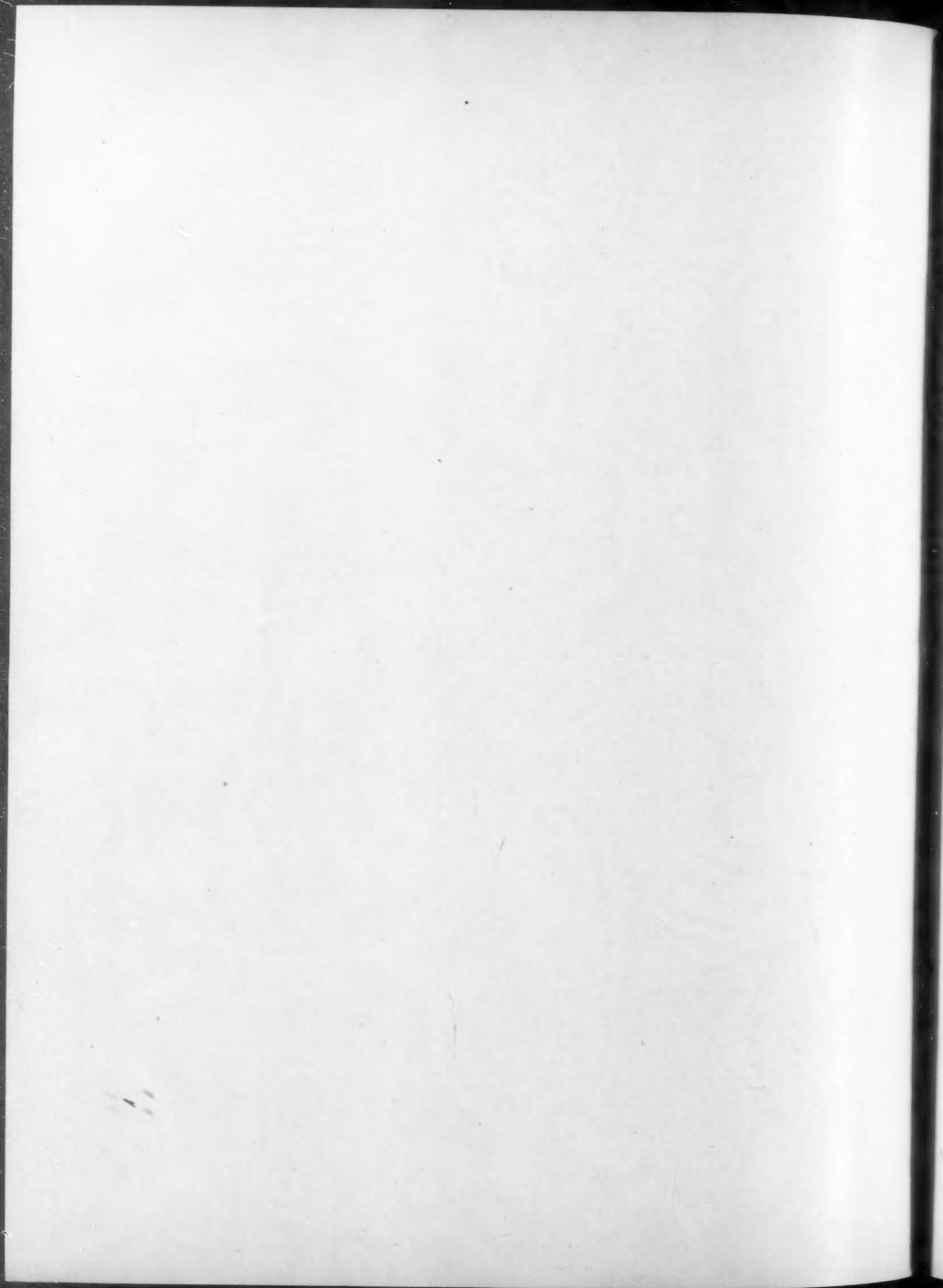

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX

TO THE

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

What the Republican Party Has Done for the Soldier—Most Liberal Pension Laws in the World—The Campaign for Protection in Great Britain—The Experience of the United States Shows Free Trade a Losing Policy—Our Prosperity's Only Peril the Menace of Democratic Victory.

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHARLES DICK,
OF OHIO,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, December 16, 1903,

On the bill (H. R. 6758) making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. DICK said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The Republican party has just cause to be proud of its pension record. With the aid of patriotic men in other parties, it waged to a successful conclusion the greatest war of modern times. It has never ceased to honor the officers and men who composed the victorious Army. Every Republican President elected since the close of that war was a conspicuous and gallant officer in the Federal Army. Thousands of other men who wore the blue and served their country gallantly and well have held and are to-day holding positions of honor and trust at the hands of the Republican party. The tricolored insignia of the Loyal Legion, the bronze button of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the badges of other soldier organizations to-day adorn the highest places in the land. The soldiers of the grand Army which fought four years for freedom and the Union are found in the Cabinet, on the Supreme Bench, in the halls of Congress. They are governors of States and trusted leaders and counselors in all walks of life.

MAGNIFICENT PROVISION FOR OUR SOLDIERS.

More liberal provision for its soldiers no government ever made than this Government provides for its defenders. Magnificent provision has been made for their shelter and comfort in Soldiers' Homes scattered all over this broad land. The States have rivaled the benefactions of the National Government by similar provision for their own citizens who wore the blue. Instead of maintaining an immense standing army as a menace to the peace of the world, and drawing hundreds of thousands of young, able-bodied men from the ranks of industry and production, we devote an equal or greater sum to help maintain those who survive of that brave army which preserved the Union. Even all the great wealth of our country would not be equal to paying the debt which we owe the remnant and the dependents of that host which marched and fought for four long years—not all our wealth could pay that debt, if that debt of gratitude, of reverence, and honor could be measured in money. It is a debt that can not be estimated nor paid. What money can compensate for loss of limbs, for pain-racked bodies, for lingering, chronic, and devastating disease?

We have, however, been liberal beyond the dream of any other nation which ever existed. Republican legislation for the old soldier, his widow, and his minor children has been generous and bountiful. The invalid pension law of July 14, 1862, and the dependent law of June 27, 1890, are monuments of Republican achievement and bear witness to the country's tender care for its soldiers and its sailors and their families. The pension laws are every year being made more liberal, are enlarging the circle of those included within its beneficence, and raising the rates for pensionable disabilities. As long as the Republican party continues in power, this generous policy will be pursued.

It is now more than forty years since the tide of disunion reached high flood at Gettysburg, at Vicksburg, and Missionary Ridge, and began to recede. Of that vast Army which wore the blue and rallied to the Stars and Stripes only a diminishing rear guard

still remains, still formidable in numbers, it is true, but marching steadily down the decline of life's end. That roll of honor, our pension roll, which passed the million mark a year ago, became stationary, and now shows a constantly diminishing return. But for the casualties of our war with Spain and the insurrection in the Philippines the rolls would show a much more marked decrease. The ranks of the veterans are daily thinning with a constantly increasing ratio. The majority, perhaps, have passed their allotted threescore years and ten and can not be long with us. Some remarkable cases of longevity may be looked for. The last soldier of the Revolutionary war was a spectator of our civil strife. A sole survivor of the war of 1812 is still borne on our pension rolls. It is fifty-five years since the Mexican war ended, and we pay pensions to nearly 6,000 survivors of that contest. Veterans of our civil war may remain, an inspiration for patriotism and valor, until the present century turns its zenith and enters on its second half.

In the sunset years of their life the least a reunited country can do for them is to administer its pension laws liberally and make prompt and speedy adjudication of pension claims. He gives twice who gives quickly. The days are long and anxious, and in many cases very dark, which are spent in awaiting the allowance of a pension. The veteran looking for a deserved and much-needed increase, the widow whose sole support has been removed and who turns to a pension as the only protection against want, look anxiously for early and favorable action. Moderate relief to-day may benefit them much more than abundance to-morrow.

It is to the great credit of President Roosevelt's Administration that business in the Pension Bureau is now more nearly current than ever before. Himself a hero of our last war, no President has felt more solicitude or interest in the soldiers of that greater war. No man appreciates more thoroughly the tremendous, world-wide importance of that gigantic struggle. No man who was not old enough to be a factor in that struggle could give his heart and soul more completely to the welfare and well-being of the veterans who fought for liberty and right in the days of '61 to '65.

His Commissioner of Pensions, Eugene F. Ware, a brave soldier of the civil war, has been zealous and faithful in the discharge of his duties, and brought to those duties a high degree of administrative capacity. He has so capably administered his office that he has caught up with the accumulated mass of pending applications, and long delays are no longer necessary in disposing of claims. Where the proof is filed and satisfies the requirements of the law, an early allowance is made. The division of the bureau which is worked the hardest to-day is the certificate division, which issues the notice that a pension has been granted. The office was never conducted more efficiently, never more in the best interests of pensioners and claimants.

WORK IN THE PENSION BUREAU IS DOWN TO DATE.

An abstract of the work of the Pension Bureau for the past three years, and a summary of the present status of pensions and claims pending, show the great progress made by which the business of the office has been brought down practically to date.

The number of unsettled claims on file June 30, 1900, was 47,104; the number on file June 30, 1902, 339,436; and the number remaining on hand June 30, 1903, was 304,809. The number of original claims filed during the years 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903, amounted to 210,935. The total number of all applications received during the fiscal year 1903 was 225,871, while for the year 1902 the number was 188,626. The number of cases adjudicated in 1903 was 252,106, so that there were 36,235 more claims adjudicated in 1903 than filed. During the year 1903 there were also filed 144,083 applications for increase of pension, and 58,120 applications for increase were granted during the same period. Many applications that are filed during one year can not be reached for adjudication until the year following, while there are also

many applications for increase filed where upon medical examination no increased disability can be found. As above stated, the number of cases adjudicated in 1903 amounted to 252,106, an average of about 800 cases for each working day in the year.

The loss to the pension roll during the year 1903 was as follows:

By death	40,907
By remarriage	1,152
By legal limitation (minors)	1,332
By failure to claim	2,791
For other causes	1,146
Total	47,388

Notwithstanding the large number of names dropped from the pension rolls on account of death and other causes, the decrease in the roll in 1903 was only 2,901. The number of pensioners June 30, 1903, was 996,545, and the amount disbursed during the year was \$137,759,653, not including the cost of maintenance. The annual value of the pension roll for 1900 was \$131,534,544, and for the year 1903 \$133,029,090. The number of pensioners in the State of Ohio June 30, 1903, was 102,318, to whom were paid \$15,026,565.62. The "high-water mark" in the pension roll was reached July 31, 1902, when the number of pensioners on the rolls was 1,001,494.

During the last fiscal year the Pension Bureau has issued 132,821 certificates, while in 1902 there were issued 119,824. There was a gain in 1903 over 1902 of 12,997 certificates, and over the year 1900 a gain of 27,230 certificates.

The average annual value of each pension is \$133.49. While the amount disbursed for pensions in 1893 was \$156,906,637.94—the largest amount ever expended in any one year in the history of the Bureau—the annual value of the pension roll for that year was only \$130,510,179.34, about \$2,500,000 less than the annual value of the roll for the year 1903. The large amount expended for the year 1893 was due to the amount carried as first payments upon the original issues of that year.

An actual count of the files of the Bureau at the close of the last fiscal year shows a very material reduction in the number of original claims pending adjudication, as is shown by the following table:

	Balance on hand July 1, 1903.	Balance on hand July 1, 1902.
Old wars	143	153
War of 1812	5	9
Indian wars	2,508	362
Mexican war	666	761
Since Mar. 4, 1861:		
Army nurses	79	69
General law	23,634	34,186
Act June 27, 1890	54,890	63,227
Increase applications	156,261	182,367
War with Spain	37,127	34,433
Regular establishment	4,239	

The large increase in the number of pending claims on account of service in the Indian wars was due to the new legislation enacted June 27, 1902, granting pensions on account of the various Indian wars.

Claims now carried under "regular establishment" have previously been counted as under the general law or the act of June 27, 1890, and no separate classification was kept of the same prior to July 1, 1903.

NEARLY THREE BILLIONS PAID IN PENSIONS.

The total amount disbursed for pensions since 1861 amounts to \$2,942,178,145.93. The act of June 27, 1890, is a fitting illustration of the generosity of the Republican party toward the veterans of the civil war. This law was passed by a Republican Congress, was signed by a Republican President, and through its administration there was expended during the last fiscal year a total amount of \$68,798,360.71. The number of soldiers receiving the benefit of this act amounted to 443,731, while the number of dependents relieved by this act was 171,259. The gain in the number of pensioners under this act over the previous year was 8,643, and the gain since June 30, 1899, was 40,993.

NEW PENSION LEGISLATION.

During the last fiscal year the following pension legislation has been enacted by Congress:

An act approved July 1, 1902, known as the "Joint resolution construing the act approved June 27, 1890," section 4716, Revised Statutes, provided that—

No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States.

This section was held to be a bar to pension under the act of June 27, 1890, to anyone who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States. By the joint resolution of July 1, 1902, it is stated that—

The act approved June 27, 1890, is construed and held to include all persons and the widows and minor children of all deceased persons, subject to the limitations of said act, who served for ninety days in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, and

who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and section 4716, Revised Statutes, United States, is amended accordingly:

Provided, however, That the foregoing shall not apply to those who served in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Regiments, United States Volunteer Infantry, who had a prior service in the Confederate army or navy and who enlisted in said regiments while confined as prisoners of war under a stipulation that they were not to be pensionable under the laws of the United States, nor to those who having had such prior service enlisted in the military or naval service of the United States after the 1st day of January, 1865.

Under the acts of June 27, 1890, and May 9, 1900, a final discharge from all services entered into during the war of the rebellion by a soldier or sailor was necessary to give title to pension. By the joint resolution of July 1, 1902, it is provided that—

In the administration of the pension laws any enlisted man of the Army, including regulars, volunteers, and militia, or any appointed or enlisted man of the Navy or Marine Corps, who was honorably discharged from the last contract of service entered into by him during the late war of the rebellion, shall be held and considered to be honorably discharged from all similar contracts of service previously entered into by him with the United States during said war: Provided, That such enlisted or appointed man served not less than six months under said last enlistment or appointment, that his entire service under said last enlistment or appointment was faithful, and that he did not receive by reason of said last enlistment or appointment any bounty or gratuity other than from the United States in excess of that to which he would have been entitled if he had continued to serve faithfully until honorably discharged under any contract of service previously entered into by him, either in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, during the war of the rebellion.

The act of January 5, 1903, increased the amount of pension for total deafness from \$30 to \$40 per month.

The act of February 28, 1903, extended the provisions of the act of March 3, 1901, to those widows, otherwise entitled, whose husbands died of wounds, injuries, or diseases contracted during the period of their military or naval service, but who were deprived of pension by the act of March 3, 1865, by reason of their failure to draw pension on account of their remarriage.

The act of March 3, 1901, provided that any widow who was the lawful wife of any officer or enlisted man or other person in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States during the period of his service in any war, and whose name was placed or shall hereafter be placed on the pension roll because of her husband's death as the result of wound or injury received or disease contracted in such military or naval service, and whose name has been or shall hereafter be dropped from said pension roll by reason of her marriage to another person who has since died or shall hereafter die, or from whom she has been heretofore or shall be hereafter divorced, upon her own application and without any fault on her part, and if she is without means of support other than her daily labor, as defined by the acts of June 27, 1890, and May 9, 1900, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll. It was found in the administration of this law that the pension due many widows had gone to their minor children upon their remarriage, as provided by the act of March 3, 1865, and that their names had never been placed upon the roll, and that technically they had no title to pension under the act of March 3, 1901. The act of February 28, 1903, was therefore passed for the benefit of such widows.

The act of March 2, 1903, increased the pension of those who lost limbs in the military service or who are totally disabled in the same. The beneficiaries under this act up to July 1, 1903, numbered 6,975, of whom 3,027 have received an increase from \$30 to \$40 per month; 1,905 from \$36 to \$46 per month; 2,016 from \$45 to \$55 per month; 1 from \$36 to \$60 per month, and 26 from \$72 to \$100 per month. It is estimated that the increase to the pension roll by operation of this act will amount to between \$800,000 and \$900,000 annually.

The act of March 3, 1903, increased the pension of Mexican war survivors from \$8 to \$12 per month.

APPLICATIONS FILED.

	1903.	1902.	1901.	1900.	1899.	Total.
General law:						
Invalid	1,521	1,519	2,068	2,437	3,302	10,845
Widow	6,612	6,560	7,378	7,349	8,180	36,079
Increase	57,761	42,065	41,406	37,533	31,770	211,135
Act of June, 1890:						
Invalid	9,749	8,927	13,146	10,397	10,739	52,958
Widow	18,394	17,242	18,563	15,824	16,385	86,413
Increase	79,396	61,868	72,293	50,507	34,330	298,394
War with Spain:						
Invalid	7,353	9,775	12,413	11,737	15,018	56,296
Widow	1,193	1,230	1,744	1,302	2,597	8,116
Increase	1,832	1,352	627	146	15	3,972
Regular establishment:						
Invalid	534					534
Widow	162					162
Increase	1					1
Old war and navy:						
Invalid	4,123	1,246	1,377	1,371	1,786	9,903
Widow	2,758	1,496	1,768	1,614	1,761	9,397
Increase	5,093	5,283	4,050	2,993	2,477	19,896
Miscellaneous, including duplicates, etc.	29,520	29,413	42,343	37,795	27,427	166,498
Total	226,002	188,626	219,179	181,005	155,787	970,599

APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

APPLICATIONS FOR INCREASE.

The applications for increase of pension filed in the Bureau from July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1903, inclusive, were as follows:

	1903.	1902.	1901.	1900.	1899.
Act of June 27, 1890.....	79,396	61,868	72,293	50,507	34,330
General laws.....	57,761	42,065	41,406	37,533	31,770
War with Spain.....	1,832	1,352	627	146	.....
Regular establishment.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Old war and navy.....	5,093	5,283	4,050	2,988	2,477
Total.....	144,083	111,168	118,376	91,174	68,577

It will be noted that the applications for increase filed during the past year were largely in excess of the number filed in any year since 1898.

NUMBER OF CERTIFICATES ISSUED.

Pension certificates are of several different kinds and are classified as follows: Originals, renewals, increases, supplementals, reissues, duplicates, restorations, accrueds.

The total number of certificates issued in ten years is as follows:

1903.....	132,821	1898.....	98,574
1902.....	119,834	1897.....	94,454
1901.....	109,698	1906.....	90,640
1900.....	105,591	1895.....	90,357
1899.....	89,054	1894.....	80,213

Of the certificates issued the originals and increases were as follows:

Year.	Originals.	Increases.
1903.....	40,133	58,120
1902.....	40,173	43,474
1901.....	44,863	38,185
1900.....	40,645	44,408

AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF PENSIONS.

	1903.	1902.	1901.	1900.	1899.
Average annual value each pension.....	\$133.49	\$132.23	\$131.87	\$132.39	\$132.74
Average annual value under general law.....	176.16	171.28	168.67	167.53	165.70
Average annual value, act 1890.....	108.82	108.59	108.09	108.28	108.99
Average annual value, war with Spain.....	137.25	140.78	153.50	169.10	196.53

APPROPRIATIONS FOR PENSIONS.

Year.	Appropriated.
1903.....	\$142,352,040.00
1902.....	147,873,461.40
1901.....	148,788,840.93
1900.....	147,889,073.76
1899.....	144,128,678.10
Total.....	731,032,094.25

NUMBER OF PENSIONERS, BY STATES, ETC., AND AMOUNTS PAID.

Statement showing the number of pensioners in each State and Territory of the United States, each insular possession, and each foreign country on the rolls June 30, 1903, and the amount paid for pensions during the fiscal year 1903 in each State and Territory, each insular possession, and each foreign country.

Countries.	Num-ber.	Amount.
UNITED STATES.		
Alabama.....	3,756	\$433,022.30
Alaska.....	97	12,914.59
Arizona.....	733	103,383.48
Arkansas.....	11,342	1,515,350.53
California.....	21,972	2,857,088.22
Colorado.....	8,359	1,135,866.73
Connecticut.....	12,173	1,419,449.91
Delaware.....	2,753	384,167.25
District of Columbia.....	8,707	1,369,038.71
Florida.....	3,409	425,661.24
Georgia.....	3,618	452,813.79
Idaho.....	1,802	242,849.13
Illinois.....	71,627	9,762,859.67
Indiana.....	64,164	10,101,722.26
Indian Territory.....	3,558	467,074.20
Iowa.....	36,782	5,382,598.84
Kansas.....	40,669	5,676,671.86
Kentucky.....	28,508	3,946,643.88
Louisiana.....	6,402	891,739.68
Maine.....	19,542	2,913,173.01
Maryland.....	12,944	1,683,843.02
Massachusetts.....	40,071	5,228,190.62
Michigan.....	43,435	6,546,500.91

Statement showing the number of pensioners in each State and Territory of the United States, etc.—Continued.

Countries.	Num-ber.	Amount.
UNITED STATES—continued.		
Minnesota.....	16,750	\$2,294,025.44
Mississippi.....	4,629	570,284.86
Missouri.....	52,157	7,124,771.91
Montana.....	1,894	258,405.61
Nebraska.....	17,151	2,319,129.10
Nevada.....	276	34,412.51
New Hampshire.....	8,062	1,300,678.66
New Jersey.....	20,646	2,329,340.13
New Mexico.....	1,802	251,586.23
New York.....	89,921	11,756,050.86
North Carolina.....	4,066	509,001.67
North Dakota.....	1,951	231,529.00
Ohio.....	102,318	15,026,595.62
Oklahoma.....	8,818	1,200,678.16
Oregon.....	6,117	778,773.77
Pennsylvania.....	101,164	13,330,201.72
Rhode Island.....	4,835	573,836.18
South Carolina.....	1,982	238,882.30
South Dakota.....	5,066	509,365.69
Tennessee.....	18,498	2,656,578.06
Texas.....	8,594	1,086,485.49
Utah.....	827	130,438.45
Vermont.....	8,786	1,347,270.93
Virginia.....	9,238	1,285,657.67
Washington.....	8,067	1,022,161.78
West Virginia.....	12,687	1,746,405.32
Wisconsin.....	27,568	4,083,717.14
Wyoming.....	833	123,714.54
Total.....	991,836	136,932,181.32
INSULAR POSSESSIONS.		
Hawaii.....	39	2,279.60
Philippines (including Guam).....	31	2,439.45
Porto Rico.....	20	1,188.00
Total.....	90	5,907.05
FOREIGN COUNTRIES.		
Argentina.....	8	1,026.00
Australia.....	49	6,839.61
Austria-Hungary.....	34	4,738.65
Azores.....	4	444.00
Bahamas.....	4	537.00
Belgium.....	14	2,567.27
Bermudas.....	4	510.00
Bolivia.....	4	144.00
Brazil.....	5	492.00
British Guiana.....	1	72.00
Canada.....	2,311	323,698.89
Chile.....	11	2,238.00
China.....	14	3,124.73
Comoro Islands.....	1	210.00
Costa Rica.....	4	485.00
Cuba.....	47	6,580.63
Danish West Indies.....	1	96.00
Denmark.....	32	4,478.68
Dutch West Indies.....	3	372.00
Ecuador.....	2	276.00
England.....	339	47,463.01
Egypt.....	2	276.00
France.....	70	9,799.30
Germany.....	584	81,755.17
Greece.....	7	1,002.00
Guatemala.....	3	410.93
Honduras.....	2	330.00
Hongkong.....	5	456.00
India.....	7	1,311.33
Ireland.....	449	62,855.53
Isle of Man.....	1	72.00
Italy.....	40	5,598.60
Japan.....	8	1,548.00
Liberia.....	10	1,233.67
Madeira.....	5	696.00
Malta.....	3	551.20
Mauritius.....	1	.....
Mexico.....	148	20,718.54
Netherlands.....	7	942.00
Newfoundland.....	5	475.47
New Zealand.....	6	678.00
Nicaragua.....	1	120.00
Norway.....	50	6,999.53
Paraguay.....	2	423.00
Peru.....	6	612.00
Portugal.....	1	54.00
Russia.....	9	1,222.50
Samoa.....	2	90.00
Scotland.....	121	16,938.79
Seychelles Islands.....	1	144.00
Siam.....	1	72.00
South Africa.....	2	225.00
Spain.....	5	588.00
St. Helena.....	1	144.00
Sweden.....	57	7,378.47
Switzerland.....	76	10,630.33
Turkey.....	6	990.00
United States of Colombia.....	3	258.00
Uruguay.....	2	450.00
Venezuela.....	1	72.00
Wales.....	11	1,488.67
West Indies.....	9	1,444.53
Total.....	4,619	648,053.04

Statement showing the number of pensioners in each State and Territory of the United States, etc.—Continued.

SUMMARY.

	Number.	Payments.
Pensioners residing in States and Territories, and payments to them.....	991,836	\$136,992,181.32
Pensioners residing in insular possessions, and payments to them.....	90	5,907.05
Pensioners residing in foreign countries, and payments to them.....	4,619	648,653.04
Total.....	996,545	137,646,141.41
Payments by Treasury Department (Treasury settlements).....		113,512.30
Total payments on account of army and navy pensions.....		137,759,653.71

NUMBER OF PENSIONERS ON THE ROLLS.

Wars.	1903.	1902.	1901.	1900.
War Revolutionary:				
Widows.....	2	4	4	4
Daughters.....	3	4	5	7
War of 1812:				
Survivors.....	1	1	1	1
Widows.....	1,115	1,317	1,527	1,742
Indian wars:				
Survivors.....	1,565	903	1,066	1,370
Widows.....	3,169	3,320	3,479	3,739
Mexican war:				
Survivors.....	5,964	6,828	7,568	8,352
Widows.....	7,910	8,017	8,109	8,151
Service after Mar. 4, 1861:				
General laws—				
Army invalids.....	264,139	277,965	293,186	305,980
Army widows.....	86,866	87,046	86,504	88,463
Navy invalids.....	4,142	4,360	4,489	4,622
Navy widows.....	2,221	2,263	2,298	2,314
Army nurses.....	624	634	650	646
Act June 27, 1890—				
Army invalids.....	427,711	426,138	422,481	415,265
Army widows.....	155,249	148,201	138,490	129,412
Navy invalids.....	16,010	15,963	15,633	15,392
Navy widows.....	6,962	6,977	6,621	6,314
War with Spain:				
General laws—				
Army invalids.....	8,798	6,282	3,344	822
Army widows.....	3,488	2,727	1,981	845
Navy invalids.....	402	329	211	60
Navy widows.....	174	127	68	28
Total.....	996,545	999,446	997,735	993,529

NEW LEGISLATION.

As Exhibit 25 to the last annual report of Commissioner Ware is given the text of all legislation pertaining to the Pension Bureau enacted by the last (Fifty-seventh) Congress. The various heads of legislation are:

1. Details of appropriations for payment of pensions. (Acts of March 10, 1902, and December 23, 1902, 32 Stat. L., 62, 761.)
2. Details of appropriations for payment of employes in the Bureau and pension agencies and examining surgeons. (Acts of March 10, April 28, and December 23, 1902, and February 25 and March 3, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 32, 159, 761, 894, 1659.)
3. Extending the provisions of the act of July 27, 1892 (27 Stat. L., 281)—Indian wars, 1832 to 1842, to all Indian wars from 1817 to 1858. (Act of June 27, 1902, 32 Stat. L., 399.)
4. Relative to claims for reimbursement of expenses of last sickness and burial of deceased pensioners. (Act of June 21, 1902, and act of March 3, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 449, 1111.)
5. Joint resolution constraining the act of June 23, 1890 (26 Stat. L., 1823, in cases where soldiers had a prior service in the Confederate army, and in cases where no honorable discharge had been granted from a prior enlistment. (Act of July 1, 1902, 32 Stat. L., 750.)
6. Disposition of balance of pension money due a member of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers at the time of his death. (Act of July 1, 1902, 32 Stat. L., 564.)
7. Providing for the recognition of the military service of the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery. (Act of December 19, 1902, 32 Stat. L., 757.)
8. Increasing the pension for total deafness from \$30 to \$40 per month. (Act of January 15, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 773.)
9. Extending the benefits of the pension laws to the officers and privates of the militia disabled by reason of wounds or disabilities received or incurred in the service of the United States. (Act of January 21, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 779.)
10. Establishing the rank and pay of the commanding officers of the Philippine constabulary. (Act of January 30, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 783.)
11. Extending the provisions of the act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., 1445), to certain remarried widows not provided for in the original act. (Act of February 23, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 920.)
12. Increasing the pensions of those who have lost limbs in the service of the United States. (Act of March 2, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 944.)
13. Increasing the pension of Mexican war survivors to \$12 per month. (Act of March 3, 1903, 32 Stat. L., 1228.)

PENSION LEGISLATION OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

An act making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and the same are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the payment of pensions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for other purposes, namely:

For army and navy pensions, as follows: For invalids, widows, minor children, and dependent relatives, army nurses, and all other pensioners who are

now borne on the rolls, or who may hereafter be placed thereon, under the provisions of any and all acts of Congress, \$138,500,000: *Provided*, That the appropriation aforesaid for navy pensions shall be paid from the income of the navy pension fund so far as the same shall be sufficient for that purpose: *Provided further*, That the amount expended under each of the above items shall be accounted for separately.

For fees and expenses of examining surgeons, pensions, for services rendered within the fiscal year 1904, \$900,000. And each member of each examining board shall, as now authorized by law, receive the sum of \$2 for the examination of each applicant whenever five or a less number shall be examined on any one day, and \$1 for the examination of each additional applicant on such day: *Provided*, That if twenty or more applicants appear on one day, no fewer than twenty shall, if practicable, be examined on said day, and that if fewer examinations be then made, twenty or more having appeared, then there shall be paid for the first examinations made on the next examination day the fee of \$1 only until twenty examinations shall have been made: *Provided further*, That no fee shall be paid to any member of an examining board unless personally present and assisting in the examination of applicant: *And provided further*, That the report of such examining surgeons shall specifically state the rating which in their judgment the applicant is entitled to, and the report of such examining surgeons shall specifically and accurately set forth the physical condition of the applicant, each and every existing disability being fully and carefully described. The reports of the special examiners of the Bureau of Pensions shall be open to inspection and copy by the applicant or his attorney, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe: *And provided further*, That hereafter no pension attorney, claim agent, or other person shall be entitled to receive any compensation for services rendered in securing the introduction of a bill or the passage thereof through Congress granting pension or increase of pension; and any person who shall, directly or indirectly, contract for, demand, receive, or retain any compensation for such services shall be deemed guilty of an offense, and upon conviction thereof shall, for each and every such offense, be fined not exceeding \$500, or imprisoned not exceeding two years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

For salaries of 18 agents for the payment of pensions, at \$4,000 each, \$72,000. For clerk hire, \$430,000: *Provided*, That the amount of clerk hire for each agency shall be apportioned as nearly as practicable in proportion to the number of pensioners paid at each agency, and the salaries paid shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

For rents, \$10,600.
For stationery and other necessary expenses, including fuel and lights, \$35,000.

Approved December 23, 1902.

NOTE.—The above is practically in the same terms as the act of March 10, 1902, except that the amount provided for "rents" in the act of March 10, 1902, was \$9,480, and for "stationery and other necessary expenses," \$30,750.

An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and the same are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in full compensation for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, for the objects hereinafter expressed, namely:

Pension Office: For the Commissioner of Pensions, \$5,000; First Deputy Commissioner, \$3,600; Second Deputy Commissioner, \$3,600; chief clerk, \$2,250; assistant chief clerk, \$2,000; medical referee, \$3,000; assistant medical referee, \$2,250; two qualified surgeons, who shall be experts in their profession, at \$2,000 each; 38 medical examiners, who shall be surgeons of education, skill, and experience in their profession, at \$1,800 each; 10 chiefs of division, at \$2,000 each; law clerk, \$2,250; chief of board of review, \$2,250; 57 principal examiners, at \$2,000 each; 20 assistant chiefs of division, at \$1,800 each; 3 stenographers, at \$1,600 each; 70 clerks of class 4; 85 clerks of class 3; 329 clerks of class 2; 399 clerks of class 1; 250 clerks, at \$1,000 each; 145 copyists; superintendent of building, \$1,400; 2 engineers, at \$1,200 each; 3 firemen; 33 messengers; 12 assistant messengers; 20 messenger boys, at \$400 each; 45 laborers; 10 female laborers, at \$400 each; 15 charwomen; 1 painter, skilled in his trade, \$900; 1 cabinetmaker, skilled in his trade, \$900; captain of the watch, \$840; 3 sergeants of the watch, at \$750 each; 20 watchmen; in all, \$1,962,210.

For per diem, when absent from home and traveling on duty outside the District of Columbia, for special examiners, or other persons employed in the Bureau of Pensions, detailed for the purpose of making special investigations pertaining to said Bureau, in lieu of expenses for subsistence, not exceeding \$5 per day, and for actual and necessary expenses for transportation and assistance, and any other necessary expenses, including telegrams, \$350,000: *Provided*, That two special examiners or clerks detailed and acting as chief and assistant chief of the division of special examiners may be allowed, from this appropriation, in addition to their salaries and in lieu of per diem and all expenses for subsistence, a sum sufficient to make their annual compensation \$2,000 and \$1,800, respectively, and whenever it may be necessary for either of them to travel on official business outside the District of Columbia by special direction of the Commissioner, he shall receive the same allowance in lieu of subsistence and for transportation as is herein provided for special examiners and detailed clerks engaged in field service; and the Secretary of the Interior shall apportion the sum herein appropriated as to prevent a deficiency therein.

For an additional force of 150 special examiners for one year, at a salary of \$1,300 each, \$195,000; and no person so appointed shall be employed in the State from which he is appointed; and any of those now employed in the Pension Office or as special examiners may be appointed if they be found to be qualified.

Approved, February 25, 1903.

NOTE.—The above is a reenactment of the act of April 23, 1902, except that the total amount appropriated in the act of April 23, 1902 (first section), was \$1,964,810—one clerk at \$1,400 and one at \$1,200 having been dropped out in the act of February 25, 1903.

An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That the following sums be, and the same are hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year 1903, and for prior years, and for other objects hereinafter stated, namely:

PENSIONS.—Fees and expenses of examining surgeons, pensions, for services rendered within the fiscal year 1902. And each member of each examining board shall, as now authorized by law, receive the sum of \$2 for the examination of each applicant, whenever five or a less number shall be examined on any one day, and \$1 for the examination of each additional applicant on such day: *Provided*, That if twenty or more applicants appear on

one day no fewer than twenty shall, if practicable, be examined on said day, and if fewer examinations be then made, twenty or more having appeared, then there shall be paid for the first examinations made on the next examination day the fee of \$1 only until twenty examinations shall have been made: *Provided further*, That no fee shall be paid to any member of an examining board who was not personally present and assisting in the examination of applicant, \$83,000.
Approved, March 3, 1903.

An act to extend the provisions, limitations, and benefits of an act entitled "An act granting pensions to the survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk war, Creek war, Cherokee disturbances, and the Seminole war," approved July 27, 1892.

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions, limitations, and benefits of the act entitled "An act granting pensions to survivors of the Indian wars of 1832 to 1842, inclusive, known as the Black Hawk war, Creek war, Cherokee disturbances, and the Seminole war," approved July 27, 1892, be, and the same are hereby, extended, from the date of the passage of this act, to the surviving officers and enlisted men, including marines, militia, and volunteers of the military and naval service of the United States who served for thirty days or more and were honorably discharged under the United States military, State, Territorial, or provisional authorities in the Florida and Georgia Seminole Indian war of 1817 and 1818; the Torre River Indian war of Illinois of 1827; the Sac and Fox Indian war of 1831; the Sabine Indian disturbances of 1836 and 1837; the Cayuse Indian war of 1847 and 1848, on the Pacific coast; the Florida wars with the Seminole Indians, from 1842 to 1858, inclusive; the Texas and New Mexico Indian war of 1849 to 1856; the California Indian disturbances of 1851 and 1852; the Utah Indian disturbances of 1850 to 1853, inclusive, and the Oregon and Washington Territory Indian wars from 1851 to 1856, inclusive; and also to include the surviving widows of such officers and enlisted men: *Provided*, That such widows have not remarried: *And provided further*, That where there is no record of enlistment or muster into the service of the United States in any of the wars mentioned in this act the record of pay by the United States shall be accepted as full and satisfactory proof of such enlistment and service: *And provided further*, That all contracts heretofore made between the beneficiaries under this act and pension attorneys and claim agents are hereby declared null and void.
Approved June 27, 1902.

[Public—No. 182.]

CHAP. 1301.—An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes.

Provided further, That the investigation of claims for the reimbursement of expenses of the last sickness and burial of deceased pensioners shall be at the instance and under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, and no part of any accrued pension shall hereafter be used to reimburse any State, county, or municipal corporation for expenses incurred by such State, county, or municipal corporation under State law for expenses of the last sickness or burial of a deceased pensioner.
Approved June 28, 1902.

Joint resolution construing the act approved June 27, 1890, entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," and for other purposes.

Resolved, etc., That the act approved June 27, 1890, entitled "An act granting pensions to soldiers and sailors who are incapacitated for the performance of manual labor, and providing for pensions to widows, minor children, and dependent parents," is construed and held to include all persons and the widows and minor children of all deceased persons, subject to the limitations of said act, who served for ninety days in the military or naval service of the United States during the late war of the rebellion, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and section 4716, Revised Statutes United States, is amended accordingly:

Provided, however, That the foregoing shall not apply to those who served in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Regiments, United States Volunteer Infantry, who had a prior service in the Confederate army or navy and who enlisted in said regiments while confined as prisoners of war under a stipulation that they were not to be pensionable under the laws of the United States, nor to those who, having had such prior service, enlisted in the military or naval service of the United States after the 1st day of January, 1865.

SEC. 2. That in the administration of the pension laws any enlisted man of the Army, including regulars, volunteers, and militia, or any appointed or enlisted man of the Navy or Marine Corps, who was honorably discharged from the last contract of service entered into by him during the late war of the rebellion, shall be held and considered to have been honorably discharged from all similar contracts of service previously entered into by him with the United States during said war:

Provided, That such enlisted or appointed man served not less than six months under said last enlistment or appointment, that his entire service under said last enlistment or appointment was faithful, and that he did not receive by reason of said last enlistment or appointment any bounty or gratuity other than from the United States in excess of that to which he would have been entitled if he had continued to serve faithfully until honorably discharged under any contract of service previously entered into by him, either in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, during the war of the rebellion.
Approved July 1, 1902.

