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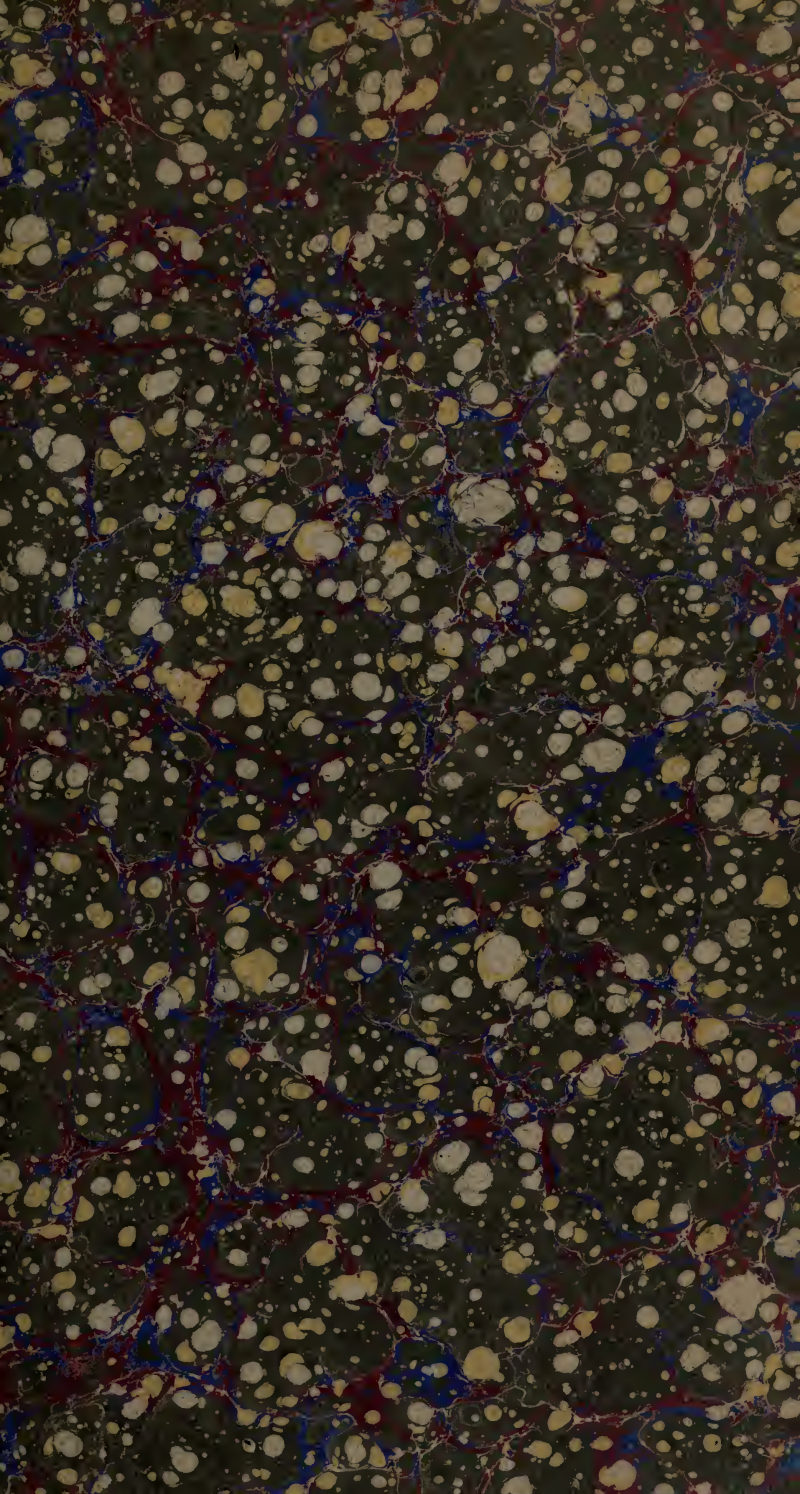


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WOOL TARIFF.



