

consists in their not sufficiently weighing the importance of the power of machinery.

*"In former times, when but little comparative use was made of machinery, manual labor and the price of wages were circumstances of the greatest consideration. But it is far otherwise in these latter times. Such are the improvements and the perfection of machinery that, in analyzing the compound value of many fabrics, the element of natural labor is so inconsiderable as almost to escape detection."*

Again (p. 279):

*"In considering the fitness of a nation for the establishment of manufactures, we must no longer limit our views to the state of its population and the price of wages. All circumstances must be regarded, of which that is, perhaps, the least important. Capital, ingenuity in the construction and adroitness in the use of machinery, and the cheapness of the raw materials are those which deserve the greatest consideration. All these circumstances (except that of capital, of which there is no deficiency), exist in our country in an eminent degree, and more than counterbalance the disadvantage, if it really exists, of the lower wages of labor in Great Britain."*

At the time Clay said this, "all these circumstances" did not exist anywhere in America to the degree which they exist even in Nebraska and Dakota to-day. The development of labor-saving machinery which the last generation has witnessed was in his day undreamed of. The dearth of capital, owing to its scarcity; the impossibility of manufacturing on a large scale, owing to the sparse population; and the ability of labor to do better by utilizing our bountiful natural resources—all placed the East of that day on a level, with the extreme West of our own. But in the Eastern States to-day, when machinery has reached its marvellous development, when capital is so cheap that the State of Ohio borrows on almost precisely the same terms as the Government of Great Britain, when the cheapest transportation in the world makes manufacture on the largest scale possible, America does possess every one of Clay's more than counterbalancing advantages except cheap raw materials, and this advantage is prevented only by the useless, wasteful, and absurd taxes which the Senate bill would retain upon them. Unless Mr. Clay's followers are willing to assert that his great argument of 1824 was free-trade theorizing, they must admit that it is to-day an unanswerable argument, not only for tariff reform, but for tariff abolition.

Mr. Clay did exaggerate,—no man can avoid it who attempts to defend an absurdity; but his exaggeration in asserting that, in analyzing the value of manufactured goods the "element of natural labor is so inconsiderable as almost to escape detection," is gentle and timid compared with the representation of the Senate Committee on Finance that the greater expense of this element in America demands a tariff of 47 per cent. on the total value of factory goods. If American economic history demonstrates anything, it demonstrates that American labor, by its energy and capacity, by its "ingenuity in the construction and adroitness in the use of machinery," in spite of higher wages, can produce the cheapest farm and mine products in the world, can build the cheapest houses in the world, can furnish by far the cheapest railway service in the world, and, wherever 40 per cent. tariffs on raw material and machinery do not bar the way, can also lead the

world in the production of cheap manufactures.

But if the argument that the high wages in our factories necessitate the perpetuation of an inordinate tariff be founded on misrepresentation, the other argument, that our high wages have been caused by this inordinate tariff, is based upon falsification—the falsification of the most salient fact in our economic history. The wages in American industries always and necessarily corresponded with the value of the products. The laboring class never asked for the protective tariff, and from the beginning until now their only connection with it has been that they have paid the bulk of the millions every year collected. In latter times it has indeed been urged that the money is eventually spent in the employment of labor; but just as much labor would always have been employed if the laborers had been permitted to spend it themselves.

#### THE TARIFF ON BOOKS.

THE Mills bill, as it was passed by the House of Representatives, exempts from duty "Bibles, books, and pamphlets printed in other languages than English, AND books and pamphlets, and all publications of foreign Governments, and publications of foreign societies, historical or scientific, printed for gratuitous distribution." The Senate Committee on Finance, in their report (No. 2332) submitted October 4, to accompany their substitute for the Mills bill, point to this clause as illustrating one of the numerous inconsistencies which they pretend to have discovered in the latter bill, and claim that according to its provisions "Bibles and other books in foreign languages, printed for gratuitous distribution, are free; while Bibles and other books in foreign languages, if printed for sale, are dutiable at 25 per cent. ad valorem." A reference to the paragraph, as printed above, will show that no such construction of it is tenable, and that the words "printed for gratuitous distribution" do not apply to the first phrase at all, but refer only to the publications of foreign Governments and foreign societies; while the latter publications, on the other hand, are not qualified by the words "printed in other languages than English."

The liberality of the House in proposing to allow citizens of the United States to accept free of tax such publications as were supplied to them without cost by the generosity of foreigners, did not seem excessive. Indeed, to many of our citizens that seems a peculiarly oppressive tax which is levied by their own Government upon the knowledge which is gratuitously furnished to them by foreign institutions. A foreign Government or a foreign society offers the American citizen, without a penny of cost, books which may contain knowledge of the highest value to him; but his own Government refuses to deliver them to him until it has first set an imaginary price upon them for the purpose of taxing him one-quarter of that amount. This does seem a somewhat remarkable way in which to encourage

the spread of knowledge among our people. But to the Senate Committee it appears reasonable enough, apparently; at least they have taken pains to strike out that portion of the paragraph in the Mills bill which attempted to abolish this state of things; and the clause has been pared down to simple permission of the free importation of "books and pamphlets printed exclusively in languages other than English." Even an untaxed Bible, when printed in English, is not endurable to the Senate Committee.