[Public—No. 217.]

CHAP. 1351.—An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Hereafter any balance of pension money due a member of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers at the time of his death shall be paid to his widow, minor children, or dependent mother or father in the order named, and should no widow, minor child, or dependent parent be discovered within one year from the time of the death of the pensioner, said balance shall be paid to the post fund of the Branch of said National Home of which the pensioner was a member at the time of his death, to be used for the common benefit of the members of the Home under the direction of the Board of Managers subject to future reclamation by the relatives hereinbefore designated, upon application filed with the Board of Managers within five years after the pensioner's death.
Approved, July 1, 1902.

An act providing for the recognition of the military service of the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery.

Be it enacted, etc., That the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery (three months' service), furnished by the State of Ohio under the call of the President of the United States issued on the 15th day of April, 1861, and which rendered actual military service under the command of officers of the United States and in cooperation with the regularly organized military forces of the United States, shall be held and considered to have been in the military service of, and to have formed a part of, the military establishment of the United States during the period for which said organization was enlisted and was in active service, and that the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to issue certificates of discharge, upon the application and satisfactory proof of identity, for all honorably discharged members of the said organization: *Provided*, That no pay, bounty, or other emoluments shall become due or payable by virtue of the passage of this act.
Approved, December 19, 1902.

[Public—No. 29.]

An act to increase pension for total deafness.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons on the pension roll of the United States, or who may hereafter be placed thereon, receiving pension for total loss of hearing due to causes originating in the military or naval service of the United States and in the line of duty shall be entitled to receive, in lieu of the amount now paid in case of such disability, the sum of \$40 per month: *Provided*, That said increase shall in no manner affect the rate of pension now being paid and allowable for partial deafness, the rating for which shall be continued and determined in accordance with the provisions of existing law.
Approved January 15, 1903.

[Public—No. 33.]

An act to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes.

SEC. 2. That when any officer, noncommissioned officer, or private of the militia is disabled by reason of wounds or disabilities received or incurred in the service of the United States he shall be entitled to all the benefits of the pension laws existing at the time of his service, and in case such officer, noncommissioned officer, or private dies in the service of the United States or in returning to his place of residence after being mustered out of such service, or at any time, in consequence of wounds or disabilities received in such service, his widow and children, if any, shall be entitled to all the benefits of such pension laws.
Approved January 21, 1903.

[Public—No. 37.]

An act to promote the efficiency of the Philippine constabulary, to establish the rank and pay of its commanding officers, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That officers of the Army of the United States may be detailed for service as chief and assistant chiefs, the said assistant chiefs not to exceed in number four, of the Philippine constabulary, and that during the continuance of such details the officer serving as chief shall have the rank, pay, and allowances of brigadier-general, and the officers serving as assistant chiefs shall have the rank, pay, and allowances of colonel: *Provided*, That the difference between the pay and allowances of brigadier-general and colonel, as herein provided, and the pay and allowances of the officers so detailed in the grades from which they are detailed shall be paid out of the Philippine treasury.

SEC. 2. That any companies of Philippine scouts ordered to assist the Philippine constabulary in the maintenance of order in the Philippine Islands may be placed under the command of officers serving as chief or assistant chiefs of the Philippine constabulary, as herein provided: *Provided*, That when the Philippine scouts shall be ordered to assist the Philippine constabulary, said scouts shall not at any time be placed under the command of inspectors or other officers of the constabulary below the grade of assistant chief of constabulary.
Approved January 30, 1903.

[Public—No. 124.]

An act to amend an act entitled "An act amending section 4708 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in relation to pensions to remarried widows," approved March 3, 1901.

Be it enacted, etc., That section 4708 of the laws of the United States governing the granting of army and navy pensions, be, and the same is, amended to read as follows:

SEC. 4708. That remarriage of any widow, dependent mother, or dependent sister entitled to pension shall not bar her right to such pension to the date of her remarriage, whether an application therefor was filed before or after such marriage; but on the remarriage of any widow, dependent mother, or dependent sister having a pension such pension shall cease: *Provided, however*, That any widow who was the lawful wife of any officer or enlisted man or other person in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States, as described in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of section 4693 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, during the period of his service in any war, and whose name was placed or shall hereafter be placed on the pension roll because of her husband's death as the result of wound or injury received or disease contracted in such military or naval service, and whose name has been or shall hereafter be dropped from said pension roll by reason of her marriage to another person who has since died or shall hereafter die, or from whom she has been heretofore or shall be hereafter divorced, upon her own application and without fault on her part, and if she is without means of support other than her daily labor, as defined by the acts of June 27, 1890, and May 9, 1901, shall be entitled to have her name again placed on the pension roll at the rate now provided for widows by the acts of July 14, 1862, March 3, 1873, and March 19, 1886, such pension to commence from the date of the filing of her application in the Pension Bureau after the approval of this act: *And provided further*, That where such widow is already in receipt of a pension from the United States she shall not be entitled to restoration under this act: *And provided further*, That where the pension of said widow on her second or subsequent marriage has accrued to a helpless or idiotic child, or a child or children under the age of 16 years, she shall not be entitled to restoration under this act unless said helpless or idiotic child, or child or children under 16 years of age, be then a member or members of her family and cared for by her, and upon the restoration of said widow the payment of pension to said child or children shall cease.

SEC. 2. That the provisions of this act shall be extended to those widows otherwise entitled whose husbands died of wounds, injuries, or disease contracted during the period of their military and naval service, but who were deprived of pension under the act of March 3, 1865, because of their failure to draw any pension by reason of their remarriage.

SEC. 3. That no claim agent or other person shall be entitled to receive any compensation for services in making application for pension under this act. Approved February 23, 1903.

[Public—No. 134.]

An act to increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs in the military or naval service of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act all persons on the pension roll, and all persons hereafter granted a pension, who, while in the military or naval service of the United States and in the line of duty, shall have lost one hand or one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of \$40 per month; that all persons who, in like manner, shall have lost an arm at or above the elbow or a leg at or above the knee, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of \$46 per month; that all persons who, in like manner, shall have lost an arm at the shoulder joint or a leg at the hip joint, or so near the shoulder or hip joint or where the same is in such a condition as to prevent the use of an artificial limb, shall receive a pension at the rate of \$55 per month, and that all persons who, in like manner, shall have lost one hand and one foot, or been totally disabled in the same, shall receive a pension at the rate of \$60 per month; and that all persons who, in like manner, shall have lost both feet shall receive a pension at the rate of \$100 per month: *Provided, however,* That this act shall not be so construed as to reduce any pension under any act, public or private.

Approved March 2, 1903.

[Public—No. 171.]

An act to increase the pension of Mexican war survivors to \$12 per month.

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension roll, at the rate of \$12 per month, all Mexican war survivors now on the roll, or who may hereafter be placed on the roll, under the acts of January 23, 1857, March 3, 1891, and February 5, 1897.

Approved March 3, 1903.

The Tariff the Issue in 1904.

GREAT BRITAIN PREPARING TO ADOPT REPUBLICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Mr. Chairman, in the debate to which we have listened in this House the last few days and which has covered a wide range of subjects we have heard the same old Democratic claim that the tariff is the mother of trusts, that the consumer pays the tariff duty, and that the people are being robbed of millions in unjust taxation in order to pile up a tremendous and unnecessary surplus for the Secretary of the Treasury to manipulate and hand out to favored banks as political favors. We know there is no truth in these charges. The American people have met these issues and have passed upon them. In 1896 they condemned the Wilson tariff law, and in 1900 they indorsed the Dingley tariff. The Democratic party, however, learns nothing from experience. The lessons of the past are lost upon them. It forgets the soup houses of 1893 to 1896, the smokeless chimneys, the closed factories, the idle workmen, the suffering and want which marked that period of depression, the result of the last Democratic tariff revision. It is becoming more and more apparent that the tariff is to be the issue for 1904.

The debate to which we have listened here this week is the opening skirmish in the Presidential campaign. Whether the Democratic party marches under the banner of tariff for revenue only or under the new flag of tariff reform the campaign will be directed against the Republican policy of protection. The assaults of the enemy will be aimed at the magnificent industrial edifice created by Republican tariff policies. Jealous of the splendid prosperity of American manufacturers, which has enabled them to invade the markets of the world and compete successfully with foreign manufacturers on their own ground, Democracy is already threatening to reduce that tariff protection which has built up our present tremendous volume of foreign and domestic trade.

OUR EXPORTS STILL INCREASING.

The latest official figures show there is no decrease in that great volume of food products and manufactured articles which are leaving our ports to supply the demands of foreign markets. The Treasury statement for October, 1903, shows that the United States exported merchandise that month to the aggregate value of \$160,370,059, a volume of business which has been surpassed only once in all our history. The greatest year in our export trade was 1900, and in that year our October exports exceeded the exports of last month some \$3,000,000, but as compared with October of last year the increase is over \$16,000,000. While our exports increased last month, the imports declined, giving us a favorable trade balance of \$78,439,054, or an excess over the trade balance of the same month in last year of \$21,535,696. The November exports slightly exceeded those of October, while the imports fell off, making a balance in our favor of \$83,000,000, or \$5,000,000 better than the October figures. The favorable trade balance for the United States during the first ten months of the present calendar year is nearly \$309,000,000, as against a balance during the same period of 1902 of \$298,000,000.

These encouraging figures show how slight is the ground for complaint over present trade conditions. While the rich men of Wall street have been going through a period of industrial depression, the country at large has been continuing its onward progress in the path of prosperity and business development. While the home market is the best market the country possesses,

yet the home market, great as it is, is unable to consume the entire output of our shops and our factories, and any diminution of consuming power at home leads immediately to an expansion of our foreign trade. The October export statement is most comforting, because it shows that if there is any falling off in domestic demand the surplus product can be marketed abroad. The goods must be sold abroad in competition with foreign goods, and the loss, if any, falls mainly upon the manufacturers, while labor is still employed at remunerative wages.

While tariff reform is being advocated in this country by the Democratic party, one of the great political parties in Great Britain is also raising the issue of tariff reform and is educating the voters in preparation for an appeal to the country upon that issue. But tariff reform in Great Britain means exactly the contrary from what it means in the United States. In this country tariff reform means a lowering of tariff duties. In Great Britain, under the leadership of some of her greatest statesmen, tariff reform means the enactment of tariff duties as a substitute for free trade. The free trader in the United States and the advocate of a tariff for revenue only has long pointed with pride to Great Britain as illustrating the beauties of the free-trade system. The leaders of the Conservative party are now attacking that system and making plain that it is retarding the country instead of assisting it in the great contest now being waged between the nations for commercial supremacy.

FREE TRADE HAS COST ENGLAND HER COMMERCIAL LEADERSHIP.

England is to-day losing her commercial leadership in many lines where she has long seemed to be impregnable intrenched. More than this, protectionists in Great Britain assail with great vigor the claim that the tariff breeds and encourages trusts and the fallacy that the consumer pays the tariff. This is especially true where the article in question is produced at home as well as abroad, for price is always a question of supply and demand. The speeches lately made by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain might well be made by any Republican member of this body. In the face of the rapid growth of the foreign trade of this country English statesmen can no longer close their eyes to the fact that severe remedies are needed to prevent Great Britain from being completely distanced in the contest now waging for the trade of the world.

The great leaders of the Conservative party, the party in power in Great Britain, Balfour and Chamberlain, have found themselves confronting a situation for which long-accepted English economic theories afford no relief. Like the leaders of the party in power in this country, they are men of affairs, men of resources, men of action. They are men who do things, who accomplish things. They have risen to the occasion, and are proclaiming a new tariff policy. They are boldly advocating protection, though free trade has been the settled policy of the Kingdom since 1846. The speeches of these statesmen have been listened to by record-breaking audiences. The halls where they speak have been filled to overflowing hours before the speaking began. British and Scotch workmen are especially enthusiastic for the new policy, realizing that it will insure higher wages and more permanent employment.

The new policy is supported by many of the leading newspapers of the Kingdom. Great Britain may not change her free-trade policy in one year or in two years; she is ultraconservative and changes are made there slowly; but it is the general belief of well-informed persons that the time is not far distant when that country will discard free trade and adopt the policy of protection. Will the people of the United States listen for a moment to the voice of the free-trade tariff reformer, when the only great free-trade country in the world is preparing to abandon free trade for protection?

In looking for protective-tariff arguments it is no longer necessary to confine one's self to the speeches of Republicans or the Republican newspapers. The speeches of Balfour and of Chamberlain, the columns of English daily papers and trade journals, are full of able arguments in support of the economic policy we recognize as the Republican protective tariff.

PREMIER BALFOUR'S CAMPAIGN FOR PROTECTION.

Premier Balfour delivered a speech at Sheffield October 1 in support of a protective tariff. This speech has been referred to as the "most momentous speech in the history of England." He referred to the fact that for a long time there has been great uneasiness among all parties in England as to the condition of British trade in relation to the trade of the world. The last sixty years, he declared, had been filled with refutations of the prophecies made by Cobden and the great tariff reformers associated with him in the movement of 1846. While the reforms of that year may have been necessary at that time, every year of the last thirty had contradicted their prophecies. Cobden, he declared, was a great man, but he failed to foresee the developments of the last half century, which had made free trade an empty name and

a vain force. For fifty years England, without making a sign, had watched the wall of hostile tariffs growing up and dividing nation from nation. He continued:

And our own colonies, our own flesh and blood, the very sinews of the growing empire are building up vested interests under another system of protection, which when it reaches its logical conclusion will make it as hard to export to them as to America or the other protected countries. And during the whole lifetime of those I am now addressing we have done nothing whatever to hinder a state of things so absolutely inconsistent with free trade as Cobden understood it. I ought to make one exception. One great and successful effort was made by Cobden himself when he negotiated a commercial treaty with France in 1858. When I consider that treaty I ask myself whether Cobden was, indeed, a Cobdenite.

Detailing the history of this treaty, Mr. Balfour contended that Cobden and Gladstone in negotiating it intended to offer a remission of taxation in return for which protectionist France was to make certain trading concessions, and, failing those concessions, the taxes were to be retained. He continued:

I consider that there is absolutely no difference between retaining a tax for diplomatic purposes, which you would otherwise repeal, and imposing a tax which you would otherwise not impose for carrying out the same object. I confess that when I hear criticisms upon American and German policy, which caused those great industrial nations to accompany their marvelous commercial expansion with protective duties, which must have thrown a most serious burden upon the consumer, I feel that they have a retort to which I have no reply. They may well say that, although protectionists, they have established permanent free trade within the limits of their own country, where everything which can hamper production or limit the increase of wealth has been abolished by their patriotism and foresight, and they may well ask us whether we in the British Empire can point to a similar picture, and whether our vaunted free trade includes those great self-governing colonies which we proudly boast are to be the great buttresses of our Empire in the future.

FREE TRADE AN EMPTY NAME AND A VAIN FARCE.

Free trade is, indeed, an empty name and a vain farce if it is a fact that foreign nations are setting themselves to divert our industries, exclude our manufactures, and limit the international play of supply and demand. There has been a development of which Cobden and his contemporaries never dreamed—the development of the trust system under protection. The phenomenon is so new that I dare scarce venture to prophesy what development it is likely to take, but you may be absolutely sure that in the alliance of trusts and tariffs there is a danger to the capital and enterprise of this country which acts and reacts not merely upon the capitalist, for he is at liberty to go to those regions where his industry will be looked after, but it will fall with its heaviest weight upon the artisan and the labor classes, which are incapable of protecting their interests against such a calamity.

Now, if I have rightly described the dangers and evils we suffer you are entitled to ask me whether I know of a cure. My answer will be disappointing. I know of no cure, but I do know of a palliation. The ill has gone too far. You will not get the great commercial nations of the world to abandon protection. I fear that you will not get the great self-governing colonies to retrace the steps which we, without remonstrance, permitted them to take. I am here, therefore, to recommend a palliation which I believe to be still possible. Cobden hoped and believed in free trade throughout the world. What in fact we have got to deal with is a world where international commercial relations are regulated entirely by treaty. It is common sense that we, the greatest commercial nation, should come forward and say, "We want to arrange treaties with you, but we have nothing to give you, nothing to withhold from you. We throw ourselves upon your mercy and consideration. Please remember how good we are to your commerce, how we throw no impediment in its way, and how we do all we can for you, and please don't forget us when you are making your next treaty." [Laughter.]

Are the negotiations between nations which have to deal with duties upon manufactured goods different from other negotiations carried on for other purposes? Did any man ever hear of successful negotiations without a nation having something to give, which, in case of necessity, it might withhold? My fundamental and essential request to you to-night, to which the rest of my speech is subsidiary and incidental, is that the people of this country should give to its Government that freedom of negotiation of which we have been deprived, not by force of circumstances or by the pressure of foreign powers, but by something I can only describe as our own pedantry and self-conceit.

Proceeding to deal with the question of how the freedom he desired was to be used, Mr. Balfour thought that the question was rather unreasonable. No minister could say how the navy was going to be used in a few years hence. One can only say it is necessary to have a great navy in case of need.

In my judgment—

Continued the premier—

It is equally necessary that this country should have its command of those instruments of negotiation for which I am pleading. The German States illustrate how a fiscal union had preceded and strengthened a political union, but as far as our colonies are concerned we have been content to see fiscal division growing up which no man of sober judgment can contemplate without disquiet.

This was a most important and difficult branch of the problem, though the speaker believed that the evils of taxation of food had been exaggerated beyond what reason and logic justified. Still, he thought that public opinion was not yet ripe for the taxation of food. Therefore, as an advisor of a great party, he was bound to tell them plainly that it was outside the limits of practical politics. He was not anticipating a general tariff war, but he thought—

we might inform any foreign country that we thought was treating us with outrageous fairness that, unless they modified their policy, we should take certain steps with regard to certain articles exported by them.

Concerning the question as to whether it was intended to reverse the verdict of the great case of Free Trade v. Protection, of 1846, his answer was that the controversy of 1846 was of no in-

terest to the present generation, and was utterly inappropriate to 1903. He said:

Our grandfathers fought the battle in view of the actual situation. I ask the nation to-day to follow their example and not be misled by misty debates. The second question is, "Do you desire to reverse and alter the fundamental fiscal tradition which has prevailed for two generations?" My answer is, "Yes; I do." [Loud cheers.]

He proposed to ask the country to reverse, annul, and altogether delete from their maxims of public conduct that they must never impose taxation except for revenue. In his judgment the country ought never to have stood self-deprived of that liberty, and it should publicly resume in the face of Europe and the world the liberty of which it deprived itself—the liberty which every other country in the world possessed, and that of which no country should deprive itself—the liberty of negotiating, and also something to negotiate with.

To the next question, Why they should want to resume this liberty, seeing how well the country had prospered without it, he would reply:

My object is to mitigate to the utmost the injury done us by hostile tariffs.

ENGLAND HAS SUFFERED GREATLY FROM FREE TRADE.

No free trader can deny that England has suffered greatly of late from foreign traffics, and that her commerce and industry have fallen into evil ways. Cobden never dreamed of a situation where England alone had free trade and all other countries would be under a protective tariff, and which has resulted in causing great damage to British capital and British workmen. Mr. Balfour's argument is that as the United States, through a protective tariff, has passed England as a manufacturing nation, his country should seriously consider the advisability of adopting a like policy. While he made no mention of the United States in his speech, it is apparent that his main reference was to this country, for it is from the manufacturers of this country that English industry has suffered most.

The United States and Germany furnish ample argument in support of his contention that England has injured herself by remaining for over half a century the only free-trade nation in a protective world. While both these countries have enjoyed wonderful commercial expansion under a policy of a protective tariff, they have enjoyed absolute and permanent free trade within their own boundaries. England, on the other hand, while it has thrown its own ports open to the commerce of all the world, has not enjoyed free trade with its own colonies. The latter are building up systems of protection which will in time make it as difficult to export English goods to them as to America. Another reason given for adopting protective duties is to have a weapon to be utilized in negotiating for trade concessions with other countries.

ENGLAND LEARNS FROM EXPERIENCE—DEMOCRACY DOES NOT.

On the day on which Mr. Balfour was delivering his splendid address in favor of a protective tariff, in which he showed that this policy had given tremendous development to the trade and industry of the United States at the expense of his own country, the Democratic party in convention assembled in Massachusetts adopted a platform which contained a vicious denunciation of our protective tariff and of our great industrial organizations, which, according to the testimony of Mr. Balfour, have been the very means by which the United States has gained the commercial supremacy now enjoyed. The platform reads:

We favor the immediate regulation of trusts under the interstate-commerce and taxation powers of Congress, and the admission, free of duty, of articles controlled by the trusts, raw materials of manufacture, and the necessities of life.

We have thus presented to our attention the astounding spectacle of the prime minister of Great Britain openly advocating the abandonment of free trade and the adoption of the American policy of protection, while on the very same day the Democratic party of Massachusetts, and in this respect the party in Massachusetts voices the sentiment of the party throughout the country, demanding the destruction of an economic system which, not only by the evidence of our own senses but on the testimony of Mr. Balfour, has brought us unprecedented prosperity and transferred Great Britain's commercial supremacy to the United States. Could political folly go further?

WHY GREAT BRITAIN ADOPTED FREE TRADE.

Mr. Balfour lately issued a pamphlet entitled "Insular Free Trade," in which he further explains his views. The contest between protection and free trade, which came to an end in Great Britain in 1846, was a struggle between two opposing ideas, viz, whether the country should become more and more a manufacturing nation or whether agriculture was to be maintained at whatever cost. The conclusion then was in favor of the first alternative, and Mr. Balfour says that the conclusion was right at that time, for the reason that an agricultural nation could neither have furnished the men nor the money necessary to enable Great Britain to carry out her imperial mission. To support a manufacturing community it is necessary that luxuries and

necessities be imported and that a large export trade be built up in order that sufficient capital may be raised to pay for the imports, and further that sufficient capital shall always be available for home investment and furnish employment for a rapidly growing city population.

They failed—

Mr. Balfour says—

to foresee that the world would reject free trade, and they failed to take full account of the commercial possibilities of the British Empire. If they had been right on the first point—if free trade had indeed become a universal creed—no controversy about our commercial relations with any fiscally independent community could possibly have arisen. If, on the other hand, they had succeeded in giving us imperial free trade, the protective tendencies of foreign nations would in the long run have been but of secondary importance. The double error has established insular free trade, with its inevitable limitations, and left us bearing all the burden, but enjoying only half the advantages which should attach to empire.

The ocean we are navigating is smooth enough, but where are we being driven by its tides? Does either theory or experience provide any consolatory answer to this question? Consider some of the points on which I have commented in these notes—the injury which foreign protection is calculated to inflict on a free-trade country; its need for open markets; the threatened contraction of existing free-trade areas; the increasing severity of tariffs in protectionist areas; the building up of vested protected interests in new countries, which may be discouraged now but not hereafter; the effect of this protection on our future corn supply; the uncertainty and loss which tariff-protected plants are inflicting and may hereafter inflict upon British capital invested in Britain. One and all of these evils, actual and prospective, are due to protection. The man who says that their cumulative effect is so small as to be negligible can hardly describe himself as a free trader—at least he can attach but a very small value to free trade. The man who, admitting their reality does not anticipate their increase has (it seems to me) not learned the lesson which theory and experience agree in teaching. The man who admits their present reality and the probability of their increase, and yet is too contentedly prosperous even to consider whether any mitigation is practicable, appears little short of reckless.

Mr. Balfour declares he can not accept any of these positions.

It seems to me—

He says—

clear that we are bound to seek for some mitigation, and that in one direction only can we hope to find it. The source of all the difficulty being protective tariffs imposed by fiscally independent communities, it is plain that we can secure no concession in the direction of a freer exchange except by negotiation, and that our negotiators can but appeal to self-interest, or, in the case of our colonies, to self-interest and sentiment combined. Now, on the free-trade theory, self-interest should have prevented these tariffs being originally imposed, but it did not, and if argument failed before powerful vested interests were created it is hardly likely to be effective now.

The only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other, and, instead of appealing to economic theories in which they wholly disbelieve, to use fiscal inducements which they thoroughly understand. We, and we alone among the nations, are unable to employ this means of persuasion, not because in our hands it need be ineffectual, but because, in obedience to "principle," we have deliberately thrown it away. The "principle" to which we pay this strangely incongruous tribute is, of course, the principle of free trade.

Again Mr. Balfour says:

A curious view of free trade is implied. Simply because fiscal inducement may, if it fails of its effect and not otherwise, involve duties not required for revenue purposes, or in certain cases even carry with it some element of protection to home industries, the nation is invited to turn away from it as from an accursed thing. This has always seemed to him extraordinarily foolish and quite inconsistent with rational free trade. By only one standard can the free-trade merits of any policy be judged, and that is the degree to which it promotes free trade.

Thou shalt not tax except for revenue is held by some to be a moral imperative, and could it be proved to those who took this standpoint that by risking the imposition of the most trifling protective tariff at home it was possible to secure the greatest relaxation of protective tariffs abroad they would only answer, "We must not do ill that good may come." To the premier this attitude of mind seems absurd. He holds himself to be in harmony with the true spirit of free trade when he pleads for freedom to negotiate, that freedom of exchange may be increased. It ought not to be difficult to devise a method of turning it to the most useful account.

Fine!—

Says Mr. Balfour—

were I proved to be wrong my opinion on the fundamental question would remain unchanged. Where we fall others may succeed. It can not be right for a country with free-trade ideas to enter into competition with protectionist rivals self-deprived of the only instrument by which their policy can conceivably be modified. The first and most essential object of our national efforts should be to get rid of the bonds in which we have gratuitously entangled ourselves. The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is an important yet, after all, only a secondary issue. What is fundamental is that our liberty should be regained.

FUTILITY OF FREE TRADE IN A PROTECTION WORLD.

The question presents itself to Great Britain to-day whether a system suited to a free-trade nation in a world of free traders is suited to a free-trade nation in a world of protectionists. While Great Britain has been very much hampered by foreign tariffs, it has in spite of them been able to carry on an export trade which has increased rather than diminished, and has enjoyed an import trade of great magnitude. The reason Great Britain has been able to enjoy any degree of prosperity with an adverse balance of trade of about \$800,000,000 a year is the fact that foreign countries owe Great Britain a great deal of money, which they pay by means of imports into that country, and large sums are paid to the British merchant marine for carrying the goods of foreign nations; that large portions of the world exist which have no protective tariffs, and that in many countries the bar of a protective tariff does not exclude all English manufactured articles.

The question Mr. Balfour considers, however, is not the present condition of British trade, but its tendency. While export trade has increased absolutely, its rate of increase on the whole has seriously diminished. In some important departments there has been no increase and in others there are symptoms of decay. He believes that this condition of affairs has been made possible by the operation of hostile tariffs. Excluding coal from the sum of British exports, there remains an absolute diminution relative to population. Mr. Balfour sees no prospect that conditions will improve under present laws. While the lowest developed protection countries, like Russia and some English colonies, have not yet raised their tariff wall so high as to absolutely exclude all English manufactures, yet the tendency is in that direction.

England is to-day suffering from another kind of injury, inflicted by tariffs working in combination with large industrial organizations. Manufacturers who have, with the help of protection, obtained a command of their home market are at an immense advantage compared with manufacturers in a free-trade country. The unprotected manufacturer must either restrict his output to a point well within ordinary demand or not infrequently shut down his plant. The protected manufacturer is saved from the possibility of foreign competition, and when the home demand is supplied can dispose of his surplus product abroad. A free-trade country is at a great disadvantage in meeting such competition. German steel has even been sold in Great Britain at a price below which it could possibly be manufactured there. Mr. Balfour instanced the case of a shipbuilder who was able to secure contracts solely because he was able to secure a consignment of German steel at a price lower than it could have possibly been produced either by British or German ironmasters.

THE BRITISH BLUE BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

Soon after this pamphlet was issued there appeared a British Blue Book of 500 pages, showing the trade of the leading nations of the world and reviewing the various aspects of British and foreign commerce and the industrial conditions which prevail in the United States, Russia, Germany, France, Austria, Great Britain, and Ireland.

One of the most important phases dealt with is imports and exports. The tables show that exports from Great Britain to the United States declined from \$145,000,000 in 1890 to \$97,000,500 in 1902, while the imports rose, \$485,000,000 to \$635,000,000. The total exports to all foreign countries declined in the same period \$90,000,000, though when the colonies are included the decline only amounts to \$5,000,000. Figures are also presented for twenty-two years, from 1880 to 1901, showing the amount of manufactured goods, the finished products of factories and workshops, purchased by the four leading countries in those two years and the percentage of increase.

I take the following figures from this official British publication:

THE OFFICIAL BRITISH FIGURES.

Imports of manufactured goods.

Country.	1880.	1901.	Increase.
United Kingdom	\$416,000,000	\$713,500,000	Per cent. 71.4
Germany	155,500,000	266,000,000	33
France	120,000,000	154,500,000	28
United States	279,500,000	336,500,000	20.3

Observe that in the twenty-two years the United Kingdom has increased her purchases of other nations' manufactured goods to nearly twice as great a degree as any other of the four, and three and a half times as much as the United States. With all her workshops and her shopkeepers she is becoming more and more dependent upon the workshops and shopkeepers of other lands. Now, let us look at the amounts of manufactured goods sold by these same four countries in the same years:

Exports of manufactured goods.

Country.	1880.	1901.	Increase.
United Kingdom	\$901,000,000	\$1,105,000,000	Per cent. 11.6
Germany	417,500,000	723,000,000	73.1
France	338,000,000	450,000,000	33.2
United States	107,000,000	428,000,000	300

Observe, again, that Great Britain has increased her sales of factory products least of all—less than one-sixth as much as Germany, and less than one twenty-sixth as much as the United States. In brief, the "nation of shopkeepers" and the "workshop of the world" is rapidly becoming a nation of purchasers from the shopkeepers and workshops of other nations. What wonder that the British prime minister thinks it possible that there is something wrong with the fiscal system under which such retrogression is being effected!

The proportion of the United Kingdom exports, as between protected and unprotected countries, in the markets of the world has been reversed since 1850. Then it was 58 per cent to the protected countries and 44 per cent to the others. In 1902 the proportion was 42 per cent to the protected countries and 58 per cent to the others. A valuable explanation is given of the much quoted excess of imports over exports, which has so often been held to be a sign of British trade decline. The Blue Book says that, while the excess of

yearly imports averages about \$800,000,000, the income receivable from foreign investments, calculated at \$312,500,000, added to the earnings of the British merchant fleet engaged in foreign trade, calculated at \$450,000,000, "is probably more than sufficient to account for the average excess of imports." Such estimates have never before been included, hence the misleading character of the usual figures.

HOW TARIFFS DIFFER.

Americans have made large investments in the United Kingdom of recent years, and American repurchases of railroad and other securities are admitted to have to some extent affected the fiscal figures, but "they are not likely to form a serious factor." Much attention is devoted to the tin-plate industry and the effect of the Dingley and McKinley tariffs. The figures show that the total exports of tin from the United Kingdom have declined only a little over \$5,000,000 since 1897, with a marked increase in the quantity produced and in the value of a number of mills since 1898. Dealing exhaustively with the tariffs of all nations, the Blue Book says the American system of drawbacks "necessarily results in inequality of treatment, and may yield an export bounty to the best-equipped manufacturers while others sustain a loss."

In a table showing the ad valorem, equivalent to import duties, levied by foreign countries on the principal articles of British export, Russia comes first with 131 per cent, the United States next with 73 per cent, and Austria follows with 55 per cent. Though Germany comes sixth, it is pointed out that her existing tariff is so effective as to be more highly protective against Great Britain than the percentage shows. Before the trade of the United Kingdom and any of the colonies could be reserved to British vessels, the board of trade states that the existing treaties with Austria, Greece, and other countries would have to be denounced. The tables show that the United Kingdom is most dependent on imported wheat, the United States being wholly independent.

COMPARISON OF WAGES.

The question of wages and the cost of living, especially the price of food, which has figured so largely in the recent Chamberlain agitation, takes up pages, and is summed up as follows: "The average level wages in the United States are one and one-half times greater than in the United Kingdom, while in Germany wages are only two-thirds and in France three-fourths of the average prevailing in the United Kingdom."

The percentage of family incomes, taking New York as the capital of the United States, is estimated (on the basis of 100 per cent for the United Kingdom) for the United States, 123 per cent; for France, 83 per cent, and for Germany, 69 per cent. The mean weekly rate of wages in skilled trades in the United States is estimated at 179 per cent, and in the United Kingdom at 100 per cent.

DISRAELI'S FALSE PREDICTION.

Benjamin Disraeli, the profound English statesman, declared fifty years ago that protection was dead. To-day protection is not only very much alive, but free trade is on trial as it has never been before. Conditions have arisen which were not foreseen and could not have been foreseen by the English statesmen who favored free trade in 1846. Chief among these changed conditions are the phenomenal development, commercially and politically, of the United States and the invasion of the markets of the world by American goods.

FREE TRADE DID NOT MAKE GREAT BRITAIN PROSPEROUS.

It is a mistaken notion that free trade brought prosperity to Great Britain. At the time she discarded protection she was the most prosperous and the richest nation in the world. She was not only the greatest manufacturing country in the world, but she was the only manufacturing country. She surpassed all nations in wealth, enterprise, skill, and machinery. She commanded the ocean to a large extent, and the United States was her only competitor for carrying the commerce of the world. The British flag floated in every port, and every nation drew bills of exchange on London. Her manufacturing interests spread with wonderful rapidity. New enterprises were introduced and new lines of trade were built up. Hand work gave place to machine work, an industrial revolution cheapened production, and British machinery and British skill and ingenuity made England the home of the cheapest manufactured products produced anywhere.

With the increase of production came a cheapening of the cost. This principle was true when applied to manufactures, but English economists made the mistake of thinking it would also be true in the case of agriculture. England has found out to her sorrow that this was not true. It has taken Great Britain the last thirty-three years to undo in Ireland the mistake it had been committed to there for three and a half centuries. From the time of Henry VIII until the middle of the last century the great object of British statesmen of all schools was to perpetuate the English land system in Ireland. Since Mr. Gladstone began the work, in 1868, the English Parliament has been busily engaged in attempting what it has only lately succeeded in doing, viz, get rid of the landlords in Ireland. While industrial production on a large scale cheapens cost, agriculture thrives best under small farms, owned and tilled by their owners. The result has been that English agriculture has been ruined. One wonders still how an entire population could be deceived by such false political ideas. The statesmen of Europe refused to follow the lead of England and did not fall into her error.

On the contrary, as soon as English belief in free trade became strong enough to make it reasonably certain that England would not retaliate were tariffs adopted hostile to her, such tariffs were adopted all over the world for the express purpose of fostering home industry and excluding British manufactures. The experience of the last half century throughout the world shows that the free traders were mistaken. Great Britain enjoyed wonder-

ful prosperity when she adopted free trade, and her superiority in machinery and in workmen enabled her to maintain that supremacy for a considerable period. During the last twenty-five years or more she has, however, been losing her foreign trade outside of her trade with her own colonies. Other countries, and especially the United States, have forged ahead, while she has lagged behind. This controversy is of especial interest to this country, for the adoption of the protective-tariff policy by Great Britain would probably narrow our foreign market considerably.

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN'S SPLENDID FIGHT FOR A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

I turn now to the recent public utterances of Joseph Chamberlain, who retired from the English cabinet in order that he might be free to fight the battle of protection as against free trade. He is the special representative of the great middle class of England, of the industrial and commercial classes. The working classes of England look up to him as their special friend. He has been their champion on many a hard-fought battlefield, and they repose great confidence in his unselfish devotion to their interest. His present appeal to his countrymen to support him in his new crusade for a protective tariff has met with a prompt and enthusiastic response. He minces no words in describing the weak spot in England's present commercial condition. I quote from a letter he addressed last month to the London Daily Telegraph:

It is not well with British trade. After a long period of success the policy of unrestricted foreign imports has now shown evident signs of failure. Our exports are stationary in amount and declining in character. We receive from our competitors a larger proportion of manufactured goods and we send them a larger proportion of raw materials than we used to. Our supremacy in what have always been considered our standard industries has been wrested from us or is seriously menaced. One by one our markets, once profitable and expanding, are closed to us by hostile tariffs. We have lost all power of bargaining successfully for the removal or rejection of these barriers to our trade. Our colonies alone continue to increase their purchases, and even here we must abandon all hope of expansion, and we are threatened with the loss of our existing trade if we are unable to meet their requests for reciprocal preference.

NOT FAIR COMPETITION.

Our competition, which is already so acute, is not fair competition. It is supported by bounties, fostered by the operations of trusts, and strengthened by the economical advantages which our opponents enjoy in the matter of cheaper labor, and in the absence of all those regulations which we have assented to in the interest of the working classes, and in order to raise their standard of living. The case for inquiry is overwhelming, and these articles suggested in the cause of reform will be overwhelming also. The supporters of our antiquated policy resort naturally to well-worn devices which have always been at the service of every opponent of reform.

It is not easy to characterize such perversions of the truth in parliamentary language. They are founded on garbled and incomplete extracts from speeches, selected without regard to their tenor, and they attribute motives and intentions which exist only in the imagination of the free-food controversialist. The line of argument, concisely stated, seems to be as follows:

Firstly, it is intended to give preference to the colonies, whose chief exports are articles of food. It will therefore be necessary to put a duty upon food. This statement implies that food is free now and deliberately ignores the fact that a large part of our revenue is raised by taxes on food and drink, the bulk of which is consumed by the working classes.

TAX WILL NOT BE PAID BY CONSUMER.

Secondly, the whole amount of the new duty will not be paid by the consumer. This is according to the doctrine of the most eminent of modern economists, who say that where an article imported from a foreign country is also produced at home and in the colonies a tax upon foreign articles alone will not raise the price proportionately with the duty, but the cost to the consumer will be mainly regulated by the supply and demand. This is especially the fact when the duty is small. There is much experience to confirm the theory of the economist. Neither in France, Germany, nor in any other protected country have the prices risen by the amount of the protective duty, while in this country the small tax of 1s. on corn did not raise the price at all.

