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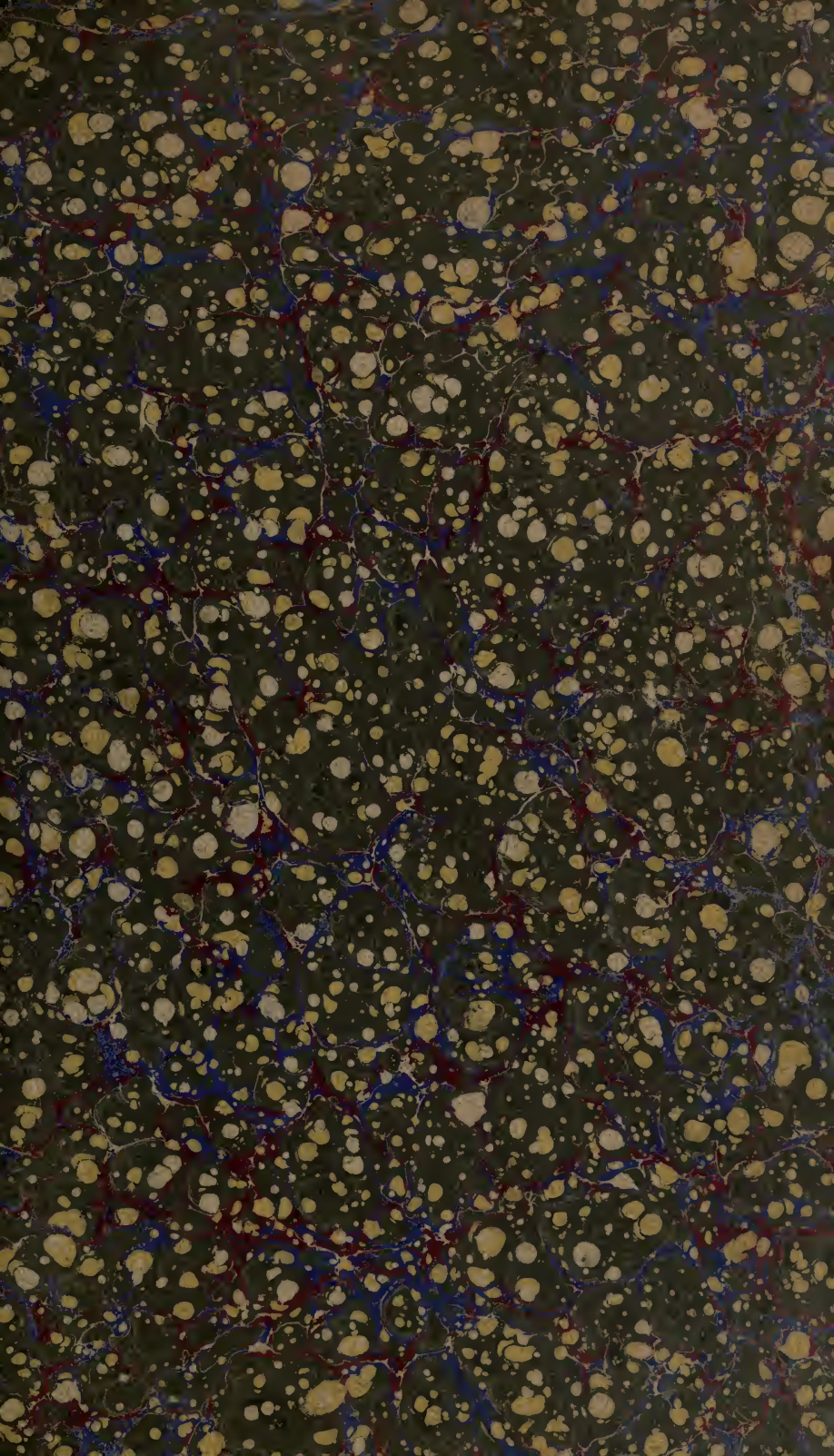



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GOOD WAGES TO THE LABORER, GOOD PRICES TO THE FARMER, AND GOOD PENSIONS TO THE SOLDIER, MAKE GLAD HEARTS AND GOOD MARKETS. PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES, TO AMERICAN LABOR, AND TO AMERICAN HOMES, IS THE STAR OF EMPIRE AND THE GLORY OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE TARIFF.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, May' 8, 1888.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9051) to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue—

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The greatest infirmity of the American Congress, and the greatest calamity of the American people, is the constant agitation and discussion of questions that ought to have been buried out of sight and forgotten fifty years ago. Free trade is an exotic that never should have been permitted to take root on American soil. It was conceived in treason and born in treachery to human rights and human liberty. It made its first appearance as a political question amid the throes of nullification and secession in 1831, and became the sheet-anchor of American slavery from that time forward. John C. Calhoun and his followers, who had been the advocates of protection before this, at once became the champions of free trade. The first blows which were struck by New England against American slavery were so diverted that they fell with increased force upon American protection. New England

was not only the birth-place of abolitionism, but she was the center and home of all our manufacturing industries. The South resolved to destroy protection in order to destroy New England and protect slavery.

If New England had never aimed her shot and shell at the institutions of slavery, the South never would have built her fortifications of State rights, secession, and free trade. And in order to perpetuate slavery and make it profitable to the slave-owners, it was thought necessary for the South to buy cheap clothing in Europe for themselves and their slaves, and cheap food in the North, where no industry was to have an existence except that of agriculture. The North was to furnish the South food and the South was to furnish Europe cotton, and under this arrangement the South was not only to be the masters of the slave, but they were to be our masters as well. This is simply the way in which free trade came into American politics. It had its origin in Southern hatred for New England abolitionism, and ought to have ceased when the barbarism of slavery ceased. Hence free trade is nothing more or less than a fragment of the rebellion, and is as dangerous to the business of the country in 1888 as secession was in 1861; and if successful it will be as hateful in the statutes of the country as it was in the Confederate constitution which the rebellion sought to vindicate. Free trade has no more right to supplant our protective system than the Confederate constitution has to supplant the Constitution of the United States.

The protection of American industries is not a mere policy, a mere business question; it is a question of patriotism, a question of loyalty to the American flag, to the American laborer, and to the American home. It is a choice between self-defense and self-development on the one hand, and self-annihilation and self-destruction on the other. Upon its success or defeat will depend whether our people shall be the skilled laborers, artisans, and mechanics of the world, or whether they shall be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The protection of American labor, the building up of American industries, the protection of the American workshop, and the elevation of the American home is a national achievement, worthy the support of every American patriot. The protective system stands as a wall of fire between American laborers and the degraded, half-paid laborers of Europe.

THE SURPLUS HOBBY.

There has been in the United States Treasury, time and again since the war, as much surplus as there is now, and sometimes more, and yet this is the first time that any great ado has ever been made about it. Republican administrations simply paid it out, reduced the national debt and stopped the interest. President Cleveland could have done the same. He did pay out part of it, and refused to pay more on account of having some doubt about the validity of the law authorizing such payments. This law was passed as an amendment to an appropriation bill, and while this fact raised some doubts in his mind as to the propriety of such legislation, the law which increased his salary from \$25,000 to \$50,000 a year was passed in the same way, and I have never heard that he had any doubts about his right to draw the increase.

Mr. Chairman, this talk about the surplus deserves the contempt of all decent men. It is the merest sham, the hollowest pretext, the most contemptible subterfuge. This money was accumulated and held in the Treasury for a purpose. It is the result of a Democratic conspiracy to destroy our protective system. To this end the river and harbor bill

of the last Congress was defeated, the dependent pension bill and a hundred other pension bills were vetoed. The appropriation bills of the last Congress were made \$10,000,000 less than the actual expenses of the Government, the Blair educational bill, which had passed the Senate almost unanimously and which would have passed the House by a two-thirds vote, was throttled, in order to pile up money in the Treasury. And the men who did this point to the surplus as a peril to the country, and possibly meet in midnight conclave and laugh with ghoulish glee at the smoke and flame which their incendiary fires have created.