HON. OSCAR L. JACKSON

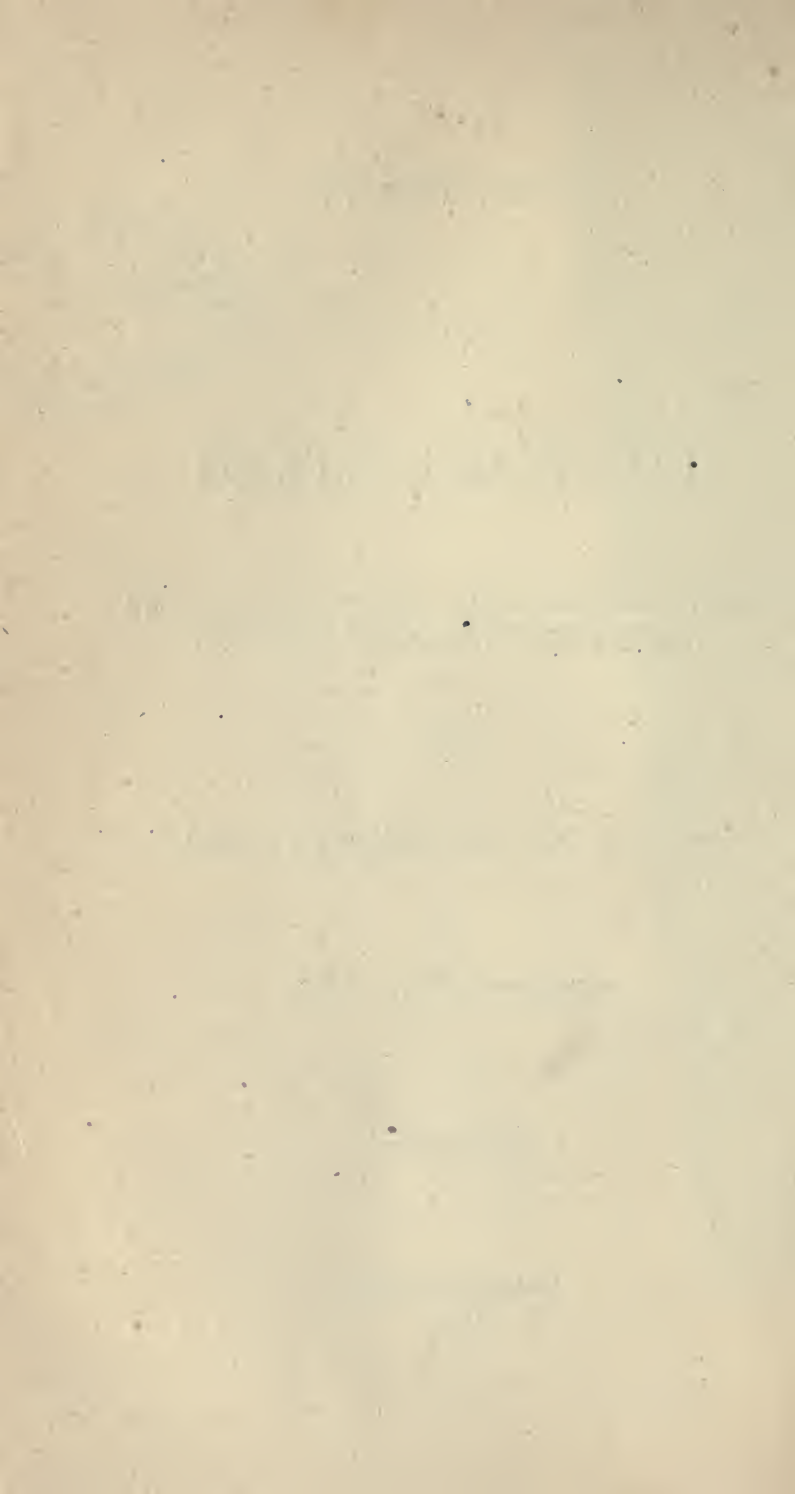
SUBMITS EVIDENCE THAT MANUFACTURERS UNITE
WITH GROWERS IN FAVOR OF PROTECTION,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

August 28, 1888.

WASHINGTON.
1888.





**Tariff—Are the Wool Manufacturers in favor of Free Wool—
Question of Privilege.**

R E M A R K S
OF
H O N . O S C A R L . J A C K S O N .

Mr. JACKSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I rise to a question of privilege. In the course of the debate on the tariff bill I had occasion to make a statement in reply to Mr. BUCKALEW respecting the manufactures of wool in Pennsylvania, and especially in the city of Philadelphia—

Mr. SPRINGER. I rise to a question of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SPRINGER. The gentleman is making a general statement, and I ask that he state his question of privilege.

Mr. JACKSON. The statement I made was that the manufacturers of wool in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania had no desire to have wool put on the free-list, and that they were opposed to it.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that the gentleman has not stated his question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] makes a point of order and insists upon the enforcement of the rule which requires that the gentleman shall state what his question of privilege is. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that there can be no question of privilege before the House unless some motion is made or some resolution is offered on which the House can act. All other matters are merely matters of personal explanation, which can be entertained only by consent of the House.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that in one minute's time I can state what will be conceded to be a question of privilege.

Mr. BLAND. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that his colleague from Pennsylvania, to whom he alludes [Mr. BUCKALEW], is not present.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUCKALEW], so far as I know, is giving no special attention to this matter. While my reply was originally made to his speech, I am only now referring to that incidentally. The question I wish to call attention to grows out of statements appearing in public newspapers, for which, I presume, he is not responsible, and which I conceive affects myself. I want to correct the newspaper statements.

Mr. SPRINGER. If the gentleman will say that he desires to make a personal explanation, and will state how much time he requires, I shall have no objection.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the Chair hear my statement?

The SPEAKER. If the enforcement of the rule is insisted upon, the Chair has no discretion in the matter. A "question" in the parliamentary sense means a proposition presented to the House to be disposed of, and unless the gentleman from Pennsylvania presents some proposition there can be, of course, no question of privilege. But if the gentleman desires to make a personal explanation, the Chair will ask the consent of the House that he be permitted to do so.

Mr. SPRINGER. If the gentleman will say that he desires to make a personal explanation, and will state what time he requires, there will probably be no objection.

Mr. JACKSON. I expected to take even less time than I have already occupied. All I desire is to send to the desk and have read a statement which has appeared in the New York Herald and Philadelphia Record alleging that I misrepresented and slandered the wool manufacturers of Pennsylvania when I stated that they did not favor the Mills bill and were, in fact, opposed to free wool; and also to have read, as a reply to these newspaper articles, statements from a number of reputable gentlemen who are familiar with the facts of the case and who fairly represent those manufacturers, and who show that I stated their views truthfully and fairly. I should like to have at least a portion of these papers read, with permission to print the remainder.