During the discussions in the Senate upon the International Copyright Bill, a Republican Senator asserted that it was the "ardent hope and expectation" of his party that the day might never come when the duties should be taken off of books. Nevertheless, we believe that the rapid approach of that day is inevitable, and that it may safely be predicted that even fifty years hence it will be a matter of astonishment and incredulity that a Senator, supposed to represent that portion of our country which boasts the greatest intellectual advancement, should have ventured to announce that the political party which claimed to embrace the best intellect of this country was possessed, in the year 1888, of an "ardent hope and expectation" that the time would never come for the abolition of a most reprehensible fraud, affecting the highest interests of the people. For what can be more blamable upon the part of a Government with an overflowing treasury than to check, by the interposition of a heavy tax, the influx of the means of moral and intellectual advancement? During these same discussions upon the Copyright Bill, the following dialogue took place in the Senate Chamber:

"Mr. Beck—The object of this bill, I understand, is to disseminate knowledge among men?"

"Mr. Chace—Certainly, to encourage it."

"Mr. Beck—Now, why not allow our own people to obtain, in the cheapest way they can, the product of the brains of foreigners? In other words, if we are to help our own people, and at the same time allow the people of all foreign countries to have the reward of their own genius and their own talents, why not have free trade as regards books among all countries? Then our people would get the cheapest, and everybody would be protected at home and abroad, and the people would get the benefit. That would be fair all around, would it not?"

"Mr. Chace—I would say to the Senator that that is a very Utopian idea. If we could get the foreign countries to do it, perhaps we might; but they do not do it, and they will not do it."

"Mr. Beck—Suppose we make the offer to them to bring their books in free for our people if they will do the same thing, and they would jump at it, I think."

Senator Beck's argument is incontrovertible, therefore his proposal is "Utopian." But the Senator from Rhode Island is mistaken in supposing that the other nations of the world are as short-sighted as the United States in this direction. Even the strongest "protective" States of Europe are too intelligent to put a tax upon the instruments by which their people are to grow in intelligence and culture; and for the few civilized countries of the world which do tax foreign books, the excuse can be made that they are struggling

with bankrupt exchequers—an excuse which the United States cannot plead. An examination of the tariff laws of the world (a few for countries of minor importance not being available), shows that the following countries charge no import duty whatever upon books of any kind: Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Netherlands, Norway, Rumania, Turkey, Barbados, Bermuda, Ceylon, Corea, Ecuador, Hawaiian Islands, Honduras, India, Natal, Newfoundland, New South Wales, Nicaragua, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and western Australia. To this list there might justly be added some other countries; for example, Sweden, where, according to the new tariff law of July 18, going into effect on January 1, 1889, all books are admitted free of duty except Bibles and hymn-books when bound abroad. Upon the latter a charge of 13½ to 53 cents per kilo is made, according to the kind of binding. In Portugal also all books are free but such as are printed abroad in the Portuguese language (except when by Portuguese authors resident abroad), and these pay a duty of 10¼ cents per kilo. The same rule holds in Russia, all foreign books being admitted free, but unbound Russian books (when printed abroad) paying \$1.50 per pood (equal to thirty-six pounds), and when bound \$2.25 for the same weight. In Chili all books are freely admitted, except such as contain engravings, upon which the same charge seems to be made as would be made on the engravings, viz., 35 per cent. ad valorem. New Zealand appears to admit books without charge, except in the case of one class called "gift books," which pays 15 per cent. ad valorem. In Italy unbound foreign books are admitted free, but when bound, duty is charged at the rate of \$3.86 per 100 kilos, while unbound books in the Italian language only pay the same duty as would be charged upon the paper upon which they are printed, viz., \$2.90 per 100 kilos. All unbound books relating to the sciences, arts, and industries are admitted without charge into Venezuela, as well as newspapers and periodicals; but bound books are charged \$6.64 and upwards for each 100 pounds weight, according to the quality of the binding.

Twenty-eight States, therefore, including most of the great nations of the world, have absolutely free trade in books, while seven others only charge duties upon exceptional kinds of books. It should be borne in mind that the great bulk of foreign books are sold to the reader unbound, and that the exportation, therefore, of bound editions would be exceptional, and they would consist of special classes of books, such as school-books or holiday volumes. This is a very fair foundation for Senator Beck's Utopian idea. It is, indeed, altogether unlikely that any single nation in the world would reject a proposition coming from the United States for reciprocal free trade in books.