We all agree, Mr. Chairman, that the money ought not to be locked up in the Treasury; that it ought not to be withdrawn from the channels of trade; but we insist that there is no necessity for it being in the vaults of the Treasury; that it ought to have been applied to the payment of the national debt, and to the purposes of the General Government. Let us examine the extent of this surplus. The customs tax or tariff receipts last year amounted to \$217,000,000, the internal revenue amounted to \$118,000,000, and all other incomes to \$35,000,000, aggregating \$370,000,000. The Secretary of the Treasury estimates that the necessary expenses of the Government for the next year will amount to \$326,000,000 (using round numbers), leaving an actual annual surplus of \$44,000,000.

There is now in the Treasury a surplus of about \$60,000,000, and hence a year from now the surplus will amount to about \$100,000,000, unless the Treasury estimate is cut down by reduced appropriations. This is making no provision for the river and harbor bill which passed this House yesterday, which carries about \$20,000,000; no provision for the dependent pension bill, for the Blair educational bill, nor for any other like appropriations. And yet President Cleveland, in order to alarm the country and foist upon the people his free-trade heresy, discarded the precedents of a century, ignored the obligations of the Constitution, and substituted a free-trade bulletin for a Presidential message. And the Ways and Means Committee, in order to carry out the decree of their master, did what no committee of Congress ever did before, excluded the Republican members of their own committee, the members of the House, the members of the Senate, the farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, miners, laborers, and business men, hundreds of whom came here to be heard, and some of them came thousands of miles, from any participation in the preparation of this bill. The Republican members, made a part of the committee by the Constitution and laws of the country, were not permitted the privilege of crossing a "t" or dotting an "i" in this remarkable bill, nor did the chairman have the courtesy to make to them a polite bow and say, "By your leave, gentlemen." This bill was framed by Southern men to subserve Southern interests, as I shall hereafter show.

NO SURPLUS IN FACT.

Mr. Chairman, I do not understand what the Ways and Means Committee mean when they propose to reduce the surplus \$75,000,000 or \$100,000,000.

The outstanding interest-bearing debt is \$1,200,000,000. The present so-called surplus is only 5 per cent. of this sum, and if every dollar of it is held for this purpose it will not be sufficient to pay the 4½ per cent. bonds when they become due; and yet the country is thrown into a state of alarm and the destruction of the industries of the country is threatened because of this pretended surplus in the Treasury. We

need every dollar that is now in the Treasury and all that we can collect from existing laws, if we make proper use of it.

Our fortifications are falling into decay, our seaport cities are unprotected, our merchant marine should be rebuilt, the dark pall of illiteracy that now hangs over the Republic should be removed, the 28,000 Indian children that are now hiding in the mountains and caves of the West need compulsory industrial education, and last, but not least, there is in our midst a great army of men who laid the idol of their youth, the sunshine of their home, the joy of their hearts upon the altar of their country for whom this Government has made no provision whatever. And there are thousands of widows, who waited and watched and wept while their husbands wrecked their fortunes, their business prospects, and their health in following their country's flag wherever a battle was to be fought or a victory to be won, whose pension claims are daily rejected by the Government.

Dependent fathers and mothers whose brave sons sleep where no flowers are ever strewn, are daily falling into graves where no Government aid can ever reach them. That tall shaft that casts its shadow across this National Capital ought to remind us that George Washington left a still more enduring monument when he declared that every soldier who risked his life, the ruin of his fortune, and the happiness of his home in saving the life of his country, was entitled to ample provision for himself and his family through all the declining years of his life. This was Washington's kind of patriotism, and I pray that the day is not far distant when we shall have a man in the White House whose patriotism and sympathy for the soldiers of the country will be akin to that which moved the great heart of Washington.

The Democratic party is not in harmony in regard to the disposition of the surplus. In this House we are considering a bill that proposes to reduce the surplus; but in Indiana the late Democratic State convention, which nominated the chairman of the Invalid Pension Committee as its candidate for governor, has declared not only in favor of liberal legislation on the pension question, but in favor of a service-pension law. The platform reads as follows:

The Democratic party is the faithful friend of the soldiers, their widows and orphans, and in appreciation of the heroic and unselfish services of the Union soldiers and sailors, we declare in favor of liberal legislation in their behalf, including an enactment by Congress of a just and equitable service-pension law as a recognition of patriotism and a reward for honorable services rendered the Government.

I would like to inquire whether the other side of this House is in favor of a service pension, and if so whether all the surplus in the Treasury will not be needed for this purpose, and for the further purpose of equalizing bounties, paying arrears, paying prisoners of war, for paying the soldiers the difference between greenbacks and gold, and for such other liberal legislation as is contemplated in this Indiana Democratic platform? I would like to know how many on the other side of this House propose to stand by this newly fledged Democratic idea? I will answer. This platform is only meant to catch votes. Gabriel will blow his horn before the Democratic party will ever favor such legislation. It is the same scheme that was perpetrated in Ohio in 1883, when the Democratic party promised in its platform to restore the duty on wool. This pledge was a success in Ohio. The Democratic party carried the State, elected the governor, the Legislature, and a United States Senator, but the duty on wool was never restored. I think the soldiers of Indiana will scarcely be caught in so flimsy a net as a Democratic resolution.

This is not the first time, Mr. Chairman, that President Cleveland waked the echoes of the nation's danger by sounding an alarm. On the 24th day of February, 1885, eight days before his inauguration, he wrote a letter, addressed to a member of the House of Representatives, calling upon Congress to repeal the silver-coinage law, which required \$2,000,000 of silver to be coined each month. He announced the startling fact that gold and silver were about to part company; that the time of this separation was perilously near; that gold was about to be displaced by the excessive coinage of silver.

He depicted financial ruin, the disappearance of gold as a circulating medium, and all the horrors of an unprecedented contraction, which he said would follow the use of the so-called silver dollar in case the coinage of silver was not immediately stopped. The law was not repealed, gold did not disappear, but has grown more plentiful from that time to this, and the fearful contraction he foresaw never came. His Democratic brethren paid no attention to that alarm, and some of them will pay no attention to this.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the President a question. I would like to ask him this question: If the accumulation and retention of \$60,000,000 in the United States Treasury is a menace to trade and commerce, and liable at any moment to bring upon the country financial ruin, what effect would an annual drain of \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000 have upon the country if the balance of trade were that much against us, as it most certainly will be if this bill should become a law? Or, in other words, is a surplus of this amount locked up in the United States Treasury any more completely withdrawn from the pockets of the people than it would be locked up in the treasuries of Europe? Not a particle. If it was a good thing for the President to sound the alarm of the nation's danger when this surplus was sleeping quietly in the vaults of the Treasury, how much more important is it just now for him to arouse the nation and call the attention of the country to the fact that a bill is now under consideration in the American Congress that threatens to so increase our imports that \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000 a year will be permanently withdrawn from the United States. And should this bill pass, this annual drain of \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000 will go on from year to year until the nation is stranded, as it was before the war, when all of the gold that we had dug from the mines of California was carried across the seas to pay for foreign goods, and we were left without money and without credit.

Then there is another fact to be considered. The excess of our imports over our exports, which must necessarily be paid in gold, will destroy the equilibrium between gold and silver, enhance the value of gold, withdraw it from circulation, and cause a contraction of the currency of the country, which can only result in panic and distress. Here is a danger a hundred-fold more imminent and more to be dreaded than the existence of a surplus twice as large as the one now complained of. To send money out of the country to buy anything we can produce at home just as well as it can be produced abroad is a national calamity. It is just so much money thrown away. Money is more than wealth or property. It is the circulating medium of the country. It is the measure of values and means of exchange. Before we had a high protective tariff we were constantly buying more than we sold, and the consequence was that other countries were enriched at our expense.

Since we have had a high protective tariff the order has been reversed; we have sold more than we bought, and the consequence is that gold

and silver have flowed into our country, and we now have more gold and silver than any other country in the world. And this money that we absorb from other countries increases our capital, and is invested and reinvested, first in one enterprise and then in another, and the wealth and prosperity of the country will increase as long as this influx of money continues.

If the balance of trade should be against us, as it would be under this bill, long enough to reduce our stock of gold in the United States \$200,000,000, the value of the property in the United States would shrink at least 25 to 50 per cent. This would be an inevitable result.