Mr. SPRINGER. If the gentleman will state that he desires to make a personal explanation—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman does so state in substance.

Mr. SPRINGER. How much time does the gentleman require?

Mr. JACKSON. Not exceeding ten minutes.

Mr. SPRINGER. I object to ten minutes. If the gentleman will make his statement in five minutes I shall not object.

Mr. JACKSON. I shall be content with ten minutes' time and permission to print the remainder of this statement.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Several members objected.

Mr. JACKSON. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will make my statement of the question of privilege.

The SPEAKER. But the Chair has already decided, in accordance with the rules of the House and in accordance with repeated decisions heretofore, that no question of privilege is presented unless some motion or some resolution is offered.

Mr. JACKSON. Would it be in order to make a motion to have these papers read?

The SPEAKER. That would not present a question of privilege.

Mr. JACKSON. I presume I could print these papers under the general order made in relation to printing remarks on the tariff bill which would fully answer my purpose, but I did not wish to do that without giving in some way to the House public notice in advance of what I was doing. I therefore ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to print the extracts from the newspapers I have referred to and the replies thereto I have prepared in the RECORD.

There was no objection, and it was so ordered.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, as an explanation of these papers in addition to what I have already said, I would call attention to these facts.

In the course of the tariff debate, my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUCKALEW], on the 15th of May last, in course of

his speech, which will be found on page 4986 of the RECORD, gave as a reason for his favoring the bill under consideration that it put wool on the free-list, to the great advantage of the wool manufacturers of the State. At the time I asked permission to call his attention to what I considered his mistaken representation of the interests of the wool manufacturers, but the gentleman declined to yield to me for even a question.

When the wool schedule was afterward under consideration by sections, on the 16th of July following, being the first opportunity I had, I made a reply to his statement, which will be found on page 6935 of the RECORD.

I then said, in substance, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUCKALEW] made a mistake in alleging that "free wool" was in the interest and for the advantage of wool manufacturers; that the wool manufacturers of Pennsylvania, largely situated in the city of Philadelphia, did not ask for free wool, but were uncompromisingly opposed to it; and that I was surprised my colleague should make such a mistake.

Mr. Speaker, at the time I made these remarks I felt confident that I knew the position of the manufacturers on this question, and that I truly and fairly represented them as a body in the statement I then made.

I was therefore surprised to find that the New York Herald and the Philadelphia Record, in noticing these proceedings in Congress, alleged that in stating that the wool manufacturers of Philadelphia were opposed to free wool I had misrepresented and slandered them. To correct these newspaper charges I have prepared some testimony supporting the truth of what I said and showing that the wool manufacturers of Philadelphia, and in fact the whole country, are almost, if not entirely, unanimously opposed to free wool and in favor of its protection. In justice to myself and in justice to these manufacturers I ask to have printed as a part of my remarks these papers.

The papers are as follows:

[From the New York Herald of July 17, 1888.]

FREE WOOL—DEMOCRATS REFUSE TO TAKE IT FROM THE LIST—ONLY A FEW "KICKERS"—MR. JACKSON'S STRANGE STATEMENT ABOUT PHILADELPHIA MANUFACTURERS—TARIFF DEBATES NEARLY OVER.

HERALD BUREAU,
CORNER FIFTEENTH AND G STREETS NORTHWEST,
Washington, July 16, 1888.

Free wool passed the House to-day by a handsome majority. To please the protectionists tellers were ordered, and the vote, on the motion of Mr. WILKINS to strike the free-wool clause out of the Mills bill, was defeated by 102 to 120.

The free-wool clause is to go into effect on the 1st of October, if the bill becomes a law, and the new wool duties in the Mills bill later, on the 1st of next January. That gives the woolen manufacturers a handsome start.

Before the vote was taken a queer and rather significant thing happened. Mr. JACKSON, of Pennsylvania, rose and "gave his testimony" that the woolen manufacturers of Philadelphia are "uncompromisingly hostile to free wool."

The queerness of this lies in the fact that Mr. JACKSON does not represent any district in or near Philadelphia, but a district in the center of the State, and that Philadelphia has in the House four Republican Representatives, all high protectionists—Messrs. BINGHAM, O'NEILL, KELLEY, and HARMER—not one of whom spoke up to-day.

The Herald, in its recent Philadelphia correspondence, has shown conclusively and repeatedly that a number of the leading woolen manufacturers there are in favor of free wool, and that a very large and increasing number of the workmen in the woolen mills demand free wool. Yet Mr. JACKSON, representing an interior district, assumes to speak for all these people and misrepresents their openly declared opinions.

Messrs. BINGHAM, O'NEILL, and HARMER, who are the Representatives of Philadelphia districts containing woolen mills, were too prudent to follow Mr. JACKSON'S example.

[From the Philadelphia Record of July 18, 1888.]

PHILADELPHIA AND FREE WOOL.