Of the countries which distinctly advocate a duty on books, but two belong to Europe, namely, Spain and Switzerland. The former charges \$8.10 per 100 kilos upon works printed in the Spanish language and \$1.93

per 100 kilos upon books in foreign languages; while the latter country makes a uniform charge of 19.3 cents for each quintal of weight. The South American and Central American States for the most part charge duties upon books as follows: Argentine Republic, from 45 cents to \$1 per kilo; Brazil, 32 to 62 cents per pound, according to binding; Mexico, 3 cents to \$1.20 per kilo, depending on the material used in binding, Peru 10 per cent. ad valorem, San Salvador 5 per cent. ad valorem, United States of Colombia 20 cents per kilo, Uruguay about 65 cents per kilo. Hayti makes a specific charge of from 3 to 20 cents per volume on bound books, according to size, reducing the amounts one-half if the works are unbound. Classical books and school-books, however, are admitted free. Porto Rico charges from \$5.40 to \$6.90 per 100 kilos, depending upon the country from which the importation is made. In Canada the usual duty is 15 per cent. ad valorem, but upon Bibles, prayer and hymn books only 5 per cent. is charged, while the free list includes all books printed more than seven years, all publications of Governments or by scientific societies, and books prepared for the deaf and dumb and the blind. It may be remarked, concerning the various British colonies, that some twenty years ago they passed laws establishing charges upon imported foreign reprints of British copyright books, not as tariff taxes, but as a method for collecting, upon behalf of the British author, the copyright royalty. Such of these laws as had not been repealed by later copyright statutes were abrogated when Great Britain, on behalf of her colonies, joined the International Copyright Union.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS NOVEL.

THE reported exclusion from the Ipswich (Eng.) Library of 'Robert Elsmere,' on the ground of its being a "dangerous book," in the eyes of the trustees, suggests many inferences as to the mental condition of those gentlemen. Any that they might consider uncomplimentary we have no purpose to mention, being bent only, for the present, on examining the idea upon which their action must have been largely based—the idea, namely, that the novel is a highly effective instrument of religious propaganda. We can only hazard a guess at the contents of the library over which such faithful guardians are set, but there is little risk in assuming that they have admitted into it the works of Darwin, possibly some specimens of historical criticism as applied to the Biblical documents, very likely some volumes of essays on social reform and allied topics. In fact, the larger part of the raw material worked up in 'Robert Elsmere,' in kind at least, may probably be found—and very little the worse for wear, too—on the shelves of the Ipswich institution. At any rate, it is common for those who stand sentinel over the reading of the youthful mind to let a treatise pass unchallenged, though they give their sharpest *qui vive* to a novel meant to convey the same teaching.

It would be curious if this should turn out to be a survival of the time when the novel, as such, was taboo among the promoters of the cloistered virtues. Certainly it has happened in other departments of religious censorship that what was once a stroke of decapitation, aimed at a whole species, has become a dubious wielding of the shears of discrimination, clipping at one or two ill-favored varieties. However this may be, we may at once admit that there is a certain element of truth in the view that the religious novel may pierce armor from which religious argument falls away blunted. That truth is, that the novel wins a readier and wider hearing than the essay or the monograph can hope for. Many persons are attracted by anything in the shape of a story who would shrink from reading a book demanding close and consecutive thinking. This is the power of logic translated into terms of life and set aglow with passion. If it is only a question of the comparative number of readers, there is nothing to debate about. Where 'Supernatural Religion' has slain its tens, 'Robert Elsmere' will slay its thousands.

But to hear is one thing, to hearken is another. In so far as a novel preaches, it must be content to fare as preaching does. What can only confirm faith should not be expected to create it. Those who already believe the truth which the story-teller strives to set forth in her tale, believe it on other evidence—assent in sympathy; others wonder, or become angry, at any rate dissent. What the professional novel-reader thinks of the didactic twist given to the narrative upon which he has been induced to enter is fairly enough implied in cynical Labouchere's remark, to the effect that he could not see what objection the Ipswich trustees could take to 'Robert Elsmere'; he, for his part, considered it an entirely harmless book, over which he had fallen sweetly asleep more than once. In fact, the greatest direct effect which that novel could produce upon any mind not already in the same drift with it, would be, not a change of belief, but the sending to the real sources of a change of belief—in this case, the methods and results of modern science, and the historical and comparative study of religions. And one would think that the ingenuous young mind of to-day found too many finger-boards, on every road, pointing that way, to make it a matter of surprise or indignation that Mrs. Ward should have erected one more.

This idea, that religious truth dressed out in the attractions of a novel has a seductive power far beyond that of unadorned religious argument and appeal, may be tested by giving it an application the reverse of that thus far noticed. Instead of the heterodox novel laid before the orthodox reader, let it be the orthodox novel laid before the heterodox reader. It is not very probable that the novels of the late E. P. Roe had more effect upon Matthew Arnold than, say, Nelson 'On Infidelity.' One would not mail to Prof. Huxley the most powerful of Mrs. Prentiss's religious stories, and live in hope of hearing that it had turned him from the error of his ways. Or, if this be said to be quite unfair, since the question is of