It should be noted that the danger in future is not a rise in prices owing to taxation, but a failure in the supply due to natural causes, such as drought, or to artificial combinations, such as the Lister corner. This danger is greatest when the sources of supply are few and tend themselves to monopoly, while the policy that develops new markets and increases the food-producing areas of the world will tend to cheapness, and, above all, stability of price.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Thirdly, it is said the duty to be imposed will be a heavy one, at least 5s. and possibly 10s. a quarter. There is absolutely no foundation for this assertion in any of the statements.

Fourthly, it is said that the duty must be a high one in order to meet the cost of the old-age pensions. This ignores the fact that the question of old-age pensions is entirely independent of finance reform. The amount gained by the exchequer from any new duty might, if the working classes, who form the majority of electors, desire it, be applied to making better provision for old age, but not as a necessary consequence, and it can not be done without their authority and good will.

If, as seems probable, they prefer the bird in the hand to the bird in the bush—that is, if they prefer immediate advantage to the more distant prospect of a pension—their decision will be final, and in this case there will be no increase in the duties on food, but only a transfer of an existing tax from one article of food to another, from tea and sugar, for instance, to corn, so that the cost of living to the consumer will not be increased in the slightest degree.

TARIFF DUTIES PARTLY PAID BY FOREIGNER.

To sum up, any duty on food imposed to secure preferential trade with our colonies will be a small one. It may probably be wholly paid, and will certainly be partly paid, by the foreigner. The additional cost, if any, to the working classes will be fully met by an equivalent reduction in other articles of food equally necessary to their existence. The "dear food" cry is an imposture and the "little loaf" a bugbear. The question of tariff reform may be considered on its merits without any fear that the cost of living will be

increased to the poor. On the other hand, our tariffs may be revised so as to secure the following advantage:

First. An increase of trade with our fellow-subjects and best customers, who not only take much more per head from us than foreigners, but take it in the shape of manufactured products whose production involves the employment of the greatest amount of labor.

Second. The power of bargaining with our competitors and thereby securing either that they shall take more of the productions of our labor in exchange for the products of their labor or that they shall leave the British market more completely to British labor.

Third. In either case this change and the increased trade with our colonies will provide more employment for our own people and a greater demand for our own labor.

Fourth. If the demand for labor increases, the wages of labor must rise also, and full work at fair prices will enable our manufacturers to pay higher wages without loss to themselves.

Lastly, we shall have made a great advance toward the union of the Empire and have taken the first step toward freer trade with the rest of the world.

All the points here mentioned are developed with a wealth of facts, figures, and original illustrations in the articles now reprinted. These form a complete popular handbook on the subject which will be most valuable to students and speakers in the coming campaign.

CHAMBERLAIN.

FREE TRADE A DISCREDITED DOGMA.

In a preface to a pamphlet published a few days later Mr. Chamberlain declares that—

Every other nation and all our own self-governing colonies have refused to accept the doctrine of Cobden, and yet they ought, according to its dogmas, to be in the last stage of decline; but they have grown during the last twenty years in wealth, population, and trade, and in everything that goes to make up the greatness of a nation. Those who maintain, in a spirit of blind ob-scurantism, the absolute inspiration of the antiquated doctrine will have much to explain.

Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain declared:

It is difficult to believe that the results of the investigation will not convince every impartial man of the necessity for some reconstruction of the system which has remained stationary and unaltered for more than half a century, while every other policy has been modified and adapted to meet modern requirements.

Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain points out that the prosperity of the working classes has increased in greater proportion in the protected countries than in the United Kingdom, and says:

Free trade, if it had ever existed, might have secured for us all that its promoters promised; but free imports without free trade have brought us face to face with problems which never entered into Cobden's calculations. We know that the idea of a united empire did not appeal to him, and that he regarded the colonies as an incumbrance, to be got rid of as soon as possible. The Little Englanders who follow his lead are not likely to be moved by any consideration arising out of our new-found pride and faith in our distant kinsmen. But what would Cobden have said if he had foreseen that the trades unions, whose existence he deprecated, would be successful in protecting labor in a score of ways, tending to increase the rate of wages and to raise the standard of living?

Would Cobden, as the representative of the manufacturing class, have still maintained that while the manufacturer was artificially prevented from obtaining labor at the lowest rate he ought to rest content when the products of foreign labor, untrammelled by any regulations and legislation to which he has to submit, undersell him in his own market? Cobden's scheme was at least consistent. It was free labor as well as free imports; but free imports combined with protected labor is neither consistent nor profitable to any of the parties concerned.

Mr. Chamberlain holds that the consoling theory that other countries are ruining themselves by bounties and import duties hardly coincides with the fact that British exports have been practically stationary for twelve years, while those of other countries have increased so rapidly "if the relative progress continues for a few years longer they will have left us far behind."

Dealing with the colonies' desire for better commercial treatment, he says:

It is no answer to offer them an imperial council, which they have already refused. If we reject their proposals for reciprocity we shall be in great danger of losing our present trade with them as well as the prospects of its future extension. It is entirely owing to the growth of our colonial trade that the actual and heavy decline in our exports to foreign protected countries has been concealed in our general returns.

Do the stern advocates of unrestricted imports consider it satisfactory that we should have nothing to bargain with and continue to be contented with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, in the shape of the most-favored-nation clause, which only gives us the benefits of arrangements previously made with sole reference to the interests of other persons, and in respect whereof we had never been consulted? Is it not childish to ignore the fact that by bargaining on equal terms other nations have been able to promote their special interests, and that if we had in our hands weapons of retaliation we should probably be able to bring the world much nearer a universal free-trade system than it has ever been since Cobden's time?

Our free-trade friends will have to be a little more definite and more accurate. They will have to explain why the transfer of taxation, say from tea to bread, would be disastrous, even though it benefited our industries and restored them to something like the relative position which they enjoyed twenty years ago. They will have to decide once for all whether foreign bounties are a blessing or a curse, whether "dumping" is a philanthropic operation whereby foreigners are endeavoring to secure the welfare of this country, or an insidious attempt to ruin our industries and obtain our markets for themselves. They will not be allowed to evade these questions by the cheap device of abusing their opponents.

Dealing passionately with the accusation that his policy is intended to reduce the workman and his family to starvation, Mr. Chamberlain writes:

Let them at least admit that, rightly or wrongly, this policy is propounded in the interests of the masses of the people, of the poor much more than of the rich, and that those who are responsible for it have earned by strenuous endeavor in the past the right to resent the charge of neglecting the interests of the industrial population.

Mr. Chamberlain, it is declared, has not the slightest intention of reviving the old corn laws, and that even if the wheat tax slightly raised the price of

bread it could be accompanied by a revision of other taxation, so as to "make it absolutely certain that the working classes will not pay a farthing more in their necessary household expenditure than they paid before the change in the system of tariffs."

American trade and the "dumping" of the American surplus are minutely dealt with and are summed up as follows:

The fact stares us in the face, plain and undeniable, that McKinleyism has not produced the immediate results which it should have produced if the economic doctrine upon which our fiscal system is based really contained the whole truth of economic science. Which is the most prudent course, to treat the facts with disdain, or to reconsider the doctrine?

THE AMERICAN FREE TRADER LOSING HIS MAIN COMFORT.

The example of Great Britain has through all these years been the main comfort of the American free trader. For over half a century free trade has been the commercial policy of that country, and has almost been worshiped as a fetish. It required a man of great ability and of great courage to suggest even that any other fiscal policy was worth considering. The first announcement made by Mr. Chamberlain, some six months since, that he favored a slight departure from the accepted policy of free trade came almost as a distinct shock to the English public. So ably and convincingly have the arguments been presented in behalf of a change from free trade to protection that Balfour and Chamberlain are everywhere met by large and enthusiastic audiences. They everywhere have received the thundering applause of their adherents and the respectful attention of their opponents. Those who come to hear them prepared to jeer go away, if not convinced, at least in a most thoughtful frame of mind.

The beginning of a change in England's fiscal policy is at hand. As the free trader in this country contemplates the probable defection of Great Britain from his favored principle he has no friendly feeling for the statesmen who are leading in the movement. They can not answer Chamberlain's arguments, so they resort to the argument of calling him names. They say he is a calamity howler, and accuse him of trying to set Great Britain back sixty years on the rocky highway of commercial progress. No attempt, however, is made to dispute the facts on which Balfour and Chamberlain rest their arguments for a change of trade policy. The facts being admitted, as they are, it follows conclusively that some change of policy is necessary to prevent further deterioration in the commercial situation in Great Britain. No one but these Conservative leaders have been able to suggest any remedy.

The decline of British manufactured exports, the increase of manufactured imports, the dependence of the British export trade upon coal to keep up its figures, the far greater value of colonial than of strictly foreign trade, the helpless situation of a free-trade nation trading in a world where protection is almost universal, have all been pointed out in powerful language, and have made plain that something new must be substituted for an antiquated policy of free trade if Great Britain is to hold her own in the commercial warfare now being carried on between the leading nations. Instead of despairing for the future and sitting down with folded hands to bewail the situation, Balfour and Chamberlain refuse to believe in the setting of the British star, and are blazing a way by which all lost ground can be regained and imperial trade no longer be sacrificed to a mere superstition. Englishmen are not so foolish as to close their eyes to the situation or to refuse to consider most carefully the defects of their present commercial policy.

CHAMBERLAIN'S GREAT GLASGOW SPEECH.

In the great speech which Mr. Chamberlain delivered last month in Glasgow he declared:

I see signs of decay, cracks and crevices showing that the foundations are not broad enough and deep enough to sustain the British Empire.

Continuing his warning, he declared:

I want to prepare you for a great struggle, so serious that if we are defeated the country will lose its place among the great nations. If we lose our foreign trade in proportion to our population, then we shall sink into a fifth-rate nation.

The figures he presented show beyond any question that but for the growing colonial trade England would already be far in the rear of the leaders in the race for commercial supremacy:

In 1902 the total British exports were £283,000,000, as against £241,000,000 in 1901, £283,000,000 in 1890, and £257,000,000 in 1872. In thirty years there is a total increase of £26,000,000. But in 1872 the exports to British possessions were only £61,000,000, and in 1902 they were £109,000,000, whereas in 1872 the exports to foreign countries were £186,000,000 and in 1902 only £174,000,000. Converting the English pound into American money, there was a loss from 1872 to 1902 in goods sold abroad outside of British possessions of about \$110,000,000.

Consider now the gains of other countries. German exports have increased from £116,000,000 in 1872 to £241,000,000 in 1902, a gain of more than \$600,000,000 a year; French exports, from £150,000,000 to £170,000,000; Belgian, from £42,000,000 to £74,000,000; Austrian, from £37,000,000 to £81,000,000; Italian, from £46,000,000 to £59,000,000, and the United States exports from £80,000,000 to £222,000,000, a gain of nearly a billion dollars a year.

In 1872 British exports to countries other than colonies and dependencies were larger than the German by £80,000,000, than the French by £36,000,000, than those of the United States by £107,000,000. They were larger than the Belgian, Austrian, and Italian put together by £70,000,000. They were larger than all those and the United States exports combined. They were approximately as large as the exports of Germany and the United States put together!

In 1902 the German exports were nearly 70,000,000 pounds larger than the British exports to foreign countries (colonies and dependencies not included); the United States 108,000,000 pounds larger; the combined Belgian, Austrian, and Italian 40,000,000 larger. While the French had gained 13 per cent, the Italian 24 per cent, the Belgian 76 per cent, the Austrian 108 per cent, the German 108 per cent, and the United States 217 per cent, Great Britain had made a loss of 21 per cent.

COLONIAL TRADE NOW ENGLAND'S MAIN SUPPORT FOR EXPORTS.

Every Englishman who is well informed knows that English exports are losing their lead in all the rich markets of the world save those where the British flag still flies. But for the export trade to British colonies and dependencies, the export trade of Great Britain would now be in a most deplorable condition. Commercial losses in the trade with foreign nations have, however, nearly, if not quite, been compensated for by gains in exports to her colonies, and Mr. Chamberlain points out the remedy for present trade troubles in the way of preferential tariffs between the mother country and her colonies, which will shut out other countries from that trade. That some such policy will be adopted by Great Britain is beyond question. The only wonder is that her public men have not long since realized the situation and taken steps to correct the evil from which the country has been suffering. The colonial market is, or should be, part of the great home market of the British Empire. The people of the United States have long since learned that their home market is the grandest market in the world, and the Republican party by means of its protective-tariff policies has built up and protected that home market and saved it for our own people.

It is inevitable that Great Britain must in time adopt some such policy, and while we may deplore such a change from the traditional tariff policy of that country, and while it will inevitably inflict loss upon our own export trade, yet no American, unless it is the free trader, will have a right to complain. If Great Britain adopts the tariff policies of this country, she will only be protecting her own interests, and this she has a perfect right to do. The only feature of the situation which excites any surprise is the folly and the blindness of the tariff reformer in the United States, who still favors and argues for a tariff for revenue only, in the face of the fact that Great Britain is learning the mistake implied in absolute freedom of trade and is preparing herself to abandon that traditional policy and to adopt the American and the Republican party policy of a tariff for the protection of home interests.

GREAT BRITAIN HAS SACRIFICED HER HOME MARKET.

The fact that Great Britain has been sacrificing her home market is apparent when we consider that while her population has increased greatly in the last thirty years, she sells about \$110,000,000 a year less to foreign countries than thirty years ago, and in that time foreign nations have made such inroads into the British home market that her imports have increased more than \$800,000,000 a year, a net loss to that country of nearly a billion dollars a year, or \$165 to each adult male in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

The remedy he proposes is a simple one. It bodes no good to this country, but it is a policy demanded by patriotic considerations. What he proposes is this:

Shut Germany, the United States, France, Belgium, Austria, Italy, and others who are taking our foreign trade out of our market, and we buy more from our own people at home and from our colonies and dependencies, who in turn reciprocally buy more from us. Then, to get into our markets with our colonies and dependencies or to get in the markets of our possessions with us, they must let down the barriers again to Great Britain, which will restore British foreign trade to its former greatness and glory.

Mr. Chamberlain declares plainly that free trade is played out; that while it may have been applicable to the conditions that existed sixty years ago, yet those conditions have changed so materially in the meantime that to adhere to an antiquated fiscal policy under new conditions would be the height of folly and would be nothing less than commercial suicide. The time has come, he says, to follow the course commanded by the teachings of experience, rather than the half-century-old precepts of political economists, who never dreamed that free-trade England would find herself arrayed against a world where protective tariffs were almost universal. Mr. Chamberlain accepts the full consequences of his new policy. He does not believe, as do some of his still faint-hearted followers, that Great Britain can adopt protection in part and remain free trade in part. He adopts the only consistent and practicable policy, that protection must be for all or for none.

If a protective duty is to be granted manufactured articles, he sees plainly that the farmer must receive a like benefit, and demands that there must be a tax imposed on imported food. He shows plainly, however, that by reason of a reduction of tariff, which he favors on some other foodstuffs besides wheat, the price of bread will not be increased, and the cost of living will fall rather than rise. His tariff scheme proposes a tax of 2s. a quarter on all foreign wheat and a tax on flour sufficient to encourage the British miller, but with no tax on corn. The tax on

colonial wheat would be taken off entirely. He proposes an ad valorem tax of 5 per cent on foreign meats, excepting bacon, including live cattle, dressed beef, and all dairy products. There would also be a general tariff of 10 per cent on all foreign manufactured goods. Raw materials would still remain on the free list. To offset the new tax on food, he would remit three-quarters of the tax on tea, half the tax on sugar, and make corresponding reductions on coffee and cocoa duties.

Mr. Chamberlain prophesies that this action would meet with a very hearty and cordial response from the colonies, and would result in very substantial advantages to be given British commerce by her colonies and dependencies. The colonies would undoubtedly so arrange their tariffs as to reciprocate the preferences given them by the mother country. The prospective advantage of this to England would be equal to additional employment to 615,000 workmen at 30s. a week, a sum sufficient to support over 3,000,000 persons.

WE SUPPORT OUR HOME MARKET AND PROSPER.

In a speech delivered at Greenock Mr. Chamberlain said he was a free trader and wanted to live harmoniously with his neighbors; but he desired free trade that was a real free trade and gave England the same concessions which she gave to other nations. If other nations would not exchange on those terms, he was not a free trader at any price.

The policy of their competitors and the policy of the United States is to use tariffs to support the home trade and exclude foreign trade. Under this policy the United States, Germany, and France are steadily increasing their foreign trade, while Great Britain is as steadily losing her trade with foreign nations. Mr. Chamberlain asked why all protective nations prosper more than the United Kingdom, and declared if the free traders can satisfactorily answer that question he would ask to be allowed to hide his diminished head. It is unnecessary to add that no answer was given him. The statistics of any period during the last thirty years, he declared, would support his arguments; even a small nation like Sweden, under a protective tariff, had prospered more in that time, proportionately, than had Great Britain. The policy of protection, as supported by the late President McKinley, and long before by the greatest of Americans, Abraham Lincoln, at a later day by Bismarck, and by other distinguished statesmen, had a great deal behind it. Continuing, he declared:

I say that you are inconsistent; you are adopting a suicidal course. If you proceed in the present policy your workmen must either take lower wages or lose their work.

Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to refer to the enormous output of the United States Steel Corporation works and the diminishing home demand for steel in the United States owing to financial difficulties, the reduction in railway construction, etc. He quoted from an American paper an interview with a director of the steel corporation on the falling demand, in which the director declared that they had no intention of diminishing the output and throwing out of employment thousands of American workmen. Instead, they would invade foreign markets.

Mr. Chamberlain contended that this steel would be sent to Great Britain, the only free market, and said:

I warn you that within two or three years you will have dumped here 10,000,000 tons of American iron, and thousands of British workmen will lose employment for the sole benefit of American manufacturers and American workmen. I sympathize with American workmen, but after all I belong to England, and I am not cosmopolitan enough to see the happiness and prosperity of American workmen secured by the starvation and misery of the British.

FIGURES OF ENGLAND'S DECAY.

Concluding a general restatement, the speaker said that agriculture in Great Britain was practically destroyed, the sugar trade was gone, the silk trade was gone, the iron and wool industries were threatened, and the same fate would come to the cotton trade. He continued:

How long are you going to stand it? England is not afraid of foreign countries. She is the greatest market in the whole world, and foreign countries are her best customers. If a tariff war came, England would not come out second best. One reason advanced for America's prosperity is her enormous population of 70,000,000; but the British Empire has 60,000,000, all white, and some 350,000,000 of other races, all prospective customers of the mother country.

The official tables of diminishing export trade show too plainly the need of a new fiscal policy. The exports of British iron and steel amounted to £36,000,000 in 1872. They had dropped to £31,500,000 in 1882, remained at the same figure in 1890, and showed a further drop to £29,000,000 in 1902, an annual loss of \$35,000,000. Hardware and cutlery exports were £5,100,000 in 1872, and £3,000,000 less in 1902. The export of linen manufactures dropped from £8,200,000 in 1872 to £5,400,000 in 1892, a loss of nearly \$15,000,000. Woolen manufactures exported in 1872 amounted to £32,400,000, and were less than half as much in 1902, or £15,200,000, a loss of \$85,000,000. The haberdashery export trade dropped from £6,600,000 in 1872 to £1,000,700 in 1892, a loss of nearly \$28,000,000.

Great Britain was at one time almost sole master of the textile trade. The loss in this line of goods for a period of more than thirty-five years is as follows:

ENGLISH FIGURES OF ENGLISH TRADE LOSSES—MANUFACTURES.

Year.	Cotton.	Linen.	Woolen.	Total.
1866	£61,000,000	£9,600,000	£21,800,000	£92,400,000
1872	63,500,000	8,200,000	32,400,000	104,100,000
1882	62,900,000	5,900,000	18,700,000	87,500,000
1890	62,000,000	5,700,000	20,400,000	88,100,000
1902	65,000,000	5,400,000	15,200,000	85,600,000

There can be no doubt as to the steadiness of that decline, which with haberdashery (1866, £5,400,000; 1872, £6,600,000; 1882, £4,200,000; 1890, £2,100,000; 1902, £1,700,000) shows a net total loss of nearly \$15,000,000 from 1890, of \$22,000,000 from 1882, more than \$115,000,000 from 1872, and more than \$52,000,000 from 1866.

The commerce exports to foreign countries (coal deducted) for 1901-2 were £2,400,000 a year less than the annual average for 1885-1890; £1,100,000 a year less than the annual average for 1881-1885, and £24,100,000 a year less than the annual average for 1871-1875, whereas the 1901-2 figures of exports to British possessions were £20,100,000 a year more than the average for 1896-1900; £24,300,000 a year more than the average for 1886-1890; £40,500,000 a year more than the average for 1871-1875, and £53,900,000 a year more than the average for 1866-1870.

In 1902 the United States, Germany, and Russia, with a white population of 234,000,000, took of British produce £60,100,000, or 4s. 6d. a head, while Canada, Australia, and the Cape, with only 11,000,000 white population, took £60,000,000, or £5 10s. a head. The first-named group took \$1 of British produce a head; the British possessions group took \$27 a head. On the other hand, Great Britain is importing (1902) £528,000,000, as against £355,000,000 in 1872.

Mr. Chamberlain's complaint is that though the people of Great Britain buy from abroad over \$900,000,000 more a year than in 1872, they sell less to foreign countries, because they are shut out of the foreign markets. He proposes, therefore, since Great Britain is the richest foreign market of all nations trading with the world, to take her richest mart—the British mart—away from them in favor of the British possessions and home industries until the foreign markets are opened to the British.

ENGLISH FARMERS SUPPORTING THE POLICY OF PROTECTION.

The result of some by-elections for Parliament recently held in England adds to the remarkable testimony we have lately been receiving from across the Atlantic of the great growth in the English country districts of the demand for a protective tariff. At a meeting of the central chamber of agriculture held last week at the Adelphi, London, discussion was had on a motion introduced by Mr. Rider Haggard, the well-known novelist, expressing the view that the time had come for a reconsideration of the British fiscal system, and cordially welcoming Mr. Chamberlain's proposals as being necessary and desirable for such reform. The debate which followed was very general, and delegates from all parts of the country agreed that there was an overwhelming preponderance of opinion in favor of tariff reform as advocated by Mr. Chamberlain. All amendments to the motion were voted down. One farmer, of forty years' experience, declared with great emphasis that one-sided free trade was the cause of the downfall of British agriculture and that the only possible remedy was that proposed by Mr. Chamberlain. Was the nation, he asked, going to say that the land of England was no longer to be cultivated? Within twenty years the area of arable land in the Kingdom had decreased from three and a half to one and a half millions of acres, and 23,000 acres once devoted to hops now lay idle. He did not believe that a two-shilling duty would increase the price of corn.

Another speaker declared that a large majority of agriculturists approved of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. The question was not new, he added, for during the last twenty years they had been coming round to the view that the present system was wrong. The Liberal policy of repose, that is, to do nothing, meant for arable land the sleep of death. The only logical proposals were those of Mr. Chamberlain, which meant protection all around. Many years ago, he said, he heard Disraeli say: "The day may come when England can no longer fight hostile tariffs with free imports." The day had come, he believed, and Mr. Chamberlain was the man to deal with the situation. The fact was strongly brought out in the discussion that protection would increase the home supply, improve the home market by enlarging demand, and therefore benefit the agriculturist as well as the manufacturer. Mr. Haggard's resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, after a discussion which made it plain that the farmers of England are awakening to the truth that American farmers have long realized, viz, that their interest in a protective tariff is as great as the interest of any other class, for the reason that the prosperity of manufacture and the mechanical arts means a better market for the farmer and better prices for all that he produces.

A perusal of English daily papers and other publications of the day shows that the leaven of Chamberlain's efforts toward preferential tariffs is stirring the British public as no domestic problem has for many years. It is coming to be realized that the question is of common interest to all loyal British subjects, for it is a ques-

tion of the prosperity of the British Empire, a prosperity depending upon the success of their trade and industry. The Government has already gone a long way beyond the parting of the ways, and has abandoned the losing Cobdenite policy of doctrinaire free trade. The main question is, of course, how far that advance will be. The prevalent belief is that the principle of a tariff for the defense of their home industries, and of giving preferences which will bring closer together the parts of the Empire, is one the country will in time accept as a whole.

PROTECTION CHEAPENS COST OF PRODUCTION.

In the speeches on this subject many facts are produced showing that high tariffs do not prevent the making of goods cheaply. It has been brought home with great force that the enormous growth of American textile industries under protection would have been impossible under free trade. The facts presented disprove the fallacy that high tariffs necessarily and always raise the price to the consumer in the protected country. This is prevented by competition between the domestic manufacturers. A multitude of figures have been presented, showing that English capital and English labor are subjected to restrictions and disabilities which are unfair, because the foreign laborer in many instances labors under conditions and for a wage which are impossible for the English workingman.

In Egypt the wage of the ordinary workingman in the sugar factories is 5 cents a day. In Asia Minor the wages of the weavers, chiefly women, in the districts around Smyrna, where carpets are made on a large scale, are only 8 or 10 cents a day. This is very largely the condition of affairs in China, India, Japan, and the East generally. The wages of Belgian weavers on Wilton looms range from 12 to 15 francs a week, less than half the wages paid in England and Scotland for similar work.

How can the British manufacturer hope to compete much longer with such cheap labor as this? A protective tariff sufficient to reduce the importation of articles such as are now made in Great Britain, and to stimulate the making of many articles not now made there, would create a greater demand for labor, which by the law of supply and demand must raise the wages of the laboring man, but not necessarily the price of the manufacturer, whose returns are kept within reasonable proportion by the force of home competition. It is being seen, therefore, that the question of a protective tariff is a question for the workingmen to consider.

It is true that real free trade—not free imports, but absolute free trade—if it could be obtained, might be an ideal condition. It is the condition that prevails between the States in the American Union. But Great Britain has not had that kind of free trade, never has had it; and after fifty-five years of the kind of free trade advocated by Cobden and Bright the country is farther from it than ever. Englishmen have been told that protection exercises a baneful influence upon every country that has adopted it. An appeal to the condition of the United States disproves that statement. Experience proves that theory is wrong. For example, the value of exports from the United Kingdom increased between 1880 and 1900 by 24.6 per cent, those of Germany 49 per cent, and those of the United States 74.75 per cent; and last year the exports of the United States amounted to £304,000,000, while Great Britain's only reached £278,000,000.

Mr. Gladstone once said: "The United States are passing us at a canter." Englishmen are awaking to a realization of that painful truth. Many of their important industries have been severely injured by foreign tariffs. Several centers of the Scotch woolen industry have lost largely in population. Many of their important industries have been transferred to foreign countries. They could not get over barriers which had been erected against them, and therefore they went inside the circle of the protected area. What has been the result? British working people have been thrown out of employment and work has been lost which would have remained in England but for the absence of a protective tariff.

Great Britain to-day can not compete with other nations on their terms. They are handicapped, restricted, confined, and other nations are pushing ahead of them. Englishmen to-day are being educated to see that if the tariff is a tax a large proportion of it, and in many cases all of it, is paid by the foreigner and not by the home consumer. The small tariff of 2s. per quarter proposed for wheat and of half a cent a pound proposed on meat will not increase the price of those commodities to the consumer.

PROTECTION FAVORS THE LABORING MAN.

Protection shelters the laboring man in his industry against foreign attack. It is of more benefit to the laboring man than it is to the capitalist. The latter can migrate to Germany or the United States and build up another factory. The cause of protection has been deliberately adopted by the democracies of the United States and France and Canada, and by the Governments of Germany, Russia, Italy, and Spain. All enlightened nations

have adopted this policy to fight the evil of merciless, unrestrained competition.

Worsted and woolen manufactures in Great Britain dropped from £15,700,000,000 in 1890 to £9,195,000,000 in 1902, and the total diminution would have been much greater had it not been for the increase in trade with the British colonies and possessions. In three counties in England which used to be great centers of the textile trade there were, in 1860, 143 cotton factories. Over one-half of the population of those communities at that time has disappeared. In Glasgow and its immediate neighborhood over 16,000 looms had in recent years ceased to work. Such conditions as these, of which only a few instances out of hundreds have been mentioned, show the necessity of a change, and the only change which can bring improvement is the adoption of the American policy of a protective tariff.

Mr. James B. Reekie, a leading Scotch manufacturer, at a public meeting recently held, read a paper on "Preferential tariffs," in the course of which he said that men of all shades of opinion were practically agreed as to the necessity for a full and impartial inquiry. Hard as the struggle of trade competition has been in the past, it would inevitably be much more strenuous and vital in the future. Moreover, in the main, it would be admitted that political ascendancy would follow the mastery in commercial affairs. The conclusion forced on the impartial observer was that they, in the little islands of Great Britain and Ireland, could not for the future hope to maintain their present high position among the nations. They might yet obtain a position higher than before, but it could only be as the center and head of a world-expanding British Empire. He continued:

Our history has proved that the flag followed trade, not trade the flag, and we might safely assume that any deterioration in our commercial position would inevitably be followed by a decline of our political power.

It was his firm conviction that the present trade of Britain was built on a foundation too narrow to permit of a future important and permanent expansion.

This country was depending for its existence on enormous purchases of food and raw materials from foreign rivals who, in their turn, did all in their power by high protective tariffs to prevent us from disposing of them the articles manufactured therefrom. Unless we could, with determination, put from us our narrow, parochial views of this subject, and think and act as citizens of Greater Britain, there was no hope for a satisfactory solution of this great and pressing problem.

The times were ripe—he might almost say overripe—for making a beginning in one direction, that of a closer fiscal relationship between the mother country and her colonies. To hark back to old methods, which had been found wanting, was simply to acquiesce in the decay of the British nation.

After dealing with some of the objections which had been raised to the fiscal change, notably the rise in the cost of living, he observed that he had every reason to think that the advantages obtainable would much outweigh any possible small increase in the price of food.

The talk of retaliation by foreign nations hardly seemed worthy of consideration. They had all shaped their own fiscal policy without any consideration for our sentiments or interests, and had they believed that higher duties against British articles would be to their own interests, these duties, in view of our present helpless condition, would have been imposed.

In concluding, he said he looked upon this subject of preferential tariffs simply as one phase of the great question which, irrespective of system or party, they all had at heart—the unification and consolidation of the great British Empire.

HOW FREE TRADE INVITES MERCILESS COMPETITION.

Mr. Chamberlain's warning, that Great Britain is in great danger of being made a dumping ground for great quantities of German and American manufactures, is confirmed by occasional news paragraphs, such as the following clipping from a recent issue of a leading London trade journal. At the yearly meeting of an important iron and coal company the chairman of the board of directors said:

Of the future it is difficult to say anything sanguine. We are well equipped to meet any demand and to keep cost of manufacture down, but the intention of the steel trust of America to fight the depression in trade there by finding a dumping ground here, which with our present fiscal arrangements we can not fight against, must injuriously affect the iron trade, and consequently coal.

Let us hope American trade will soon revive. We as a nation need some review of our fiscal position—and large home markets, the best markets of all—in the shape of attached and mutual aiding communities. The United States of America and united Germany possess and preserve the home markets in their vast territories; and we ought, with our colonies and India, to follow their example. There has been a good deal of prophesying lately to the effect that the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Balfour's proposal would mean dearer food to the people of this country. It is easy to prophesy. I would go further and say that for some years after the adoption of Mr. Chamberlain's or Mr. Balfour's proposals I should be not indisposed to guarantee to the men of this company more continuous work and higher wages and to the shareholders better dividends.

In seconding the motion the deputy chairman also said:

I may tell you that during the whole of our last financial year a large proportion of the workmen in our iron and steel manufacturing departments have regularly been on short time. It has been sad, very sad, to me to see willing and capable men, anxious to work, walking about idle on Mondays and Tuesdays for no earthly reason except that work which we ought to have had was being taken by foreigners at prices much below their own cost of production or ours. This, of course, would have been impossible but for the foreign protective tariffs. I trust our men will do all in their power to help on the present movement for combating the foreign monopolists and getting

back our trade. The people who call themselves free traders say, "Reduce wages to meet this competition." I reply that even if our men were paid one-half less than they are at present this would not get us back one particle of our lost trade. Then others say, "Improve your machinery."

Gentlemen, a great deal of our machinery here is superior to anything they have on the Continent, but we can not fight against tariffs which are framed to checkmate us. How are we to find dividends for our shareholders or work for our men as long as this kind of thing exists? Give us fair play, and we can compete successfully against any foreign manufacturers. When we are not able to do so we deserve to go the way. India used to be one of our best markets. Now nearly the whole of a large trade which used to be ours in that country has gone to Germany, and our trade in South Africa seems to be going the same way. If in these two countries only a duty were levied on iron and steel equal to the tariff in the country where it is produced we should then in those regions enjoy real bona fide free trade, and the result would be more work and more wages for our workmen. This is no party question. It is a question of life and death to the workingman, and a matter of a dividend or no dividend to shareholders.

FREE TRADE LOSES THE HOME MARKET.

Whether this charge is true or not, and whether such a course is good commercial policy or not, is of little interest compared to the fact that under present free-trade conditions Great Britain is unable to protect herself against foreign competition and can not save her own market for her own people against the invasion by the surplus products of foreign lands. Some German products may be sold in Great Britain below the cost of production, but that country is helpless to prevent. It is no wonder that iron and steel imports into Great Britain are rapidly increasing, and British exports in that line are rapidly declining, except to British colonies. The result is a great loss of trade to English manufacturers and a great loss of employment to British workmen. That Great Britain will much longer continue to follow this suicidal trade policy is not possible.

The English papers of less than a month ago referred to a letter received by Mr. Chamberlain, signed by fifty-one china manufacturers in the principal seat of that industry, the signers representing towns embracing a population of 60,000 and employing from seven to eight thousand people. The letter says:

In the production of this work nearly half a million of money is directly or indirectly paid in wages annually, and as the imported goods far exceed in value our output it is evident that a much larger sum than this £500,000 is lost yearly to British labor. This is exclusive of wages displaced in the earthenware and other branches of the crockery trade. We welcome your fiscal proposals as a means of preventing this unfair competition, and shall willingly help in any way we can to bring about such alterations as are embodied in those proposals. We are convinced of their wisdom, and regard them as the best—in fact, as the only—means of preserving the industries of this country and the unity of the Empire.

THIS NO TIME TO LOWER OUR TARIFF DUTIES.

In the past few years Germany, France, Russia, and Austria have increased their commercial tariffs. It is the settled policy of the continental nations of Europe to preserve the home market for the home producer. By that policy the United States has become great and powerful. Great Britain is beginning to realize the folly of attempting to fight single handed and alone the battle of free trade. She, too, is preparing to adopt the truer economic policy of laying discriminating duties for the protection of home industries. Is this a time for the United States to begin to tear down its tariff wall? Is this a time for the United States to begin to discard and abandon the policy by which she has become rich and prosperous? Is this a time to listen to the voice of doctrinaire free traders, when the only great free-trade nation in the world is considering seriously the advisability and necessity of abandoning that policy? The answer of the Republican party, the answer of the workmen and the capitalists, of the producers and consumers of the United States will be an unqualified "No."

APPENDIX.

SOME SOUND PROTECTIVE TARIFF TRUTHS FROM HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, OF ENGLAND.

[From the London Daily Telegraph.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, AT GLASGOW, OCTOBER 4.

Mr. Chamberlain, on rising to speak, was received with loud cheering, the audience rising and waving hats and handkerchiefs. When silence was restored, he said:

"Sir Matthew Arthur, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, my first duty is to thank this great and representative audience for having offered me an opportunity of explaining for the first time in some detail the views which I hold on the subject of our fiscal policy. [Cheers.] I would desire no better platform than this. [Cheers.]

"ADAM SMITH AND RETALIATION.

"I am in a great city, the second of the Empire, a city which, by the enterprise and intelligence which it has always shown, is entitled to claim something of a representative character in respect to British industry. [Cheers.] I am in the city in which free trade took its birth. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] In that city in which Adam Smith taught so long, and where he was one, at any rate, of the most distinguished predecessors in that great office of lord rector of your university, to which reference has been made, and which it will always be to me a great honor to have filled. [Cheers.] Adam Smith was a great man.

"It was not given to him—it has never been given to mortals—to foresee all the changes that may occur in something like a century and a half; but with a broad and far-seeing intelligence which is not common among men Adam Smith did, at any rate, anticipate many of our modern conditions, and when I read his books I see, how, even then, he was aware of the comparative importance of home markets as compared with the foreign ['Hear!' 'Hear!']; how he advocated retaliation under certain conditions; how he supported the navigation law; how he was the author of a sentence which we ought never to forget, that 'Independence is greater than opulence.' [Cheers.] When I remember, also, how he, entirely before his time, pressed for reciprocal trade

between our colonies and the mother country, I say he had a broader mind, a more imperial conception of the duties of the citizens of a great empire, than some of those who have taught also as professors, and those who claim [laughter and cheers] to be his successors.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I am not afraid to come here to the home of Adam Smith and to combat free imports, and still less am I afraid to preach to you preference with our colonies. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] To you in this great city, whose whole prosperity has been founded upon its colonial relations ['Hear!' 'Hear!' and cheers]—and I must not think only of the city, I must think of the country—it is known to every man that Scotland has contributed out of all proportion to its population to build up the great Empire of which we are all so proud [cheers], an Empire which took genius and capacity and power to create ['Hear!' 'Hear!'], and which requires now genius and capacity and courage to maintain. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

"I have invited a discussion upon a question which comes peculiarly within my province, owing to my past life and owing to the office which I have so recently held. I have invited discussion upon it. I have not pretended that a matter of this importance is to be settled offhand. I have been well aware that the country has to be educated, as I myself had to be educated ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] before I saw or could see all the bearings of this great matter, and therefore I take up the position of a pioneer. I go in front of the army, and if the army is attacked I go back to it. [Cheers.]

"Meanwhile, putting aside all these personal and party questions, I ask my countrymen, without regard to any political opinions which they may have hitherto held, to consider the greatest of all great questions that can be put before the country, to consider it impartially, if possible, and to come to a decision. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] And it is possible—I am always an optimist—[laughter and cheers] it is possible that the nation may be prepared to go a little further than the official programme. [Cheers.] I have known them to do it before [laughter] and no harm has come to the party—no harm that I know has come to those who, as scouts or pioneers, or investigators and discoverers, have gone a little before them. Well, one of my objects in coming here is to find an answer to this question: Is the country prepared to go a little further? [Cheers, and cries of 'Yes!' and 'No!']

"TWO GREAT OBJECTS.