In a report made to the Secretary of the Treasury in 1885 by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers appeared the following:

"The American manufacturer, to compete with the fabrics of other nations in the endless variety demanded by our times, must have the power of selecting a portion of his raw material from all the world's sources of supply. * * * The effect of the compulsion to buy greasy wool and pay a heavy specific duty on its impurities is that the American manufacturers are thereby obliged to give undue preference to light condition over fineness and the other valuable qualities of wools offering in foreign markets. Our manufacturers, moreover, are obliged by this restriction to concentrate their competition in foreign markets upon the always small proportion of the lightest unwashed wools, while our foreign competitors, having to pay duty neither upon wool nor on grease and dirt, can buy the heavy wools in the market to much better advantage.

"To these considerations it should be added that the high specific duty on clothing wools—a duty irrespective of the cost—practically excludes the cheap and abundant clothing wools of South America, and by freeing them from our competition for their purchase makes them much cheaper than they would otherwise be to the manufacturers of France, Belgium, and Germany, who work them up into cloths and stuffs by the cheapest labor in Europe."

This report was signed by Thomas Dolan and James Dobson, officers of the association. Is it possible that there are any woolen manufacturers in this city who fail to recognize the truth and the force of the above statement? Yet Mr. O. L. JACKSON, who represents a Congress district in the extreme western portion of Pennsylvania, arose in the House on Monday and declared that the woolen manufacturers of Philadelphia are "uncompromisingly hostile" to the policy of free wool advocated in this report. It is well known that Mr. JACKSON in his assertion slanders quite a number of leading Philadelphia manufacturers, who have declared emphatically in favor of free wool. But it would be strange if any number of them should oppose a change so manifestly favorable to their interests and to the general industrial interests of this city.

Mr. JACKSON. I would call attention to the fact that in the above quotation from the report of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, the concluding part of the report is omitted, which expressly states that the manufacturers favor extending protection to the wool-grower. It is as follows:

It will be observed that in this communication, which, we need not say, is addressed not only to you, but through you to Congress and the public, we have not urged, as has been customary with this association in former times, any argument for encouragement in behalf of the important industry most closely allied with our own, that of wool production. Circumstances, which we need not mention, seem to have made it expedient that each branch of the national wool industry should act independently in representing its interests as connected with tariff legislation.

As the domestic wool-grower, in view of the high cost of labor and the high scale of living required by American civilization, can not profitably send his wools abroad, and as every pound of foreign cloth imported, displacing a pound of American cloth which might be made here, at the same time displaces a quadruple weight of domestic wool, it might be claimed that the interests of our nearest allies are sufficiently served by securing defenses for the manufacturers which constitute their only market. This was the narrow and selfish argument for exclusive protection to manufacturers in former times.

A broader and more just policy now regards protection to any distinct interest but as a part of the universal system; and while we demand for our own finished products, and more imperatively still, for the labor by which they are wrought, the whole power of defense granted by the Constitution against other nations—defense against their policy, their pernicious trade, their extorted and pauper labor, no less than against their arms—we would extend the same defense to every home product, of the farm, the mine, and the forest, thus making our own identical with the national prosperity.

A FREE-WOOL CONTROVERSY—MR. JUSTICE CITES FACTS TO SUSTAIN CONGRESSMAN JACKSON—THE WOOLEN MANUFACTURERS OF PENNSYLVANIA, ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION, HEARTILY OPPOSED TO THE INTRODUCTION OF FREE WOOL.

The friends of free wool having gone to the extremity of denying the facts on which Congressman JACKSON based his speech during the debate on the Mills bill, that gentleman has written the following letter, which was published in Saturday's Evening Telegraph:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington D. C., July 24, 1888.

DEAR SIR: In the course of the recent tariff debate in the House I took occasion to state that the woolen manufacturers of Pennsylvania did not favor free wool. Among the authorities which I had read at the time to sustain this statement was an extract from the American, in which you were represented to take that position. I notice that the New York Herald and the Philadelphia Record criticise my statement, and say that I had no authority to represent the Philadelphia manufacturers.

"My remarks were made on the 16th of July, and reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on the 17th, a copy of which I mailed you care of Board of Trade rooms. I would very much like, if you please, that you would write me, stating how far I was justified in saying what I did on the subject.

"Very truly yours,

"OSCAR L. JACKSON.

"MR. THEODORE JUSTICE, Philadelphia, Pa."

MR. JUSTICE SUPPLIES FACTS.

In answer, Mr. Justice writes as follows:

"DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 24th received. There is the most ample proof, without the slightest doubt whatever, that the woolen manufacturers of the United States are almost without exception opposed to free wool. They have so declared through their associations and individually.

"Mr. William Whitman, the president of the National Woolen Manufacturers' Association, has declared through the press, on public platforms, and through the periodicals of his association, over and over again in public and in private, and before Congress, that the woolen manufacturers believe that free wool is not to the best interests of manufacturers nor skilled labor nor the people of the United States. He further states that he and the Manufacturers' Association believe in affording to the wool-grower, on principle, the same protection for his industry which the manufacturers demand for their industry. Mr. Whitman has very truly declared that he can count on the fingers of both hands, yes, on the fingers of one hand, all the prominent woolen manufacturers of New England in favor of free wool.

"The woolen manufacturers of the Middle States, and particularly of this locality, have been equally outspoken against free wool. Those who occupy this section belong to the Manufacturers' Club, of which Mr. Thomas Dolan is president. That gentleman has declared over and over again his belief that free wool will be a disadvantage to the manufacturing industry. Mr. Dolan expresses the almost unanimous opinion of the manufacturers of this locality, whose views coincide with those expressed by Mr. Whitman as the views of the manufacturers in the East.