No one will dispute that the volume of our money is the measure of our values; and when a great shrinkage comes, as came in 1857 from this same cause, and in 1873, when we were passing from inflation to resumption, the destruction of values and the bankruptcy of individuals must follow. Gentlemen on the other side talk a great deal about mortgages, as though they indicated the near approach of poverty and bankruptcy. This is not true. In times of prosperity they are the best security in the country, and these loans are alike beneficial to the mortgagor and the mortgagee. But when our tariff duties are reduced, and our imports exceed our exports, and our money goes abroad for foreign goods, and our volume of money becomes too small to do the business of the country, then it is that a mortgage ruins a mortgagor, because the mortgaged property is so reduced in value by the inevitable shrinkage that always follows this condition of trade that it will only sell at one-half its former value. A farm worth \$10,000 when our exports exceed our imports may only sell for \$5,000 when the current of trade is turned against us. This is what tariff tinkering does for poor men and for men who are in debt. How many thousands of men have passed through this same experience? Hence it is that we pay too much for the whistle we buy abroad, no matter how low the price.

If any one has any doubt about the reduction of tariff duties increasing our imports, and carrying just this much more money out of the country, let him look at the past. Since the war we have placed on the free-list imports which had paid in duties to the Government \$23,000,000 annually, and we reduced the duties on other articles \$55,000,000, and to-day the revenue from duties on imports is greater than at the close of the war, for the simple reason that a reduction of duties increases imports, and consequently increases the revenue. This is a result that can not be avoided, and it is the rock upon which every free-trade ship has been wrecked. And this is just as true of a family as it is of a nation. If a family buys more than it sells it will come to bankruptcy as certainly as the sun shines, and it is only a matter of time when this will occur—and after all a nation is only a great big family. If there is a sincere desire to reduce the revenue there are but two ways to do it; one way is to increase the free-list and the other is to increase the tariff. I favor the latter method.

CONFISCATION MEASURE.

Mr. Chairman, the Mills bill ought to be styled a confiscation act. That is what it will accomplish. Manufacturing establishments that cost hundreds of millions of dollars will be worthless if this bill becomes a law. Establishments that gave employment to labor and added greatly to the wealth and prosperity of the country will no longer have any value. This is the reciprocity which the South returns for the magnanimity of the North at the close of the war. Confiscation then was regarded as barbarous and cruel; now it is statesmanship and wis-

dom. That confiscation applied to the South; this applies to the North. The men who led the armies of the rebellion are now in the councils of the nation, and, instead of appreciating the magnanimity that restored to them their property and their citizenship, they now conspire to confiscate the private property of the manufacturers of the country. The South hated New England because it gave birth to abolitionism. Does it hate the manufacturers of the North because they made the suppression of the rebellion possible?

But it will be discovered that the confiscation of property will not be confined to the North alone. I have a copy of a letter addressed to the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee from the Crystal Plate Glass Works at St. Louis, Mo. The stockholders of this company declare that they invested their money in this business upon the faith they had that the Government would not reduce the existing tariff on plate-glass. Under this belief they have invested \$1,500,000 of capital, and at their works 30 miles below St. Louis, Crystal City has grown up, and is the home of their operatives. The stockholders, who are residents of Missouri, Ohio, Michigan, New York, and Connecticut, declare that if the reduction of the duty proposed in this bill is made they will be compelled to close their factory.

Although there are but four establishments in the United States manufacturing plate-glass, the price has been reduced one-half, and on some kinds fully two-thirds; and instead of a duty of \$1 per square foot increasing the price this much, as the President suggests, it has resulted in reducing the price of plate-glass fully \$1 per foot, and this has been the result in almost every instance where an American industry has been established.

These plate-glass factories which this bill is intended to destroy disburse in this country annually millions of dollars for labor and materials, every dollar of which remains in this country and goes to make a market alike for the farmer and the manufacturers, and prevents the importation of glass from abroad, which would carry many millions of dollars out of the country. What is this bill, then, but a measure of confiscation? The manufacturers of this country invested their money in these great enterprises, relying upon the integrity and good faith of the Government. Shall they be betrayed? Shall their property be destroyed?

ELEVATION OF THE MASSES.

Some gentlemen seem to think that the benefits of a protective tariff will cease when all countries adopt the same system. Great Britain is now almost the only free-trade country in the world, and yet she raises by a revenue tariff about \$100,000,000 a year. Instead of this being a reason why we should abandon our protective system, it is a reason why we should preserve it. A high protective tariff accompanied with wise and just laws is a method by which a government can elevate its citizens to a higher plane of civilization. The United States is doing this now, but we can not lift the whole world up. We make laws for our own country, but we can not make laws for other countries. Charity begins at home, and our first duty is to protect American labor increase its compensation as much as possible, protect the American market, patronize American manufactures, and keep at home American money.

Not only this, but a protective tariff is an element of national strength. The thrones and crowns of Europe are now facing the problem of taxation and debt as they never did before. The United States is the only government in the world that is reducing its national debt

and its aggregate taxation. In ten years we reduced our aggregate taxation about 10 per cent. In the same period Europe increased her taxation over 25 per cent. In the same time France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia increased their taxation an average of nearly 40 per cent.

In addition to increasing taxation, every country in Europe has been increasing its national debt, while under our protective system we are reducing our aggregate taxation, paying off our national debt, and have nothing to complain of but a surplus. But instead of guarding the welfare of the American Republic and watching the interests of the American people, we find this House engaged in an attempt to unfurl the British flag and open the American market to British free trade, and only about an hour ago it was charged on the floor of this House that Speaker CARLISLE is a member of the Cobden Club, and no Democrat dared deny it.

TIN-PLATES AND IRON ROOFING.

Mr. Chairman, if a duty of 2½ cents per pound were placed upon tin-plates, as was intended to be done by Congress a few years ago, sixty-six tin-plate works would be built in the United States and fifty thousand workmen would be at once employed in the manufacture of tin-plates in our own country. At present every tin pan, every tin bucket, and every tin kettle now used in the United States is made from tin-plates manufactured in Great Britain. If we were to have a war with England to settle the fishery dispute, or some other vexed question, we would have to go without tin buckets and tin pans until we could build our own works and manufacture our own tin-plates. Is it not a little humiliating that we must depend upon England for every sheet of tin-plate used in this country?

Since the first effort was made to protect this industry by adequate protection we have paid Great Britain \$225,000,000 for tin-plates alone, which gave \$180,000,000 of wages to English workmen. And we are to-day supporting in Great Britain, beneath the folds of the British flag, sixty-six tin-plate works and fifty thousand English workmen who devote their whole time in making tin-plates for American consumption. We import and consume the entire product of these sixty-six mills, which employ fifty thousand workmen. We purchase and import annually 70 per cent. of all the tin-plates made in England and Wales. Is this a wise policy? Is it right to send \$20,000,000 annually to England for tin-plates which we can make in this country as well as they can be made any place in the world, provided the American manufacturer is protected against the cheaper labor of Europe?

The ad valorem duty on pig-iron is 43 per cent., on scrap-iron is 56 per cent., on galvanized iron 60 per cent., and on common sheet-iron 75 per cent., while the duty on tin-plates, the highest grade of any of these articles, is only 22 per cent.; and now the Mills tariff bill proposes to place tin-plates on the free-list and disappoint the last hope of saving this great industry to American workmen.

From 1873 to 1878 we erected in Ohio and Pennsylvania, at great cost, several tin-plate works and made as good tin-plate as ever came from any country; but these mills were crushed by the English manufacturers, who reduced the price of tin-plates from \$14 to \$5 per box, and the fires had scarcely gone out of the crippled tin-plate works in Ohio and Pennsylvania until the English importer put up the price of tin-plates to his own liking. This, Mr. Chairman, is free trade in tin-plates. It admits the product of cheap European labor into our markets at a low price until it destroys competition, and then the foreigner

has a monopoly of the markets and gets his own price, and the money which rightfully belongs to the American manufacturer and to the American laborer goes to the European aristocrats who live on the blood of the hungry whose toil they steal and the tears of the down-trodden whose homes they blight.

