous derangement to business is another result, and payment for the services of such advocates as Curtis, and Boutwell, and Black, has made savage inroads into the church tithing-fund.

Then, at many points, the priesthood has been thrown upon the defensive, and concealment is in order. Thus, statistical reports of accessions and of divers church doings are no longer made. Teachings and practices once boasted of and everywhere heard (and also, unfortunately for Mormonism, put in print by their own pens) are now stoutly denied—such, for example, as "blood atonement," and the right of the priesthood to "dictate in everything, to the setting up of a stocking or the ribbons on a woman's bonnet." Besides, certain desperate measures are set on foot every now and then which indicate that cataclysm and catastrophe are apprehended, and that panic and despair may be near. Moreover, things once strictly forbidden and visited with ecclesiastical vengeance are now ignored or even favored, like selling land to "Gentiles," trading with them, or resorting to their churches and schools. Nor are cases at all unknown of out-and-out rebellion against church domination and meddling, and of determination to follow the individual reason and conscience. But even yet theocratic tyranny is such as to fill the mind of the true American with astonishment and indignation.

Nor should the fact be ignored that denominational schools are rapidly gaining place and popularity in all the larger settlements. Already about 20 per cent. of the children in Utah are thus under anti-Mormon influences, are receiving American ideas and ways, and so are spoiled for polygamy and theocracy, while Christian churches will soon follow and further the good work. A few years hence a new and far better civilization will have been planted and become widespread.

A DOUBTFUL REMEDY.

THE English newspapers are having a somewhat amusing public washing of their own dirty linen since the conclusion of the Campbell divorce case. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which one of its contemporaries now always calls the "*Gutter Gazette*," suffered so much from the attempts made by its editor to reform British morals by means of "startling exposures," that it has kept a very sharp watch on their reports of the Campbell case, and now castigates them all in a bitter article, with the heading "Pecksniff and Poison." In this it protests furiously against the "flooding of the town with fetid filth," in which it says they have been engaged. It has compiled, too, a table showing the number of columns they have each given to the report, including the *Evening News*, "an obscure sheet, unhonored and unknown beyond the London gutters," and gives a facsimile of the columns of the *Eve-*