"I inclose a copy of the official organ of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia, namely, the Manufacturer, of April 1, 1888. This periodical is full of expressions of leading and prominent manufacturers, all of them the most representative of their class, on the subject of free wool.

"I refer to the opening speech by Mr. Dolan, on page 5; also to the very able address of Mr. Dolan's partner, Mr. Joseph P. Truitt, on page 9 of the same paper, entitled 'The proposition to make wool free,' in which Mr. Truitt says, 'Free raw material is the pioneer of free goods.' He further says that 'he believes that promises of relief based on free wool are a fraud and unreliable. 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.' Mr. Truitt says he is 'in favor of protection from the lamb in the field to the clothes on our backs, and I desire now to render my emphatic disapproval of free wool.'

"I refer you also to the very able paper of Mr. Search, entitled 'The preparation of wool.' Mr. Theo. C. Search is one of the ablest young manufacturers and merchants in this locality; also a representative man. Mr. Search believes that if wool is made free, wool sorting and wool scouring will be done abroad. He thinks that wool combing will follow it, and that would cripple a large industry employing a large number of skilled laborers.

"I also refer you to the remarks of Mr. James Phillips, jr., of Massachusetts, one of the largest and most successful of New England manufacturers, whose success has been conspicuous at a time when worsted manufacturing has been generally languishing. In speaking of free wool he says, 'Anything which impairs the prosperity of the country is damaging to the interests of that country, and you can not injure a part without its effects being felt by other parts.' He says the wool product is one of the most important in the country, and it furnishes its producers the means for purchasing our manufactured articles, and were wool-growing destroyed it would deprive a large portion of the community of purchasing power, and the loss of this home market would depress the value of woolen products far in excess of any advantage that would be gained by giving the manufacturer his wool at a lower price.

"He further says that the immediate effect of free wool would be to depress its value; that as soon as this effect had caused the extermination of wool-growing in the United States the secondary effect would be a material advance in the price abroad growing out of the absence of competition of American wool-growers among other wool-producers of the world, and the increase of the American demand for foreign wool. The woolen manufacturers of this locality who differ from the majority are only a few proprietors of small establishments, and are not representative. It is a well-known fact that the wool-growing States of California, Oregon, Nevada, Wisconsin, Indiana, and New York have at times been Democratic; they are at present Republican, largely in the agricultural districts, where wool-growing is an important industry. These wool-growers are protectionists, but if their industry is destroyed they will wish to buy their clothing and other articles which they require in the cheapest markets in the world, and being no longer sharers in the benefits of protection, in consequence of the destruction of their flocks, it would be easy for them to fall back into the Democratic free-trade ranks with the solid free-trade South.

"Manufacturers of the Eastern and Middle States could not retain protective duties sufficient to cover the difference in wages, and the destruction to manufacturing would take place in these sections until the wages of skilled laborers fell to the starvation level of competing wages abroad.

"There are in the United States 2,237 woolen manufacturing establishments. "I challenge the New York Herald or the Philadelphia Record to produce the signatures of the proprietors of ten important Pennsylvania woolen manufacturing establishments who favor free wool. The names of those parties over their own signatures are asked because the following petition for an increase of duties upon wool and woolens sufficient to cover the difference in wages between Europe and America has been signed very generally by the proprietors of these establishments within a few months.

"They demand not free wool, but enough higher duty upon wool and woolens to save their industries from destruction by the grinding competition of Europe.

"Yours truly,

"THEODORE JUSTICE."

"Hon. OSCAR L. JACKSON,

"House of Representatives, Washington, D. C."

THE PETITION.

The following is the petition referred to in the above letter:

"To the honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States:

"The undersigned citizens of the county of * * * and State of * * * respectfully petition your honorable body for speedy action on the subject of protection to the wool-growing and woolen-manufacturing industries of this country. They represent that the changes made by the act of Congress of March 3, 1883, reducing protection to these industries have already resulted in great injury to the sheep-growing interest, as well as to the manufacturing interests, and, that if continued, must result in the destruction, to a very great extent, of the wool-growing industry in all parts of our country, and also largely increase the price of mutton to the consumer. They represent that the number of sheep in the United States in 1883 was 49,237,291 (an increase of 15,453,691 since 1875), and which was reduced to 44,759,314 in 1887, showing a loss of 4,477,977 sheep in four years, whilst with proper protection the number, at the same ratio of increase, in 1887 would probably have been about 64,000,000. A further effect of this injurious legislation was an enormous increase in importation of foreign wool, both in unmanufactured and manufactured state, especially the latter, to the great loss of our domestic laboring classes, whether employed on farms or in workshops, and yielding an increase in revenue to the Government of about \$4,000,000 per annum at a time when it was not needed.

"They therefore ask that the schedule of duties unanimously agreed upon by the representatives of the wool-growers and woolen manufacturers, at Washington, on January 14, 1888, may be enacted into a law at an early day, and, pending the passage of such bill, in accordance with the further action of said convention, we urgently request Congress to immediately pass a joint resolution correcting the present erroneous classification of worsteds, by directing that they be classified as woolen cloths.