The destruction of this great industry which would give employment to fifty thousand of our own people and support to nearly half a million more is not all that is embraced in this proposition to place tin-plates upon the free-list. It is intended by this reduction of duty on tin-plates to destroy the manufacture of sheet-iron and sheet-steel. There is couched in the Mills bill a secret stab at the manufacturers of sheet-iron and sheet-steel which does not appear on the surface. These products are apparently protected, while tin-plates, which are sheet-iron and sheet-steel coated with a thin film of tin, are placed on the free-list. There are now about 150,000 tons of sheet-iron made in the United States, while there are annually imported 280,000 tons of sheet-iron in the shape of tin-plates and terne-plates, which are sheet-iron covered with tin or a mixture of tin and lead. About one-third of the sheet-iron made in the United States is used for roofing and siding purposes, for which tin-plates can be substituted. What good will it do the manufacturer of sheet-iron or sheet-steel to have the highest protection on these products when tin-plates and terne-plates, which are composed of from 95 to 98 per cent. iron or steel and from 2 to 5 per cent. tin and lead, come in free? It seems to be the policy of this bill to slay not only the first-born of every American industry, but to take the life of the inmates of homes where the lintels and door-posts have been marked with the insignia of protection.

In Russia sheet-iron is used almost exclusively for roofing. The government buildings are all covered with iron roofing, and they are so made and so put on that they constitute the best roof in use, in the opinion of the Russian people and the Russian Government. The use of sheet-iron for roofing in this country is yet in its infancy, and yet there are many millions of dollars invested in it, and it already consumes and creates a demand for about one-third of the sheet-iron made in the sheet-iron mills of the country, an amount equal to the entire production of fifteen sheet-iron mills; and as timber and slate shall become more and more expensive this industry will demand a still greater product. But if tin-plates, which are 95 per cent. sheet-iron, are to come in free the effect will be not only to diminish the product of sheet-iron mills fully one-third, but it will destroy the sheet-iron and sheet-steel roofing business entirely.

This, Mr. Chairman, is what free tin-plates mean to the men engaged in iron and steel roofing, to the men engaged in the manufacture of sheet-iron and sheet-steel, and to the fifty thousand men who desire to make tin-plates on American soil and under the American flag. And the only reason why these industries are at the peril of foreign competition is that the foreign tin-plate workers are only paid about one-half the prices paid by the makers of tin-plates in this country. Is the aid of this great Government to be invoked to destroy these industries, or shall they have some sort of adequate protection?

FARMERS AND FARMING.

There is one branch of the tariff that I understand so thoroughly that it is not a matter of argument, but a matter of personal knowledge. I refer to the effect of a protective tariff upon a farming community. I was born on a farm in the Congressional district which I have the honor

to represent, and I know by experience what farm life is and what the needs of the farmer are, and having lived all my life in this district, I have seen the difference between a revenue tariff and a protective tariff in its effect upon the farmers of my district. I have seen the hardships, the privations, the rigid economies, the poverty, the bankruptcy, and the distress which existed under a Democratic revenue tariff, and I have seen the marvelous growth and prosperity which was developed by our system of protection.

Under the revenue tariffs of the Democratic party the farmers sold their wheat at 37½ cents a bushel, their corn at 15 or 20 cents, their horses at \$50 or \$60 per head, their cows at \$10 or \$12, and their eggs at 4 cents a dozen. Turnips, potatoes, apples, peaches, and pears rotted in the field for want of a market, and I have seen the time when there was absolutely no market for anything. Laboring men worked for 37½ cents per day, except in harvest, when they got 50 cents, and there was no eight-hour law then; a day's work was measured by the sun. There was only one skilled mechanic recognized in that day, and he was the cradler who cradled the wheat and oats and rye, and he got a dollar per day; but the man who cut with the scythe or sickle or thrashed with the flail only got 50 cents and worked from sun to sun. The great struggle with the farmer at that time was to get money enough to pay his taxes. If he could do this he was content to get along the best he could in supplying his other wants. His store bill, if he had any, was paid in grain, or pork, or beef, or some other product of the farm, and the laborer was paid with an order to the store. And while everything that he sold was cheap everything he bought was dear. Cotton cloth, calico, salt, nails, iron, steel, edged tools, etc., were a great deal higher than now.

The farms were as good as any I have ever seen in any State of this Union, and yet the farmers at that time raised their own wool, spun their own yarn, wove their own cloth, and made their own clothing. More boys went barefooted than wore shoes, more men went without overcoats in mid-winter than went with them, more people walked to church than rode in carriages; there were then more flannel dresses than silk, more sun-bonnets than velvet, more bare floors than carpeted, more walls without paper and pictures than with them, and a hundred-fold more hard work than leisure. Under the protective system, which this bill seeks to destroy, our farming community has grown and prospered. The homes of the farmers and the homes of the laborers are full of comforts and luxuries. Farms have increased in value, good markets and good prices have come to the farmer's door, and he now gets more for his small fruits and vegetables than he then got for all the products of the farm and field.

The district I now represent earns more, buys more, and consumes more than half of the State of Ohio did under a revenue tariff, and I believe has more money. The day laborers have more money in their pockets, see more, handle more, and use more than the wealthiest farmers did then. This is what protection does for the farmer, and the half is not told. And yet these free-traders who learn their wisdom from the Cobden Club, or from the British free-trade press that so warmly greeted the President's message, tell us that protection is robbing the farmer. The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee may talk in that way to the beardless stripling who knows no better, but he need not repeat that stale story to the gray-headed farmers of my district, whether they be Democrats or Republicans.

WOOL AND WOOLENS.

In the Forty-eighth Congress I made a speech on the tariff in which I said so much about wool, and so little about anything else, that my friends called my speech a "wool speech." At that time I was almost the only one that discussed the wool question at any length, but in this Congress no speech is considered complete without an elaborate discussion of this question. My constituents are largely engaged in wool-growing and are deeply interested in the protection of this industry. I have presented to this House memorials and resolutions from wool-growing associations, hundreds of petitions, signed by thousands of wool-growers and farmers, asking for the restoration of the duty of 1867, and for the modifications of the tariff laws agreed upon here in Washington, in January last, by the wool-growers and the woollen manufacturers; and I have been careful to have the body of these petitions and memorials printed in the RECORD, and I will say in addition, that these petitions and memorials represent the universal demand of the wool-growers and farmers of my district without reference to party or politics.

Mr. Chairman, I do not hesitate to say that the wool-growers and many of the wool manufacturers would feel very little interest in this bill if they thought its defeat would not be followed by certain other legislation which they have been heretofore demanding. These industries are already prostrate, and are almost beyond the reach of further injury. There is not a single woollen mill in the country that uses Ohio wool, or any good American wool of any kind, that has made a dollar this last year, unless it be some mill that is making some novelty or specialty, and most of these mills have lost money. Since the reduction of the duty in 1883 the number of sheep in this country has been reduced from 51,000,000 to 44,000,000; the annual wool product from 320,000,000 pounds to 260,000,000, and this reduction has extended to every State in the Union.

In 1882, the year before the duty was reduced, the amount of wool imported was 64,000,000 pounds; last year it amounted to 114,000,000 pounds.

The importations of woollen yarns during the year ending June 30, 1883, before the reduction took effect, amounted in value to \$433,000; in 1886 they amounted to \$2,283,000. Importations of worsted goods in 1883 amounted to \$963,000; in 1886 to \$5,295,000. The duties on these two items alone from 1883 to 1886 increased the surplus \$6,568,000. The United States in 1860 only consumed 86,000,000 pounds of wool; in 1886 it consumed 400,000,000 pounds, a development largely attributable to the growth of the American wool industry, an industry which is as much an American industry as any other on the continent, and yet to-day it lies mangled and bleeding for want of necessary legislation. Mr. Washington Belt, in his little pamphlet on wool, states that the loss which wool-growers would incur if wool were placed on the free-list would be as follows:

Shrinkage in the value of—

Lands.....	\$280,000,000
Labor.....	25,000,000
Flocks.....	25,000,000
Wools.....	25,000,000

Total loss to the wool industry..... 355,000,000

And all this loss is to be inflicted upon the wool-growers to keep \$6,000,000 out of the Treasury and to give manufacturers their raw material \$25,000,000 cheaper; and it is now a question whether the wool-growers shall lose \$355,000,000 or whether the manufacturers

shall annually pay \$25,000,000 more for their wool. Suppose manufacturers could save this sum by buying cheaper wool, who would be benefited? The manufacturers themselves declare against such a proposition. The signatures of 360 of the leading New England and Eastern manufacturers lie before me protesting against free raw materials. And I propose to quote from two of the most reliable New England manufacturers in proof of the fact that the woolen manufacturers are not asking for free raw material, but are protesting against it.