"I suppose that there are differences in Scotland, differences in Glasgow, as there are certainly in the southern country, and those differences, I hope, are mainly differences as to methods. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] For I can not conceive that, so far as regards the majority of the country, at any rate, there can be differences as to our objects. What are our objects? They are two. In the first place, we all desire the maintenance, the increase, the national strength, and prosperity of the United Kingdom. [Cheers.] I do not know, that may be a selfish desire, but in my mind it carries something more than mere selfishness. You can not expect foreigners to take the same views as we do of our position and duty. To my mind Britain has played a great part in the past in the history of the world, and for that reason I wish Britain to continue. [Cheers.] Then, in the second place, our object is or should be the realization of the greatest ideal which has ever come to statesmen in any country or in any age, the creation of an empire such as the world has never seen. [Cheers.]

"We have to cement the union of the States beyond the seas; we have to consolidate the British race; we have to meet the clash of commercial competition. Now, sometimes in the past it has been otherwise. It may be again in the future. Whatever it be, whatever danger threatens, we have to meet it no longer as an isolated country. We have to meet it as fortified and strengthened and buttressed by all those of our kinsmen, all those powerful and continually rising states which speak our common tongue and pay allegiance to our common flag. Those are two great objects; but, as I have said, we all should have them in view. How are we to attain that? In the first place, let me say one word as to the method in which this discussion is to be carried on. Surely it should be treated in a manner worthy of its magnitude, worthy of the dignity of the theme. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] For my part, I disclaim any imputation of motive, of evil and unworthy motive, upon those who may happen to disagree with me, and I claim equal consideration from them. [Cheers.]

"I claim that this matter should be treated on its merits, without personal feeling, personal bitterness, and, if possible, without entering upon questions of purely party controversy [cheers], and I do that for the reason I have given, but also because, if you are to make a change in a system which has existed for sixty years, which affects more or less every man, woman, and child in the Kingdom, you can only make that change successful if you have behind you not merely a party support, if you do not attempt to force it by a small majority on a large and unwilling minority, but if it becomes, as I believe it will become [cheers] a national policy, it must be consonant with the feelings, the aspirations, and the interests of the overwhelming proportion of the country. ['Hear!' 'Hear!' and cheers.] I was speaking just now of the characteristics of Glasgow as a great city. I am not certain whether I mentioned that I believe it is one of the most prosperous of cities, that it has had a great and continuous prosperity, and if that be so here more than anywhere else, I have got to answer, Why can not you let well alone? ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

"SIGNS OF DECAYING.

"Well, I have been in Venice, the beautiful city of the Adriatic, which had at one time a commercial supremacy quite as great in proportion as anything we have ever enjoyed. Its great glories have departed; but what I was going to say was that when I was there last I saw the great tower of the Campanile rising above the city which it had overshadowed for centuries and looking as though it was as permanent as the city itself. And yet the other day in a few minutes the whole structure fell to the ground. Nothing was left of it but a mass of ruin and rubbish. I don't say to you, gentlemen, that I anticipate any catastrophe so great or so sudden for British trade, but I do say to you that I see signs of decay ['Hear!' 'Hear!']—that I see cracks and crevices in the walls of the great structure; that I know that the foundations upon which it has been raised are not broad enough or deep enough to sustain it. [Cheers.]

"Now, do I do wrong if I know this, if I even think I know it, do I do wrong to warn you? Is it not a most strange and inconsistent thing that while certain people are indicting the Government in language which, to say the least of it, is extravagant [laughter] for not having been prepared for the great war from which we have recently emerged with success [cheers], is it not strange that these same people should be denouncing me in language equally extravagant [laughter] because I want to prepare you now while there is time for a struggle greater in its consequences than that to which I have referred—a struggle from which, if we emerge defeated, this country will lose its place, will no longer count again among the great nations of the world—a struggle which we are asked to meet with antiquated weapons and with old-fashioned tactics. [Cheers.] I tell you that it is not well to-day with British industry. We have been going through a period of great expansion. The whole world has been prosperous. With the rest of the world I see signs of a change, but let that pass. When the change comes I think even the Free Fooders will be converted. [Cheers.]

"But, meanwhile, what are the facts? The year 1900 was the record year of British trade. The exports were the largest we had ever known. The year

1902—last year—was nearly as good, and yet if you will compare your trade in 1872, thirty years ago, with the trade of 1902—the export trade—you will find that there has been a moderate increase of twenty millions. That, I think, is something like 7 per cent. Meanwhile the population has increased 30 per cent. Can you go on supporting your population at that rate of increase when even in the best of years you can only show so much smaller an increase in your foreign trade? The actual increase was twenty millions with our free trade. In the same time the increase in the United States of America was one hundred and ten millions, and the increase in Germany was fifty-six millions. In the United Kingdom trade has been practically stagnant for thirty years. It went down in the interval. It has now gone up in the most prosperous times. In the most prosperous times it is hardly in the least degree better than it was thirty years ago. Meanwhile the protected countries, which you have been told, and which I myself at one time believed, were going rapidly to wreck and ruin, have progressed in an infinitely better proportion than ours.

"A TRADE REVOLUTION.

"That is not all. The amount of your trade remained stagnant, but the character of your trade has changed. When Mr. Gobden preached his doctrine he believed, as he had at that time considerable reason to suppose, that while foreign countries would supply us with our foods and raw materials we should remain the workshop of the world, and should send them in exchange our manufactures. But that is exactly what we have not done. On the contrary, in the period to which I have referred we are sending less and less of our manufactures to them and they are sending more and more of manufactures to us. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Now, I know how difficult it is for a great meeting like this to follow figures. I shall give you as few as I can, but I must give you some to lay the basis of my argument. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I have had a table constructed, and upon that table I would be willing to base the whole of my contention. I will take some figures from it. You have got to analyze your trade. It is not merely a question of amount; you have got to consider of what it is comprised. Now, what has been the case with regard to our manufactures? Our existence as a nation depends upon our manufacturing capacity and production. We are not an agricultural country. That can never be the main source of our prosperity. We are a great manufacturing country. Now, in 1872 we sent to the protected countries of Europe and to the United States of America \$116,000,000 of exported manufactures. In 1882, ten years later, it fell to \$88,000,000. In 1892, ten years later, it fell to \$75,000,000.

"In 1902, last year, although the general exports had increased, the exports of manufactures had decreased again to \$73,500,000; and the total result of this is that after thirty years you are sending \$42,500,000 of manufactures less to the protected countries than you did thirty years ago. Then there are the neutral countries, that is, the countries which, although they may have tariffs, have no manufactures, and, therefore, the tariffs are not protective, such countries as Egypt and China and South America, and similar places. They have not fallen to any considerable extent. They have practically remained the same, but on the whole they have fallen \$3,500,000. Adding that to the loss on the protected countries, and you have lost altogether in your exports of manufactures \$46,000,000. How is it that that has not impressed the people before now? Because the change has been concealed by our statistics; because, as our statistics have not—I do not say they have not shown them—because you could have picked them out—but because they are not put in a form which is understood by the people.

"You have failed to observe that the continuance of your trade is dependent entirely on British possessions. While these foreign countries have declined \$46,000,000, your British possessions have increased \$40,000,000 [cheers], and at the present time your trade with your colonies and British possessions is larger in amount—very much larger in amount, and very much more valuable in its character—than the trade with any of the other categories I have named. It is much larger than our trade with the whole of Europe and the United States of America; it is much larger than our trade to those neutral countries of which I have spoken, and it remains at the present day the most rapidly increasing, the most important, the most valuable of the whole of our trade. [Cheers.] One more comparison during this period of thirty years in which our exports of manufactures have fallen \$46,000,000 to foreign countries. What has happened with their exports to us? They have risen from sixty-three millions in 1872 to one hundred and forty-nine millions in 1902. They have increased eighty-six millions. That may be all right. I am not for the moment saying whether that is right or wrong; but when people say that we ought to hold exactly the same opinion about things that our ancestors did, my reply is that I daresay we should do so if circumstances had remained the same. [Laughter and cheers.]

"IMPERIAL TRADE ESSENTIAL.

"But now, if I have been able to make these figures clear, there is one thing which follows—that is, that our imperial trade is absolutely essential to our prosperity at the present time. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] If that trade declines, or if it does not increase in proportion to our population and to the loss of trade with foreign countries, then we sink at once into a fifth-rate nation. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Our fate will be the fate of the empires and kingdoms of the past. We have reached our highest point, and indeed I am not certain that there are some of my opponents who do not regard that with absolute complacency. I do not. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] As I have said, I have the misfortune to be an optimist—I do not believe in the setting of the British star—['Hear!' 'Hear!' and cheers]; but then I do not believe in the folly of the British people. [Laughter.] I trust them; I trust the working classes of this country, and I have confidence that they who are our masters, electorally speaking, that they will have the intelligence to see they must wake up. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] They must modify their policy to suit new conditions; they must meet the conditions with altogether a new policy. [Cheers.]

"Well, now, I have said, if our imperial trade declines, we decline. My second point is this, it will decline, inevitably it will decline unless, while there is still time, we take the necessary steps to preserve it. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Have you ever considered why it is that Canada takes twice as much of the products of British manufacturers as the United States of America does per head? When you answer that then I have another conundrum. [Laughter.] Why does Australasia take about three times as much per head as Canada? And, to wind up, why does South Africa—the white population of South Africa—take more per head than Australasia? When you have got to the bottom of that, and it is not difficult, you will see the whole argument. These countries are all protective countries. I see that the labor leaders, or some of them, in this country are saying the interest of the working class is to maintain our present system of free imports. The moment those men go to the colonies I will undertake to say that no one of them has ever been there for six months without singing a different tune. [Loud cheers.] The vast majority of the workmen in all the colonies are protectionists. Well, I am not inclined to accept the easy explanation of that that they are all fools. [Laughter.] I do not understand why an intelligent man—a man who is intelligent in this country—becomes an idiot when he goes to Australasia. [Laughter and cheers.] But I will tell you what he does do, he gets rid of a good number of Old World prejudices and superstitions. [Cheers.] I say they are protectionists, all these countries.

"Now, what is the history of protection? In the first place a tariff is imposed.

There are no industries, or practically none, but only a tariff. Then gradually industries grow up behind the wall, the tariff wall. In the first place they are primary industries, the industries for which the country has natural aptitude or for which it has some special advantage, mineral or other resources. Then, when those are supplied, the secondary industries spring up: first the necessities, then the luxuries, until at last all the ground is covered. Now, these countries of which I have been speaking to you are in different stages of the protective process. In America the process has been completed. She produces everything, she excludes everything. [Laughter.] There is no trade to be done with her but for a paltry six shillings per head. Canada has been protective for a long time. The protective policy has produced its natural result. The principal industries are there, and you can never get rid of them. They will be there forever, but up to the present time the secondary industries have not been created, and there is an immense deal of trade that is still open to you, that you may still retain, that you may increase. In Australasia the industrial position of that country is still less advanced. The agricultural products of the country have been first of all developed. Accordingly Australasia takes more than Canada. In the Cape, in South Africa there are, practically speaking, no industries at all.

"RECIPROCIETY—AN ILLUSTRATION.

"Very well; now I ask you to suppose that we intervene in any stage of the process. We can do it now; we might have done it with greater effect ten years ago. Whether we can do so with any effect or at all twenty years hence I am very doubtful. We can intervene now. We can say to our great colonies: 'We understand your views and conditions. We do not attempt to dictate to you; we do not think ourselves superior to you. We have taken the trouble to learn your objections, to appreciate and sympathize with your policy. We know you are right in saying you will not always be content to be what the Americans call a one-horse country, with a single industry and no diversity of employment. We understand, we can see that you are right not to neglect what Providence has given you in the shape of mineral or other resources to profit by any natural produce which you may have. We understand and we appreciate the wisdom of your statesmen when they say that they will not allow their country to be solely dependent upon foreign supplies for the necessities of their life. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] We understand all that, and therefore we will not propose to you anything that is unreasonable or contrary to this policy which we know is deep in your hearts; but we will say to you after all there are many things which you do not now make, many things for which we have a great capacity of production. Leave them to us as you have left them hitherto. Don't increase your tariff walls against us; pull them down where they are unnecessary to the success of this policy to which you are committed. Let us exchange with you for your productions all these numberless industries which have not yet been erected. Do that because we are kinsmen [cheers] without regard to your important interest, because it is good for the Empire as a whole and because we have taken the first step and have set you the example. [Cheers.] We offer you a preference. We rely on your patriotism, your affection, that we shall not be the losers thereby.' [Cheers.] Now, suppose that we had made an offer of that kind—I won't say to the colonies, but to Germany, to the United States of America, ten or twenty years ago—do you suppose that we should not have been able to retain a great deal of what we have now lost and can not recover? I will give you an illustration: America is the strictest of protective nations. It has a tariff which to me is an abomination. [Laughter and cheers.] It is so immoderate, so unreasonable, so unnecessary, and although America has profited enormously under it, yet I think it has been carried to excessive lengths, and I believe now that a great number of intelligent Americans would gladly negotiate with us for its reduction. But until very recent times even this immoderate tariff left to us a great trade. It left to us the tin-plate trade, and the tin-plate trade amounted to millions per annum and gave employment to thousands of British work people.

"But if we had gone to America ten or twenty years ago, and had said, 'If you will leave the tin-plate trade as it is, put no duty upon tin-plates—you have never had to complain either of our quality or our price—we in return will give you some advantage on some article which you produce,' we should have kept the tin-plate trade. There are hundreds of articles sent from Germany taking the place of British labor which they would have left to us in return for concessions to them, but we allowed them to drift. Are we going to let things drift? Are we going to lose the colonies as we have those foreign countries? This is the parting of the ways. This is the opportunity. If you do not take it it will not recur. If you do not take it, I predict, and I predict with certainty—although I seldom prophesy with equal faith—I predict with certainty that Canada will fall to the level of the United States, that Australia will fall to the level of Canada, that South Africa will fall to the level of Australia, and that will only be the beginning of the general decline that will deprive you of your most important customers, of your most rapidly increasing trade. [Cheers.]

"OUR COLONIES AND PREFERENCE.

"Now, I am quite convinced—I had some reason to speak with authority upon this subject—the colonies are prepared to meet us. [Cheers.] In return for a very moderate preference they will give us a substantial advantage. They will give us—in the first place, I believe they will reserve to us the trade which we already enjoy. They will not arrange for tariffs in the future in order to start industries in competition with those which are already in existence in the mother country. They will not, and I would not urge them for a moment to do so—they will not injure those industries which have already been created. They will maintain them. They will not allow them to be destroyed, or injured even, by our competition. But outside that, there is a great margin—a margin which has given us this enormous increase of trade to which I have referred. That margin, I believe, we can permanently retain. [Cheers.] And I ask you to think if that is of so much importance to us now that we have only 11,000,000 of white fellow-citizens in these distant colonies, what will it be when in the course of a period which is a mere moment of time in the history of states—what will it be when that population is 40,000,000 or more? [Cheers.] Is it not worth while to consider whether the actual trade which you may retain, and the enormous potential trade which you and your descendants may enjoy, be not worth a sacrifice, even if sacrifice be required?

"But they will do a great deal more for you. This is certain: Not only will they enable you to retain the trade which you have, but they are ready to give you preference to all the trade which is now done with them by foreign competitors. I never see any argument of free importers in reference to the magnitude of this trade. It is enormous as it is. It will increase. It has increased enormously in thirty years, and if it goes on with equally rapid strides we shall be ousted by foreign competition if not by protective tariffs from our colonies. It amounts at the present time—I have not the figures here, but I believe I am right in saying it is forty-seven millions. But it is said that a great part of that forty-seven millions is in grooves which we can not supply. That is true, and with regard to that portion of the trade we have no interest in any preferential tariff.

"But it has been calculated, and I believe it to be accurate, that twenty-six millions a year of that trade might come to this country which now goes

to Germany and France and other foreign countries, if reasonable preference were given to British manufactures. [Cheers.] What does that mean? The board of trade assumes that of manufactured goods one-half the value is expended in labor. I think it is a great deal more, but take the board of trade figures. Thirteen millions a year of new employment. What does that mean to the United Kingdom? It means the employment of 166,000 men at 3s. a week. [Cheers.] It means the subsistence, if you include their families, of 830,000 persons. And now, if you will only add to that our present export to the British possessions of ninety-six millions, you will find that that gives employment at 30s. a week to 615,000 work people, and it finds subsistence for 3,075,000 persons. In other words, your colonial trade as it stands at present, with the prospective advantage of a preference against the foreigner, means employment for three-quarters of a million of workmen and subsistence for nearly four millions of our population. [Cheers.]

"A SELF-SUPPORTING EMPIRE.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I feel deeply sensible that the argument I have addressed to you is one of those which will be described by the leader of the opposition as a squalid argument. [Laughter.] A squalid argument! I have appealed to your interests; I have come here as a man of business. [Cheers.] I have appealed to the employers and the employed alike in this great city. I have endeavored to point out to them that their trade, their wages, all depend on the maintenance of this colonial trade, of which some of my opponents speak with such contempt, and, above all, with such egregious ignorance. [Laughter and cheers.] But now I abandon that line of argument for the moment and appeal to something higher, which I believe is in your hearts, as it is in mine. I appeal to you as fellow-citizens of the greatest empire that the world has ever known; I appeal to you to recognize that the privileges of empire bring with them great responsibilities. I want to ask you to think what this Empire means; what it is to you and your descendants.

"I will not speak on, at least I will not dwell on, its area, greater than that which has been under one dominion in the history of the world. I will not speak of its population, of the hundreds of millions of men for whom we have made ourselves responsible. But what of the fact that here we have an empire which with decent organization and consolidation might be absolutely self-sustaining? [Cheers.] Nothing of the kind has ever been known before. There is no article of your food, there is no raw material of your trade, there is no necessity of your lives, no luxury of your existence which can not be produced somewhere or another in the British Empire, if the British Empire holds together and if we who have inherited it are worthy of those conditions.

"There is another product of the British Empire; that is, men. You have not forgotten the advantage, the encouragement which can be given by the existence of loyal men ['Hear!' 'Hear!']—inhabitants, indeed, of distant states, but still loyal to the common flag. [Cheers.] It is not so long since these men, when the old country was in straits, rushed to her assistance. No power was necessary. It was a voluntary movement. That was not a squalid assistance. [Cheers.] They had no special interest; they were interested, indeed, as sons of the Empire. If they had been separate states they would have had no interest at all. They came to our assistance and proved themselves indeed men of the old stock. They proved themselves worthy of the best traditions of the British army, and gave us an assistance, a material assistance, which was invaluable. They gave us moral support, which was even more grateful. [Cheers.] That is the result of empire. [Cheers.]

"I should be wrong if, in referring to our white fellow-subjects, I did not also say, in addition to them, if any strait befell us, there were millions and hundreds of millions of men born in tropical climes and of races very different from ours, nevertheless, although they were prevented by political considerations from taking part in our recent struggle, would be, in any death throes of the Empire [cheers] equally eager to show their loyalty and their devotion. [Cheers.] Now, gentlemen, is such a dominion, are such traditions, is such a glorious inheritance, is such a splendid sentiment—are they worth preserving? [Cries of 'Yes!' and 'Hear!'] Aye, they have cost much; they have cost us much blood and treasure, and in past times, as in recent, many of our best and noblest have given their lives or risked their lives for this great ideal. But it has done much for us. It has ennobled our national life, it has discouraged that petty parochialism which is the defect of all small communities. I say to you that all that is best in our present life, best in this Britain of ours, all of which we have the right to be most proud, is due to the fact that we are not only sons of Britain, but we are sons of empire. [Loud cheers.]

"RESPONSIBILITIES OF EMPIRE.

"I do not think, I am not likely to do you the injustice to believe, you would make this sacrifice fruitless, that you would make all this endeavor vain. But if you want to complete it remember that each generation in turn has to do its part, and you are called to take your share in that great work. [Cheers.] Others have founded the Empire. It is yours to build firmly and permanently the great edifice of which others have laid the foundation—[cheers]—and I believe we have got to change somewhat our rather insular habits. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] When I have been in the colonies I have told them that they are too provincial. But I think we are too provincial also. We think too much of ourselves, and we forget—and it is necessary we should remember—that we are only part of a large whole.

"And when I speak of our colonies it is an expression. They are not ours; they are not ours in a possessory sense. They are sister states, able to treat with us from an equal position, able to hold to us, willing to hold to us, but also able to break with us. I have had eight years' experience. [Cheers.] I have been in communication with all the men, with many of the men, most of the men, statesmen, orators, writers, distinguished in our colonies. I have had intimate conversation with them. I have tried to understand them, and I think I do understand them [cheers], and I say that none of them desire separation. There are none of them who are not loyal to this idea of empire, which they say they wish us to accept more fully in the future, but I have found none who do not believe that our present colonial relations can not be permanent. We must either draw closer together or we shall drift apart. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] When I made that statement with all responsibility some time ago there were people—political opponents—who said: 'See, here is the result of having a colonial secretary. Eight years ago the colonies were devoted to the mother country. Everything was for the best. Preferences were not thought of. There were no squalid bonds.'

"LORD ROSEBERY AS WITNESS.

"The colonies were ready to do everything for us; they were not such fools as to think we should do anything for them. But when that happy state of things existed the colonial secretary came into office. Now it has all disappeared. We are told if we do not alter our policy we may lose our Empire. It is a fancy picture, but I won't rest upon my opinion. It is not I who have said this alone; others have said it before me. We have a statesman here in Scotland whose instincts are always right, but whose actions, unfortunately, often lag behind his instincts. What did he say before, many years before, I came into office in 1888? Lord Rosebery was speaking at Leeds

[cheers and hisses]—Lord Rosebery was speaking at Leeds and he said this: "The people in this country will, in a not too distant time, have to make up their minds to what position they wish their colonies to occupy with respect to them or whether they desire their colonies to leave them altogether. It is, as I believe, absolutely impossible for you to maintain in the long run your present loose and indefinable relations and preserve these colonies parts of the Empire. I do not say that you can obtain the great boon of a peaceful Empire encircling the globe with a bond of commercial unity and peace without some sacrifice on your part." [Laughter.] Well, we have to consider, of course, what is the sacrifice which we are called upon to make. I do not believe—no, let me first say if there be a sacrifice, if that can be shown, I will go confidently to my countrymen, I will tell them what it is, and I will ask them to make it. Nowadays a great deal too much attention is paid to what is called the sacrifice; no attention is given to what is the gain. [Hear! Hear!] But although I would not hesitate to ask you for a sacrifice if a sacrifice were needed to keep together the Empire to which I attach so much importance, I do not believe that there would be any sacrifice at all. This is an arrangement between friends. This is a negotiation between kinsmen. Can you not conceive the possibility that both sides may gain and neither lose? [Cheers.]

"A TAX ON FOOD.

"Twelve years ago another great man, Mr. Cecil Rhodes [cheers], with one of those flashes of insight and genius which made him greater than ordinary men, took advantage of his position as prime minister of the Cape Colony to write letters, which have recently been published, to the then prime minister of Canada and the prime minister of New South Wales. He said in one of these letters, 'The whole thing lies in the question, Can we invent some tie with our mother country that will prevent separation? It must be a partial one. The curse is that English politicians can not see the future.' [Laughter.] Well, I ask the same question, Can we invent a tie—which must be a practical one, which will prevent separation—and I make the same answer as Mr. Rhodes, who suggested reciprocal preference, and I say that it is only by commercial union and reciprocal preference that you can lay the foundations of the confederation of the Empire, to which we all look forward as a brilliant possibility. Now, I have told you what you are to gain by preference. You will gain the retention and the increase of your customers; you will gain work for the enormous number of those who are now unemployed; you will pave the way for a firmer and more enduring union of the Empire. [Cheers.] What will it cost you? What do the colonies ask? They ask preference on their particular products. You can not give them—at least it would be futile to offer them—a preference on manufactured goods, because at the present time the export manufacture of the colonies is entirely insignificant.

"You can not, in my opinion, give them a preference on raw material. It has been said that I would propose such a tax, but I repeat now, in the most explicit terms, that I do not propose a tax on raw materials [cheers], which are a necessity of our manufacturing trade. What remains? Food. Therefore, if you wish to have a preference, if you desire to gain this increase, if you wish to prevent separation, you must put a tax on food. [Cheers.] Now, there is the murder; the murder is out. [Cheers and laughter.] I said that in the House of Commons; but I said a good deal more. But that is the only thing of all that I said that my opponents have thought it particularly interesting to quote [laughter], and you see that on every wall, in the headlines of the leaflets of the Cobden Club, in the speeches of the devotees of free imports, in the arguments of those who dread the responsibilities of empire, but do not seem to care much about the possibility of its dissolution. All these, then, put in the forefront that Mr. Chamberlain says you must tax truth—food. [Laughter.] Well, there is no need to tax truth, for that is scarce enough already. [Renewed laughter.] But I was going to say this statement which they quote is true, but it is only half the truth, and they never give you the other half. [Cheers.] You never see attached to this statement that you must tax food the other words that I have used in reference to this subject, that nothing that I propose would add one farthing to the cost of living of the workingman [cheers] or of any family in this country.

"TAXATION PROPOSALS.

"Well, how is that to be achieved? I have been asked for a plan. I have hesitated because, as you will readily see, no final plan can be proposed till a government is authorized by the people to enter into negotiations upon these principles. Until that government has had the opportunity of negotiating with the colonies, with foreign countries, and with the heads, the experts, in all our great industries, any plan must be at the present time more or less of a sketch plan; but at the same time I recognize that you have a right to call upon me for the broad outlines of my plan, and those I will give you if you will bear with me. [Cheers.] You have heard it said that I propose to put a duty of 5s. or 10s. a quarter on wheat. I propose to put a low duty on foreign corn, no duty at all on the corn coming from our British possessions. [Cheers.] But I propose to put a low duty on foreign corn, not exceeding 2s. a quarter. [Cheers.] I propose to put no tax whatever on maize, partly because maize is a food of some of the very poorest of people, and partly also because it is a raw material for the farmers who feed their pigs on it. [Cheers.] I propose that the corresponding tax which will have to be put on flour should give a substantial preference to the miller. [Cheers.]

"I do that in order to reestablish one of our most ancient industries in this country [cheers], believing if that is done not only will more work be found in agricultural districts, with some tendency, perhaps, resulting against the constant migration from the country into the towns [cheers], and also because by reestablishing the milling industry in this country the offals, as they are called, the refuse of the wheat, will remain in the country, and will give to the farmers or the agricultural population a food for their stock and their pigs at very much lower rates. [Cheers.] That will benefit not merely the great farmer, but it will benefit the little man, the small owner of a plot, or even the allotment owner who keeps a single pig. [Cheers.] I am told by a high agricultural authority that if this were done so great an effect would be produced upon the price of the food of the animal that where an agricultural laborer keeps one pig now he might keep two in the future. [Laughter.] I propose to put a small tax of about 5 per cent on foreign meat and dairy produce. [Cheers.] I propose to exclude bacon, because once more bacon is a popular food with some of the poorest of the population. It forms the staple food for many of the poorest of the population. Lastly, I propose to give a substantial preference to our colonies upon colonial wines and, perhaps, upon colonial fruits. [Cheers.] Well, those are the taxes, new taxes or alterations of taxation, which I propose as additions to your present burden. But I propose also some great remissions. [Cheers.]

"PROPOSED REMISSIONS.

"Proceeding, Mr. Chamberlain said he proposed to take off three-fourths of the duty on tea and half of the whole duty on sugar, with a corresponding reduction on cocoa and coffee. Upon assumption that they paid the whole of the new taxes, the agricultural laborer would be half a farthing a week better off and the artisan exactly the same, but he did not believe the whole tax would be paid by the consumers in this country. On the contrary, it would be paid by the foreigner. The result would be that at the end of the year the agricultural laborer would gain 2d. a week and the artisan 2½d. a week. It

would no doubt involve a loss to the exchequer amounting to £2,800,000 per annum. How was that to be met? He proposed to find it in the second branch of this policy of fiscal reform, sometimes called 'Retaliation' and sometimes 'Reciprocity.' He proposed to put on a moderate duty on all manufactured goods, not exceeding 10 per cent on the average, and that would bring to the exchequer nine millions a year. He thought the present chancellor of the exchequer would know what to do with it. [Loud cheers.] For himself, he would use it in the first place to make up the deficit of which he had spoken, and in the second place use it for further reductions of taxation on food and the reduction of other taxes which pressed hardly on other classes of the community. It was asked, What would the colonies say? Well, he was sure they would meet us in no spirit of selfishness.

"What will be the result of these changes, in the first place, upon the cost of living; in the second place, upon the treasury? As regards the cost of living, I have accepted, for the purpose of argument, the figures of the board of trade as to the consumption of an ordinary workman's family, both in the country districts and in the town, and I find that if he pay the whole of the new duties that I propose to impose it would cost an agricultural laborer 16½ farthings per week more than at present, and the artisan in the town 19½ farthings per week. In other words, it would be about 4d. per week of an increase in the expenditure of the agricultural laborer and 5d. per week on the expenditure of the artisan. But, then, the reductions which I have proposed—again take the consumption as it is declared by the board of trade—the reductions would be, in the case of the agricultural laborer, 17 farthings per week; in the case of the artisan 19½ farthings per week. Now, gentlemen, you will see, if you follow me, that upon the assumption that you pay the whole of the new taxes yourselves the agricultural laborer would be half a farthing per week to the better.

"It was because he now saw an opportunity was in their hands—once lost it would never recur—it was because he believed this policy would consolidate the Empire and be a security for peace and for maintenance of our great British traditions—it was for all these things, and not from any personal ambition, that he had given up the office which he was so proud to hold, and that now, when he might have fairly claimed a period of rest, he had taken up new burdens. He came before them as a missionary of Empire, to urge upon them again, as he did in the old times when he protested against the disruption of the United Kingdom, to urge, to implore them to do nothing that will tend toward the disintegration of the Empire—not to refuse to sacrifice a futile superstition, an inept prejudice, and thereby lose the results of centuries of noble effort and of patriotic endeavor." [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

[From the London Daily Telegraph.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT LIVERPOOL, OCTOBER 27.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was given a very hearty reception, said: "I desire to express to you the hearty thanks of Mrs. Chamberlain and of myself for the cordial welcome which you have given us to Liverpool [Hear! Hear!], and to say that while I come here with great pleasure to talk to you upon what I think to be the most important controversy of our time [Hear! Hear!], I am especially pleased to think that I come at the invitation of a great workingmen's association. [Cheers.] I shall tell you why directly, but, in the first instance, I want to put before you the position at which we have arrived. What is my case? What are the arguments by which I support it? What are the objections of my opponents? Well, my case is that the trade of this country, as measured—and I think it right to be mainly measured—by the exports of this country to foreign countries and to British possessions, has during the last twenty or thirty years been practically stationary; that our export trade to all these foreign countries which have arranged tariffs against us has enormously diminished, and at the same time the exports to us have enormously increased. Then it is part of my case that those foreign countries which have adopted protection have, in the elements by which you have been accustomed to test the prosperity of a nation, improved in a greater ratio and more rapidly than we have ourselves; and I have also to point out that this tendency, which has become so manifest in recent years, is likely, as every sensible man of business knows, to be accentuated as time goes on.

"Whatever may be our losses now on possible trade, our losses in the future are likely to be much greater if we continue our present system. [Hear! Hear!]. And the reason for that is obvious. Not only are the old causes continuing to exist, but new causes are coming into operation. There is that process the name for which we have borrowed from the United States, and which is known to you as 'dumping.' The fears which I have expressed with regard to it have been described—humorously described—by Mr. Asquith as dumpophobia. [Laughter.] Well, I admire humor myself [laughter]—I indulge in it occasionally [laughter]—but when a lawyer tries to be humorous about business, and knows nothing whatever of the subject, then I think I have not a high appreciation of his jokes. What is dumping? Dumping is the placing of the surplus of any manufacture in any country which is able to take it. Dumping takes place when the country which adopts it has a production which is larger than its own demand. Not being able to dispose of its surplus at home, it dumps it somewhere else. [Laughter.] Now, England, the United Kingdom, is the only country where this process can be carried on successfully, because we are the only country that keeps open ports. Every other country—all the great countries, that is to say—if dumping takes place, immediately put on a tariff, large or small, to keep out these dumped articles.

"The peculiarity of the situation is that they are not sent in under conditions of fair competition. They are surplus stocks which are being got rid of below cost price, and just as you find that a great surplus sale at some gigantic emporium may have the effect of ruining all the small shops in the neighborhood, so the surplus of the products of all the producing countries in the world may very well ruin the trade of this country. [Cheers.] Now, a curious thing which Mr. Asquith does not seem to appreciate—a curious thing to him, but not to us [laughter]—is that 'dumping' only takes place seriously when the country that has recourse to it is in a state of depression. As long as any country is able to take up all its own supply for its own demand it does so, but when the time comes that trade is depressed, either in Germany or in the United States, or in any other of these countries, then under our present system they do not do what we do under similar circumstances; they do not close their shops, blow out their furnaces, shut up their factories. No; they go on making the full proportion at the lowest possible price, and they sell the surplus for what it will fetch in England. A very good policy for them; a very bad policy for us. [Cheers.] And as I look forward in the ordinary course of things to a time of depression which will follow a time of prosperity which we have recently enjoyed, I think before very long Mr. Asquith may discover that dumpophobia is something really to be afraid of and not to be laughed at.

"LASTING BOND OF UNION.

"Now, there is only one other fact to which I need call your attention as part of my case, and that is, that during the time in which these changes in the condition of our trade have taken place—we have seen changes recently, and, I fear, shall see still greater and more unfavorable changes in the future—the only thing that has really given us encouragement has been the

continual growth and prosperity of our trade with our colonies. In almost exactly the same proportion with which the trade with these foreign-protected countries has continuously fallen off trade with our colonies and possessions has continuously risen, and if we have good trade to-day, it is not thanks to the foreign trade, which has decreased, but it is thanks to the colonial trade, which has increased. [Cheers.] How do I propose to meet this state of things? I propose, in the first place, to meet the foreigner with his own weapons. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I propose to treat him as he does us, until he treats us better [cheers], and I propose to treat our colonies better than we have hitherto done. And in connection with this, I hope for something greater, in my opinion, even than increased trade; greater, certainly, than material prosperity. I hope to lay firm and deep the foundation for that imperial future which fills my heart when I look forward to the history of the world.

"We shall unite the British Empire, not merely by a bond of blood and sympathy—that already exists—but by that bond of commercial unity which everyone, to whatever party he may belong—everyone who has studied this question admits to be necessary if the union is to be permanent. Now, I confess in connection with this that I read the other day with very great pleasure the report of a speech made by my friend, my political opponent, but my personal friend, Sir Edward Grey, at, I think, Alnwick, on October 24 of this year. Sir Edward Grey describes himself as a Liberal Imperialist. I accept his description. I do not doubt for a moment that he is as loyal to the imperial idea as I am myself—['Hear!' 'Hear!']—but he has not had my eight years' experience of colonial administration; he has not had it burned into his brain and mind that this was the time, that this was the critical period during which we might lay the foundations of which I have spoken, and which, if once lost, might leave us with irretrievable mischief done, even against our will, but mischief which never could be undone.

"He does not know all that. How can he? He is not to blame for it. But what he said was this: 'If he could see a chance of all barriers throughout the Empire being thrown down, so that there were no barriers within the Empire, he would say there was something to make sacrifices for. If we could get nearer an idea of empire which had no barriers within itself, but which raised duties on foreign goods only, then he thought there might be an ideal for which there would be a great deal to say.' That is my ideal. [Cheers.] I hope, ladies and gentlemen, we all have ideals which are higher at times than any things to which we can possibly attain. That is my ideal, but I know, as a practical statesman, that you can not realize any such ideal as that in the twinkling of an eye, by the waving of a wand. You must proceed to it step by step, and the proposal which I make to you is a step, and a great step, toward the imperial free trade throughout the Empire, which is no doubt the ultimate object of our aspirations, but which at the present moment is impossible. [Cheers.] Therefore, although at present Sir Edward Grey is unwilling to follow me, I think, after reading what he has said, it can only be because he has not understood that what I propose is only a step to that ideal which he and I have in common.

"OBJECTIONS TO THE SCHEME.

"I have put before you as shortly as I can the reasons for the course I am taking, the proposals I make, and now, what are the objections? I deal with them briefly. They are practically two. In the first place, that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds; that everything is thoroughly satisfactory; our prosperity is so great we should not try to make it more, and so on. [Laughter.] Well, perhaps if I were talking—I hope I am talking to some Liberals and Radicals ['Hear!' 'Hear!' and laughter]—but if I were talking to an audience exclusively composed of Liberals and Radicals I should say to them, if that is your view, if you are so stationary that, having attained to what you think a satisfactory position for yourselves, you are not going to take any step to make that better, well, where is the difference between your moderate Radicalism and the oldest and most rabid form of Toryism [laughter and cheers] in days long gone by? But let them argue that with their own people. I do not believe that in my lifetime at any rate, and I doubt whether for many centuries afterwards, the world will ever be so good that it will not be possible to make it better. But a second argument against these proposals—one upon which they dwell in every paragraph, in every paper, in every poster on the walls, in every speech of every man and every woman who speaks from the top to the bottom—is that this is going to lead to a time of dear food.

"I shall have time before I leave Liverpool to say a word or two more on that question of dear food, and to-night I will say this, that I ask you to take my pledge, and to believe in my sincerity when I give it, that if you accept my proposals as they stand I pledge myself they will not add one farthing to the cost of living of any family in the country, and, in my opinion, in the case of the poorest families they will somewhat reduce that cost. [Cheers.] Now, that is the text. That is the subject upon which I have been preaching, in some of the great centers of population, and now, coming here at the invitation of a working-class association, I am going, as one principal part of my speech, to ask you to consider with me why the workingman, and especially why trades unionists, support these proposals which I have put before them.

"I want to guard against it being supposed for a moment that now or at any time I am going to appeal to any class interest or to any one class as against any other. If I am right, every class in the country will be benefited by reforms which will give increased work and the enjoyment of increased employment to the poor, and I daresay increased profit to the capitalist. [Cheers.] But I am right to begin with the working class, in the first place, because they are the most numerous. That counts for a great deal nowadays. [Laughter.] Now that you are all represented the vote of a workingman counts for as much as the vote of a multimillionaire; and, in the second place, because, under these circumstances, if I don't convince the working classes I am absolutely powerless. I can do nothing without you. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] That is why I rejoice at the cordiality of your reception. [Loud cheers.]

"WORKING-CLASS PATRIOTISM.