"COLUMBUS DELANO,

"President National Wool Growers' Association,

"WILLIAM WHITMAN,

"President National Association of Woolen Manufacturers,

"E. A. GREENE,

"President Philadelphia Wool Merchants' Association,

"Committee."

THE WOOL QUESTION—A PROMINENT NEW YORK WOOLEN MANUFACTURER RE-
PLIES TO THE GERMANTOWN DEMOCRAT.

Mr. E. H. Ammidown, of New York, who is a prominent woollen manufacturer and merchant, and who is also president of the American Protective Tariff League, and who was vice-president of the late wool conference held in Washington in January, has been reading the articles on the wool question in the Telegraph, and replies to the Germantown Democrat as follows:

"The view of the Germantown Democrat is very narrow. The benefits of the wool tariff are not limited to the wool-grower. Every farmer, including the whole seven million men engaged in farming, is benefited by the diversion of labor and capital into wool-growing. There is an overproduction not of some farm products. Even greater diversity would be advantageous. On this ground I favor protection on hemp, flax, and jute.

"The benefit accrues also to the whole population of the country in the proportion which the value of the wool clip contributes to the wealth and spendable income of the people. For if sheep husbandry was destroyed the income from it would cease and the farmers be deprived of their clip—their means of buying the products of other industries. It is well known among farmers that the cash received from the sale of their wool is relied on more than anything else to supply such of their needs as are not supplied from their farms. Thus the whole nation reaps the benefit from the tariff on wool the same as it does on every other important protected industry. It is part of a grand system for the elevation and advancement of the people, the benefits of which are not limited to any class or section. They extend to all. Strike down one part of the system and you weaken the whole, and if the destruction begins it will end in the overthrow of all our industries and in the organization of our labor and wages on the level of our foreign competition.

"EDWARD H. AMMIDOWN."

FIGURES ON FREE WOOL.

[From the Texas Live Stock Journal.]

Free wool means free goods; not a wool-grower from Maine to Texas would consent to pay an advanced price for goods if he was obliged to compete with the cheaper labor and cheaper lands of Russia, Asia, Africa, South America, and Australia. The wool-grower is a protectionist believing in the application of the principle to all industries.

Scoured wools can be bought in England at 28 to 32 cents per pound that compare with the Texas clip. With free trade these wools can be imported direct from the countries in which they are raised with no more expense than their present cost to English buyers.

To meet such cost, Western Texas wool would have to be sold to the consumer at 8½ cents per pound, choice eight-months wool at 10 cents, and twelve-months at 10½ cents. The minimum cost to the grower for the freight and expenses would not be less than 2½ cents per pound, and he would realize, for Western Texas, 6 cents; for choice eight-months, 7½ cents; for choice twelve-months, 8 cents.

The foreign values given can be substantiated by quotations from Bowes, of Liverpool; Windeler, Hammond, Schwartze, of London, and other leading brokers; any wool-grower can address either of them with sample of his wool and confirm the values given.

Free-trade papers claim that the duty on wool has nothing to do with its value, and quote prices prior to 1824 when wool was free, and later when the duty was very light, to prove their assertion, but they do not point to the changed condition.

Then there was not a single pound of wool raised in Australia, and only a small amount in South America; these are now the largest wool-growing countries of the world, and the reduction of prices which is due to them is much greater in England than here.

When wool was free or under a nominal duty quoted values were the same in England as in this country; to-day scoured Cape wool is worth only 32 cents in England, while similar Texas wool has sold this spring on a basis of 58 cents.

We give below value to-day to Texas wool-growers on a free-wool basis, prices at which wools were sold this spring, and in 1881 about the time agitation for reduction of duties commenced which culminated in 1883.

	Free wool.	1888.	1881.
	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>
Western Texas.....	6	12½	19
Choice eight-months.....	7½	16	22
Choice twelve-months.....	8	17	26

With the restoration of the tariff of 1867 every loom in the country would be started, and prices of wool would be fully equal to 1881. Our home market would be comparatively free from foreign goods and foreign wools.

If wool-growers would organize as the sugar, the whisky, and the tobacco rings have done, there would be no more cry of free wool, but a restoration of the tariff of 1867, and with it prosperity to the languishing industry of our State.

There is no cry for free wool from the weavers of woolen goods or the manufacturers of them, except in Rhode Island, and there it amounts to five out of thirty-nine woolen manufacturers who signed a petition for free wool, while every one except these five signed for the tariff of 1867.

EXPLANATION OF THE CAUSES FOR THE FLUCTUATIONS OF PRICES OF WOOL UNDER THE VARIOUS TARIFFS FROM 1825 TO 1887.