I will read an extract from some remarks made by Mr. Joseph P. Truitt, one of the best informed and one of the most conscientious manufacturers in New England:

I am opposed to that provision of the Mills tariff bill which admits wool free of duty, for the reason that free wool would be of no lasting benefit to the American manufacturer. It is stated as one of the principal reasons why this policy should be adopted that the manufacturer would obtain his wool so much cheaper.

If it is true that the abolition of wool duties would result in the cheapening of that article to the extent of the duty now paid, there is abundant reason for opposing it, for every pound of wool and every yard of goods now in the hands of dealers, merchants, and manufacturers would decline in value to a corresponding extent; and, as every sheep in the land must share in the depreciation, the immediate loss would be so great as to be almost incalculable. Every mill in the country would be compelled to stop: thousands of operatives now happily employed would be thrown upon the streets, and millions of yards of goods would be placed in the auction rooms for sale at prices that could only entail a fearful loss to the manufacturers; and while in this weakened condition the tide of foreign importation would come rushing in like some vast tidal wave, stifling and burying out of sight the industries of America, and years might elapse before they again recovered from the evil effects of this ill-advised measure.

Free raw material is the pioneer of free goods, for we can not expect that the wool-grower will consent to a policy of protection which embraces everything he buys and excludes every article which he produces and wants to sell.

The success of woolen manufacturing in this country is founded upon sheep husbandry at home, and the wool-grower is just as much entitled to protection upon the wool in which he invests his capital and which he exerts his skill to produce as the manufacturer who asks for a tariff in order that he may put it into goods; and I conceive that it is not only fair and honest, but that the very success of our business depends upon the support we give to the wool-grower. To admit wool free of duty means nothing more or less than the destruction of sheep-raising for wool in America.

We have seen the clip of this country grow under a protective tariff from 160,000,000 pounds in 1866 to about 320,000,000 in 1883, and we have also seen it decline under a badly constructed tariff to 265,000,000 at the present time. If it decreased at such a rapid rate when only a slight reduction was made, at what a frightful speed will it disappear when all protection is removed. Already the sheep are being killed off; wools costing 30 cents to raise are being sold at from 22 to 26 cents; the wool-grower is alarmed, and shows that he feels his loss by retiring from the business.

Without going into figures to show how certainly the clip is shrinking I will state that I am opposed to free wool for the reason, above all others, that it would inevitably destroy wool-growing in America, thus leaving us entirely dependent upon foreign markets for our supply. This would be no benefit to us, for instead of obtaining our wool cheaper than we do now we would have to pay more. At present we have our home clip to fall back on when we can not buy wool abroad, but then we would have but one market in which to buy and we would be compelled to compete with European buyers, who have many advantages over us. At present we only have to buy about 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 pounds of clothing and combing wool abroad, and then we would have to buy over 300,000,000 pounds, provided our mills were able to run at all. This does not include carpet wools.

If the price of wool in London is now 14 pence, it would unquestionably advance upon the appearance of American buyers for 300,000,000 pounds of wool. How much that advance would be no one can say, but it is generally believed it would be so great as to deprive us of all advantage that free wool might be supposed to bestow.

The only sheep that our farmers would probably be obliged to keep would be those known as mutton sheep, which grow medium and low-grade wools. Merino sheep would disappear entirely, so that all fine wools for delaines, fine worsted coatings, and knit-goods would have to be brought from abroad. So

long as plenty of wool grows in Australia and South America this would be all right, but when some calamity happened reducing the clip, and wool consequently advanced, we would long for the wool clip of America which was so ruthlessly destroyed by this bill which is before us.

I believe, then, that all the promises of relief based upon free wool in this bill are a fraud and unreliable. It is not true that we would obtain our wool cheaper. It is true that we would lose our home wools. It would not give the citizen a suit of clothes one dollar cheaper, and it would reduce his wages more than by any means he could hope to gain. It would result in free-manufactured goods, for the farmer would never rest, if you made wool free, until he made goods free. I believe in the old motto, "United we stand, divided we fall." The wool-grower and manufacturer together can stand against all the assaults of politicians, and I am therefore in favor of protection from the lamb in the field to the clothes on our backs; and I desire now to enter my emphatic disapproval of free wool.

I desire also to read an extract from a statement made to the Boston Herald by Mr. James Phillips, a well-known and trustworthy manufacturer of Fitchburgh, Mass. He says:

It has been clearly demonstrated by those who have studied the subject historically and statistically in all its details, that without protection the wool-growing industry of the United States will be destroyed; that under normal conditions a sufficiently high protective tariff will make the industry remunerative and prosperous; and that when under a protective tariff the prices of wool have been so low as to make wool-growing unremunerative, it has resulted not from the tariff, but from abnormal conditions, and but for the tariff the decline of the industry would have been much greater.

It is hardly possible to present the facts which point unmistakably to these conclusions in the present discussion, but in a general way it may be stated that precisely the same reason which makes it impossible for the woolen manufacturer in the United States to compete with woolen manufacturers in foreign countries, namely, the difference in cost of labor, enters into the problem of wool-growing. In other words, the cost of labor engaged in wool-growing in South America, in Australia, in Russia, and in other countries is much less than in the United States. Then, the cost of pasturage in those countries is less than in our own, to say nothing of climatic differences which make it necessary for us to feed and care for our sheep during the cold winter months. All these facts have been brought out in an unmistakable way by the

WOOL-GROWERS OF THE COUNTRY.

They have made as good a case in favor of protection as can possibly be made by any other industry. There can be no doubt of this. If this is admitted, and even free-traders must admit it, then I claim that it is impossible for any man who considers himself a protectionist, let alone any manufacturer who asks for protection for his goods, to discount his own arguments by denying the statistical evidence presented by the wool-growers of the United States. The history of the development of wool-growing in the United States is the same as that of any other protected industry. Its growth began when a tariff was enacted that enabled the American producer to compete with his foreign rival; that encouraged him to go ahead and improve the breed and quality of his sheep and increase the weight of its fleece. Like the other industries, the wool industry reduced when the protective barrier was lowered, and increased and developed rapidly when the tariff of 1867 secured for the American wool-grower the American market, until, in 1883, our flocks, stimulated by the tariff, reached over 50,000,000 sheep, and the product of the wool, in pounds, was 305,000,000.

Then came the fatal reduction in 1883, together with the importation abuses in the form of "ring waste" and "noils," and from that time to the present the number of sheep has declined, the wool product has decreased, and our native product has been supplanted by the foreign. These are simple facts which must be faced, and the point I wish to emphasize is, that these facts can not be construed one way for wool-growers and another way for wool manufacturers. As we now stand our annual consumption of foreign wool aggregates about 100,000,000 pounds. Of this, however, probably 80,000,000 pounds are carpet wools, largely of a kind not raised here. Our own product, which under adequate protection should be about 300,000,000 pounds, with about 20,000,000 pounds of imported wools of similar quality, supplies what we need at the present time for home manufactures of clothing and for other purposes.

Practically, therefore, our home supply of wool is nearly equal to the home demand for clothing purposes, and with adequate protection will undoubtedly continue to be so, and soon fully supply this demand. The value of the wool product is about \$100,000,000 per annum, depending on the market prices. Wool is the sixth in order of value among the agricultural products, being exceeded only by corn, hay, wheat, cotton, and oats. Only one country in the world, Australia, excels us in the quantity of wool produced.

We who live in manufacturing States, which only produce 1,250,000 sheep, are apt to underestimate the importance and the ramifications of this great industry throughout the agricultural regions of the country. One hundred millions annually. What does that mean to the farmers of the United States? Well, suppose that by the passage of this free-trade bill this industry is seriously injured or destroyed, what will be the consequence to the farmer? Anything which impairs the prosperity of a country is damaging to the interests of that country, and

YOU CAN NOT INJURE A PART

of a country without the effects being felt in other parts, any more than you can develop and make prosperous a part of a country without that development and prosperity benefiting the country as a whole. The wool product, as I have shown, is one of the most important, and it furnishes to its producers the means for purchasing our manufactured articles.