"Sometimes, indeed, in the course of the great crusade which I have not willingly undertaken, but because I thought the duty was thrown upon me—sometimes, I say, I have felt as though I stood alone ['No!'] fronting hosts of enemies. But I am encouraged by the thought that behind me there is a great multitude which no man may number [cheers] who give me their sympathy and who will give me their support. [Renewed cheers.] Now, why should you follow the advice which I tender to you? Well, in the first place, because, thank God, the workingmen are now, as they always have been, patriots; because, although every additional expense counts for more than it does to other classes, they have yet always put first in their creed the welfare of the Kingdom and the welfare of the Empire. It is not a selfish support which they tender to me; and at the same time their interest will be served by a policy which is also a patriotic policy.

"What is the whole problem as it affects the working classes of this country? It is all contained in one word—employment. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Cheap food, a higher standard of living, higher wage, all these things, important as they are, are contained in the word employment. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] If this policy will give you more employment, all the others would be added unto you. If you lose your employment, all the others put together will not com-

pensate you for that loss. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] It is rather an interesting thing, which seems to me to have escaped altogether the attention of any of my opponents, who probably have not read the history of the anticorn-law movement, that when free trade was carried out the working classes were neither represented nor consulted. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I don't say that that makes free trade good or bad, but it is a fact that the movement was a manufacturers' and a middle-class movement. ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

"The leaders of the movement, or some of the leaders of the movement, admitted that they thought it would enable wages to be kept at what they called a reasonable level. They thought that it would give cheap food, and that if the laborer had cheap food he could afford to work for lower wages, and that they, therefore, could afford to carry on a competition with which they were threatened in the goods they manufactured. And it is rather curious to remember that long after free trade was carried, even as late as 1888, Mr. Bright, in writing to a friend in America and protesting against the doctrine of protection, points out to him that if the Americans made protection their policy they would have to give higher wages and shorter hours. Well, I do not think that that would be a disadvantage in any case, but what I want to point out is that, rightly or wrongly, the leaders of the free-trade movement believed that the big loaf meant lower wages. Well, then, there is another thing. At the time of the free-trade agitation, what was the action of the Radicals of those days? The Radicals of those days were represented by the Chartists. The Chartists were entirely opposed to the free-trade movement. They said that they alone had the right to speak for the unrepresented classes, that free trade was a red herring drawn across the path of electoral reform, and they invited their followers to spurn and scorn this action of the anti-Corn Law hypocrites.

"SHIFTING OF RESPONSIBILITY.

"I do not think that was just. I do not think that leaders of the Corn Law agitation were hypocrites at all. I believe they sincerely thought that what they were doing was for the good not only of the manufacturers and middle classes, but also for the good of the working classes. But the interesting point is, that at that time the working classes, who, as I say, had no parliamentary representation through their leaders, declared that the thing was only an attempt to draw a red herring across the path; that it was for the benefit of the manufacturers, but that it would not be for the advantage of the workingman. Fortunately no condition of that kind can ever again occur in this country. The working classes are represented now [cheers], thanks very much to the efforts of one of the great free traders; at any rate, of the man, my old friend and colleague, Mr. Bright. I am not certain whether Cobden ever took much interest in the movement for electoral reform, but Mr. Bright made it one of the objects of his life, and it is largely due to the efforts of Mr. Bright, who went out in his time, as I am now doing, alone to speak for a policy in which he believed.

"It was largely due to Mr. Bright that the working classes have the franchise at the present moment. [Cheers.] And what follows, gentlemen? You have the franchise, you have the majority of votes, and you can say 'Yes' to this policy or you can crush it. [Cheers.] The responsibility, therefore, is yours. It no longer rests upon the minority. It does not rest upon the aristocracy or the House of Lords. [Laughter.] It does not rest upon the middle classes. It rests upon the shoulders of workmen. There is, indeed, still one responsibility which rests upon us, and those of us who call ourselves statesmen. We have been, by your votes, selected for position of leadership. It is the duty of a leader if he has come to any convictions to express those convictions as clearly and as plainly as he can to those who are indeed his masters, and who should listen to the leader whom they have chosen. It is his duty to do this, even though in doing it he may lose any little popularity that he may have gained, even though in doing it he puts an end to his political life. I have the satisfaction of thinking that in attempting to do this you will, at all events, justify my good intentions. [Cheers.]

"Now, I have an idea that the working classes of this country are on this question more advanced than many of their leaders. [Cheers.] If so, gentlemen, we shall win. [Cheers.] I care not who is against us. The Cobden Club may rage furiously in all the languages of the civilized world. [Laughter and cheers.] The Free Fooders may imagine vain things, but we shall win the victory. [Cheers.] 'Ah! but,' it is said, 'how can you expect to do that when the Trades Union Congress has passed a resolution against you?' [A voice: 'It does not represent the workingmen.'] Well, that is quite true, but I recollect that there are many trusted leaders of the workingmen, both of trades unionists and of other organizations who do not share the views of the Trades Union Congress, and, therefore, great as is their authority, I humbly venture to appeal against them to you [cheers], to appeal against the officials to the men who appointed them and gave them their power. [Cheers.]

"TRADES UNIONISM AND FREE TRADE.

"And I think I may say, in the first place, that to me it is rather an extraordinary thing that these trades-union officials, acting apparently on the instigation of the Cobden Club, have prepared a manifesto and circulated it, through the Cobden Club, against these proposals to which I am asking your attention. Why should they do it through the Cobden Club? The Cobden Club was formed to honor the memory of a man whom we all know to have been a sincere man, whether he was right or wrong, and always deserving of the respect of his fellow-countrymen. Yes, he was all that; but he was not a friend of trades unions, and to have the trades unions in the arms of the Cobden Club when Mr. Cobden himself said, speaking in 1844, just before the reform of the corn laws, 'Depend upon it, nothing can be got by fraternizing with brutal tyranny and monopoly. [Laughter.] They are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. [Laughter.] I would rather live under the Dey of Algiers than a trades committee.' [Great laughter.] Surely, to actually use a club founded in memory of a gentleman who held those opinions for the propagation of his opinions is a strange thing for the trades-unionist leaders of to-day to do. Now, I want you to bear in mind that Mr. Cobden, from his point of view, from the free-trade point of view, was perfectly right.

"I want you to bear in mind that it is absolutely impossible to reconcile free trade with trades unionism. You can have one or you can have the other, but you can not have both, and I am glad to say that in saying that I have the support of a trades unionist with whom I have disagreed upon almost every other question, Mr. Keir Hardie. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Keir Hardie said: 'Free trade in the abstract is all but an impossibility. There is no member of this House who supports trades unionism who can claim to be a consistent free trader.' [Cheers.] And then he goes on to say, 'trades unionists of this country have no intention of allowing the sweating and underpaid laborers of continental nations to enter into competition with them.' ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] Is that your opinion? ['Yes!'] Well, they are brave words. You won't have them? Well, then, you will not be free traders. [Cheers.] There is no getting out of the dilemma. The gentlemen who oppose me because they say I am a protectionist, and who then go down to the House of Commons in order to catch workingmen's votes in Radical constituencies, declaring themselves supporters of alien emigration, and the prohibition of prison-made goods, of shorter hours, and so on, these men—well, they are inconsistent. [Cheers.]

"The Trades Union Congress was not always of the opinion of the congress

that met this year. In 1888 the parliamentary committee offered a report in which it said: 'The demon of cheapness'—the present trades congress makes a god of cheapness; the parliamentary committee in 1888 spoke of it as a demon—the demon of cheapness has pervaded our whole system, and while the cheapness of goods has been a matter of wonder purchasers seldom or never give a thought to the human blood and muscle that has been ground up in the production of the article.' ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] That is admirable, and if I had time I could preach a sermon from it [voices, 'Go on!'] and I think it would be well to preach that sermon before the present Trades Congress. [Laughter.] My first point, therefore, is this, that it is not only the consumer you have got to consider; the producer is of still more importance, and to buy in the cheapest market is not the sole duty of man, and it is not in the best interest of the working classes.

"LEGITIMATE OBJECTS OF TRADES UNIONISM."

"Now, what are the legitimate objects of trades unionism? In my opinion there are five. In the first place, to enable workmen by union and combination among themselves to meet employers on equal terms, and to bargain with them. If there were no trades unions and no combination, capital would be too strong. Labor would be at the mercy of capital, and it is to prevent that, among other things, that trades unions were founded. Then, the next object is to secure the highest wages which are consistent with the conditions of each trade; to raise the standard of living, and to prevent unfair competition; to insist on proper precautions for the health and safety of those employed, and, lastly, to provide for those of their fellows who, owing to temporary illness or misfortune, are deprived of their means of livelihood. Now, those are legitimate objects, in my judgment, and I heartily approve of all of them, although I have not always been able to approve of all the methods by which they have been sought to be obtained. But one thing is certain, while we have done much to secure these objects, while the mass of the people, to whatever class they belong, have sympathized with them, and have passed legislation, such as the factory acts, the mines acts, the truck acts, the compensation to workmen act, the fair-wages clauses, the prohibition of prison-made goods, and a number of other minor acts of the same kind, every one of these measures is opposed to the strict doctrine of free trade.

"Free trade says you are to buy in the cheapest market; free trade says you are not to interfere with the freedom of independent man, not to prescribe to an employer what he shall or shall not do, but leave him free to bargain as he likes with his work people. And, on the other hand, you are not to make combinations which tend in the slightest degree to destroy the liberty of the workman to sell as high as he pleases. Those are the doctrines of free trade, and all these doctrines we have put aside now for twenty years in our endeavor to benefit the condition of the workman and to raise the standard of living; and it is a little too much now to come down and tell me that I am a heretic; that I ought to be put out of the congregation, forsooth, because I will not allow to be sacred and inspired these doctrines that those who accuse me have abandoned long ago. But there is another most important point which I want working people to consider. Grant all this legislation, and much more of the same kind, I warn you it will be absolutely futile unless you are prepared to go further.

"Now, what is the good, I ask in the name of common sense, of prohibiting sweating in this country if you allow sweated goods to come in from foreign countries? [Loud cheers.] If you insist on limitations of hours and upon precautions for security, bear in mind that all these things add to the cost of production, to the difficulties of the manufacturer in selling his goods, and unless you give him some increased price, some increased advantage, in compensation, then he can not carry on competition any longer. All these conditions in the long run will result, not to your advantage, for you will have no work to do, but to the advantage of the foreigner, who is not so scrupulous, and who conducts his work without any of these conditions. I say, then, if it were possible to calculate exactly what these precautions cost over and above similar precautions taken in other countries with which we are competing, we should be justified without the slightest infraction of the true principles of free trade in putting on a duty corresponding to that cost. [Cheers.] Again, take the case of the fair-wages clause. I saw the other day that in the regulations of the London County council it is provided that the wages and the hours to be paid by contractors under their contracts are to be such as are current and recognized by the trade of the district. [Cheers.] Very good; I am making no objection. I believe similar regulations exist in all the Government departments.

"FAVORING THE FOREIGNER."

"But these regulations do not apply to goods which are brought in by foreigners. And what is the result? The other day Vauxhall Bridge was to be rebuilt. The committee which dealt with the matter recommended, as I am informed, to the London County council that only British material should be used. [Cheers.] Surely that was fair; that is to say, if you will impose on British manufacturers all these conditions you must either impose the same conditions on foreigners, or you must say you will not buy foreign goods. But the recommendation of the committee was rejected by the county council, and I am told that two labor members voted against the recommendation of the committee ['Shame!'], and that accordingly, while requiring all these conditions for British contractors, the contract is thrown open to foreigners if they choose to compete. I don't know, I have not been informed in regard to this particular contract, or who took it; but I have been told that £41,000 worth on one account, and perhaps more on others, of tram rails were bought by the London County council from Germany. [A voice: 'What about Liverpool?'] Very well; will you please follow that up. I am not blaming the London County council; they considered that they had only got to look in the narrowest way to the interests of those whom they represent, and accordingly they bought in the cheapest market, according to the Cobden Club maxim. [Laughter.]

"Now, how much did they save on that £41,000? I should judge they may have saved £1,000. I don't know, but I will take it at £1,000. Yes, and how much did their country lose? [Cheers.] To make that £41,000 worth of rails £30,000 of wages were wanted. And where did they go to? They went to Germany or abroad, and they might have been spent in this country. [Cheers.] That is being done all over the country, and if I wished I could give you plenty of instances. In every case the gain is small, but the loss, if you look at the country as a whole, is very great. [A voice: 'What about the Liverpool council?'] Now, look at this thing in another way. You are to buy everything in the cheapest market. On what ground do you say that we should not buy our labor in the cheapest market? Well, everybody knows that there are countries—I will not name them—in which labor is very much cheaper than it is here. Why should we not import the labor to any extent? I am one of those who for many years have voted and spoken in favor of the regulation of alien immigration. [Cheers.] I don't want to prevent it altogether, but I want a man who comes practically a pauper to these shores to show that he can be and will be a useful and a profitable citizen. [Cheers.]

"I would like, therefore, to apply tests to those who come. But how can I do so? With what reason, with what sense could I make a law and restrictions if while I keep out the laborer I let in his goods? [Cheers.] If I keep out the man who makes this slop clothing, or whatever it may be, at starvation prices; if I keep him from working in Shoreditch, but allow him to work at some other place, which, again, I won't name [laughter], and thence

send to me the goods which he has made at these ridiculous prices? Well, now, what is the conclusion of this branch of the matter? If protected labor is good, and I think in many ways it is—that is to say, the fair protection of labor—then it is good to protect the results of labor. [Cheers.] And you can not do the one without the other, or else in trying to do good to labor you will do it much more harm than good.

"PROSPECTS OF MORE EMPLOYMENT."

"And if it be good, as I think it is, to support objects of trade unionism, then I say those objects can only be secured, can only be permanent in our system, as long as we can offer to the bulk of our work people, to all those who are willing to work, constant and remunerative employment ['Hear!' 'Hear!'], and so long as we have got large numbers of people who would work if they could, but can not find work to do, so long it is useless to talk of raising wages or restricting the hours of labor or putting on manufacturers additional cost which they can not afford to pay. The only result will be that you will still further destroy the employment which already obtains. Now, I hope to give you more employment. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I hope to do so by keeping, in the first place, a firmer hold upon home markets; I hope, in the second place, to do so by having something to bargain with when we trade with foreigners; and I hope, in the last place, to do so by encouraging the best of our trades, the trade which is most profitable to us in proportion to its size, the trade which is increasing most quickly, the trade which we have it in our power to stimulate most greatly—I mean the trade with our own kith and kin across the seas. [Cheers.]

"Now, I turn to a different subject. Industry in Liverpool, as industry in many other great cities of the Empire, is more or less specialized, and there is no industry which is probably so important to you as the great shipping industry, of which Liverpool is practically the center. Liverpool boasts itself to be the sea carrier and the merchant of the world. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I say to those who are concerned in this great industry—I will not do you the injustice of supposing you are not capable of as much patriotism or of as much self-sacrifice as the working class of whom I have previously spoken—I say to you, as I said to them, you will benefit by this policy. [Cheers.] You can not lose by it. [Renewed cheers.] Now, I am going further. I will say that if I believed that this great industry were seriously endangered by my proposals I should think that not only would the shipowners be justified, but that they were bound by patriotism to resist it. [Cheers.]

"Because what is our shipping industry? Our shipping industry is one of the very greatest of our exports, though I doubt myself whether it is so large as some of our statisticians appear to think. Bear in mind, whether it be fifty millions or ninety millions, as some suppose it to be, the only part of it with which we are concerned, and which we can call British exports, is the part which goes back to British subjects. What is paid the alien seamen, or what is paid in the purchase of alien goods abroad, these are in the nature of imports into this country, and not exports out of it. But whatever may be the actual facts, and they are very difficult to ascertain, I admit as fully as anyone the importance of this trade, and I desire as much as anyone to increase its prosperity.

"POSITION OF BRITISH SHIPPING."

"What is the case of those who are opposed to me on the subject? It is very admirably stated, I think, in a little pamphlet which has been sent to me, written by one of your townsmen, in a very moderate way—by Mr. Norman Hill. Well, what does he say? He points out the enormous progress which this industry has made in recent years. He says that even now ours is still larger than any other merchant navy in the world. He says it is still increasing in amount, and I hope, and I think he hopes, that it is still profitable to those who are concerned in it. Now, I don't pretend to criticise his figures. I am not going to dispute them. It is not necessary for my purpose. I am going to admit every one of those statements, and every one of the figures on which they are based. Only I would like to point out to Mr. Hill what, indeed, he would recognize himself, that these things tell only half the truth. They tell what is your position positively, but they take no note of comparative progress, and it is by comparative progress, and not by actual progress, that you alone can foresee the future.

"It is not what we have got now, but the question is, How long shall we keep it, and how much shall we keep of it? We are like a man in a race. He starts with a great advantage; he has given him 100 yards, perhaps. In the first lap he loses 30, in the second lap he loses 50 more, and then he is seen by an observer from the Cobden Club [laughter], and the Cobden Club says: 'That is my man; he is still ahead.' [Laughter.] I think we know better. [Laughter.] Now, my case is that British shipping, admirable as its condition is in many respects, is not progressing so fast as foreign shipping, and I don't like that symptom at all. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I must trouble you—I hate troubling a great meeting like this ['Go on!']—with a few figures as an illustration of what I am saying. I take these figures from some admirable articles which appeared in the Times newspaper and which were written in a most moderate spirit. According to them, British tonnage entered and cleared in foreign ports increased 20,000,000 in the ten years 1890 to 1900.

"But foreign shipping in the same period and in the same ports increased eighty million—four times as much, and what is more interesting to be observed, the increase was chiefly in the later years—that is to say, not only is the movement going on, but it is going on in an accelerated ratio. Now, take foreign trade with the United Kingdom from 1890 to 1892; it increased £15,000,000, and the British trade in our own country in the same period only increased a little more than £12,000,000—that is to say, increased less than the foreign. Well, we are losing both ways. We are losing at home, we are losing abroad. Then, again—and it is curious how similar the facts are, whether you look to shipping or any other trade, the whole category of the trades of the United Kingdom—it is curious to observe that the portion of the trade which is thoroughly satisfactory is the colonial trade, the trade with our foreign possessions, and that has doubled, I believe, in the period of which I am speaking.

"OTHER NATIONS' PROGRESS."

"I take two other facts from another source—this is from the Newcastle Chronicle. The tonnage built in the United Kingdom in 1902—that is, last year—was an increase in the year of 591,000 over 1893; but the tonnage built abroad by foreign nations and our colonies—of course chiefly by foreign nations—increased by 885,000; that is to say, the building was 294,000 tons more abroad than it was at home in a single year—the increase, I mean, not the total building. Then this is the last of my figures. They are worth consideration. This comes from the Blue Book. From 1890 to 1901 we are told that the total increase in the tonnage of the whole British Empire was 1,400,000, and meanwhile the total increase in foreign tonnage was 2,200,000, or 500,000 more than the British tonnage. I think serious people ought to give serious consideration to what, at any rate, are signs. What is the use of saying the house is still standing if you know that there is rot in the foundation? [Cheers.] What is the use of saying you are doing very well when you know you are doing comparatively worse every year? What is the good of declaring, of talking about your income-tax returns or profit on the length of your voyages when you know that behind you you have galloping up at a greater rate than anything you can command your bitterest and severest competitors and rivals? [Cheers.]

"Now, gentlemen, what is the cause of all this? Well, I will tell you on the authority of Mr. Asquith. Mr. Asquith, from his professional knowledge, I suppose [laughter], is able to lecture the chiefs of industry in this country, be they shipowners or manufacturers or agriculturists. He knows why it is they are going behind, and not in front as quickly as they should do. He says it is want of intelligence. [Laughter.] Ah, gentlemen, intelligence is only to be found in the legal profession. [Loud laughter.] It is want of capacity; it is want of enterprise. Now, if there be in the whole of this country any trade or trades of which that is untrue it is our great shipping industry and our great shipbuilding industry. I am not here to say that all our methods are perfect. I should not have been the founder and Chancellor of a great university if I had not felt that we stood in need of improvement, and I will be very glad of Mr. Asquith's assistance in establishing these Charlotenberg schools in every city in the Empire, in Liverpool and elsewhere, in order to give advantages which at present we withhold.

"But when we have done all that, I say we shall not even then improve greatly the skill, the industry, and the talent and knowledge contained in the brains of the heads of the men who control these two great trades, and that it is not in that direction that we have to account for the evils to which I have called your attention. What are the evils? In the first place, there are bounties and subsidies. How do you think that any man, even if he had the brains of a—or anyone [laughter]—of a Free Fooder—how do you think that a man can stand against the kind of bounties, direct and indirect, with which a shipowner finds his path crossed in so many directions? You will find the whole account of that fully told in the parliamentary reports which deal with this subject.

"When I was traveling the other day I had a little experience which seems to me to be worth relating. I was at Zanzibar, on the east coast, and I was told the Germans were making great progress in their trade there. I said to the merchants whom I saw there—most of them English—"How is this? Is it that we are so far behind the Germans that you can not buy our goods any longer?" And they said, "No, it is not. Your manufactures, perhaps, may in some respects be improved, but the real reason is that the Germans have got an excellent line of steamers," subsidized, I think, with £80,000 a year, whereas we have only got an inconvenient and unsatisfactory line, with a miserable subsidy of £6,000 or £7,000 a year, and the German steamers bring German goods and the trade follows the flag. Well, the trade of East Africa may not be a very large one, but the instance, at all events, is worth quoting as an instance of what is going on elsewhere.

"DISABILITIES OF BRITISH SHIPS.

"We have made sacrifices in many quarters of the globe, in none more than in that which I recently visited. And now who is to have the advantages of them? Are they to be taken from us by bounties given to foreign shipping? Will they induce a foreign trade which would not otherwise properly belong to those countries? Then, again, look at the disabilities to which British ships are exposed. We put upon them all sorts of regulations—right regulations, mind you—I am myself the author of some of the strongest of them. We require a load line for them. We require other precautions. Why? For the health and safety of those who go down to the sea in ships. While I say that is right, what do we do with the foreigners? We don't require any load line from him. It is possible, I am told, for an English ship in your port here of Liverpool to load up to, say, 3,500 tons, and then to have an inspector come on board and say, "This won't do; this is above your mark"—below your mark I suppose I ought to say [laughter]—"you must pull out 500 tons at once." And then that steamer goes away with 3,000 tons of cargo.

"The next day, I am told, a foreign ship may come in not marked at all, and may load up its 3,500 tons, and the 500 tons may make all the difference between profit and loss, and we allow him to have every one of the privileges which we give to the other ships.

"Well, but these things want discussion. I have not seen that Mr. Asquith, or Lord Rosebery, or Lord Goschen have discussed these matters; and yet it seems to me they have a certain amount of importance, at all events in Liverpool. I have been told to-night, since I came here, of another disadvantage. You have to register tonnage, and the foreigner has a different register. Your vessel is registered perhaps at 1,500 tons, and the foreigner—who has precisely the same cargo-carrying capacity—is registered at 1,000 tons, and he pays dues of every kind upon 500 tons less than you. Is that the way to keep your trade? ["No;" and cheers.] What I am pleading for is scientific treatment of trade subjects, not this—pshaw [cheers and laughter], it does make me despair sometimes—not this feeble and futile policy of official incapacity or official apathy, which makes it either below the dignity or below the duty of a British Government to take care of British trade. [Cheers.]

"I am coming to an end ["Go on!"], but I have one more word. What about the exclusion by certain foreign countries of British trade from what is called the "coasting trade"? ["Hear!" "Hear!"] And what about the definition of "coasting trade," which makes a voyage from Riga, in the Baltic, to Vladivostok, in Siberia, a coasting voyage, or from Portland, Me., to San Francisco, on the Californian coast, a coasting voyage? [Laughter.] And yet these are voyages which no British ships may entertain, while, on the other hand, a foreign ship can come in here at Liverpool, may travel all around our coast, calling at every port as it goes, or it may go from here to the farthest end of the earth where the British flag flies and in no circumstances will it be placed at any disadvantage with regard to us.

"BRITISH TRADE EXTINGUISHED.

"Now, gentlemen, let us see how this works. A few years ago we had a growing trade with Madagascar. Madagascar was protected by the French. We thought honestly that we had a clear and distinct and unmistakable arrangement with the French, that they would not interfere in any way with our liberty and existing conditions of trade with Madagascar. The French thought otherwise. They have excluded us altogether from that trade. It has gone, with all its possibilities of extension. So much for the trade. How long do you think that the French, who now do that trade, are going to allow your shipowners to carry it in British ships? Not one moment longer than they can prevent. It may not be gone, but it is that a reason why you should not bestir yourselves in order to keep it? ["Hear!" "Hear!"] Rest assured if you don't take the warning that is written on the wall the trade will go, and you will never be able to recover it.

"We will take another case, a more important case, that of Cuba. Cuba, a great island, only requiring the good government which it now has under American protection to make it one of the richest countries in the world, was, exactly like Madagascar, handed over to the care of America, and our idea was that our conditions of trade with Cuba would be respected. They have not been respected. Perhaps the Americans did not understand them in the same sense as we do. Be that as it may, all representations by us have been fruitless, and the American Government, the American President, proposes preferential arrangements with Cuba, treating Cuba exactly as I want you to treat our colony of Canada. [Cheers.] He proposes to make a preferential treaty with Cuba, the result of which will be that no more English goods will go to Cuba, and all the traffic between Cuba and the United States will be done in United States ships. And not merely that—see how these things begin; see how these things end!

"Not merely that. I am told a large trade is done between Rangoon and Cuba in Indian rice, and that is now done by British ships, but the result will be that rice will go to New York and from there to Cuba in American ships. And once more a portion of your trade has been snipped off, and because you have gained somewhere else you will have the Cobden Club still holding high its flag and saying, "See how great is our trade! See what a magnificent people we are and the losses we can sustain without complaints!" Now, I say that in this matter of shipping something should be done. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] Our colonial premiers on the last occasion, among other resolutions besides the one asking us for preference, passed a resolution asking the British Government to consider the conditions under which the coasting trade as between ourselves and our colonies is carried on; and the premier of New Zealand has already, I believe, proposed a law to his own Parliament in which he recommends that the same treatment should be measured to foreign countries that they measured to the British Empire. ["Hear!" "Hear!"]

"Where they keep their coasting trade to themselves, New Zealand and the mother country should keep their coasting trade to themselves. Well, these matters are not matters to be hastily settled. I am not asking you to accept them. I am only putting the case before you. I say there must be a remedy; there must be some way of bargaining with these gentlemen to get rid of their unfair restrictions, and it is for that power of bargaining, and, if necessary, of retaliation, that Mr. Balfour has asked, and that I have asked ["Hear!" "Hear!"]; and, after all, if there be any difference between us whatsoever it is only that I go further. I ask not in the future, but to-day ["Hear!" "Hear!"], for the preference for our colonies which will bind them and us together. [Cheers.]

"SHIPS, COLONIES, AND COMMERCE.

"Well, I have only made clear to you, at any rate, what I think would be the effect of my proposals. We shall be able to give to the shipowner a return freight in such cases as Canada and Australia. Surely that would be an enormous advantage both to him and to us. I think he would increase his trade with the colonies, but I see absolutely no reason whatever to believe that he would decrease his trade with other countries. Who can name to me one single protectionist country which at the same time that it has built up its own markets has not been able to increase its foreign exports? If that be so, we shall be able at the same time that we hold our own market to increase our trade with the foreigners, and the only change which I anticipate, and it is a change which I greatly desire, is that the character of the cargoes may be somewhat altered. I want to see less of their finished manufactures coming in [cheers] and I want to see more of their goods—raw materials and things of that kind—in return for our exports of finished manufactures. [Cheers.]

"I have gone into some details in these matters, but, after all, I have not wandered from my subject. You may take any detail. I can follow any trade, however small, or any trade, however large, or any class, however small, or any class, however large, as I have followed to-night one great class and one great industry, and the result will always be the same. [Cheers.] And over and above these labored attempts to prove what seems to me hardly necessary of proof at all, that your interests will be served by the change which I have undertaken to recommend to you—over and above these I appeal to those solemn considerations of imperial sentiment and national patriotism for which the city of Liverpool has always been distinguished. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, what is your motto? "Ships, colonies, and commerce." ["Hear!" "Hear!"] You are right to place colonies in a prominent position. You are right to place it between the other two, for the other two depend upon it, and as long as we keep our colonies we have nothing to fear for the future."

"I have not endeavored, although I have been represented as so doing, to prove that the refusal of my proposals will be followed by any immediate result. I do not know whether it will or whether it will not, but I look to the future, as every statesman should, and I say that if you continue your present system, and if, above all, you leave your colonies, now loyal and devoted to you, to seek for reciprocity in other quarters, a reciprocity which they will be ready to give, but which you, forsooth, I am told, are to emphatically refuse ["No!"], then I predict sooner or later this great empire of our dreams will vanish away, and will leave not a wrack behind.

"HOLLAND'S FATE.

"Remember the experiment has been tried. Holland has tried, and in the time of her greatest prosperity, to retain her command of the sea, her position as carrier and merchant of the world. She has tried to maintain it without productive capacity. She has tried and failed, and you, gentlemen, can not be more successful than she was. Remember that the principle, the underlying principle, of Cobdenism was cosmopolitan. It was to care for all the world, avoiding and even despising the special care for which I plead—the care for those who are near and dear to us. [Cheers.] Even at this moment one of the most strenuous advocates in the press of the views which I oppose declared himself the other day that the great issue between us was no mere party question, but it was a conflict between imperialism and little Englandism. Yes; he is right. He is a little Englander. I am an imperialist [cheers], and the conflict is between us. I know that.

"Now, this is the tremendous and the present issue. You are called upon in this generation, and with greater responsibility than ever before. It is on your decision that this tremendous issue rests—the balance hangs. But I know what your forefathers would have said. I know what they did. I know how they endured burdens and sufferings to which our sacrifices—if, indeed, sacrifices there be—are as nothing, as a drop in the ocean; and know how, with half our population, with one-tenth of our wealth, with Ireland hostile, under conditions of which we have no conception, they nevertheless, and almost at times alone against the world, bore themselves bravely in the titanic strife with Napoleon, and came out victorious. [Cheers.] I ask, What is our task to theirs? It is a mere trifle. It is only for us to keep the fruits of the victory that they have won. I commend this issue to your consideration, and if, indeed, we are called upon to give up some antiquated and, nevertheless, dearly beloved prejudice or superstition, if, indeed, we are called upon for more than that, let us show that prosperity has not corrupted our blood—that it has not weakened our nerve or destroyed our fiber." [Loud cheers.]

The right honorable gentleman resumed his seat, having spoken exactly an hour and a half.

On the motion of Mr. J. B. Royden (chairman Liberal Constitutional Society), a resolution was enthusiastically adopted, "That this meeting heartily thanks the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., for his kindness in consenting to visit Liverpool, and for the address which he has delivered. It desires to express its gratitude to him for the sacrifice he has made through a long and strenuous public life, and for the patriotic services he has rendered to his country and the Empire. The meeting cordially indorses the view held by His Majesty's Government that the time has arrived for a reconsideration of the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom in order to secure for the benefit of the working classes and manufacturers reciprocal treatment from foreign countries; and is further of opinion that it is desirable to bind the Empire more closely together by the adoption of mutual preferences between the mother country and the colonies." [Cheers.]

[From the London Daily Telegraph.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT LIVERPOOL OCTOBER 22.

Mr. Chamberlain, who on rising was received with loud cheers, said: "I am touched—as, indeed, who would not be—by the cordiality with which this toast, proposed in such generous terms by the lord mayor, has been received by this distinguished and representative company. I am glad, my lord mayor, that in your remarks you included my wife [cheers] in the compliment which you have paid me. It is true that I was a little surprised to learn that you, my lord mayor, were in favor of alien immigration. [Laughter.] I think, however, you are really in perfect agreement with myself if you think that immigration ought to be regulated, but not suppressed. [Laughter.] In that case I hope nothing that is useful, nothing that is fair ['Hear!' 'Hear!']; above all, nothing that is good, would ever be excluded from these shores. [Cheers.] My lord mayor, although I recognize the representative character of this assembly, it is not the least part of the compliment you have paid me that it is essentially a civic compliment. [Cheers.]

"I have had a long experience of political life. It is nearly a quarter of a century since I severed myself from municipal work, and nobody ever heard me in that period utter a word deprecatory of the service which those render to the country who help toward the good government of the towns in which they live. Although I have filled many positions of great honor and of some dignity, after all there is no honor that I have ever had in my life to which I look back with greater pleasure than the honor I enjoyed when, for three years, I was mayor of a great provincial town. [Cheers.] I am aware, sir, that your position is for the time a neutral one. Politics in a party sense are, and ought to be, absolutely excluded ['Hear!' 'Hear!'], and I myself feel that it would be in the worst of bad taste if I were to take the opportunity which you have afforded me to treat of any subject of purely party controversy or to treat of any subject at all in a party spirit. [Cheers.]

"But in the course of the great discussion in which the whole nation is engaged I for one absolutely refused to treat the matter as a party one. [Cheers.] As far as I am concerned, I will never lend myself to the idea that any question which, like this, touches every single member of the community can be or ought to be treated as being a mere matter between the outs and the ins—a mere matter as to which party or which section should form the Government and the administration of the country. [Cheers.] And I am happy to think that while, on the one hand, some of my best party friends, some of those with whom I have been most intimately connected during the last few years, have felt themselves compelled to differ from me on this point, on the other hand, the most distinguished of my opponents and an enormous multitude of those who upon any ordinary political question would undoubtedly give their votes against me are nevertheless in this matter willing to give to me a favorable consideration. [Cheers.]

"WHO BEARS THE TAXATION?"

"Now, among my opponents, among those who differ from me, is my old friend, my old opponent, formerly one of the most distinguished members of your city—I mean Lord Goschen. But of all my opponents none has treated this matter in a more moderate, in a more scientific, and in a more impartial spirit. On a former occasion we differed, but I think it a good augury that on that occasion I proved to be right and he proved to be wrong. I hope the same thing may occur again. There is one pleasure I have in dealing with Lord Goschen, and that is that, like myself, he is a man of business, and that enables him to do what no man of business can fail to do, and that is to appreciate the arguments he has got to answer; and when I read his speeches I understand what he means, and I know that he has understood what I meant. In the speeches and addresses he has given there are many matters which are scientific questions, and on which it is impossible for me to speak in a great popular audience, where figures and scientific argument can not possibly be properly appreciated. But here I think myself justified in referring to them once more.

"Now, one of the principal foundations of Lord Goschen's arguments was the doctrine—which, I think, is an antiquated doctrine in more senses than one—the doctrine, that is, of some of the older economists, that you can not put any tax whatever upon imports without putting it entirely upon the consumer. I think myself that that argument has been disposed of practically by the modern experts of economical science ['Hear!' 'Hear!'], but, at the same time, I should like to add one or two words to what I have already said on the subject. Now, Lord Goschen went very far on this point. He was, as you know, a supporter of the recent registration duty on corn. He supported it as a permanent widening of the basis of our taxation, but he has been considering the subject since, and told his audience the other day that the taxes must have fallen upon the consumer. It is true that nobody felt the tax. It was absolutely imperceptible, but it must have been there—somehow or another the consumer must have felt it. Well, I will say, in the first place, I wish that Lord Goschen would devote his great talents for the benefit of another chancellor of the exchequer who has succeeded him [cheers], and that he would try to discover a few more taxes which, although they would benefit the consumer, would still be imperceptible to all of us. That would joyfully be accepted, at all events, in comparison to such other taxes as the income tax and the house tax, which, so far as I can judge, are quite sufficiently appreciated. [Laughter.]

"ATTITUDE OF FOREIGN NATIONS.

"But I don't think an argument which is based upon the imperceptibility of the tax, which tries to prove the existence of something which you can not see, which you can not feel, which you can not touch—I don't think that an argument of that kind is a very powerful argument against a change which may be desirable on other accounts; and I would also point out that any such argument is entirely opposed, not only to all the scientific doctrines of other countries, but to all the practice and present opinion of other countries. Now, you, gentlemen, in the course of your business, have occasionally to make yourself acquainted with foreign opinion, and must, I think, have been struck by the way in which these new proposals have been received abroad. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] On the whole, I think it is remarkable, considering that we are not altogether popular amongst our neighbors, that this proposal for a change of policy, which is admitted by foreigners to be likely to cause them some injury, have been received with such general good temper and with such full appreciation of the objects with which it is proposed.

"On the Continent we find a general feeling that it is extremely natural that, with further experience, we should review our fiscal policy, and, at the same time, a determination on their part not to resent any change, but to endeavor to meet it. You will find throughout the length and breadth of the Continent and the United States an expression of a feeling, not so much against the policy, but of a desire that in each case they should be prepared to meet the policy, and to meet it, if possible, by concessions which will remove much of the difficulties with which we have now to contend. [Cheers.] But—and this is my particular point—you will find underlying these negotiations that every one of these countries believes if they do not meet us in a reciprocal spirit, and if, therefore, we are forced to retaliate upon them and to put duties upon their goods, that it is they, and not the British consumer, who will have to pay the duty. ['Hear!' 'Hear!']

"Now, I should think that that is a point which we ought to keep in mind.

['Hear!' 'Hear!'] I think they have really proceeded in a more scientific way than we have, and I think that they are not unreasonable when they say—though they are sometimes unreasonable, perhaps, in the extent to which they carry their doctrines—they have reason in the doctrine itself when they say: 'If we allow you to come into our country and sell your goods and make a profit, then we expect you to contribute toward the expenses of our Government and administration.' I should like to know—I have seen calculations with regard to particular trades, but it would be worth carrying it further—I should like to know how much each article that is produced in each trade pays in the way of taxation, and I should like to ask whether it is not, as a general principle, right that, if foreigners enter into competition with these articles, they should be called upon to pay an equal amount toward the administration of the country. [Cheers.]

"PRICES UNDER RISING TARIFFS.

"Well, in pursuance of this argument about taxes being paid by the consumer, Lord Goschen devoted himself chiefly to the consideration of his theory compared with others, and in the case of figures they certainly showed what he desired to prove. He said in effect that, taking sufficient averages, whatever duty was paid upon food in a foreign country, it had raised the price of food in that country, and the amount, as compared with the price of food in this country, was represented by the difference in duty. That is to say, taking a duty of 5s. per quarter on corn, then the corn would be 5s. dearer there than in this country. I have already said that this question will never be decided in that way, and that figures will never prove anything. The factors are so complicated; you can get figures that all men will accept as conclusive upon any point under discussion. You can only take figures as illustrative of your argument. I have been looking at this question and taking out figures which may be disputed, and I have come to a totally different conclusion. I have come to the conclusion that in no single case with which I am acquainted is it a fact that on the average, and as a rule, the extra price to the consumer has been in any real proportion at all to the amount of the taxes.