We give below a table showing the average price for Ohio fine wool from 1825 to 1887, the period covered by the several tariff acts. Prices for each period were not so much influenced by the duties imposed as by the ruling price in Europe, which largely determines the price in America. There has been, however, no free wool since the year 1816. Duties were increased in 1830, before the Australian and South American competition was important, and this was followed by an advance of over 5 cents per pound in the average price of American wool. From 1833 to 1842 the tariff was systematically reduced each year. When this reduction began the price of wool was 61 cents, and when it ended the price was 43½ cents and the tendency of prices was generally downward, interrupted for brief periods by speculative excitement and by fluctuations in prices in London. There were no wide fluctuations in the average price from 1843 to 1861, and those which did occur are identical with similar movements in the markets of the world. It is a significant fact that the period between 1864 and 1867 was one in which the average price was the highest, and was also the period when the tariff and the premium upon gold—which was equivalent to an additional tariff—was also highest. Wool raised in Australia, South America, and the Cape of Good Hope amounted in 1860 to a total of over 65,000,000 pounds of scoured wool, but in 1868, when our tariff act of 1867 became operative, the wool product of these same countries was 195,000,000 pounds, an increase of 300 per cent in eight years. The depressing effect upon prices of wool by this enormous increase began to be apparent at that time, resulting in a downward tendency to prices in London and consequently in the United States. The increase in the amount of wools raised in foreign countries continued until in 1887 it had reached the enormous total of 370,000,000 pounds of scoured wool.

What was the effect upon prices of American wool when the tariff was reduced in 1883 and competing foreign wools were declining? Under the tariff of 1867 the average price of Ohio fine from 1876 to 1883 was over 42 cents. In the five years following the reduction made in 1883 the average price for the same wool was 33½ cents, a decline of 8½ cents per pound; and with the same rate of increase in these foreign countries, where wool-growing has not yet reached its maximum, the probabilities are that during the coming years domestic wool may have to face the competition of a still lower range of prices in London, and therefore it is quite apparent that wool-growing in the United States would be doomed should there be any further reduction of duties, and that it is not only necessary to the preservation of the wool-growers' interests that the present rates of duties be maintained, but that he should have still more protection; but no amount of protection on his wool will help him unless the manufacturer who buys his wool has similar protection, paying as he does over 100 per cent. higher wages than is paid in Europe.

Table showing the average price for Ohio fine wool from 1825 to 1887, under the several tariff acts.

Periods.	Average price for XX Ohio wool under different tariff periods.	Duty.
1825.....	55	20 per cent. ad valorem.
1826.....	46½	25 per cent. ad valorem.
1827.....	40½	30 per cent. ad valorem.
1828.....	45½	4 cents per pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem.
1829.....	45½	4 cents per pound and 45 per cent. ad valorem.
1830 to 1832.	60½	4 cents per pound and 50 per cent. ad valorem.
1833.....	61	4 cents per pound and 40 per cent. ad valorem.
1834.....	64½	4 cents per pound and 38 per cent. ad valorem.
1835.....	64	4 cents per pound and 36 per cent. ad valorem.

Table showing the average price for Ohio fine wool from 1825 to 1887, under the several tariff acts—Continued.

Periods.	Average price for XX Ohio wool under different tariff periods.	Duty.
1836.....	68½	4 cents per pound and 34 per cent. ad valorem.
1837.....	60½	4 cents per pound and 32 per cent. ad valorem.
1838.....	50½	4 cents per pound and 30 per cent. ad valorem.
1839.....	57½	4 cents per pound and 23 per cent. ad valorem.
1840.....	47½	4 cents per pound and 26 per cent. ad valorem.
1841.....	50½	4 cents per pound and 24 per cent. ad valorem.
1842.....	43½	4 cents per pound and 22 per cent. ad valorem.
1843 to 1846.	47½	3 cents per pound and 30 per cent. ad valorem.
1847 to 1857.	47½	30 per cent. ad valorem.
1858 to 1861.	50½	24 per cent. ad valorem.
1862 to 1863.	64½	9 cents per pound.
1864 to 1867.	74½	12 cents per pound and 10 per cent. ad valorem.
1868 to 1872.	54½	10 and 12 cents per pound and 10 and 11 per cent. ad valorem.
1873 to 1875.	55	10 and 12 cents per pound and 10 and 11 per cent. ad valorem, less 10 per cent.
1876 to 1883.	42½	10 and 12 cents per pound and 10 and 11 per cent. ad valorem.
1884 to 1887.	34½	10 and 12 cents per pound.

A PROTEST AGAINST PASSAGE OF THE MILLS BILL FROM THE MANUFACTURERS' CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA.

The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia on March 19, 1888:

"Resolved, That the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia desire to make protest against the adoption into a law of the tariff measure prepared by a majority of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and commonly known as the Mills tariff bill. The Manufacturers' Club further protest against the passage of the said bill even in an amended or modified form, believing it to be based upon wrong principles, to be essentially opposed to all safe precedents in American fiscal legislation, and from its intrinsic viciousness calculated to inflict serious injury upon both the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country."

Mr. Joseph P. Truitt said: "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 woollen 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."

The secretary of the club, Mr. Charles Heber Clark, then spoke as follows:

"The pretext for this movement against American industry is that the people demand reduction of the duties upon imported fabrics. This assertion was made by the President in his recent message, and it has had frequent repetition in Congress and in the press. We now formally deny that such a demand is or has been made, and we challenge those who are conducting and encouraging the movement to produce any evidence in support of their theory. No such evidence is in existence, and in its absence we confidently express the opinion that the American people do not desire reduction of the duties upon imports, but, on the contrary, are averse to any change which is not in the nature of an advance of the duties. There is an old motto which says, 'When you stand well, stand still,' and it applies exactly to the present situation.