Were this industry destroyed it would deprive them of the purchasing power, and the loss of this home market would depress the value of woollen products far in the excess of any advantage that would be gained by giving the manufacturer his wool at a lower price. The immediate effect of admitting wool free would undoubtedly be to depress its value, but as soon as this effect had been accomplished, and the wool industry of this country paralyzed or exterminated, the secondary effect would be a material advance in price, growing out of the absence of competition among American wool producers and the increase of the American demand for foreign wool. This effect would be felt for many years, and until the growth and production in barbarous countries had increased in proportion to the increase in the American demand. The final result would be that in place of an industry furnishing now \$100,000,000 annually to our people in cash, with which to purchase commodities manufactured at home, the growth and development of the wool industry in barbarous countries all over the world would have been encouraged to such an extent that it would be almost impossible ever again to develop the industry in this country except by the re-enactment and permanent establishment of a high protective tariff. Even then it would take a long series of years to bring the wool production of this country up to its present proportions.

Referring to the distribution of this industry, it is perhaps necessary to call attention to the fact that no one agricultural product is so widely and uniformly distributed as that of wool-growing. In 1886 New England produced about 1,250,000 sheep; the Middle States, 3,000,000 sheep; the Southern States, 11,000,000; the Western States, 15,000,000; the Pacific Coast, 10,000,000, and the Territories, 7,500,000; total, 47,750,000. The importance of the wool-growing industry and its advantages to the farmers of our whole country are apparent from the above figures. Nearly all the products of the small farmer, by far the most numerous class, are consumed by the farmers themselves and their families. They can not eat or wear the wool they raise, so they sell it, and it forms, among the majority of farmers, their principal cash resource for the purchase of clothing and all other manufactured articles.

I have quoted at length from these two gentlemen for the reason that they are experienced manufacturers and have a personal knowledge of the wool industry.

Mr. Chairman, the reduction of the duty on wool and woollens in 1883, a measure I voted against, and a measure which is now deplored by all protectionists, is not the only cause of the prostration of these industries. The shameless interpretations and constructions of the Treasury Department have reduced the price of wool more than the reduction of the duty itself. One great wrong was inflicted upon this industry in the refusal of the Treasury officials to hold that worsted goods are woollen goods. They are made entirely of wool, and are as much woollen goods as cloth made of cotton is cotton cloth. And this distinction between woollen and worsted goods let in millions of dollars' worth of so-called worsted goods at a reduced duty, and to this extent destroyed the demand for good wool. Another Treasury decision let in lap waste, a sample of which I have before me, at 10 cents per pound when the duty should be 30 cents, as it is the very highest grade of wool and thoroughly scoured. I received this sample from Justice, Bateman & Co., wool merchants of Philadelphia, Pa., and I shall read their letter in regard to it:

PHILADELPHIA, April 23, 1888.

DEAR SIR: We send you a sample received this day from Liverpool, marked No. 1, which is lap waste such as by the recent decision comes in at 10 cents per

pound duty, instead of 30 cents. This wool is selling in England at 50 cents free on board, duty 10 cents per pound, while the wool from which it is made costs 11½ pence, or 23 cents in the grease. The shrinkage is 51 per cent., and the scoured cost 47 cents, so you see that waste is 3 cents per pound higher than scoured wool in Liverpool. This is made up of broken pieces of top. The Mills bill admits top free, therefore this article will be free, and as 90 per cent. of Ohio wool is used for worsted purposes and the first process is to make it into top, under the Mills bill tops being free, they will be made in Europe. Therefore what is to become of the 90 per cent. of Ohio wool which at present enters into the manufacture of such tops as are made in the United States?

Very truly yours,

JUSTICE, BATEMAN & CO.

Hon. JOS. D. TAYLOR,
Washington, D. C.

Here is another sample, called tops, which ought to be classified as a manufacture of wool, as it is thoroughly scoured and partly manufactured, and yet it is only charged a duty of 10 cents per pound, whereas scoured wool, under the law, pays 30 cents per pound, and there was as much of this brought in last year as the whole wool crop of Pennsylvania.

The importation of this lap waste and tops at 10 cents per pound has the same result as letting in fleece wool at 3½ cents per pound, as it takes 3 pounds of unwashed wool to make 1 pound of this, and even more, as this is the very best of the wool. Messrs. Justice, Bateman & Co. say in another letter that—

Ninety per cent. of the wool of Ohio enters into tops, and if the tops are to be made abroad, as they will be if on the free-list, it will be a very much more serious blow to Ohio wool-growers than the friends of the Mills bill ever contemplated.

The cause of low prices and dull sales in the wool market is found partly in the crippled condition of woolen manufactories, partly in the discriminations against home productions, partly in the injustice of the law of 1883, which reduced the duty on woolen goods as well as on wool, partly in the use, by means of improved machinery, of carpet wools for clothing, but none of these, nor all of them put together are doing as much harm to the wool grower as the unfriendly and unjust rulings of the Treasury Department to which I have just called your attention.

Mr. Chairman, I have received a good many newspaper articles in relation to the magnanimity of the Texas people, which the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee professes to represent. It is said that Texas has more sheep than New York and New England both, and yet it is said that Texas is in favor of free wool. I have clipped from the New York Sun, a Democratic newspaper, the following article, containing resolutions adopted by the Cattlemen's Association of Western Texas, which I shall read:

MILLS ATTACKED AT HOME—THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF WESTERN TEXAS.

The spirited resolutions adopted by the Cattlemen's Association of Central Texas, at their convention at Waco, had better be kept from Hon. ROGER Q. MILLS for the present, unless the health of the statesman's nervous system has been pretty well re-established.

The preamble of the resolutions adopted by Mr. MILLS's constituents holds him responsible for a tariff measure which retains the duty on fencing wire while removing the duty from the flocks the fences inclose; which puts hides on the free-list, while retaining the duty on manufactured leather; which does not materially interfere with the duty on woolen goods, but wipes out the tariff on raw wool; and which, in short, would destroy the cattle and woolraisers' interests. The resolutions then go on to declare that Mr. MILLS "does not represent the Ninth district nor the State of Texas in his position, and that his course tends to destroy the material industries of his constituency." We quote further from the text of the resolutions adopted by Mr. MILLS's wool-raising constituents:

We deprecate the course of Mr. MILLS, and put ourselves on record in hearty condemnation of his conduct and his bill.

We consider his action in rendering protection to the powerful and pampered industries of the East and North, and withholding it from the struggling industries of his own constituency, undemocratic, unpatriotic, and unrepresentative.

We condemn the Providence speech of Mr. MILLS, wherein he guaranteed protection to the Rhode Island people and agreed to rob the Texas people.

Forsaken by our Representative, we urge upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to work against the Mills bill, and we call upon all good men from other States to protect Texas, if her own Representatives fail to do so.

Protection on raw wool is purely a protection to the producer, the farmer, as well as the sheep man, and should be maintained; and, finally,

If Mr. MILLS persists in and urges the proposed removal of the duty on wool and hides, it is the sense of this, a representative body of his constituency, that he abdicate his seat, and hereafter we will withhold our support at the ballot-box and elsewhere.

I have in my hand a circular of Justice, Batemen & Co. giving the present prices of wools and the prices at which the same wool will sell if placed on the free-list. I will only give the prices of four classes of unwashed and four classes of washed clothing wool.

Classes.	Average market price in Philadelphia, May, 1888, under tariff act of 1883.	Free wool prices for American fleeces on basis of secured value of competing grades in London, May, 1888.
Unwashed clothing:		
Fine unmerchantable, XX and above, Ohio.....	22	13
Fine unmerchantable, X and above, Michigan.....	21	12
Fine unwashed clothing, XX and above, choice.....	20	13
Fine unwashed, X and above, average.....	19	12
Washed clothing:		
Ohio and Pennsylvania XX and above, choice.....	30	18
Ohio and Pennsylvania XX and above, average.....	29	17
Ohio and Pennsylvania X.....	29	17
Ohio and Pennsylvania medium, three-eighths to one-half blood.....	36	27

There is another cause for the depreciation of wool which I have discovered, and I do not think that the wool-growers have any appreciation of the extent of it. I refer to the use of carpet wools in the manufacture of clothing. Washed carpet wools which only pay 3 cents per pound duty can be used in the manufacture of many kinds of clothing, and clothing, too, that comes into competition with the products of woolen mills that use high-priced wool. I refer to this simply in proof of existing wrongs.

But, Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the House to a discrepancy in the Democratic party. In Ohio the Democratic press is in favor of the Mills bill because they say that it will increase the price of wool to place it on the free-list, and in proof of this they refer to the depressed prices of wool after the passage of the law of 1867, while the Ways and Means Committee and the President's message declare that the object of placing wool on the free-list is to enable the manufacturer to obtain cheap wool.