"I am going to ask you to listen to a few figures on that subject. Take, in the first place, the case of France. Now, before 1878 the duty then on corn was 1s. 4d. per quarter, and that continued for five years. I take five years as a sufficient period for comparison. In the five years 1878 to 1882, when the duty on corn was only 1s. 4d., the price was 48s. 10d. In the next five years, after the duty was raised to 12s. 2d., the price fell to 37s. 3d. That is to say, the duty was 11s. 2d., and the price fell by 12s. 7d. [Laughter.] Well, that is not conclusive. Of course, it may be because the price of corn fell all over the world, and therefore I must compare with the country in which there was no duty, namely, England. Now, what was the case in England? You compare the price in France with the price in England; the excessive price in France when the duty was 1s. 4d. was 4s. 10d. But in the period when the duty was 12s. 2d. the excess rose from 4s. 10d. to 9s., in other words, an increase of 11s. 2d. on the duty only increased the comparative price in this country by 4s. 2d., and 7s. of the difference, therefore, or 60 per cent, must have been paid by the foreigner. If my figures are correct there can be no doubt that, as the result of the argument, France did not pay the full excess of duty, but only 4s. 2d. out of the excess of 11s.

"SHARE BORNE BY THE FOREIGNER.

"Now, take Germany. A rise of duty took place in 1885, a rise of duty of 4s. 4d. The average price fell during the three years 8s. 6d. below the average of the previous duty. That again is due to the general fall in the price of wheat. But in the United Kingdom for exactly the same period the price fell 10s. 7d., or 2s. 1d. more than it fell for Germany. In other words, an increase of 4s. 4d. on the duty only increased the comparative prices by 2s. 1d. and 2s. 3d., or more than 50 per cent increase must have been paid by the foreigner. The argument is the same and the result is the same in Sweden. The duty was increased 8s. 10d. per quarter in 1888, and prices rose about 1s. 6d. a quarter. In the United Kingdom it fell 2s. 6d. during the same time that it rose 1s. 6d. in Sweden. The difference in the comparative prices was 4s.; the difference in the duty was 8s. 10d. Accordingly 4s. 10d. of that tax, or 55 per cent, was paid by the foreigner. I apologize for putting these details before you ['No!' 'No!'], but I think they are important and justify my doing so. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] If I am correct—my figures are correct, my argument is correct—then these facts exactly vindicate the doctrine of the modern economists, Professor Ashworth and Professor Nicholson, and among the older economists John Stuart Mill and the late Professor Seton, all of whom have said at one time or another that, apart from any duty imposed upon imports, part, at any rate, is paid not by the consumer, but by the foreign exporter.

"Now I turn from these details; I turn to a question of principle which I think is really of great importance, and is at the bottom of the real difference between myself and those who call themselves 'free fooders.' I hope, not what the Duke of Devonshire, with all his great practical common sense, has joined the free fooders, he will induce them to change their name, because such a misleading appellation applied to those whose leaders were the men who, during our generation, have done more to tax the food of the people than all the rest of the country put together, is really a trial on our patience. But what is the principle upon which these free fooders proceed? It has never been so clearly stated before, and to my mind it is absolutely wrong, and accounts for a great number of the mistakes we have made, and ought to be dismissed from our fiscal gospel. ['Hear!' 'Hear!'] It is, to be put in a few words, that a tax upon food, or a tax upon anything else—imports, I mean to say—is perfectly justifiable if it is a tax purely for revenue purposes. If the tax only benefits the exchequer, and does not do a halfpenny worth of good to any other living person besides, then it is a good tax; but if incidentally, or even directly, as its proper and necessary purpose, it benefits any interest in this country or any trade in this country, if it benefits the whole country and carries forward the great ideal of imperialism to which so many of us attach so much importance—if it has any of these incidental advantages, then let it be utterly condemned; it is anathema; it is not worthy of consideration by any true follower of Mr. Cobden. [Cheers.]

"AN OLD, BAD DOCTRINE.

"Now, I call that a preposterous doctrine. [Cheers.] My methods and anything else may be quite wrong, but my object is simply this: I want to establish a scientific taxation for a taxation which, in my opinion, is a taxation in its most brutal and arbitrary form. [Cheers.] All this comes from that old, bad doctrine of *laissez faire*, which was the bottom of the whole policy of the free traders in times before we appreciated our position as a great imperial race. [Cheers.] It is to my mind an utter misapprehension of the duty of a British Government to say that so long as it only taxes the people, so long as it only taxes the money out of their pockets, and so long as its operations are not, indeed, imperceptible, but are as burdensome as they can be made, then you may give it your support without hesitation; but if, on the contrary, the government of a country considers itself as though it were the directors and managers of a great undertaking, and as though the interests of every one of the shareholders were part of its duty, as though it had to give a careful eye to everything that passed, not only in this country, but throughout the world, and that wherever it can give a turn to assist its own people and promote its own interests there it is called upon immediately

to intervene, then we are to be told that such a government is unworthy of the confidence of the nation.

"Now, sir, I have great respect for all those chancellors of the exchequer to whom I have referred. I have great respect for my friend Lord Goschen, but I appeal from them to one greater than all of them. I appeal from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, from Sir William Harcourt, and from Mr. Ritchie to one greater than all. I appeal to Mr. Gladstone himself. Mr. Gladstone was a man of whom, I think, Liverpool can never be otherwise than proud. [Cheers.] Many of you who were always in politics opposed to him and many of us who at one time accepted him as our trusted leader believe alike. In his later years especially he made great mistakes, but none of us doubt his capacity, his ability, his proud position as one of the most honorable, most able, most generous of British statesmen. [Cheers.] I am not, I need scarcely say, going to claim Mr. Gladstone as one who would have been in favor of the policy I am putting before you. I do not think there is any use in speculating as to what men who have gone before would have done in new circumstances; but if I am asked, I think the high probability is that Mr. Gladstone would never have been able to detach himself from those ideas which he so long entertained and expressed in regard to the difference between protection and free trade. I only appeal to him as a great master of the underlying principles of finance. I will apply his principles as I please. I claim him as an authority upon the principles, and upon the principles, I say, he was entirely opposed to this new doctrine of taxation, that a tax is to be recognized as reasonable and wise when it does no good to any living soul, except so far as it brings money into the public exchequer.

"CHEAPENING OF BREAD.

"Mr. Gladstone made a remarkable speech in introducing his budget in 1861. I propose to read the whole quotation which bears upon this subject, because I think it is worth your careful attention. The whole subject and the circumstances of the time are also worthy of your attention. Mr. Gladstone said: 'But I do not hesitate to say that it is a mistake to suppose that the best method of giving relief to the laboring classes is simply to operate upon the articles consumed by them. If you want to do them the maximum of good, you should rather operate upon articles which can give them the maximum of employment.' He spoke also in 1861, fourteen years after 1846, when the antecorn law legislation was passed. 'What is it,' he said, 'that has brought about the great change in their position of late years? Not that you have legislated here and there, taking one penny or two pence in the pound off some articles consumed by the laboring classes; it is that you have set more free the course of trade in their position of late years? Not that you have taken the widest field and the highest rate of remuneration for their labor. Take the great change in the corn laws. It may even possibly be doubted whether up to this time you have given them cheaper bread; at best it is but a trifle cheaper than before. The change, however, is comparatively immaterial, but you have created a regular and steady trade. By that trade you have created a corresponding demand in the commodities of which they are the producers, their labor being an essential and principal element in their production, and it is the price their labor thus brings, not the price of cheapened commodities, that forms the main benefit they receive. That is the principle of a sound political economy applicable to commercial legislation.' This is a thing, I think, which will come as a surprise to many who take part in this discussion. I find great statesmen speaking as if there was general depression because of the high price of bread before the corn laws were abolished, and that no sooner were the corn laws abolished than, by a stroke of the wand, this distress was removed by the cheapening in the price of food.

"A great reduction in the price of food had been taking place since 1837, long after Gladstone was speaking; but let me keep before you the main question. That change is one comparatively immaterial, but you have created a regular and steady trade which may be stated at £15,000,000 a year. By that trade you have created a corresponding margin for commodities of which the working classes are the producers. What were the circumstances under which this budget was produced? Mr. Gladstone was asked to relieve the working classes by taking off the duties on sugar and tea, but he says it was his object—I am not quoting his words, but he said: 'No; I won't benefit them so much by that. You must use the money you have to dispose of in order to increase employment, in order to make your production the means of purchasing commodities you require.' He refused to take off the duties on sugar and tea. What did he do? In the first place, he took off the duty on paper, the excise duty, the home duty, and it is most interesting to read that part of his speech. I only read it the other day, when I made my speech at Glasgow, and I was curious to find almost the same language as I have used as to the country mills that might be supposed to be the producers of paper—the country mills that I thought might in the future be grinding our corn. We had to do anything we could to keep the country people on the land and not to send them to crowd into the towns to compete with the artisan. [Cheers.]

"MOST-FAVORED-NATION CLAUSE.

"That was one use that was made of the money at his disposal, and the second use was this: To prepare for the deficit which he anticipated in consequence of the reciprocal treaty with France, a treaty on which we reduced our duties on French goods in order that she might reduce her duties on ours. I was told that was a reciprocal treaty, and not a preferential treaty. [Laughter.] Well, it was both. It was a reciprocal treaty—that was admitted—but it was also a preferential treaty in the sense that the articles upon which we reduced our duty were, many of them, articles which no one else made. When we reduced the duties on French claret and Burgundy, how did that benefit the other countries to which we gave the most-favored-nation clause? The fact that it was not preferential in the full sense came up for discussion when I was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government, when we tried to make a second treaty with France after the old one had expired.

"What did the French say to this? They said, 'You have given, and continue to give, under your policy, every advantage to us that you give to every other power. You have already given all and you have nothing further to give. If you had anything to offer you would give it to everybody as well as to us. Under the circumstances, is it reasonable that we should make what we consider a sacrifice? You are pleased to give us this concession because you consider it to your advantage. We are very much obliged to you, but you don't give anything in return'—and we do give nothing in return except the most-favored-nation clause. It may be in some cases an advantage to this country, but it is an advantage which has been grotesquely exaggerated. [Hear! Hear!] since all these treaties are made between countries who have their own interests to consider—who don't consider ours—and when they are completed they are often of no advantage. What, for instance, is the advantage of a most-favored-nation clause in a treaty between Germany and Russia, in which Germany gives a preference to Russia in the matter of petroleum, and in which she gives the same preference to English petroleum? [Laughter.] But that advantage is not at present felt except in Scotland. In many other ways I might illustrate that part of the question.

"I have said enough about the two propositions, and I wish to question the proposition that a tax put upon imports is necessarily borne by the consumer and the proposition that it is the duty of the Government to ignore every consideration except the immediate increase in exchequer. Now, I will come to what, after all, is the most important point of all in this discussion. I, at

any rate, should never have raised this new discussion, should never have thrown myself into this controversy and all that it involves if I had not been moved by my own personal experience, [Hear! Hear!] by the responsibility which I felt I had toward the colonies which I administered so long. [Hear! Hear!] If I had not felt in connection with that experience and responsibility that the whole future of the Empire depended upon you being ready to review our policy, I should have left these alluring fiscal questions, so far as they concern the immediate interests of the United Kingdom, to my descendants. [Cheers.] But it is because the two great objects to which my whole public life has been devoted—in the first place, the amelioration of the condition of the working classes [Hear! Hear!], and, in the second place, the union and the strengthening of the Empire [Hear! Hear!], on which I believe our future depends—except for both of these subjects, and one of them especially, I don't suppose that I, at any rate, would have taken off my coat for any contest of this magnitude.

"COBDEN AND THE COLONIES.

"In reference to this second and most important point it is interesting to bear in mind what many have forgotten—I myself among the number—that the policy of the free traders was an anti-imperial policy which, I don't say all, but many, intended to carry, and which colored all that they did. If you had said to Mr. Cobden, 'Your policy is very good; it may increase the prosperity of this country, but in the long run it will lose us our Empire, it will cause separation of the colonies,' what would Mr. Cobden have said? What did Mr. Cobden say? Here is a copy from a letter by Mr. Cobden. In 1842, two years before the passing of the corn-law legislation, he wrote to his brother: 'The colonial system, with all its dazzling appearances, can never be got rid of—'Got rid of!' Is that the object of our policy? [Cheers.]—'can never be got rid of except by the indirect processes of free trade, which will gradually and imperceptibly loosen the bonds which unite the colonies to us by a mistaken notion of self-interest.'

"When my attention was called the other day to this letter—no doubt I read it at the time that it first appeared—I was as much astonished as any of you could be. Is it not fair, is it not reasonable, that those of us who have thought that our imperialism in the past was quite consistent with free trade should now review our position when we find the leaders of free trade not only contemplating the possibility of this disruption of the Empire, but declaring as their private conviction, hope, and aspiration that the policy of free trade would lead indirectly but certainly to the disruption of the Empire? [Cheers.]

"Surely it is unnecessary for me now to argue this question. I will express my own feeling in two or three words. No one is prouder of England, Scotland, and the United Kingdom than I am. I can never read our past history without a thrill of emotion. We are not a perfect nation. We have done many bad things in our time. Still what grand things have been given us to do! What grand things we have done by the courage, the tenacity, and the determination of our race! We are a mere speck on the globe, but we have made ourselves, or have been made in the course of the designs of Providence, responsible for 450,000,000 people. [Cheers.]

"I do not believe that all that is meant to go for nothing. I do not believe that we have not, in securing this position, fulfilled the duty that was imposed upon us. But what if the duty is too heavy for our shoulders? And in my judgment England, the United Kingdom alone, may yet have much to do, may yet take a great place among the kingdoms of the world; but she can not rival the empires that are springing up around her. We are venerable; we are old with honor and burdens beyond the average imposed upon us. We can not look to a future equal to our past. [Hear! Hear!] Yes, we are old, but the Empire of which we are a part is new [great cheers], and in that Empire [cheers] we may find with our kinsmen and our children a future—a joint future—which we share with them, which will be greater than anything to which we can look back. [Cheers.]

"I thank you for the attention with which you have listened to me. In the views which I advocate I may, as some of my friends suppose, be making a mistake, but at least I am putting these views before you in all truth and sincerity. [Cheers.] And it now only remains for me to acknowledge the very unexpected compliment which has just been paid to us. My friend and my friend, Sir Alfred Jones [cheers], without any knowledge on my part, suddenly offered to Mrs. Chamberlain and myself this beautiful specimen of a revived industry which has been created in your midst by one whose name, at all events, has always been happily connected with the prosperity and welfare and the best qualities of the British Empire.

"Mr. Harold Rathbone may be congratulated upon his success, and indeed it is a great pleasure to me to accept something which is not only a present from my friend Sir Alfred Jones, but which is a proof of the artistic capability of Mr. Harold Rathbone, the son of one of my old friends and the nephew of another, whom I shall always be proud to respect." [Loud cheers.]

Lord Derby afterwards proposed the health of "The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress," which was heartily received. At the conclusion of the proceedings Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain appeared on the balcony overlooking the exchange, where they were received with great enthusiasm by a vast crowd.

SPEECH IN ST. GEORGE'S HALL, OCTOBER 25.

In reply to the address with which he was presented in St. George's Hall, Mr. Chamberlain, who was again greeted with loud cheering, said:

"I have been told that one of my critics, looking through the numerous speeches which I have been called upon to deliver, some of them in close succession, with only a few minutes' interval, complains that he finds them too monotonous. [Laughter.] If that be so, it is not my fault. Where the kindness is universal, how is it possible to make any difference in the gratitude? [Hear! Hear!] Wherever I have been I have been received with the greatest consideration, but nowhere more so than in this great city [cheers], and from no class more than the working class, the majority of the population, upon whose continuance and prosperity the life of the Kingdom depends. You have, it is true, introduced a new element, for you have not only presented to me an address in the most flattering and generous terms, an address which deeply moves me, as being more than anything I could have expected in appreciation of my services, but you have accompanied the gift with this beautiful basket, and you have made that gift in terms so graceful that you have added immensely to the pleasure with which I receive it. [Cheers.]

"Believe me, the prediction Alderman Salvidge has made will certainly be fulfilled. I shall value your gift as long as I live, and my children will cherish it after me, not merely for its intrinsic worth, but for all that it carries with it. For the great delight of my life through a long public career, which has not been without storm and stress, has been that I have, nevertheless, managed to retain the confidence of the great majority of the working classes of this country. [Cheers.] And if, in the course of this somewhat prolonged contest, I have had the right—I don't say I have used it—if I have had the right to complain of calumnies addressed to me, I have found ample compensation in your continued regard and confidence. [Cheers.] Ladies and gentlemen, if I have ever doubted of the success of this mission that I have undertaken, I should doubt no longer. [Hear! Hear!] Wherever I have been—in Scotland, in the North of England, here in Liverpool—I have found the same feeling; I have noted what I have never noted

before, although, as you know, I have been somewhat active as a speaker from political platforms—I have noted something more than a mere party support, which a leader may always anticipate. I have noted a certain friendly interest on the part of those who are my political opponents, which I value in any controversy in which I feel that their interests, as well as ours, have to be fully considered. [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’]

“Ladies and gentlemen, to what cause do I attribute this generous spirit which hitherto I have been unable to fully recognize? I think it is to two things. In the first place, to the belief which I think undoubtedly obtains that in this campaign not only am I sincere, but that I have no personal object to serve. [Cheers.] That is one advantage of advancing years. [Laughter.] When one is young, whatever may be the truth of the matter, one is credited with a burning ambition to arrive quickly at some high and important position. When one approaches more nearly to the end of one’s usefulness [‘No!’ ‘No!’], more nearly [laughter], then one, at all events, is spared these unkind and unnecessary suggestions, and it becomes evident even to those who on other occasions have been most bitter that it can not be with any unworthy motive of that kind that one leaves one’s own armchair and one’s fireside in order to carry the torch or the cross throughout the length and breadth of the land. [Cheers.]

“WEALTH AND HAPPINESS.

“That is the first reason, but the second really resides in the subject itself. This is different from ordinary subjects. A great number of our party questions interest no doubt very greatly sections of the people. There is one thing which always interests English people, and that is what government shall hold office. [Laughter.] That interests them intensely, although they know perfectly well, so far as their ordinary life is concerned, it would not matter much what government held office. But in this case it is different. For good or for evil, for better or for worse, this question is going to touch you all. There is not a man, whether he is a Radical or whether he is a Liberal, or whether he is a Liberal-Imperialist, or a Free Fooder, or a Free Trader, or whether he is a Conservative, or a Tory, or a Liberal-Unionist, and I might go on for five minutes more [laughter]—it matters to every one of them what is the solution to be found of the problem which I have brought before you. I must repeat once more to you that it matters more to you, to the working classes whose representatives I am addressing, than it does to any other class, because it is a question of employment. [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’]

“I am not exactly an idle man myself [laughter], but my employment is not life and death to me, and it is to you [cheers], and therefore I can never, even at the risk of being monotonous [laughter], address any meeting in which workmen predominate without telling them they should address themselves mainly and chiefly to the question whether or not the proposals which I make to them will increase their employment. Of one thing I am quite certain, and that is that if nothing is done their employment will decrease, and the effects of that will be felt upon your homes, upon your wages, upon your comforts, all that you value, the standard of living—you yourselves are even better able to judge than I.

“Now, I often think that the economists who deal with this question, the gentlemen who treat of the science of wealth, forget altogether the difference between wealth and happiness. It is quite possible to be rich and not happy. That is possible for the individual, and it is equally possible for a nation; and it is conceivable that you might be taught scientifically how this nation can be made richer, and at the same time you might leave out of account the fact that in becoming richer it would become worse and less happy. It is often said, ‘In these foreign protected countries, whose example you wish us to follow, the workmen are less well off than our own.’ Well, I have two things to say about that. In the first place I am not quite so certain of the fact as the political economists are, who measure happiness by wealth. It is quite conceivable that the foreign workman might be earning less wages and yet might be getting more for his wages in one way or another than you do, but that is altogether aside. My first remark is this, that at all events the improvement as measured by wages has been, on the whole, greater in the case of the foreigner than it has been here. [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’]

“THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM.

“The improvement in the condition of some of the foreign workpeople, at any rate, has been more rapid than the improvement of the condition of the working people of this country, and I ask you where will you find in any other civilized country in the world as much money spent on pauperism in proportion as there is here? [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’] Where will you find a statesman, an economist, an inquirer, one man in any other country, to tell you that one-third of the population is on the verge of hunger, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has told you on the authority as he says, of certain inquirers? I think his figures are exaggerated [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’], but I think there is a great deal too much of truth in them, and I think we can not properly measure the present position of the working classes of this country by the sort of returns which the political economists provide for us, and which deal only with the highest class of workmen.

“They never deal with the amount of employment which each workman has. They deal with the average rate of wages, which is quite different. I was told the other day that the wages of dock laborers in Liverpool are fair wages. Yes; that may be; but does the dock laborer in Liverpool always get continuous employment? [‘No!’] And if he does not get continuous employment, what does it matter how high the wages are? Suppose a dock laborer were paid 10s. a day, why everybody would say, ‘Magnificent!’ and that would appear on the returns, and would raise the average of wages. Yet if the dock laborer only had a Saturday morning’s work in the week, he and his family would be living on 7s. 6d. a week. [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’] I say, then, that I am not satisfied by these assurances that everything is going so well with you; I say that there is a great deal more that we have to learn and inquire into before we can say there is no possibility of improvement, and no one can deny that if we found more labor there would be fewer people unemployed; there would be more people amongst those who are employed who would have continuous labor; and when the labor of the country had a chance, then, as a matter of course, wages would rise, and wages would rise without doing harm to anyone. [Cheers.] That is the point.

“There are some people who try to persuade the workmen of this country that the whole thing is a struggle between themselves and the capitalists, and that if they can only squeeze the capitalists a little more they could get more wages, and that it would only be the capitalist who would suffer. Now, everyone who has paid any attention to the condition of trade and industry knows that to be an absolute untruth. He knows that if you do not give the capitalist the reasonable profits that he has a right to anticipate he will take his capital elsewhere, and in the long run the employment will go also. On the other hand, there is not a capitalist in this world—except there is a capitalist who is a great fool—who would not be happy to pay every workman he employs double his present wages if he could get the same average of profit for himself. Well, now, I say if you will follow my advice you may have more employment.

“TRADES FILCHED AND STOLEN.

“There has been a statement made again and again that in saying this I am thinking only of the export trade and that I take no note of the home

trade, which is much more important. How anyone who has any experience of business can read a statement of that kind into my speeches it passes my imagination to conceive. I have said exactly the opposite. I know perfectly well that the home trade of this country is five times, at least, as large as the export trade, and what I am pressing upon you as your first duty is to keep firm hold of the home trade. [Cheers.] I say if you will do that you will have the export trade in addition. There is no earthly reason why the export trade should diminish, why it should not increase.

“But what I do say is, you are being hit in every part of your body. You are being hit in your foreign trade; that is being reduced. And you are being hit in the home trade, too. What is the meaning—what is the result, I should rather say—of the facts that are pouring in upon us of industries that are gone or industries that are going? If you can show me that when an industry has left this country it is because we can no longer, under any fair circumstances, compete with the foreigners—well, I suppose I might be sorry, but I might say this is a natural course; we must bear with it. But when I see these industries not leaving us because we are no longer capable of attending to them, but filched from us [cheers], stolen by unfair means, then I ask you, as I have asked workmen in other parts of the country, how long are you going to take it lying down? [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

“Now, let us see what is going on. In each neighborhood I go to I inquire, and I am prepared to state the results of my inquiries, in order that they may be judged upon the spot where people know much more about them than I do. I am told that within very recent years down to the present time a very considerable and important watch trade has been established at Prescott. I am told that at this moment, or within the last few months, an American salesman has come over here, it is said, with 17,000 or 20,000 watches, and that he is prepared to offer them at any price he can get for them. Well, why does he do that? Because the great watch manufacturers in America have agreed together that they will not reduce their production, but that they will agree upon a home price that will satisfy the market there, and having done that, they will go on manufacturing, keeping all their workmen at work, and if there is any surplus they will dump it [cheers] in the only country which is magnanimous enough, generous enough, foolish enough to allow it. [Cheers.]

“RUINED BRITISH INDUSTRIES.

“Now, follow that out a little. Suppose that is taking place. What is going to happen? These watches are sold at any price below the cost at which the British workman could not possibly make them, even if he accepts half wages. Meanwhile the Prescott works have to take lower prices and do what they can, and have to turn off workmen, and if that goes on long enough—it depends upon the good pleasure of our friends the Americans whether it does—if it goes on long enough the Prescott works will close, the whole of their trade will be gone; and then those of you who have been buying in the cheapest market, and buying American watches, what do you think you will have to pay for your watches when there is only one place from which you can get them, when there is no longer any home competition, when you are dependent absolutely upon the prices that the Waltham factory chooses to make them at? You won’t gain in the long run in this.

“But, at the same time, I don’t blame anyone as long as our present system is continued. I don’t blame anyone who buys his watches where he can, and provided he gets a good quality at lower prices; I blame the policy of this country, which allows all this, which makes it possible. [‘Hear!’ ‘Hear!’] If the Prescott factory tries to send a watch into America, what happens there? A duty of 45 per cent is clapped upon it—half the value; and if the American watch, or even an English watch having got to America, strayed there somehow [laughter]—if it were sent back here it would enter our port free. Now, that is a comparatively small trade, but it affects very much a very interesting and important industry, and affects a smaller industry in my own neighborhood of Coventry. Now, what about glass? I am told that at the present time 240,000,000 bottles are imported into this country. I think these come from Germany. Have Germans any special faculty for making bottles? [‘No!’] Have they something that we have not got? If it were a case, for instance, where rice was sent into this country, I should say by all means do not put a duty upon it, because we can not grow rice here, and we want to have our rice as cheap as possible.

“Is there any reason similar to that which affects the question why we can not make bottles? That trade has been seriously injured; I will not say destroyed. Then there is plate glass. It is a great industry at Warrington. [Voices: ‘St. Helens.’] Yes; it is a great industry at St. Helens. It was also a very great industry in the immediate neighborhood of Birmingham. I believe that all the plate-glass works—at all events, all but one—have been closed. The plate-glass industry employed 20,000 English workmen. Now, that is all gone. [‘Shame!’] But why? The foreigners put on duties upon plate glass, varying but rising to the enormous duty of 60 per cent. Therefore there is no chance of our sending any plate glass into other countries; but there is nothing whatever to prevent them from arranging among themselves to charge a profitable price enough to cover their fixed expenditure on the sale of plate glass in the United States of America, and then send all the surplus into this country below cost price.

“LOSS OF SKILLED EMPLOYMENT.

“There is one more case, and this is Warrington. [Laughter.] You ought to laugh at me, for, indeed, I am very much obliged to my friend for correcting me before. But this really is the case of a Warrington industry, because it is the case of wire. It is the case of a Manchester industry also. I remember great wire works at Manchester, and there are great wire works in other parts of the country. But here is a curious contrast, a most impressive contrast. Twenty-five years ago Warrington alone, one single town alone, exported more wire than the whole make of wire in Germany, and now Germany exports more wire than the whole make of England. [‘Shame!’] All right, but why ‘shame’? [Laughter and cheers.] If there are any foreign members of the Cobden Club here [laughter] you will shock them very much indeed. They say, ‘What do you complain of? You have cheap food.’ ‘What do you complain of?’ they say; ‘you have things like this wire, this glass, these watches; you have them very cheap.’ You say, ‘But we have no money to buy them with.’ [Cheers and laughter.] Ah, I do not know what they would say to that. They ought to say that is the great glory of the doctrine which you support.

“Now, another answer which is made is: ‘What does it matter? You have lost all those trades, truly; you are losing others; but there is something that remains. The men who made watches are doing something else.’ Yes; and what do they do? Here is a man who makes a watch. For that he requires a fitness of touch that often is hereditary, which can only be obtained after years of work, obtained only in youth and never obtained in after life, and the moment the watch trade ceases, or does not continue to employ the same number of work people, this man, who has acquired the special gift that is worth much to himself and his family, has to throw it away, to destroy it; he has to go and act as a porter or a dock laborer, or to sweep the streets; and if afterwards we restore to him his trade he would be no longer able to take advantage of it.

“He has dropped into the ranks of the casual employee, dropped down into the thirteen millions, be they more or be they less, who are always on the verge of hunger; and I say the personal equation of suffering which all this

transfer of trade involves is the sort of thing which political economists never think of at all ["Hear!" "Hear!"] and the Cobden Club treats it as if it were of no consequence. It is, I say, of the utmost consequence. I should say that when you count up the families that have been reduced to misery, all the heart-burning, all the suffering that has been caused by these changes to the individual, when you think of the honest men who have gone to the workhouse and can never be brought again to the ranks of continuous labor—when you think of all these things, then, I say, even if the prosperity were reached, it would have been dearly purchased. ["Hear!" "Hear!"]

"CYCLES OF GOOD AND BAD TRADE.

"The trade of this country runs in cycles. We have had five or six years of exceptionally good trade, but the time is coming—I don't predict exactly when, but it will come—when there will be a cycle of bad trade. Then the things which I dread and fear will be accentuated in their influence upon the working classes of this country. [Cheers.] There will be more people unemployed, more imports from abroad in the shape of surplus production, more want of employment, and more misery of every kind. As these things come home to you, you will seize the earliest opportunity to alter the system under which this state of things is possible. Why should you be afraid? Suppose I am wrong; suppose that, in common with 99 out of 100 of the whole civilized world, I am wrong, and the pure free traders, or free importers, are right. Well, anyway, it is perfectly evident that the adoption of these proposals will not do you much harm, because these 99 out of the 100, those other countries, our German competitors, our French competitors, our Italian competitors, our Russian competitors, our Swedish competitors, are all doing very well.

"Therefore, it can not be an alteration such as I propose that will make the difference against us which the professors desire you to believe, if these countries can have a protectionist system infinitely more severe than anything I propose, more severe than anything that I think to be wise, and still progress. Surely you need not be afraid of trying my prescription [cheers], which after all only involves, if it involves anything, this small transference of taxation from certain kinds of foods to certain other kinds of food, and this small protection against foreign manufactured goods, which, I think, can be justified entirely by the circumstances under which these goods are imported into this country. [Cheers.] I admit that sometimes I almost feel as if this were the weak point in my whole argument. I have to say to you—because I believe it to be true—that I ask you to make this change for your own good, for the good of the Empire, and that you will not be called upon for any sacrifice. I declare to you I wish I could say that you would be called upon for a sacrifice.

"I declare I would rather speak to you here, and appeal to you as Englishmen, and ask you whether you are not willing to do what your fathers would have done, and what, in fact, they did do—[cheers]—whether for some great good, in which, indeed, you might have no immediate personal or squalid interest [cheers] to consider, you may yet be willing to make a sacrifice for great imperial results. [Cheers.] When we talk of empire, and that is the satisfactory thing in this discussion, we rise to a higher plane; then we are not thinking of ourselves, we are not thinking only whether a farthing here or a farthing there is a matter of moment to us. We are thinking, in the first place, of our past, of the past of which we are proud, and which we desire to continue. We are thinking of our present, in order that we need not be ashamed, and may hold up our heads as those of those who have gone before us. And we are thinking of the future; we are thinking of our children, and our children's children, to whom we wish to leave unimpaired and intact the great inheritance which our fathers left to us." [Loud cheers.]

[From the Scotsman.]

SPEECH OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AT BIRMINGHAM, NOVEMBER 4.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was received with great enthusiasm and the singing of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: I thank you for the welcome that you have given me. I am glad to be amongst my own people. [Cheers.] It is now almost exactly six months since, in addressing my own constituency in the town hall, I called their attention to our relations with our colonies, to our present fiscal conditions, and I asked them, I invited them, to a discussion. I invited them to consider whether the time had not come when some modification of these conditions would be necessary and desirable. It was not for the first time that I had spoken on the subject.

"But then I was fresh from a visit to some of our great colonies, where I had had the opportunity of intercourse with many representatives of colonial opinion, not only South African opinion, but that of our Australian and Canadian colonies, and I desired particularly to press upon my friends and supporters my own deep feeling of the growing importance and the immediate urgency of the question. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] Much has happened since then [laughter and cheers], some of it painful, some of it eminently satisfactory, and, above all, I am grateful to those to whom I spoke, and to that much larger audience which I always have in my mind, on an occasion such as this, that they have answered my appeal, that they have discussed this great question, that they have refused to treat it as the idea or the delusion of a madman [laughter], as some of my opponents thought it to be [laughter], and that even those opponents themselves have been so far converted that whereas before they regarded the matter as one not worthy of a moment's consideration, they have since been speaking of nothing else. [Laughter and cheers.]

"THE WORKING-CLASS VIEW.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I had at that time a sort of instinctive idea at the back of my head that the working classes of this country, who were not either consulted or represented at the time when free trade was accepted as the policy of this country, who have never had it presented to them as a serious issue in the fifty or nearly sixty years that have elapsed—I had an idea that they, at any rate, would approach this question with an open mind, and that they would not accept a policy more than fifty years old at a time when everything had changed, every policy, every institution had submitted to modification—they would not accept that as an inspired doctrine which it was blasphemy to question. [Cheers.] I had an idea—and it seems to be a right one—that they, at any rate, were not wedded to the wisdom of our ancestors, and that they would not be ready immediately and without question to accept the appeal which has been addressed to them by Mr. Asquith to stick to our well-tried policy. [Derisive laughter.] It sounds a little like a shopkeeper's advertisement. [Laughter, cheers, and a voice, "Hit them hard!"] It might perhaps be excused in the mouth of a Conservative statesman of the old school, but it sounds strange when it comes from a gentleman who claims to be a Radical statesman. [Laughter and "Question!"]

"THE ANTI-CORN-LAWS AGITATION.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I have said that in the interval which has elapsed between our acceptance as a nation of free-trade principles and the present time much has changed. Before I point out to you these changes I think it may be useful if you will bear with me for a few minutes if I say something about the history of what is called 'the anti-corn-laws agitation.' It seems to me that this has been very much forgotten. Sixty years is a long time; memory plays strange tricks with us, and I am afraid that many of those

who differ from me have not taken the trouble to read contemporaneous accounts given, not indeed by prejudiced protectionists, but by free traders themselves, in regard to this new and important movement. Now, I ask you what is the view that has been placed before you by the opponents of any change? I want to state their case as fairly as I can, and I think this is a fair statement of it. They have either represented to you, or they have led you to infer, that during the time of protection this country was continually declining, until it reached a state of unexampled misery and destitution. Not only in those days were the people on the verge of hunger, but, according to this theory, they were actually being starved. They have led you to believe that this state of things was due wholly to the corn laws, to the high price of bread, and to protection.

"Then they have led you to believe that when the corn laws were repealed everything changed as though by magic, and at once there was cheap food for all the people; destitution no longer existed; we entered upon a time of great and universal prosperity, wholly due to the alteration in our fiscal system. Now, I believe no one can contradict that statement of the case as it has been put before you. I am afraid that it has been accepted without inquiry by many persons. I have to say now that, if that is the case, it is a popular delusion. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] There is one answer to that—a general answer—but I think it is conclusive. If it were true—if protection inevitably brought with it destitution and misery and starvation, and if free trade inevitably brought with it prosperity and progress—how do our opponents account for the fact that every foreign country, without exception, that has adopted protection has, in recent years at any rate, progressed much more rapidly, in much greater proportion, than we, the free-trade country of the world? I do not say they have progressed in consequence of protection ["Hear!" "Hear!"], but I say that the argument of my opponents that protection is necessarily ruinous, that free trade necessarily implies prosperity, is absolutely disposed of by the facts which are known to every man of you, which are known to every reasonable and impartial man. ["Hear!" "Hear!"]

"GREAT BRITAIN SIXTY YEARS AGO.

"Now, putting aside the general answer, I am going to deal with the matter from its historical aspect. Is it true that at the time when free trade was introduced, and the corn laws were repealed, we were in a state of destitution and misery and starvation? Is it true that, under the protection which prevailed before, this country was going down in the scale of nations or losing its prosperity and losing its trade? No, gentlemen, absolutely no. The exact reverse was the case. In the years preceding the repealing of the corn laws, and I would take especially the years from 1830 to 1841, there was a time of great prosperity in this country under protection. I don't mean to say that the country was as great or as rich as it is now, but comparatively with other nations it occupied a better position ["Hear!" "Hear!"]; comparatively with other nations it was absolutely in the first rank. It had won and conquered under protection absolute supremacy, the commercial supremacy of the world. [Cheers.] At that time, although trade was less than it is now—but so was the population—although trade was less than it is now, it was increasing with a rapidity, a proportionate rapidity, which has seldom been exceeded since.

"But in 1841 we had in this country one of those crises which occur in every country from time to time, whether they be protectionist or whether they be free trade. We had a time of bad trade, with small employment. It was not brought about by protection, it was not brought about by the dear loaf—for in that period the loaf was much cheaper than it has been many times in many years since the abolition of the corn laws—but it was brought about by circumstances which you all will understand. We had become the workshop of the world; we had been very prosperous; we were increasing our production rapidly, and we oustripped the demands of the world. Foreign countries were in a poor condition; their prosperity had been hindered by many causes, into which I will not enter now, and they were unable to take the surplus of our productions, and so many of our mills and factories had to go on short time or were closed altogether, as you have all known in your own experience.

"There was great want of employment—the one critical thing in all this discussion—there was great destitution, great misery, and consequently great discontent on the part of the majority of the population. This was a time, in 1841 and 1842, to which Sir William Harcourt referred in his speech on Saturday last. He went back to the memory of his childhood or youth, and said that at that time he was at school at Preston, and he had been, I understood him to say, a witness of riots in which some of the people had been shot down by the military. He went on to say that nothing of the sort had ever happened since. That is a very small matter, but I think his memory deceives him, because I think in later times—I have not had time to check it; I believe he was home secretary [laughter]—people were shot down in a Midland mining district, and a special commission was appointed by the Government to inquire into the circumstances.

"THE CHARTISTS AND THE FREE TRADERS.