"It is true that the free-trade newspapers are insisting upon decrease of the duties; but these journals are a small minority of the newspapers of the country. They circulate chiefly among the illiterate classes (performing the function of feeding ignorance with mendacity), and they appear to represent the sentiments of a small minority of the people. The fact that they accurately voice the desires of the whole body of European manufacturers and have the cordial approval of the entire British newspaper press (which, with characteristic effrontery, is attempting to meddle with the domestic affairs of this nation) is a circumstance that can hardly add force to their clamorous demands. It is a fair inference that an American journal which obtains from our industrial enemies in Europe the principal expressions of approval of its course does not accurately represent American sentiment."

A STAB AT THE NATION'S INDUSTRIES—A DEMONSTRATION OF THE HARM THE MILLS BILL WILL DO TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

Mr. James Phillips, the well-known woolen manufacturer, of Fitchburg, Mass., is reported at length in the Boston Herald upon the Mills tariff bill. We reproduce here some portions of his striking arguments:

"The wool and woolen industries of the United States are practically facing to-day a proposition from a majority of the House of Representatives for free wool and an ad valorem duty on woolen goods and clothing. This in the face of the fact that a joint conference fairly representative of both industries has decided that both the wool-growing and woolen manufacturing industries are now suffering from over importation, and there can be no doubt that the reduction in both the wool and woolen schedules, made in 1883 by men not friendly to American industries, have resulted disastrously and increased importations on six articles in five years over \$11,000,000.

"The effect of these changes, urged by tariff reformers, and reluctantly yielded by those who perhaps should have had more faith in protection, has not been sufficiently encouraging either to American industries or American labor to warrant us in going still further on the road of so-called 'tariff reform.' Indeed, the reverse has happened. The very men who under pressure in 1883 consented to reductions have now in a clear voice cried 'halt,' and decided that the interests of both industries demand that we retrace our footsteps by reenacting the wool tariff of 1867 with certain modifications made necessary by the progress of woolen manufacturing during the last twenty years. Nor is it possible, in the light of the result which followed the changes of 1883 to view with anything short of alarm the radical changes proposed by Mr. ROGER Q. MILLS and his colleagues of the Ways and Means Committee, aided by the great influence of the President of the United States, and an Administration powerfully impregnated with the doctrine of free trade. For more than sixty years wool has been dutiable, and though some changes in the rates and classification have been made, with various results, during this period, the propositions of President Cleveland and Chairman MILLS for unqualified free trade in wool has, for the first time in the history of the Republic, been squarely presented and advocated as an issue for the people to decide. The importance of this step, with all its attendant consequences, must not be underestimated.

"We are asked to abandon a system which has stood by us fairly well for nearly sixty-five years; a system under which our flocks have increased, our breeds of sheep improved, our fleeces become better in quality, increased in weight, and the food of the people cheapened; a system under which the United States has developed a manufacturing industry, the value of the annual product of which is not far short of \$300,000,000. These are all stubborn facts to face. They go a long way with practical business men and with intelligent workmen. They can not be refuted by theories and conjectures of what might have happened under some other system, and what will happen if one of these two inter-dependent industries is taken from the dutiable schedule and suddenly plunged into that 'haven of free-trade delight, the free-list.' This, it would seem to me, is a fair statement of the vital issue which wool-growers and woolen manufacturers are called upon by the present Government to face. Free wool. That is the key-note of President Cleveland's message, and that is the basis of

the Ways and Means Committee's tariff bill. To impress the idea of free wool upon the people of the United States, the President was willing to banish all other questions from his message. To emphasize the idea of free wool Mr. MILL was willing to leave coal and iron ore for the moment on the dutiable list and reduce pig-iron slightly. The issue, therefore, is unmistakably made on free wool, and that must be considered first.

"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 that 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 argument 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 308,000,000.

"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 wool 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.

[From the American Manufacturer of April 1, 1888.]

PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRIES—A GREAT NEW ENGLAND PROTEST AGAINST
THE MILLS TARIFF BILL.

FEBRUARY, 1888.

*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives
of the Fiftieth Congress assembled:*

The undersigned, manufacturers in New England, recognizing the principle of protection as national and not provincial, and consequently equally applicable to all the industries of the United States; repudiating any distinction in this connection between so-called "raw materials" of domestic production and "finished products," whether the output of mines, farms, or workshops; claiming that the American policy should benefit alike all citizens, whether engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, or mining; that the industries of the country are interdependent and mutually sustaining, and the people of the different sections co-customers and co-consumers:

Do therefore respectfully submit that no article, "raw" or otherwise, of home production should be added to the free-list or inequitably changed in the tariff rates.

The undersigned also submit that for a due understanding of the premises, the following official records of the Government should be kept in mind, to wit:

Free imports: Increase in twenty years, 1868 to 1887, from \$29,000,000 to \$233,000,000, or 700 per cent.

Dutiable imports: For same period, increase from \$329,000,000 to \$450,000,000, or 37 per cent.

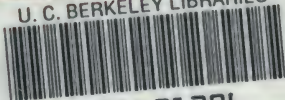
Custom duties: For same period, increase from \$164,000,000 to \$214,000,000, or 30 per cent.

Also, that the expenditures of the Government, including sinking fund, for the last fiscal year, were about \$10,000,000 in excess of the customs receipts.

Believing that the existing tariff policy, both free and dutiable, is working in harmony with the industrial and productive interests of all sections of the country, the undersigned deprecate any departure from this policy, whether directed against "raw" or "finished" American products.

(Signed by 320 New England manufacturers.)

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