The answer to this is found in the fact that the prices of wool in London fix the prices of wool all over the world, including the United States. And when the prices of the world fell the prices of wool in the United States fell also, and the prices of wool in the United States would have fallen as low as the price in the markets of the world but for our tariff and the premium on gold. It was because wool declined in London that the American price of wool declined from 70 to 50 cents, and but for the tariff of 1867 and the premium on gold our wool would have gone down from 70 cents currency to 18 cents gold, as it did in London. It was not protection that reduced the price of wool, but the enormous increase of sheep in the Argentine Republic and in Australia, where sheep have increased from 40,000,000 in 1858 to 320,000,000 in 1887; and as this increase of wool progressed the price of wool in the markets of the world declined, the supply of wool rising and the price of wool falling, and in this way the price of wool all over the world, including the United States, was brought down, and but for the tariff and the premium on gold it would have gone still lower.

When wool the same in quality as our XX Ohio washed wool will sell in London at 18 or 20 cents a pound, American money, it is impossible for American wool-growers to compete in the markets of the world. The Argentine Republic and Australia, where a league of land can be bought for a few hundred dollars, where labor is worth only a few pennies a day, and where sheep live on pasture all the year through, have advantages that we have not, and unless the wool-growers of this country are adequately protected the waste lands which can only be used for feeding sheep will be worthless, the American flocks will be destroyed, a million men will be robbed of their employment, several millions of people will lose their means of support, and \$100,000,000 a year will be sent out of the country for wool.

MANUFACTURE OF STARCH.

There is another industry in which the farmers of this country are interested that this bill aims to destroy. I refer to the manufacture of starch, which furnishes to the farmer a market for his corn. The following figures can be depended upon as showing the importance and extent of this industry in the United States at the present time:

Number of corn-starch factories	24
Capital invested	\$10,000,000
Daily capacity, bushels of corn	40,000
Annual capacity, bushels of corn	12,480,000
Acres of land required to raise corn, at 26 bushels per acre	480,000
Farmers necessary to raise corn, 3 men per 100 acres	14,400
Annual capacity, pounds of starch	361,920,000
Value of starch produced annually	\$12,476,800
Laborers employed in factories	3,500
Amount of wages paid annually	\$1,638,500
Average rate of wages per day	\$1.50

The present duty on starch is 2 cents per pound, and this bill proposes to reduce the duty to 1 cent per pound, but does not propose to reduce the duty on corn, which is the starch-maker's raw material. Why should the duty on starch be reduced? There is no starch manufacturer in the United States to-day making 5 per cent. on his capital stock, and I know personally that many of them are losing money. The average sales of the manufacturers for the past year will not exceed 4 cents per pound, which is the average export price for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887, and at this time is about the average cost of production. A bushel of corn will yield 28 pounds of starch, and

when the corn costs 56 cents per bushel, the starch in the corn will cost 2 cents per pound. The labor and chemicals employed will cost $1\frac{3}{8}$ cents per pound. Insurance, transportation, taxes, and a very small profit will consume the other five-eighths of a cent.

If the duty on starch is reduced as proposed it will utterly destroy this industry. Who is complaining of the price of starch? It was never so cheap before in the world. The only object of reducing the duty is to let in potato starch from Germany, where the average wages in starch factories is 60 cents a day, as against \$1.50 a day in this country. I hold in my hand a late German paper giving the present price of potato starch at Berlin and Hamburg, the two great centers of Europe for potato starch; and this selling quotation reduced to American money is \$1.94 per hundred pounds. Adding freight from Berlin to New York City, 12 cents per hundred, would make the cost of European potato starch laid down in New York or Boston \$2.06 per hundred, which is less than the cost of the corn at the present time, without taking into account the cost of manufacturing. Hence it is evident that this reduction of the duty on starch of 1 cent per pound will destroy this industry, increase imports, send our money abroad for starch, and greatly increase the surplus.

THE HOME MARKET.

The discussion of the tariff question resolves itself simply into this inquiry: Shall the alien or foreigner, to whom we are under no legal obligations, who neither fight our battles in time of war nor pay our taxes in time of peace, have access to our markets on the same terms as an American? This is what England wants; this is what the Cobden Club wants; this is what free-traders want.

As well might the Englishman ask to ride on our railways free of fare, or stay at our hotels free of charge. The privilege of selling in the American markets is a franchise of great value, and belongs as a matter of right only to Americans. There is no other such market beneath the circle of the sun. And why? Simply because our laboring people are better paid than the laboring people of any other country in the world. Go to any city or town or village and inquire why the people buy so much and the answer will be, because poor people are well paid. They will tell you that the market is not made good by the few rich men who live in it, but by the masses of poor people who labor for a living.

The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means declared a great truth in his Texas speech when he stated that we consume more of the products of our own labor than the 200,000,000 people on the continent of Europe. That is true. There is no people in the world that buy as much, or eat as much, or wear as much, or live as well as Americans do, and what men earn is the measure of what they consume, and this is why the American market is the best in the world. The annual products of the farm are estimated at \$8,000,000,000 and the manufacturers at \$7,000,000,000—an aggregate of \$15,000,000,000, and all this is consumed in this country except about 6 per cent.

Why should we surrender to the world a market like this with a prospect of getting others in return? We had better aim to occupy our own market as nearly as we can. There is now imported into this country \$45,000,000 worth of woolen goods which we should manufacture at home, and out of our own wool. There is imported into this country annually about \$300,000,000 of other articles that ought to be manufactured in this country. And if we could do this

and keep this money at home, we would have very little need of a foreign market or of a foreign trade. But they tell us that this is narrow philanthropy; that broad statesmanship embraces the whole world, and not a little Republic like ours. But I remember that about two thousand years ago a free-trade scientist propounded this question, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not?" The ringing answer has come down through the centuries, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Two thousand years later we will make the same response; we will be just to all nations and all lands; we will render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto America the things that belong to America.

There is a way, Mr. Chairman, in which our export trade can be increased, and I would like to suggest it to the other side of this House. The way to build up an export trade is to build up a merchant marine, to place American ships on every sea, and to send American seamen into every port, until there will not be a harbor in the civilized world where our flag will not wave or where our wares will not be seen.

TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

There is one thing, Mr. Chairman, that is not at all surprising, and that is that all the changes should be rung upon trusts, pools, combinations, monopolies, and strikes. This has been the stock in trade of the Democratic party so long that it has grown old and musty. The stench of it is offensive, and the sound of it disgusting. A trust may be a good thing or it may be a bad thing, depending altogether on its purpose, but neither trusts nor pools nor combinations nor strikes have been fostered by protection. They have afflicted free-trade England just as much as they have America. And experience has shown us that where a trust or combination is not destroyed by its own weight it is cured by competition, and if legislation is necessary to check any unjust combination I am ready to grant it.

But what has the tariff to do with trusts or strikes or monopolies? Did the tariff have anything to do with the whisky trust or the Standard Oil trust or with the cotton-seed oil trust? Not a particle. It certainly had nothing to do with the coffee trust, for coffee was on the free-list, and if the tariff has had anything to do with the sugar trust why does not this bill place sugar on the free-list, where it ought to be? The idea of a manufacturing establishment which every town and village in this broad land will welcome as a Godsend, with offers of land and money and exemption from taxes, being a monopoly when the business is open to every man alike, is too absurd for consideration. The man who has a patent right has a monopoly of his invention for seventeen years. The man who has written a book has a monopoly of his copyright, but no manufacturing establishment is a monopoly. The business is open to all. The tendency of protection is right the other way.

The multiplicity of factories, their wide distribution over the country, and their close proximity and relationship to the consumer, make unreasonable combinations impossible; while articles manufactured abroad fall into the hands of a few importers who can very easily combine and fix their own prices, as they have done a thousand times already.

THE MYSTERY OF PROTECTION.