"But, after all, as I have said, that is really not relevant to the subject. [Laughter.] The point is that the riots in 1841 and 1842, to which Sir William Harcourt referred and which he apparently wishes his audience to think were due to the corn laws, were due to protection, were due to nothing of the kind. They were due to something absolutely different. They were instigated by the leaders of the Chartists in those days, and the Chartists in those days were absolutely opposed—the leaders—to the anti-corn-law agitation. ["Hear!" "Hear!"] They had the greatest contempt for the leaders of that agitation. They did not spare them. They said almost as bad things of them as my opponents say of me. [Laughter and cheers.]

"No, sir, the Chartist leaders at that time told the working people—and I am not certain that they were not right—that what they wanted, that the one thing which would deal with the circumstances of their condition, was to give them efficient representation according to their numbers, and they begged of them not to be drawn aside by the free-trade leaders, which, they said, was a red herring to divert them from what was much more important in their interest, and those riots, this discontent, were due to the action of the leaders of the Chartists, who urged the workingmen in this country to a universal strike. The riots were directed, not in favor of free trade, but they were directed against the Manchester manufacturers and others, who were at that time the chief supporters of free trade. I ask you not to abide by me, not by a protectionist, but by a free trader, by a free trader who lived in those days. He was the friend of Mr. Cobden, a free trader, who wrote the history of the free-trade movement, believing it to be right, and he, therefore, is an irrefutable witness in a case of this kind. Mr. Montgredien wrote that history of the free-trade movement, and read what he has to say about the history of the Chartists.

"It is quite enough for you to read Mr. Morley's life of Cobden. You will find in that life a quotation from Mr. Cobden, in which he says that—I must be careful about the exact wording [laughter]—that a great body of intelligent mechanics stood aloof from the movement, and at the same time he admits frankly—he was always honorable and frank in all his discussions—he frankly admits that it was a manufacturers' movement, and he says, 'I must confess in the outset, at any rate, most of us thought we had a distinct class interest in the matter.' That is to say, rightly or wrongly, the free-trade movement was a manufacturers' movement. It was not a working-class movement, and the leaders of the working classes in those days—rightly or

wrongly, that is not my argument—rightly or wrongly they were opposed to the movement, and they were in favor of something quite different—in favor of that electoral reform which in subsequent years the working classes have obtained. Now, bear in mind—let me impress upon you what this argument shows. It shows you that the distress of which you are often reminded—the distress of 1841—was not attributable to the corn laws; it was not attributable to the price of bread; it was not attributable to free trade. It was due to other causes altogether, and the distress and the starvation and the destitution ceased when those causes were removed.

"THE IRISH-POTATO FAMINE.

"Here is the proof. In the year immediately following 1841, in 1842, everything changed. More employment was found, great prosperity prevailed. And now, again, let me quote what was said by Mr. Montgredien in reference to the period immediately before the repeal of the corn laws. He says this: 'The adoption of free trade was not the result of pressure from adverse circumstances. The country was flourishing; trade was prosperous; the revenue showed a surplus; railways were being constructed with unexampled rapidity; the working class was fully and remuneratively employed, and bread was cheaper than it had been for many years.' [Cheers.] And yet Sir William Harcourt draws upon his memory [laughter] in order to persuade you, to persuade the working classes of this country, that free trade was adopted because of the famine and starvation which prevailed at the time. [A voice: 'He is wrong.'] Now, I go on with my history. In the autumn of this year, when things were so prosperous, a great calamity visited one part of the United Kingdom. The Irish people had been accustomed up till then to depend almost entirely for their subsistence upon their potato. The potato famine came, and all the crops were destroyed. The greatest, the most appalling, misery was the result in Ireland, and I have seen it stated that even millions of the population were on the verge of starvation.

"Gentlemen, if that was true, that it must have had a great effect upon the statesmen of those days, that it must have impressed them with the necessity of relieving food from any exaggerated taxation, that I can well understand. But the potato famine was not the result of the corn laws [laughter], nor was the price of bread at the time of the potato famine the result of the corn laws or of the legislation which followed. [Cheers.] I ask you now to consider these figures. I am not going to trouble you with many. In the beginning of 1846, when things were at their worst—when the Irish famine had put the whole people of Ireland into a condition which was almost one of despair—what do you think happened with the price of wheat? The price of wheat for the whole year 1846 was 54s. 8d. per quarter, and, after the repeal of the corn laws—which took place in that year, taking the average of ten years—the price of wheat was 55s. 4d. per quarter, or 8d. dearer than it was during the year 1846, when the repeal took place. [Cheers.]

"THE REAL CAUSES OF ENGLISH PROSPERITY.

"Now, from all this I ask you to accept the statement, which I make without fear of refutation, that it is a mistake to say either that dear bread was the cause of the repeal of the corn laws, or, secondly, that the repeal of the corn laws produced immediately any reduction in the price of bread. [Cheers.] But I have still something else to which I have to call your attention. It is true, as you have been told, that after the repeal of the corn laws this country entered upon a period, which lasted for twenty-five years, of what I may call unparalleled prosperity. I do not deny it. But I say that it had nothing whatever to do with the repeal of the corn laws and very little to do with the introduction of free trade. The cause of the prosperity was the discovery of gold in California and in Australia, the development of invention, the enormous increase of railway and the improvement of steamship communication, and generally the impetus which was given to the trade of the world. Everybody prospered, and we prospered more than all. Why? Because under a system of protection in the years of which I have spoken, before the repeal of the corn laws, we had secured the supremacy in the world's markets, and the other countries of the world were backward owing to various circumstances, and we alone were in a position to take advantage of this great 'boom,' as we should call it now, of this great advance in the general commercial dealings of the world. [Hear! Hear!]

"Now, gentlemen, I beg you to notice before I pass on that nothing that I have said is intended to show to you that it was wrong to adopt free trade at the time and under the circumstances in which it was adopted. That is a different question altogether. All I want to prove to you is—and I think I have proved it—that it was not any cheapening of the loaf which made free trade necessary, and that, on the contrary, as Mr. Montgredien tells us, free trade was carried in this country because people were persuaded at that time, and, I think, rightly persuaded, that at the moment and under the circumstances it was the best economic principle for us to pursue. Now, let us treat it in the same way. Let us get rid of all this idea that protection is immediately followed by starvation and destitution. That is absolutely untrue. Let us get rid of the idea that free trade necessarily brings prosperity. That is altogether untrue. But let us, as business men, as fair men, consider quietly whether under existing circumstances the policy of free imports, which has taken the place of the policy of universal free trade, whether that is the best for us. It may be the best for us; and if so, I do not pretend that the country will be ruined by its adoption. It may not be the best for us, and in that case, believe me, the country will not suffer from adopting a different policy. [Cheers.]

"OTHER NATIONS' VIEWS OF FREE TRADE.

"Now, then, I come to my next point. Here is one of the great changes which we have to recognize, which have altered the whole situation since free trade was adopted. Mr. Cobden based his whole argument upon the assumption that he made in good faith that if we adopted free trade it would mean free exchange between the nations of the world [Hear! Hear!]; that if we adopted free trade, five years, ten years would not pass without all other nations adopting a similar system. That was his belief, and upon the promise, the prediction which he offered, the country adopted free trade. Unfortunately he was mistaken. He told the country of his day that what he wanted to do was to keep England as the workshop of the world, and the rest of the world was to be the wheat field for England. I came across a passage in Mr. Morley's 'Life' the other day which really, now when you think of what has actually happened, seems to be almost astounding.

"Mr. Cobden said that the United States of America, if free trade were adopted, would abandon their premature manufactures [laughter], that the workmen in their factories would go back to the land [laughter], and—now I am quoting his exact words—'they would dig, delve, and plow for us.' [Laughter and cheers.] If that had been true I doubt whether I should have been here to-night. [Laughter.] But it wasn't true. The Americans have not so conceived their national destiny. [Laughter.] They have not believed that they were created by Providence in order to dig and delve and plow for us. [Laughter.] They have thought that they had natural resources even greater than our own; they have thought that they could manufacture as well as us; and I am afraid that their ideas of the future have been much more correct than Mr. Cobden's. [Hear! Hear!] We have to deal with altogether different conditions. What happened when free trade was adopted in this country? Foreign countries, which, as I have said, were backward in

those days, were not manufacturers—their governments put on tariffs against our manufactures.

"I dare say it is quite possible they may have suffered in the first instance. They thought of the future, they thought of their children, and they thought of their country—all very good things to remember occasionally. [Hear! Hear!] What was the result? Behind the tariffs, behind the tariff wall, they built up their industry. Gradually during the twenty-five years in which we were so prosperous after free trade, gradually they became more and more manufacturing nations; gradually they got a firm hold on their own home markets and kept us out, and established the industries which, not satisfied any longer with their own home markets, are now invading ours. [Hear! Hear!] I don't blame foreign countries. I don't appeal against their policy. But I ask you as sensible men, are we really so conservative a nation that when such a change as that has taken place in the whole conditions of our trade we are still to say, 'We stick to our well-tried policy?' [Laughter and cheers.]

"ENGLISH RELATIONS WITH THE COLONIES.

"Now, gentlemen, I come to another point, which perhaps is even of greater importance, at all events in the future, than the ones to which I have referred. I want to call your attention to the change in the relations between this country and its colonies; I want to call your attention to the change in our political relations and to the change in our commercial relations. Now, take the commercial relations first. When I was at Glasgow the other day I pointed out that there had been a decline in our trade, in the exports of our manufactures to the foreign protected countries. I pointed out that our trade with the neutral countries which, although they have tariffs, have no industry, and therefore are not protected in the true sense of the word—that our trade with these countries had remained stationary; and I pointed out that our trade with our colonies had increased by leaps and bounds, so that it had concealed the deficiency in our foreign trade. Well, I have seen no answer [laughter] to that. My figures have been questioned—not that it has ever been denied that the figures in themselves were correct, but it has been suggested that other figures might be produced which would tell a different tale. I am not going into figures to-night, but I say that I defy my opponents to produce any figures which are relevant to this statement and which will in any way refute it. It is quite true that they have produced volumes of statistics. [Laughter.]

"I must paraphrase a remark of Sir William Harcourt about them, and I must say that where they are true they are irrelevant, and where they are irrelevant they are not true. But I dare say I shall have an opportunity in one form or another to deal with these alternative statistics. Meanwhile I only tell you the result of my examination of them, and my conclusion is, whether your trade is prosperous at the present time or whether it is not, its continuance depends essentially, mainly, upon the continuance, and even upon the increase, of your trade with your colonies. If that trade declines, if it does not increase, then I don't care what may be the truth as to comparative figures dealing with our foreign trade; but I say that there will not be sufficient employment for our population, and we very likely shall be faced with a crisis even greater than our ancestors had to deal with in 1841. Very well; it is our interest at the present moment—I am only dealing with interests—it is our interest to stimulate the prosperity and the progress of our colonies, and, quite independent of any affection that we may have with them, quite independent of any gratitude that we may owe to them, it is to the interest of every one of us, and, above all, of the workmen, to preserve with them our trade relations, to increase and to improve them. [Hear! Hear!]

"IMPORTANCE OF INCREASING COLONIAL TRADE.

"If we give them a preference, they will reciprocate. [Hear! Hear!] If we take more from them, they will take more from us. There is one point which I don't think I have dealt with before, but it is of great importance, and it is this: Every year from our surplus population we send some of our best, our youngest, and our most intelligent—we send them abroad. Where do they go? They go for the most part under a foreign flag. They or their descendants break the connection, and they no longer are sheltered by the Union Jack, they no longer thrill with the sensations that move the Empire. I hope they remain friendly, but they are no longer to be counted amongst our supporters, amongst those who with us maintain the mighty edifice, the responsibility for which has been thrown upon us. [Cheers.]

"I am afraid I have been led into sentiment. [Laughter.] Now I go back to interest. [Laughter.] Every emigrant from this country who goes, let us say, to America, what is he? A prospective customer of yours to the extent of 6s. If he goes to Canada, he takes £2 from you. [Hear! Hear!] If he goes to Australia, he takes £5 or £6. [Cheers.] If he goes to South Africa, he takes more. Is not that worth considering? [Cheers.] While we are dealing exclusively with these matters of pocket, hadn't we better think whether it would not be worth our while, while there is still time [Hear! Hear!], to hold this colonial trade, to increase it by every means in our power [Hear! Hear!], rather than to depend upon the crumbs which fall from the foreign man's table? [Loud and renewed cheering.] And therefore it is that I invite you—it is one of my reasons, at any rate—that I invite you to treat your friends better than those who are your rivals and your competitors. [Cheers.]

"The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel."

[Cheers.] I say that that is in your own interest; that it is absolutely impossible that anything which contributes to the prosperity of the colonies, which fills up their waste lands, which makes them richer, will not react and add to your prosperity also. [Cheers.] But there is more than that. The pocket is not everything in these matters. [Cheers.] There is more than that, and I warn you that, if you are out of sympathy with your colonies, if you think that, because they have, following every other nation, adopted a different policy to yours, therefore they are foolish and must not be listened to; if you reject their offers, made to you in the most patriotic spirit and not solely with any view to their own interest, because many of them believe that the concessions which are asked from them are greater than, if they regarded their own prosperity alone, it would be worth their while to give, but granted by them because they share your feeling as to the Empire of which they form a part; if you reject these offers, if you will not cooperate in sustaining that Empire on the lines that they offer, then you may lose your opportunity, and it may never recur. [Hear! Hear!]

"Then I warn you you will never have that bond of commercial unity which, at one time at any rate, was the wish of Lord Rosebery. [Laughter.] And if you have no bond of commercial unity you will never secure that imperial federation for which Lord Rosebery declared that he was willing to die. [Laughter.] I do not think it is necessary for anybody to die. [Renewed laughter.] For my own part, I am content to live for the Empire. [Cheers.] But I ask you, I ask the people of this country, to settle, in the first place, when you are dealing with this question of preference to the colonies: 'Do or do you not want political union?' [Cries of 'Yes!'] Do you want to draw the bond closer? [Repeated cries of 'Yes!' and a voice, 'We have got brothers there, and cheers.] Yes, I agree with my friend; we have brothers there. [Cheers.] We reverence and glory in these family ties—[We do!—]—and no man, no politician, shall induce us to do anything that would sacrifice them.

"COBDEN AND THE COLONIES.

"But then this brings me to another change. In 1846 our position with regard to the colonies was very different. The policy of the leaders of the free-trade agitation was very different. The circumstances have changed again. I ask you, if the circumstances have changed, are we so stupid that we can not change to meet them? ['No!'] Now, the leaders of the free-trade agitation were not exactly enthusiastic about the imperial union. [Laughter.] I quoted the other day at Newcastle a letter from Mr. Cobden in which he distinctly said that he thought that one result of free trade would be gradually and imperceptibly to loosen the bonds which unite us to the colonies. ['Shame!'] And I said that nowadays we did not want to loosen those bonds, and that accordingly, if our policy tended in that direction, we must change that policy. [Cheers.] But to-day in the Times I see a letter from a gentleman whom I will not name and whom I do not know, who politely tells me that that is an untruth. That is an illustration of the way in which our opponents carry on the controversy. I will not follow them. The letter of Mr. Cobden speaks for itself. But if that is not enough I will give them another. [Laughter.]

"Here is what Mr. Cobden said. Speaking of our relations with Canada, he said: 'In my opinion it is for the interests of both—that is, of this country and of Canada—it is for the interests of both that we should as speedily as possibly sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected, and leave the individuals on both sides to cultivate the relations of commerce and friendly intercourse as with other nations. I have felt an interest in this federation scheme, because I thought it was a step in the direction of an amicable separation.' Mr. Cobden did not stand alone in these times. It was not merely the leaders of the free-trade movement, but a large party in this country regarded the colonies as a costly incumbrance and gave them self-government—not with the hope that they would thereby draw them closer to ourselves, but with the hope that they would take the reins into their own hands, that they would separate from us, and become separate nations. I am not going to argue whether they were right or wrong. That question has been settled. But that was the idea which prevailed in 1846 in regard to the Empire, in regard to the colonies and our kinsmen abroad. Now that we have changed that idea, we must be prepared to adopt a new system to meet the altered circumstances.

"MODERN POLITICIANS AND THE COLONIES.

"I ask myself the question, is it certain that the modern leaders of the free-trade party don't share these antiquated views of Mr. Cobden and his friends? I am not for a moment denying that, according to their views, according to their opinions, they are just as patriotic as we are. I am not discussing the morality of the question. I am discussing the fact. Do they think with us that closer relations with our brothers is not only a desirable thing in itself, but that it is our duty, our primary duty, to achieve it? ['Hear! Hear!'] When I read the speeches that are made by Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman [hisses], and by Mr. Courtney, well, I can not find in any one of them any trace of the true appreciation of what the Empire means. I can not find any enthusiasm, any sentiment whatever, any chord that can be touched that will strike to this great ideal, as I believe it to be, of the British people. I hope I don't do them an injustice, but I can not see that they care one brass button [laughter] about imperial union. The only thing they seem to care about is the union of the Radical party. [Laughter and cheers.] Then it will be said, 'Surely you don't attribute similar views to men like Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Ritchie, Lord Goschen, and, above all, the Duke of Devonshire.' No; I don't. ['Hear! Hear!'] But I admit that I am totally unable to understand exactly what their position is. ['Hear! Hear!'] They seem to me to be Imperialists in theory and Little Englanders in practice. They wish to see imperial union, and they refuse to do anything to secure it.

"Here is Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, for instance, of whom I desire to speak with the greatest respect; but he himself boasts that he has always been against preference, and he himself refused a preference on wine, which would not have increased the price of food to the working classes. He has refused a preference on wine when it was asked for by the Australians. He has refused a preference on tea. He has refused a preference on sugar. He has refused a preference on corn. And he was equally ready in his refusal to do little better for our brothers than he would do for strangers. ['Hear! Hear!'] I don't understand him. ['Hear! Hear!'] It may be all right, but to my mind that is not an Imperialist policy. ['No!'] All those gentlemen who have joined the Free Food League—at first I understood that they joined because they were determined free traders—that they would not listen to any depreciation of that doctrine that could be placed before them. That is a different position to take up.

"But I find I am mistaken. That is not their position, because they are going to support the Government; and the Government have declared, through the prime minister, in unmistakable language, that they are not going to allow the foreigner any longer to engage in an unfair competition with this country, or to dump their goods here without any restriction. [Cheers.] That may be; but no one can conceal from himself that that is a position which is inconsistent with the absolute free-trade doctrine; and in accepting it the Free Fooder has shown that it is not against protection that he is so anxious to protest, but it is against a preference to the colonies. ['Shame!'] You may protect yourselves against the foreigner; but if you give any advantage to those who offer you an advantage in return—if in any way, accidentally or otherwise, you benefit your kinsmen abroad—you assist the colonies into a position in which they will be still more important than they are now as parts of the Empire. If you make concessions to them in order to show your gratitude, if you negotiate with them for this purpose, then that is anathema maranatha; and the Free Food League is prepared to bound out of public life any statesman who will have the audacity to oppose a policy of that kind. [Laughter.] I have said, and I say again, I do not understand the position of the Free Food League.

"THE LIBERAL IMPERIALISTS.

"But I turn to another class. I turn to that class of our opponents which is very ably represented by Mr. Asquith. They profess to be, and I believe they are, an imperialist section of the community. Mr. Asquith declares his sympathy, his entire sympathy, with the consolidation of the Empire, and his view is that my proposal will destroy the unity of the Empire. The argument is very simple. 'If you once get into negotiation with your friend, then you will quarrel with him. [Laughter.] You may negotiate with foreign countries, you may make a reciprocity treaty with France, you may make a treaty with any other country, even upon the most ticklish subject, but for heaven's sake, even when your friends in the colonies ask you—for heaven's sake don't get into negotiation with them.'

"Mr. Asquith says: 'I trust to sentiment, the splendid feeling existing between the colonies and the mother country; let it alone, don't touch it,' and then he argues in favor of an imperial council, a thing which I myself greatly desire, which on two separate occasions I have proposed to representatives of our self-governing colonies. They on two separate occasions have said it was premature for them to consider to propose this imperial council. And what does he think it is going to do? Why, that imperial council, whenever it is established, will have to do with such delicate mat-

ters as imperial defense, as imperial legislation, as imperial taxation. Apparently Mr. Asquith thinks sentiment is strong enough to allow us to negotiate with our colonies on such matters, and at the same time it is too brittle when we begin to talk about a tax on, let us say, brass work or something of that kind. Then, at once they would break off, and the Empire would be disrupted. I don't take this view of the opinion of our colonies. I believe that we may just as safely negotiate with them as we may negotiate with any other people on the face of the earth [cheers], and I believe they will meet us with a greater desire to come together than anybody else with whom we could possibly enter into communication. [Cheers.]

"THE COLONIES AND RECIPROCITY.

"Then there is another objection which they give. They say, 'Oh, what Mr. Chamberlain proposes is a one-sided arrangement. The colonies—that is Mr. Asquith's view—the colonies,' he says, 'have not shown the slightest inclination to respond to his offers. They will offer nothing worth having in return.' Now, how does he know? [Laughter.] It is news to me. Whence does he derive this astounding information? [A voice: 'From the parrot,' and laughter.] Well, sir, I know something of the colonies [laughter and 'Hear! Hear!'], but I am not bold enough, I am not presumptuous enough, to predict beforehand exactly what all those great states, each with its separate government, its separate interests, will do in any case which has not yet arisen. I have confidence that they will do what is right [cheers], but I refrain altogether—I have not this special information at my disposal which would justify me in saying exactly how they will meet our offers when they are made to them; but time will show whether I have undertaken this crusade in ignorance of their wishes ['No!'] and cheers or of their intentions.

"But, meanwhile, there are some things that we all know, except Mr. Asquith. [Cheers.] They are public property. We know, for instance, that a preferential system has been asked for by all the colonies on three separate occasions. It was asked for at the Ottawa conference; it was asked for at the two conferences over which I presided in London; it was asked for by the representatives of the several colonies, and they were not repudiated when they returned home. We know, as regards Canada, that the prime minister of Canada, that the leader of the opposition, that Mr. Tarte, one of the most distinguished representatives of French Canada, are all in favor of this principle. [Cheers.] We know that Mr. Fielding, who is minister of finance in the present government, in his budget speech in the Canadian Parliament, while saying that reciprocal preference was what the Canadian people desired, added that if their offers and suggestions were put aside by the mother country no one could complain if they considered themselves free to review, to reconsider, the preference they had already given us. They give us voluntarily of their own accord a preference of 33 per cent, and the result of that preference is that our trade with Canada has gone up in the last few years until it is nearly doubled. ['Hear! Hear!'] It has increased by something like six millions, and the Canadian government, the Canadian opposition, say that if we are willing to reciprocate, they are willing to negotiate, and see if they can not give us further advantage. [Cheers.]

"So much for Canada. In Australia the prime minister and, I may say, the prime minister of New Zealand both made this policy of reciprocal preference the leading article of their programme, and my friend, Mr. Reid, who is leader of the opposition in Australia, although he is himself a convinced free trader, has, if the reports of his speeches have been correct, declared that if he could not have absolutely free trade he should be prepared to give to the mother country a preference of 50 per cent. [Cheers.] In South Africa the whole British community is in favor of the preference of 25 per cent which has always been conceded to us. [Cheers.] Mr. Hofmeyr, the leader of the Dutch community in Cape Town, made no objection, but he has stated, as he has stated before, that if there is to be no reciprocity he does not believe that this preference will be lost.

"Now, these are things which can not be repudiated. They are facts. You may draw your own conclusion. For my part, I say, when I remember how the colonies responded to our appeal; when I remember how, when we were in stress and difficulty, they sent us men in thousands and tens of thousands, how they paid money, small indeed in comparison with our vast expenditure, but not inconsiderable when you have in mind the relative proportion of our population ['Hear! Hear!']; when I remember how, when everyone's hand seemed raised against us, we relied and rested on the moral support that we had from these great growing states across the sea—I for one am not prepared to treat their proposals with contempt, and I believe that we may negotiate with them without fear of a quarrel, and that they will show to us the same spirit of generosity and patriotism which, I hope, that we shall be ready to show to them. [Cheers.]

"THE STATE OF ENGLISH HOME TRADE.

"Now, I have dealt with some general considerations, and I want to say a few words on certain practical aspects of the question. Mr. Asquith, in his speech on Saturday, complained that I ignored the home trade, that I did not answer his arguments upon this question. Well, I beg Mr. Asquith's pardon. I can not answer every argument in one speech; I can not answer all my opponents at once. I remember a case, reported at the time, of a civilian in a foreign country who was supposed to have said something very offensive of a certain regiment. The whole of the officers of the regiment, from the colonel down to—I don't know what it was—the ensign, sent him a challenge. He accepted all the challenges, but he said that he would prefer, if they did not object, to kill them one by one. [Laughter.] He added that he hoped they would draw lots as to which should be the first. I wish my opponents would draw lots.

"But I am willing to put Mr. Asquith in the front rank. Now, what does he mean? I ignore the home trade! I do not think I have made a single speech in which I have not given extreme importance to it. Why, sir, the main object I have in view in the whole of this crusade—shall I call it?—is to secure for this country a strong home trade [cheers] and to make it the center of a self-sustaining empire. [Cheers.] Sir, I gather that Mr. Asquith thinks that the home trade is very prosperous and that if that is the case it does not matter how much our export trade may be declining. Well, I am not certain that the home trade is very prosperous. ['Hear! Hear!'] But suppose it is, it is no answer at all to my argument. If the foreign trade is declining and if at the same time foreigners are sending more and more of their goods into our home market, why, it does not take a genius to discover that in that case the home market will suffer sooner or later, and more likely sooner than later. ['Hear! Hear!']

"THE 'TRANSFER OF EMPLOYMENT' FALLACY.

"Now, I believe that all this is a part of the old fallacy about the transfer of employment. This is the idea: You are engaged in a certain industry; that industry is destroyed by 'dumping,' or foreign competition, or by sweating, or by any other cause. Very well; you have no right to complain. Some other industry is prospering, and it is your own fault if you do not leave the industry which is falling for the industry which is rising. [Laughter.] Sir, it is an admirable theory. It satisfies everything but an empty stomach. [Laughter.] Look how easy it is. Your once great trade of sugar refining is gone. All right; try jam. [Laughter.] Your iron trade is going. Never mind; you can make mouse traps. [Laughter and cheers.] The cotton trade

is threatened. Well, what does that matter to you? Suppose you try dolls' eyes. [Laughter.] It was once a Birmingham trade. That is why I mentioned it. How long is this to go on?

"Take sugar refining. That went. Jam took its place. Why on earth are you to suppose that the same process which ruined the sugar refinery will not in the course of time be applied to jam? And when jam has gone then you have to find something else; and, believe me, though the industries of this country are very various, you can not go on forever; you can not go on watching with indifference the disappearance of your principal industries and always hope you will be able to replace them by secondary and inferior ones. And putting aside altogether the unfair individual suffering that is caused by every transfer of employment, by taking a workman from some trade to which he has been brought up, in which he has been engaged all his life, and setting him down to something to which he is not accustomed, and for which he has no aptitude—putting aside all that individual suffering, I say there is no evidence whatever that there is any real compensation to be made. There is no evidence whatever that when one trade goes another immediately takes its place.

"THE BUILDING TRADE.

"I observe that Sir William Harcourt has been looking at the Blue Book, [laughter], and not only that, but he has taken advantage of passing through Birmingham in a railway carriage to make observations as to our commercial position. What he says in effect is: 'It may be that some industries are decaying, but then others are growing, and as I passed through those places I saw evidence of enormous activity on the part of the building trade.' [Laughter.] I have a letter from a builder in Derby who says: 'In Derby a great number of men are out of employment in the building trade.' But really that does not affect the argument. The building trade! What does it mean? When the tin-plate trade is bad, are the tin-plate operatives to start laying bricks? But what an illustration, what an unfortunate illustration it would be! The building trade! Why, gentlemen, the building trade is one of the few trades in this country which is protected, not by legislation, but by the circumstances, the necessary circumstances, of the trade and the regulations of the trade.

"Have you ever heard—there may be a case, but I do not know if it—have you ever heard of a foreign contractor, say, an Italian builder coming over here and competing with British builders to build houses or public buildings, or manufacturers bringing over with them their own labor at, let us say, 1s. to 2s. 6d. a day, and accordingly contracting for much lower prices? My latest experience is that of the Birmingham University. We put forward our specifications and asked for tenders, and no foreigner [laughter] offered to compete. And accordingly, gentlemen, if the progress of the building trade is to be quoted at all, it tells in favor of protection. ['Hear! Hear!'] and not in favor of free trade. As I have said, by natural circumstances, the building trade is protected, and if there were to be such an incident, if a foreign contractor were to come over from some country where labor is cheap, and bring that cheap labor to build our university or anything else, I think he would find himself in a very difficult position. [Cheers.]

"I say, then, that it is childish, absolutely childish, to suggest to you either, in the first place, that a decaying industry can transfer all its capital and all its labor to the building trade or to some other prosperous industry, and, in the second place, it is absurd to suppose an industry in the condition of the building trade is any argument whatever in favor of free imports. If you had taken building materials, that would have been a very different thing. ['Hear! Hear!'] I think those who make, well, all the details of house furniture; those who make iron girders for supporting your floors and roofs; those who, in former times at any rate, those joiners and carpenters who make doors and window frames—those, perhaps, would have a different tale to tell. ['Hear! Hear!'] While the builder's trade, as a contractor's trade, as I have said, is naturally protected, there is no protection at all for the material which goes into the business.

"THE JEWELRY AND BRASS TRADES.

"Now, if our opponents fail, as I think they do absolutely, in producing any satisfactory explanations that would justify us in believing that all this loss in one trade is made up in another, let us see, if they can't get them out of prosperous industries, what is the conditions of decaying industries. Mr. Asquith jeers at me. He says, here have I been at work I don't know how long, with assistance—I wish I had it—that I have been at work getting particulars of those decaying trades, and I have been able to produce very few. On the contrary, I can produce scores and scores of instances, but I am not going to fill up a speech with particulars of decaying industries. What I have done is to deal at each place I have visited with some of the industries with which the people were familiar. ['Hear! Hear!'] I will take one or two out of a sheaf in which Birmingham men are concerned.

"Take the jewelry trade. ['Hear! Hear!'] We have only statistics for three years. Before that time the board of trade did not separate jewelry. In 1900 we sold to foreigners £50,000 worth, we imported from foreigners £137,000 worth. ['Shame!'] Yes, that was 1900. But in 1902 we were £170,000 to the bad. ['Shame!'] That is to say, in those three years in this foreign trade we are twice as badly off as we were in 1900. Well, what is the reason? What is the reason? Well, there are tariffs; tariffs which prevent you from sending your jewelry into those foreign countries, and which range up to 45 per cent, and at the same time that that is going on the colonies are buying from you twice as much as all the foreign countries put together. [Cheers.] It is a very curious thing, whichever way you look at this matter, whether you take an individual trade or whether you take the general results of trade altogether, it is always the same thing—decline in exports to foreign countries, increase in foreign imports to this country, only concealed, only compensated, by increase in colonial trade.

"Well, now, take brass manufactures. [Cheers.] I mean the smaller brass manufactures. In the last ten years the imports from foreign countries increased threefold. The tariff upon brass work ranges up to 60 per cent. The colonies are our best customers. ['Hear! Hear!'] Well, I don't know what our people think, but I think that if this continues and that if the colonial trade were to decline, as it will do if you don't adopt this system of reciprocal preference, then the brass trade will decline, and not all the trade unions in the world will save the brass trade from ruin, or the people who are employed in the brass trade from the destitution and misery from which we wish to save them. [Cheers.]

"OTHER INDUSTRIES—PEARL BUTTONS, CYCLES.

"Will you take our trade? ['Yes!'] Well, take one of the oldest in Birmingham, one mentioned in Hutton's History—the pearl-button trade. In the pearl-button trade 3,000 work people used to be employed. To-day there are about 1,000, and very few of them have full employment. Why is that? Well, it is largely due to the influence of the tariffs, which shut out the pearl buttons from America, and it is partly due to the 'dumping' of pearl buttons from the Continent into England and even into Birmingham itself. I received a telegram to-day from a great house in the city, which said that

whereas Birmingham used to produce small wares of all kinds and was the largest source of them, now they were got chiefly from Germany, and that one of the greatest of the German manufacturers had told him that if Mr. Chamberlain's policy were to be carried, and he thought it was—so do I [cheers]—that if it were carried he would bring his manufactory over here, and, if he brought his manufactory over here, it would be British workmen [applause] who would be employed and who would get the wages which are now enjoyed by German workmen. [Cheers.]

"Well, I wonder what has become of the 5,000 pearl-button makers who were once employed, and who have lost their employment. [A voice, 'Making jam!'] and laughter. I will only give you one more. [Cries of 'Go on!'] I am going to take this time a comparatively new industry. Take the cycle trade. Now, what is the case there? Our exports to the foreign protected countries fell £500,000 in ten years, and our exports to the colonies rose in the same period £367,000. Why was that change? When the foreigners found that the manufacture of cycles was rather a good thing, they put up their tariffs—the tariffs now on cycles range up to 45 per cent—and, not content with that, when the time of depression was strongest in America, the Americans dumped their cycles down here at prices with which English manufacturers could not compete. In 1897 the United States of America sent to the United Kingdom alone £460,000 worth of cycles, and at the same time they flooded the colonies and sent them £340,000 worth, all of which we might have had if we had had a tariff here to prevent unfair competition and if we had had a preference arrangement with the colonies which would have kept the trade for us. [Cheers.]

"THE PREDICTIONS OF PROPHETS.

"I have one point more. If this great question had to be solved upon these considerations alone, upon the decline of our foreign trade, upon the progress of our foreign competitors, upon the necessity of keeping the colonies with us, I should have no fear. The working classes of this country, the business men of this country, they know where the shoe pinches much better than the political economists and the lawyers who profess to instruct them. But when we come to this, when we have got so far, then our opponents play their trump card. Then they say, 'Very well; if it be true that your trade is falling off, that your primary industries are decaying, well, you had better bear the evil that you know sooner than risk an evil that you do not of. You can't make any change.' Again—what a curious argument for a Radical!—'You can't make any change without being worse off, and above all, if you are foolish enough to listen to Mr. Chamberlain you will find the price of your food increase [laughter], the old bad days will return, destitution will be your lot, famine will stare you in the face. If you don't mind starvation yourself [a voice, 'Quack, quack!'] and laughter] think of your families, think of your children.' Gentlemen, I beg of you to treat the arguments of our opponents with more respect. [Laughter.] Well, now, I have to say that all this prediction of evil as resulting from my proposals—a prediction which you ought to suspect, because it comes from prophets who had always been wrong—this prediction is a grotesque misrepresentation. ['Hear! Hear!']

"THE 'BIG LOAF' AND THE 'LITTLE LOAF.'

"I want to give you a practical illustration. You know that during the last few weeks the walls of Birmingham have been covered with a flaming poster. That is intended as an advertisement for a London newspaper, which made itself notorious for its pro-Boer sympathies [hisses] during the late war, and for the ready credence which it gave to every calumny on our soldiers. ['Hear! Hear!'] or upon our statesmen. ['Shame!'] Well, that poster shows you a big loaf, bigger than any I have ever seen. [Laughter.] I should think it must weigh about eight and twenty pounds [laughter], and it shows you a little loaf, smaller than I have ever seen [laughter], which, I suppose, might weigh a few ounces. It tickets one 'the free-trade loaf,' and it tickets the little one 'the Zollverein loaf,' and the card has no other object than to induce you to believe that if you adopt my policy of preference to the colonies this is the little bit of a loaf to which you and your families will be reduced and you will have sacrificed the mammoth which appears in another part of the paper. I felt a curiosity to inquire what would be the exact difference in the size of a loaf if the whole tax which I propose to be put on corn was met by a corresponding reduction in the size of the loaf, and I asked my friend, Mr. Alderman Bowkett, to make me two loaves in order to test this question."

A DRAMATIC ILLUSTRATION.

Mr. Chamberlain, amidst the intense curiosity of the vast audience, then displayed on the rostrum two loaves of bread, amidst loud cheering. Continuing, the right honorable gentleman said: "I don't know whether your eyes are better than mine, but when I first saw these loaves I was absolutely unable to tell which was the big one. [Laughter and cheers.] I know there is a difference, because I know that in the smaller one a few ounces less flour have been used, in order to correspond with the amount of the tax, but it is still, I think, a sporting question [laughter] which is the big one and which is the little one. Now, there is a sample, and what is to be said of a cause which is supported by such dishonest representations as the one to which I have referred? You may see for yourselves the difference is slight. But that is not the whole of the case. I have given you figures and arguments, which I will not repeat, that there is reason to believe that the greater part of the tax, whatever it may be, will be paid by the foreigner and not by the consumer. [Cheers.] I have said something else, so anxious am I that under no conceivable circumstance shall ever be said I am the cause of raising the burden of life to the poor of this country—I have said I will take an extreme course. I suppose that the whole tax is paid by the consumer, and I will give him an exactly equivalent amount in remission from other taxes which enter into his daily life. [Cheers.]

"NO MORE MOMENTOUS ISSUE.

"Well, I have done. [Cries of 'Go on!'] 'Plenty of time!' and 'All-night sitting!'] I have endeavored in the course of my speech to-night, as I have done in all the other speeches that I have delivered, while attempting to answer serious arguments, still to avoid anything in the nature of purely party and personal controversy. [Cheers.] I recognize with sorrow many of those—some of those, at any rate—with whom I have been intimately connected in recent years of my political life differ from me on this point. I recognize with pleasure and gratification that, on the other hand, some of the strongest of my opponents are with me now. Not upon party questions—they recognize, as I do, that this is a question above party, a question which affects national interests. ['Hear! Hear!'] I have endeavored to state the case as I see it, to state it fairly and honestly. I have not taken, as has been suggested—I have not taken my figures or my facts or my quotations second-hand. Although I have had a great task put upon my shoulders, yet I have endeavored to verify, as far as that was possible, myself everything that I have asserted. ['Hear! Hear!']