The argument against protection to which the demagogue usually resorts is ridicule. He wants to know how it is that protection will cheapen cloth and raise the price of wool? how it is that protection will cheapen hats and caps and raise the price of labor? I would say in reply that the object of a protective tariff is not for the purpose of

cheapening anything. That is not its aim, though it often is the effect. The object of a protective tariff is to diversify labor, to equalize emoluments, to secure a just recognition of individual rights, and a fair distribution of accruing benefits. To accomplish this we must protect American labor. In doing this we bring the producer and the consumer together, get rid of middlemen, and save transportation. This gives to the farmer a market for his crops which are perishable, and saves the freights on those that are not. If we were to feed 3,000,000 operatives in Europe, they might pay there enormous prices for our agricultural products and yet the farmer here receive a mere pittance; but when we bring these manufacturers to our doors a lower price than they paid there will be a high price to the farmer here, and a benefit to both.

The cheapness of manufactured products comes largely from the use of machinery, the sharpness of competition, and the saving of transportation. And the wisdom of good wages to the laboring man and good prices to the farmer is found not only in the benefit to them, but in the benefit which accrues to the capitalist and to the country in the creation of a market which has no parallel in the world's history, for all classes become consumers and add to the common prosperity of rich and poor alike. It does not satisfy hunger to tell a man that bread is 4 cents a loaf if he has no 4 cents. It will not keep away the chill of winter to tell a family that blankets are \$3 a pair if they have no means of getting the \$3. It is not a question whether we shall pay this price or that; but the question is, how shall we get the means with which to buy? How can we best provide for ourselves and our families? Under what system can we obtain the best home, the best food and raiment, and the most of this world's blessings? What plan has given the best results? Go to yonder immigrant, who is only one of a half-million who land on our shores every year, and ask him—look into the pale faces of his half-clad wife and children and ask them.

WHO PAYS THE DUTY?

The President in his message and the speakers on this floor declare that the consumer or purchaser of a dutiable article pays the amount of the duty in addition to the cost of production, no matter whether the article is imported or not; or, in other words, that the duty on the imported article raises the price of the American product of the same article an amount equal to the duty. If this is true, omitting freight, the price of the article here would always be obtained by adding the duty to the price in London or Liverpool. And the price in London or Liverpool would always be ascertained by subtracting the duty from the price here. This being admitted, let us test this theory. The price of a certain quality of cotton cloth is 8 cents a yard in London, and the duty is 5 cents a yard. These added together, according to the free-trade theory, would give us as the American price 13 cents a yard; but we find that we can buy the same quality of goods here as cheap as in London. Take the price here, 8 cents, subtract the duty, 5 cents, and it will give 3 cents as the price in London; but it can not be bought in London any less than 8 cents, the price here. - Take corn-starch. The duty on it is 2 cents a pound. The wholesale price here is 4 cents a pound. Subtract the duty from the price here and it will give the price in London at 2 cents a pound; but corn-starch in London is 5 cents a pound. Take the London price of starch at 5 cents a pound and add 2 cents duty to it and this would make the price of corn-starch here 7 cents a pound. 3 cents too much.

The price of steel rails in this country is \$31.50 a ton. The duty is

\$17 and the freight \$2.50, making \$19.50 tax on imported rails. This deducted from \$31.50, according to the free-trade theory of the President, leaves \$12 as the British price of steel rails; but instead of this the British price is \$20 instead of \$12.

The steel-rail industry owes its existence in this country to the high tariff of \$28 per ton, under which the price came down and down until steel rails were sold at \$27 per ton; \$1 less than the duty. Take still another illustration. The duty on cut nails is \$1.25 a keg and the American price is \$2 a keg of 100 pounds. If the President's theory is right these nails ought to be bought in Europe at 75 cents a keg, but they can not be bought any place in the world for such figures. Cut nails have been sold in this country at \$1.85 when the duty was \$1.50 a keg. Chloroform sells for 35 cents a pound while the duty is 50 cents a pound; and there are many articles that sell for less than the duty. At the time a heavy duty is placed upon an import the price may go up, but when its manufacture is once firmly established in this country it will just as certainly come down, and when an article is placed upon the free-list the price may for the time go down, but as soon as American competition ceases it will just as certainly go up.

Take wool for an example. If it should be placed on the free-list the price will immediately go down about 10 cents a pound; but when the American wool industry shall have been destroyed, when the American wool-growers shall have gone into bankruptcy, when the world's product of wool shall be lessened by the destruction of the American crop, the price of wool will be higher than it has been in many years. And although we would then restore the duty it would take a great many years to build up the wool industry again and we would be left for a great while at the mercy of the importers. Take one hundred articles in common use in your home, in your family, and in your business, and compare the present prices under a protective tariff with the prices of any revenue period in the past, and the prices of ninety-five of these articles will be 100 per cent. lower than they were then, and some of them will be 500 per cent. lower, and a great deal better, while wages are higher than they have been during this century. The foreign manufacturer and the importer are compelled to pay these duties after competition has once gained a foothold in this country. America is the dumping-ground for foreign manufacturers, and they send their surplus here and sell it at any price they can get.

I want to say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that there are other industries in my district, such as glass, potteries, etc., seriously affected by this bill, and I shall have something to say of them when we come to consider the bill under the five-minute rule, when amendments will be in order. I want now to protest against this bill as being intensely sectional, offensively partisan, and grossly inconsistent. Why is it that an iron hoop that goes around a bale of cotton is placed upon the free-list and an iron hoop that goes around a bale of hay is made to pay a duty? Why is it that the duty on sugar is retained at a high rate while wool is placed on the free-list? Why is it that the rice of the South is given a high rate of protection while the lumber of the North is placed on the free-list? Why are the rice and sugar and cotton plantations of the South protected, while farms and forests of the North are turned over to the tender mercies of free trade?

And I desire also, Mr. Chairman, to protest against that feature of this bill which substitutes *ad valorem* for specific duties, a change which can only invite undervaluation, perjury, and fraud, and ultimately bring the whole protective system into contempt and failure;

and I am willing to base my objections to this change upon the reasons given in Secretary Manning's report. But more than all, Mr. Chairman, I protest against the passage of this bill because of its effect upon the industries and the labor of the country. The effects of this bill would not be confined to manufacturing. While we are here to-day discussing this question, the mason with his trowel, the carpenter with his hatchet, the painter with his brush, the miner with his pick, and the laborer with his shovel, are no longer able to get employment because the improvements of the country have been paralyzed by this bill. And behind these brawny laborers stand anxious wives, with wrenched hands and tearful eyes, anxiously inquiring whether their food and raiment are going to be parceled out between the laborers of America and the paupers of Europe. In this bill they see, as they see the stars in the heavens above, the coming destruction of American industries and the desolation of the American home.

But I am glad of one thing, Mr. Chairman, and that is that we are not, in the approaching campaign, to have the usual Democratic straddle on the tariff question. The President has taken the party shackles into his own hands, and has fastened one end of the party chain to the foot of British free trade and has welded the other around the neck of the Democratic party. Wherever free trade leads the Democratic party will follow. The President's organ has announced that the Democratic protectionists will be taken from the head of the procession and sent to the rear to do hosital duty. Think of the men who have given to the Democratic party all the character it has had in twenty years bathing the foreheads, washing the feet, and paring the corns of the free-trade Democrats whom the President and the Speaker of this House have so recently made the leaders of the Democratic party!

Mr. Chairman, if Henry Clay could compare the seven years before the tariff of 1824 with the seven years that followed as a vindication of the wisdom of protection, the Republican party of to-day only needs to compare the twenty-four years that followed the tariff of 1861 with the twenty-four years preceding it. When this comparison is made the world listens, the thrones of Europe tremble, the down-trodden of every nation and kindred and tongue take courage. The sunshine and rain and dews of America have been fresher and sweeter than ever before. The hearts and hopes and homes of the poor have been lifted up. Bands of steel and bands of sympathy have bound sixty millions of people together as humanity was never interwoven before. The mountains of iron and coal and copper join hands with capital and toil and skill, and the sickly Republic which the Democrats deserted in 1861 is to-day the foremost nation in the world. America, in her gold, in her silver, in her agricultural products, in her manufactured products, in her railroads and telegraphs and telephones, in her colleges and schools and churches, in all that go to make a great nation and a great people, has outgrown all the empires and kingdoms and nations of the planet we inhabit.

The Republican party lifted the old starry flag from the mud into which the Democratic party had trodden it and placed it above all the flags of God's green earth. On sea and on land, at home and abroad, the Republic has won honor and respect. And when the world's great volume of national immortality is written, and when the political parties of the ages are assigned their places in the world's history, at the head of the column will stand the name and deeds and triumphs of the Republican party. [Applause.]

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