"I have not tried to rush your decision. I have not endeavored to take the people by surprise. On the contrary, I have asked for discussion and deliberation, and it is only after hearing all that can be said on both sides

that I desire that you shall come to your final conclusion. The issue will be in your hands. It will be with the people of this country, and none more momentous has ever been submitted to any nation at any time. There, at any rate, is one point upon which all parties are agreed. Whether we be free traders or whether we be tariff reformers, we all alike agree that the issue upon which depends the prosperity of the country, the welfare of this people, the union of the Empire. ["Hear! 'Hear!'" For my part, ladies and gentlemen, I care very little whether the result will be to make this country already rich, a little richer. The character of a nation is more important than its opulence. [Cheers.] What I care for is that this people shall rise to the height of its great mission ["Hear! 'Hear!'" that they who in past generations have made a kingdom surpassed by none should now in altered circumstances have made a kingdom show itself to be worthy of the leadership of the British race, and, in cooperation with our kinsmen across the seas, they should combine to make an empire which may be, which ought to be, greater, more united, more fruitful for good than any empire in human history."] [Amid tremendous cheering the right honorable gentleman then resumed his seat, having spoken for one hour and fifty minutes.]

THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. E. Nettlefold, treasurer of the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association, proposed, "That this meeting thanks Mr. Chamberlain for his address and is of opinion that the time has arrived for the reconsideration of the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom (1) in view of the continually increasing restrictions of foreign markets and the unfair competition to which British manufacturers are subjected, and (2) for the purpose of consolidating and developing the Empire; and that this meeting accordingly approves of the policy of His Majesty's Government in asking for a free hand in negotiating with foreign countries, including the power of retaliation where no concession is made by them on their present hostile tariff, and also cordially supports the principle of reciprocal preference between the mother country and her colonies and possessions, which, without increasing the cost of living in the United Kingdom, will extend Imperial trade to the mutual advantage of every part of the Empire."

A Conservative workingman, Mr. C. C. Cooke, seconded the motion, which was carried.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S REPLY.

Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the resolution which you have just passed with so much cordiality. I am encouraged by the support of my friends in Birmingham, and not only by your support, but by the way in which my appeal upon this subject has been received by the working classes in other parts of the country. I pointed out at Liverpool, as Mr. Cooke has reminded you, that the issue was one which under our existing parliamentary system, so different from that of the days of the Corn Law League, when every workingman who is a householder and every lodger who cares to claim has a vote, that the result must necessarily be decided by the majority—that is, by the working classes of this country; and I should be merely running my head against a brick wall if I attempted now to do what was done those long past days to carry legislation which was contrary to the wishes and aspirations of the majority of the people.

"Therefore it is that I say, finding, as I have found, such friendly acceptance, such generous consideration, such patience and attention, I do not believe that we are wrong. [Loud cheers.] Ladies and gentlemen, you will not separate to-night without the usual vote of thanks to the chairman, which we shall heartily tender to Mr. Lowe. ["Hear! 'Hear!'" Here in Birmingham, and I am inclined to think, in the district round it, we shall be united, as in past days. Here, at any rate, the free trader will cease from troubling and the tariff reformer will be at rest. [Laughter.] The members for Birmingham will again say, 'We are seven' [cheers], and if I may judge from what I hear and see, the members for Aston [cheers, and a voice, 'They are not having your Arthur'] and Handsworth, and even East Worcestershire [cheers], the members for all the surrounding districts, will go back to the House of Commons, I verily believe, a happy family, determined to allow no antiquated superstitions to stand in the way of the welfare of the country. I beg to propose that the best thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Lowe for his conduct in the chair." [Cheers.]

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, in response to repeated calls, stepped to the front. He said he had not come there to make a speech, and, in spite of their welcome, he was not going to make one. He came there to show his admiration for the courage with which the senior member from Birmingham had taken up that question and fought his fight, and his sympathy with the policy, which he advocated in all its branches. ["Good old papa!"] The Government was asking the country for a mandate to resume the fiscal freedom which for sixty years they had abandoned. The use which should be made of that freedom when it was recovered was for the electors of this country to decide. For his (the speaker's) part he had very little doubt as to what the ultimate issue of the struggle would be, and he was glad to have been privileged to take part in that great meeting. [Cheers.]

The proceedings terminated with the singing of the national anthem.

[From Glasgow Herald September 2.]

VIEWS OF SCOTTISH WOOLEN TRADE ON FOREIGN TARIFFS.

With the view of obtaining reliable information regarding the effect of foreign tariffs on the Scotch woolen trade, the South of Scotland Chamber of Commerce recently invited its members to answer several questions. The following answers have been received from thirty-three members of the chamber, all of them representing business firms of considerable importance, and many being partners in very large concerns:

UNITED STATES TARIFFS.

Question. What, in your opinion, has been the effect from time to time of the various tariffs levied on woolen goods by the United States?

Answers. No. 1. Yarn spinner—To greatly restrict, and latterly to certainly put a stop to business in Scotch woolen yarns.

No. 2. Tweed manufacturer—Roughly stated, as tariffs rose, exports to the United States fell.

No. 3. Manufacturers of fancy tweeds, worsted suitings, etc.—The present tariff we find to be practically prohibitive.

No. 4. Tweed manufacturers—Not long enough experience to warrant opinion.

No. 5. Tweed manufacturers, all processes—Extremely hurtful to the tweed trade.

No. 6. Manufacturers of Scotch tweeds and costumes—The higher the tariff has been the fewer goods have we exported.

No. 7. Yarn spinner, principally for tweeds—It is long since the tariffs of the United States made export of carded woolen yarn to that country almost impossible. Up till the time of the last increase we used to have inquiries, which even then seldom led to anything further, the duties being so heavy. Since the new tariff came into operation even inquiry has practically ceased. The duty on a yarn invoiced at 1s. 3d. is 1s. 7½d., and on a yarn invoiced at 2s. the duty is 2s. 4½d. Spinners of woolen yarn in Scotland have also suffered severely from the United States tariff on woolen fabrics formerly exported in large quantities by their weaving customers.

No. 8. Scotch tweed merchants, and also of English manufactured goods—At present it is not possible to sell in the United States, owing to the high tariff, except to houses doing a high-class trade, where price is a secondary consideration.

No. 9. Tweed manufacturers—Reduced our trade to practically nil.

No. 10. Woolen and worsted manufacturer—To stop the trade in bulk, what remains being specialties in cloth or design.

No. 11. Scotch tweed manufacturers—The effect has been most serious, as it has, since the McKinley tariff, entirely stopped what business we had with the United States and thrown all that output (which was very large) into the home market, which has since that time been seriously congested, making trade unremunerative.

No. 12. Manufacturers of hosiery and woven underwear—To hinder the placing of orders in Great Britain.

No. 13. Woolen merchant—Ruinous to the woolen trade of this country, without the shadow of a doubt.

No. 14. Hosiery manufacturers—Almost entirely stopped the trade with the United States in hosiery.

No. 15. Manufacturers of high-class tweeds—To curtail or nearly stop business, except that buyers look at our styles to get educated, buy a few bits to save their shame, and then make up their bulk in cheaper goods on this side or know better what to buy on the other. We lose patience when speaking of this country, which takes 95 per cent of a start—or, rather, 125 per cent, counting all—and then struts about as lords of creation.

No. 16. Tweed manufacturer and yarn spinner—They have practically closed the markets.

No. 17. Manufacturers chiefly of tweeds and fine worsteds—The effect has been very injurious upon our business.

No. 18. Woolen merchant, handling from medium up to best quality of Scotch goods, also English worsteds in fancies and plain coatings—Most adverse to business. Having a separate business in Boston, U. S. A., I can testify to the enormous increase in the use and production of local manufacturers. Every season the newest designs made in this country are copied both in fabric and colors; and I have seen surprising imitations, more especially in botany and crossbred worsteds. If it were not for the better class of Americans being determined to be exclusive and to wear only imported goods, the present limited trade would be snuffed out. Wearing the best class of British goods is one of the ways by which an American shows his importance financially.

No. 19. Manufacturers of fancy woolen and worsted goods—The effect undoubtedly has been to practically destroy the trade in fancy goods. A small trade is still done, but in my opinion makers would be better without it. It only exists because British makes and styles still lead the fashion in men's goods, and American merchants buy them in small quantities for the sake of educating themselves in order to "coach" the domestic manufacturer.

No. 20. Fancy woolen and worsted manufacturers—A decreasing trade.

No. 21. Hosiery manufacturer—Foreign trade too small to warrant giving opinion.

No. 22. Manufacturers of Scotch tweeds—Never did direct trade with United States.

No. 23. Tweed manufacturer—Distinctly against the industry of this district.

No. 24. Tweed manufacturer—Very injurious.

No. 25. Tweed manufacturer—Since the present high tariff has been put on woolen goods our trade has been practically nil.

No. 26. Manufacturer of high-class woolens for men's wear—Staple goods, which formerly were bought for this market in large quantities, are practically shut out. Merchants who used to order 1,000 yards to a coloring are now content with 50 yards or less. Goods possessing special character are sought after, but they are purchased only in minimum lengths and seldom repeated. It is understood that the American manufacturer can produce something sufficiently near at less cost whenever a further quantity is wanted. The strides recently made in the domestic trade of the States seem, as regards at least the woolen branch, to justify the opinion that were America to modify its fiscal policy it would prove a formidable competitor of Great Britain in the markets of the world.

No. 27. Scotch tweed manufacturer—Every rise in the tariff has had the effect of reducing the quantity of trade and making remunerative prices more difficult to obtain. One direct effect of the present high tariff is that new designs made in this country are immediately copied in American goods, and the manufacturer in this country does not get a fair return for his ingenuity in producing new designs or fabrics.

No. 28. Yarn merchant—(1) When the tariff was purely fiscal (i. e., for revenue purposes only) British exports in woolen goods were most extensive. (2) When the tariff became protective, exports decreased. (3) Since the tariff became prohibitive, as it is now, exports have practically ceased, with the exception of special designs, weaves, or qualities which the American manufacturer can not yet produce.

No. 29. Scotch tweed manufacturers—At one time we did a fairly large trade with the United States, but owing to successive tariffs our trade has almost entirely stopped with this country.

No. 30. Manufacturers of cheviots, worsteds, flannels, and ladies' costume goods—The Dingley tariff in the United States has brought our trade with that country to nearly the vanishing point.

No. 31. Tweed manufacturers—To very much restrict business.

No. 32. Manufacturer for forty-seven years of Scotch tweeds, all the processes—When I went first to the manufacturing business we had several, indeed many, customers in America with whom we did considerable business, and this was also the experience of many manufacturers at that time. I remember frequent orders from American houses of twenty pieces (six-quarter) to a color. A. T. Stewart & Co., Arnold Constable & Co., H. B. Claffin, and others were large customers—varying up to about £10,000 a year. We have lost all that business since the adoption of the McKinley high tariff. Indeed, all competitive business has been lost—that is to say, there is some little, very little, trade in specialties; but whenever "domestic" goods (i. e., goods made in America) come into competition, there is no chance of business at all.

No. 33. Manufacturer of fancy woolen goods for men's and women's wear—To close the market to us entirely, as far as plain goods are concerned. A trade can still be done in novelties, but this is small in bulk and very erratic as to result. I believe that were the United States to double their present tariff it would hardly affect the volume of business done. We are allowed to have the novelty trade because it is costly and difficult to do, and the Americans will not be bothered with it.

CONTINENTAL TARIFFS.

Question. What has been the effect of the tariffs levied by France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and other European countries upon the sale of woolen goods from this country?

Answers. No. 2. Tweeds—Certainly a decrease of trade, and, I think, a lowering of the class of goods taken by these countries.

No. 3. Tweeds, etc.—The effect of these tariffs is, of course, to make trade more difficult in our class of goods. In most cases they are so gauged as to make any general expansion of business with these markets impossible, and in some instances the effect of existing tariffs has been to stop business entirely.

No. 5. Tweeds, etc.—The effect of such tariffs is to make business difficult, uncertain, and almost prohibitory.

No. 6. Tweeds, etc.—The effect of these tariffs has been, firstly, to make it more difficult to get our goods into these countries; and, secondly, to encourage the domestic manufacturer, who is enabled to improve his processes by the wealth made from trade gained by keeping others out. The result is makers have to compete against a tariff with makers who are as good or will soon be as good as themselves. This, carried a little further, would mean that manufacturers in the above countries may soon be able to secure part of our home trade.

No. 7. Yarns—The export of yarn from continental countries to Scotland is much larger than the export from Scotland to them—sufficient proof that they can produce yarn as cheaply as we can. It follows that even their lightest duties have a deterrent effect on imports from this country. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to send plain carded yarns to the Continent. A fitful business is done in yarns of special quality and special make, but often on such a small scale as to make it doubtful whether the sample orders were meant to be followed by bulk or only for purposes of information and imitation. Our agents report that it is the tariff which makes business unsatisfactory and almost impossible.

No. 9. Tweeds—Have affected our trade considerably, though there is still a good trade done with Germany, fair with France.

No. 10. Tweeds, etc.—Every increase of duty has made the sales of goods more difficult and tended to reduce them.

No. 11. Tweeds—What trade we do is with merchant firms who only sell British goods, and we have not felt these tariffs so keenly, but with the continued increasing tariffs and improved knowledge of manufacture we don't see much prospect of our trade being maintained.

No. 13. Tweeds—To be well dressed in these countries people wear British goods, but the tariff in above countries makes our goods intrinsically dear, so that for intrinsic value it is impossible to compete with domestic goods. The tariffs undoubtedly act as a great barrier to trade.

No. 15. Tweeds—France: Dwindling down. Germany: Dwindling down. Russia: After a last struggle now dead. Austria: Very difficult and risky. Italy: Sometimes a bit of business in a novelty if we give them it for nothing.

No. 16. Tweeds and yarns—A wide question which could only be answered by reference to statistics. My own experience is that the tariffs help manufacturers in the country imposing them by enabling them to compete with us in their country; and, further, the tariffs act as a bounty enabling them to undersell us in our own market. I know of one case where a manufacturer lost trade amounting to £20,000 per annum by the imposition of a tariff in one country in Europe, said tariff being imposed with the set purpose of closing the market against him and others.

No. 17. Tweeds—In our experience with France and Germany it has been hurtful, and only a trifle less so in the case of Italy and Spain.

No. 18. Tweeds, etc.—Of all the countries mentioned the Russian tariff is most severe, the business being limited to the most expensive class of worsteds in fancies and coatings—almost no Scotch tweeds. Germany and Austria are our best continental markets, but owing to the tariffs the trade is practically limited to the extent in which we are successful in producing novelties. The constant cry is "novelty," and catering for that alone enables us to sell at a profit. When it comes to plain goods in the medium and cheaper qualities, the tariffs kill business. Germany probably buys keener than any other continental nation, so if the threatened increase in the tariff is carried out it must have a disastrous influence upon both the Scotch-tweed trade and English worsteds.

No. 19. Tweeds, etc.—The effect of these tariffs has been to make it more difficult to export to these countries.

No. 20. Tweeds—Greatly to decrease trade.

No. 22. Tweeds—We did a fair trade with France and Germany twenty years ago, but this has fallen away, and we now do nothing with either country.

No. 23. Tweeds—Adverse.

No. 24. Tweeds—Hurtful as regards France and Germany. No experience of other countries.

No. 25. Tweeds—During the past twenty years our trade with France has been a gradually diminishing one. With Germany, on the contrary, it has been growing considerably.

No. 26. Tweeds—The effect has been to lower the quality and to lessen the quantity bought. It would be interesting to know to what extent French pulled skin wools and German-made worsted yarns and dye wares are used in this country. The suggestion to put a duty on such imports, I incline to think, would prove a mistaken expedient. "Better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of."

No. 27. Tweeds, etc.—All tariffs have the effect of reducing the quantity of exports to the country in which they are levied. The result of the last increase in tariff levied by France was to so seriously diminish the amount of trade that we were compelled to dismiss our agent in France, because the amount of trade he could do would no longer pay the cost of his patterns. Previously our French trade had been a fairly profitable one. Our experience does not go far enough back to deal with the other European countries, but no doubt the increased tariff, which comes into force in Germany next year, will have the same tendency as the French one has had.

No. 28. Yarns—Remarks on the United States tariff apply here, but in the case of France and Germany (where the tariffs have reached the prohibitive point, and which now supply their own domestic requirements) we have now to contend with exports from them at prices which will ultimately spell ruin to our own manufacturers.

No. 29. Tweeds—In France, Germany, and Italy, up to the present time, have had no difficulty in selling our stuffs. Of Russia, Austria, and Spain we can say nothing.

No. 30. Tweeds, etc.—We find it increasingly difficult to keep up our trade with these countries, and an increase in the German tariff will still further aggravate matters, as, owing to the comparatively small duties in Germany at present, it is one of our best foreign markets for high-class goods. But for these duties the increasing population abroad ought to have largely added to our trade. The difficulty is to hold our ground.

No. 31. Tweeds—Same as with America.

No. 32. Tweeds—We used to do a large trade with these countries. Here are the sums for several half years from 1881 onward: £10,650, £8,917, £13,124, £7,463, £10,943, £6,884, £14,424, £12,540, averaging over £20,000 a year. Just as

the tariffs were raised this trade dropped off. We struggled hard to keep it up, but found it impossible to work against 30 per cent to 35 per cent of duty, the effect of which, of course, was that we had to give 130 to 135 yards for the same money as our continental competing manufacturers got for 100 yards. This continental trade we have now entirely lost.

No. 33. Tweeds—Some fifteen years ago we did a large and profitable business with France, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Now this has almost entirely gone into the hands of the middleman, the reason being that tailors and merchants in those countries buy short lengths on account of the duties. They want the maximum of novelty and variety with the minimum of risk. I believe the total volume has greatly decreased.

COLONIAL TARIFFS AND CANADIAN PREFERENCE.

Question. What is your experience of the tariffs in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other British colonies or possessions? Has the preference recently granted to British goods in Canada materially affected your trade with the Dominion?

Answers. No. 1. Yarns—The Canadian preference has undoubtedly stimulated trade with Canada, and in one instance, more particularly, we have benefited through the much-increased business done with Canada by a manufacturing customer.

No. 2. Tweeds—Experience with Australia and New Zealand is small. Canada seems to have taken more of our goods during last twelve months.

No. 3. Tweeds—The preference recently granted to British goods in Canada has, in our experience, been a great benefit to the tweed trade.

No. 5. Tweeds—Colonial tariffs have proved an inducement to several of their governments affording facilities for production of their own goods. The recent preference given to British goods has been distinctly beneficial to our trade with Canada.

No. 6. Tweeds—Our trade with Canada has certainly increased since the preference was granted.

No. 8. Tweeds—The preference granted recently by Canada has, we believe, helped to increase trade.

No. 9. Tweeds—Our Canadian trade is increasing every year.

No. 10. Tweeds—The tariffs have always been a considerable barrier. The trade with Canada, though not large, has been considerably increased within the last few years—whether due to the increased spending power of Canada or to the preference given it is difficult to say. A comparison of the imports by Canada from Germany with those from Britain of woolen goods might indicate this.

No. 11. Tweeds—Our trade with the Australian colonies has diminished, but has considerably increased with Canada, and have good hopes this will expand and increase.

No. 12. Hosiery—Not affected.

No. 13. Tweeds, etc.—My experience in Canada is that for the past eighteen months trade has been good. I do not think the "preference" granted by Canada materially affects goods made in this district, although I am pleased to see it.

No. 14. Hosiery—Trade prospects with Canada are at present very promising, no doubt due to the preferential tariffs.

No. 15. Tweeds—Canadian business has lately been a little better.

No. 16. Tweeds and yarns—At this moment the demand for our goods in Canada is increasing. This might be traced to the preference mentioned, but it might also be put down to fashion.

No. 18. Tweeds, etc.—We are not able to say much regarding the colonies, as our business connection with them is comparatively small; but as regards Canada there has been a marked improvement since the preferential tariffs came into force. We look to Canada as likely to become one of our best markets.

No. 19. Tweeds—I can only speak of Canada. The preferential treatment of British goods has, to a certain extent, improved our trade with the Dominion.

No. 20. Tweeds—Our opinion is if the present tariffs with our colonies were reduced we could do considerable more business; but even with their present tariffs we do considerably more trade with them than with European countries. The reduction of Canadian tariffs has certainly much benefited us.

No. 22. Tweeds—We have done a small trade with Canada, Australia, and New Zealand for some years, chiefly in fancy styles: doing very little in plain clothes (our principal production) owing to the effect of tariffs. We can not say that we have felt as yet any appreciable benefit from the preference which Canada has recently granted to British goods, but we believe that this is sure to come eventually.

No. 23. Tweeds—(1) None. (2) No.

No. 25. Tweeds—During the last two or three years our trade with Canada has greatly increased. Of course this is coincidentally with the reduced tariff on British goods.

No. 30. Tweeds—Our experience is that the colonial market is an increasing one, and this despite some adverse circumstances, such as the drought in Australia. We decidedly find that the preference has benefited us in Canada. At all events, we find our business increasing there, and that, surely, is the best evidence.

No. 32. Tweeds—There is still a considerable demand for woolen goods to the colonies. In Australia and New Zealand there are some factories which compete for the trade. The Commonwealth tariff is 25 per cent against us, but even with that the mills in Australia have difficulty in making money. Skilled labor is scarce and dear, and the market being only a small one is better pleased to take imported goods, even with the tariff on. There is a great trade in readymade clothing to the colonies, which enter at about the same tariff. Sydney was before the confederation a free-trade port, New South Wales being our only free-trade colony, and to Sydney, its capital, large business used to be done in the woolen goods of this district. It remains to be seen what will be the effect upon trade of the increased duties. There is certainly more being done to Canada since the preferential tariff came on. We have extended our business very considerably to Canadian merchants of late, and the Canadian buyers who came over seem much more interested in Scotch wools than when the high tariff was on.

No. 33. Tweeds—I believe the general tendency has been to bring more Canadians into our markets. Our trade with Canada has considerably increased, but the experience is too short and too limited to found any opinion upon.

PROTECTION IS MAINLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LABORING MAN.

[By the author of "Imperial Reciprocity." Condensed from the London Daily Telegraph, December 10, 1903.]

SUCCESS DEPENDS UPON PRODUCING POWER.

The success of nations, like that of individuals, depends upon the efficiency of their efforts, not upon the satisfaction of their appetites. It depends upon their own energy and inventiveness, not upon their passive enjoyment of the

cheap result of other people's labors. It depends, in one word, not upon their consuming power, but upon their producing power. The body politic, like the body personal, does not live to eat. It eats to live. We owe our wealth entirely to our work. Our ability to make has given us our ability to buy.

It is of paramount importance to encourage the creative energy of capital. This, and this alone, is the vital factor to which we must look if we are to raise our manufacturing and competitive capacity to a higher power and to give a new driving impulse to our whole commercial system. That our tendency is to fall behind in enterprise is universally admitted. To say that our want of enterprise is caused by our want of technical education is a curiously puzzle-headed diagnosis of our complaint. Enterprise means expenditure. Expenditure, where the money is available, depends upon the expectation of profit. Technical education can no more cure the evil of universal dumping in this market than pills can cure earthquakes. Technical education will never induce capital to make investments which dumping may destroy. What we want in this country is more encouragement to enterprise by providing greater security for enterprise. If capital likes the security, then it will "down with the dust," not otherwise. The meaning of all the demand for the modernization of plant is that we want more production and more efficient production. Cheap consumption can not save us. Only enlarged and improved production can. We must make labor more certain of its employment and capital more certain of its returns. That is the bottom fact of the fiscal controversy in its industrial as distinguished from its imperial aspect. Let us repeat it again and again until the nail is hammered down to the head—the problem with which we have to deal is a problem of production.

TARIFF DUTIES NOT ADDED TO THE RETAIL PRICE.

The price of manufactured articles in general will not be raised by anything like the amount of the tax. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the finished and partly finished imports will continue to come into the country. There is no substitute to this market. The foreign producer must sell here under the 10 per cent tariff or suffer an immense decline of his output and his trade. We are apt to forget that nearly half of the whole outward shipments of the United States come in the shape of free exports to this market; a third of all French shipments come here as free exports; a quarter of all German shipments come here as free exports. (The only free-trade country is the country which has no free exports!) These countries must sell in the United Kingdom under a 10 per cent tariff. If they try to go elsewhere they will meet at all other frontiers 20 per cent, 30 per cent, 50 per cent, 70 per cent, or, as in Russia, a more than cent per cent tariff. The foreign producers must pay the 10 per cent in this market. They will contribute a handsome proportion of their present gains to the British treasury. In other words, they will cut their prices in order to keep their trade in many classes of imported goods. Even with the addition of the duty the British consumer will pay no more than he does now upon such commodities. The foreigner will still come in to a large extent under so low a tariff as Mr. Chamberlain proposes, but he will pay to the tune of 10 per cent for his footing in this market. But suppose we should pay a portion of it, owing to a rise in the prices of certain home industries from which dumping may be kept out and in which our production by consequence will expand. Suppose we pay from ten to twenty millions. Suppose, for the sake of argument, we pay from thirty to fifty millions.

If you were born with a silver spoon in your mouth, if you have lived exclusively upon foreign investments originally acquired by your progenitor's money, if you have never done any really useful work for British purposes in your life, in that case you are a consumer, pure and simple. You may have no real interest in the success of British production. Dumping never did you any harm; it may possibly have increased or saved the value of some of your foreign investments, and you will refuse to be frightened by it. But if you are a consumer, pure and simple, who have always supped by the aid of the silver spoon with the foreign hall-mark, well, you belong to a very small class, indeed, and the country can not afford to legislate for you. If you do not belong to that class, you are not a consumer pure and simple. You are a producer as well, and you can not afford to regard questions of national economic policy solely, or even chiefly from the consumer's point of view. As a business man, no less than an Englishman, your vital interests are bound up with the encouragement, the development, the success of national production. As a working nation, making and selling, it is as producers that we must succeed, and if we do not we must perish. That, simply that, is the iron law of modern competition.

LABOR BENEFITS FIRST FROM A RISE IN PRICES.

It is said that the capitalist alone would get the benefit of a rise in prices upon home produce to the gross value of £35,000,000 or £50,000,000 annually. There could be no error more obvious. There could be no assumption more misleading. It would be impossible for the capitalist to get all the money or to get more than a perfectly fair proportion of the increased value given the articles of our own manufacture. Every class of society would share in the benefit of a tariff and would share in due measure. Labor would get the benefit first of all. Under the present organization of trades unionism in all our great industries the wages of labor would follow, roughly, the prices of goods. The pitman's wages rise and sink with the value of coal. In the cotton industry, with its elaborate machinery for collective bargaining between employers and employed, the earnings of the operatives are exactly proportioned to the prosperity of the trade. So in the engineering, as in the other branches of iron and steel production.

Taking British trade as a whole, you have only to glance at the charts in the Inquiry Blue Book (that inexhaustible repertory of tariff-reform argument) in order to see how wages as a whole rose with prices as a whole up to 1900, and how both curves have declined together since that year. Every employer in the country knows, every politician knows, we all know, that it is impossible for capital in this country to engross an illegitimate share of the national gain arising from an increased value of national goods.

Trades unionism for this country, on the other hand, forms an infinitely more efficient check upon protected capital than any existing in the United States or in Germany. We possess, in one word, the social and political organization best adapted in all the world to the healthy working of the tariff system. We need not labor the point. No one needs to be told that when prices rise in this country the working classes know how to exact the utmost of their due share. But it may be generally stated without the slightest fear of refutation that in no country under the tariff has the general burden upon the people, as consumers, been so great as the general profit to the people as producers. Under any rise in home prices of manufactured goods that might possibly be caused by Mr. Chamberlain's policy, ourselves would pay to ourselves. But there would be a universal stimulation of industrial enterprise, hopefulness, and vigor. If the surmise were correct that we should all pay from thirty-five to fifty millions, as consumers, every farthing of the sum would return with interest to us as producers. We should give out, as it were, in vapor and receive back in flood.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM ADMITTED TO BE BETTER THAN THE ENGLISH.

We can bring this matter to a very simple test. Everyone knows that the average American consumer pays more than the average British consumer.

Yet the British consumer, in spite of that advantage, is by no means so well off as the American consumer. We make petty gains upon our expenditure under the present system, but we forfeit larger gains that would otherwise accrue to us in the shape of revenue. The Inquiry Blue Book gives two budgets showing the weekly expenses and weekly surpluses of British and American families of relatively similar situation. The comparison is based upon the data of inquiries made in 1890 and 1891 by the United States Labor Department.

The results, however, give a perfectly clear comparison of conditions under the high-price and the low-price systems, with the great commodity of labor itself selling at a higher price under the tariff and at a lower under free imports. The weekly earnings of a number of English families worked out at an average of 32s. 2½d. The corresponding wages in America would be 48s. There is no American table for that exact sum, but there is a table showing the expenditure and surplus of a large group of American families earning on the average 46s. 4½d. a week. But even this section showed a larger weekly surplus than that of English families earning rather more than a strictly corresponding rate. Here are the two comparisons:

Comparative budget for British and American families of approximately equal earnings relatively to the standards of wages in the two countries.

[English standard equals 100; American standard equals 150.]

BRITISH BUDGET.

	s.	d.
Average weekly income per family	32	2½
Average expenditure:		
Food	15	3
Rent	3	9
Fuel, etc.	2	0½
Clothing	4	5½
Sundries	5	7½
Total expenditure	31	1½

Weekly surplus..... 1 1

AMERICAN BUDGET.

	s.	d.
Average weekly income per family	46	4½
Average expenditure:		
Food	17	8½
Rent	6	6
Fuel, etc.	2	6½
Clothing	6	7½
Sundries	9	9½
Total expenditure	43	1½

Weekly surplus..... 3 3

Now, we have placed the American scale of wages too low, and the weekly surplus corresponding to the British surplus is also too low. The real comparison may be stated thus: The English family earning 32s. weekly has about 1s. per week left as the ordinary surplus after paying its way. The corresponding American family, consisting of the same number of persons in the same trade, would earn 48s. per week as producers, would pay more for manufactured goods as consumers, and would have 4s. a week left.

The average consumer happens after all to be an average producer. His consuming power is strictly limited by his success as an earner. But it rises as his revenue rises. It depends upon his revenue and the policy which most efficiently promotes the producing power—in other words, the earning power—of a nation most efficiently promotes the consuming power of that nation. The consumer and the producer are the two sides of the same penny. We are producers when we go out to work or business and consumers when we come back to dine. What are the people in the twopenny tube? Are they producers—that is, earners—when they travel into the city in the morning, burying their faces behind the morning papers? And are they consumers when they return in the evening, burying their faces behind the evening papers? Has Jekyll been turned mentally into Hyde by some sort of moral metamorphosis known to the Foreign Food League? Or are the people in the twopenny tube and upon the omnibuses all the while intensely human people, who want to make money even more than to save it, who are chiefly preoccupied with their success as earners, who regard themselves, in one word, as producers rather than consumers, and who are always more pleased and stimulated by an increase of their revenue than they ever are by an equal reduction of their expenditure?

Reflect a little upon that point. When you incite human nature to more active and hopeful effort, even if you do so by purely imaginative influences, you have a solid economic gain. We talk to the workingman of the amount of his invisible wages—of the large purchasing power that under our system belongs to low sums. But what the workman likes most is visible wages. He would rather earn 40s. even if he had to spend thirty-five, than earn thirty-five and spend thirty. No State can afford to neglect the psychological factors of this kind, which stimulate confidence and ambition, and materialize in increased work and better work. The "imponderabilia" of trade, to use a Bismarckian term, are even more important than the "imponderabilia" of politics. This is one of the main reasons why the principle of national protection has driven out the principle of free imports, wherever the latter has been challenged under modern conditions by the former. Foreign nations, with duties already from twice to a dozen times as high as Mr. Chamberlain proposes, can not increase their schedules against us if we put a 10 per cent tariff around this country.

Under the policy of imperial reciprocity we should have as much of the foreign trade as we have now, but more of the home and imperial trade. The tariff, in a word, means for this country a wider market, a more certain market, a more active market, a more profitable market. Higher prices within the bounds of such a preferential system would indicate, as in America, nothing but a higher level of prosperity. Capital, labor, every class and section of the community would share in the profits of the larger production, which all would combine to create. The foreign food league would make us, if we listened to it, as dependent for our manufactures upon foreign nations as we are now dependent upon them for our food. That way madness lies. Free traders ask, "Why can't you let it alone?" Modern England, in face of the immense problems surrounding her, has no use for that attitude. If the British consumer were to pay more for a renewed outburst of national enterprise, with developed production and larger returns all round, it would be the timeliest and wisest investment that the British consumer ever made.

PROTECTION V. FREE TRADE—THE LATTER HAS COST GREAT BRITAIN HER COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

I have quoted from the speeches of two leading English statesmen on protective tariffs. I will now present some arguments and figures from a leading London newspaper, the Daily Telegraph:

ENGLAND'S LOSS FROM FREE TRADE—EXPORTS.

Comparative total exports of principal commercial countries—thirty years, 1872-1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1872.	1890.	1900.	1902.	Per cent of increase or decrease in 1902 compared with 1872.
British exports:					
To British possessions.....	61	87	94	109	79 per cent increase.
To foreign countries.....	196	176	197	174	21 per cent decline.
Total.....	257	263	291	283	10 per cent increase.
German exports.....	116	166	238	241	108 per cent increase.
French exports.....	159	150	164	170	13 per cent increase.
Belgian exports.....	42	57	77	74	76 per cent increase.
Austro-Hungarian exports.....	39	64	81	81	108 per cent increase.
Italian exports.....	46	36	53	59	28 per cent increase.
United States exports.....	89	176	304	282	217 per cent increase.

NOTE.—We are told that 1872 is not a fair basis of comparison, because prices were inflated. They were inflated throughout the world, and for all countries alike, owing to causes of which the Franco-German war was only one, and not the most important. Yet there is only one class of trade in the above table which shows decline, and that is the British export to foreign countries.

Comparative exports of manufactures (four countries), 1882-1902.

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.	United States.
1882.....	£217,000,000	£94,000,000	£76,000,000	£28,000,000
1902.....	235,000,000	155,000,000	95,000,000	84,000,000
Increase.....	18,000,000	61,000,000	19,000,000	56,000,000
Increase per cent.....	8	64	25	200

NOTE.—It has been objected that the United States figures include as manufacture about £14,000,000 of refined mineral oil, which the Cobden Club declares to be equivalent to coal. The answer is that exports of American "crude oil" are classed by Washington as raw material, but oil that has passed through the refinery is obviously as much a manufacture as "pickles and jam," and is so classed by all custom-houses in Europe, as well as by the Washington authorities.

Net exports of manufactured articles, 1902.

ENGLAND. ^a

Exports of articles wholly or mainly manufactured ^b	£235,000,000
Imports of articles wholly or mainly manufactured.....	134,000,000
Net British exports.....	101,000,000

GERMANY. ^c

Exports of articles wholly or mainly manufactured ^b	£155,000,000
Imports of articles wholly or mainly manufactured.....	55,000,000
Net German exports.....	100,000,000

NOTE.—This comparison deserves careful consideration. Its meaning must be considered in connection with the following facts:

(1) Germany is increasing her imports of raw material as fast as we are increasing our imports of foreign manufactures.

(2) In our total imports raw materials are now the least progressive element, and foreign manufactures the most progressive element.

(3) Twenty years ago (1883) Germany exported twice as much manufactures as she received. Now, as shown above, exports nearly three times as much.

(4) With us the process is reversed. In 1883 we exported four times as much manufactures as we received—that is, 300 per cent more. In 1902 we exported only 50 per cent more.

COMPARATIVE IMPORTS OF RAW MATERIAL AND MANUFACTURES, 1883 AND 1902.

(1) Raw materials.

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
1883 ^a	£165,000,000	£64,000,000	£96,000,000
1902.....	185,000,000	128,000,000	114,000,000
Increase.....	20,000,000	64,000,000	18,000,000
Increase per cent.....	13	100	19

^a British classified figures not available before 1883.

NOTE.—One of the foundation arguments of Cobdenism is that free imports facilitate, and that tariffs restrict, the import of raw material. The above figures show that since Germany broke with free trade her import of raw material has increased immeasurably faster than our own, while even France shows a more favorable result under the tariff.

^a According to new board of trade classification.

^b Including new ships.

^c From Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1903.

(2) Imported manufactures.

Year.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
1883 ^a	£53,000,000	£46,000,000	£31,000,000
1902.....	99,000,000	55,000,000	31,000,000
Increase.....	46,000,000	9,000,000	NIL
Increase per cent.....	87	19	NIL

^a British classified figures not available before 1883.

^b Upon the old classification.

NOTE.—The contrast of these two tables proves that "free imports" mean the lowest rate of increase in raw material and the highest rate of increase in finished manufactures.

THE HOME MARKET—SOME INDEX FACTS—PROTECTION COUNTRIES HAVE OUTSTRIPPED THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(1) Total consumption of pig iron.

[Amounts expressed in million tons.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.	France.
1880.....	6.2	4.2	2.6	1.8
1890.....	6.8	9.3	4.3	2
1900.....	7.7	13.6	9	2.9
Increase per cent in 20 years.....	24	224	246	61

(2) Total make of steel, 1880-1902.

[Amounts expressed in million tons.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.
1880.....	1.4	1.2	0.7
1902.....	4.8	15	7.8
Increase per cent.....	240	1,150	1,030

(3) Cotton consumption, 1891 and 1899.

[Amounts given in 1,000 bales.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	European continent.
1891.....	3,384	2,367	3,631
1899.....	3,519	3,533	4,836
Increase per cent.....	4	49	33

(4) Analysis of British imports, 1890 and 1900.

[Amounts expressed in million pounds sterling.]

	1890.	1900.	Increase.
Food and tobacco.....	177.4	219.7	42.3
Foreign manufactures.....	63.2	93.2	30
Raw materials for home manufactures.....	165.0	192.0	27

(5) Comparative imports of raw material for all industries.

[Amounts expressed in million pounds sterling.]

Year.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
1890.....	165	89	94
1900.....	192	140	121
Increase per cent in 10 years.....	16	57	29

HOW FREE IMPORTS DEPRESS WAGES—A CONTRAST, 1890 AND 1902.

Produce of British labor.

Exported from United Kingdom:	
1890.....	£289,868,743
1902 ^a	259,212,625
Decline.....	656,118

Produce of foreign labor.

Imported into United Kingdom:	
1890.....	£73,218,167
1902.....	99,050,648
Increase.....	35,832,481

NOTE.—Even upon the figures of this latter table our fiscal system provided last year at least £80,000,000 of wages for foreign workmen, chiefly in competitive trades. But when it is remembered that "articles wholly or mainly manufactured" are now coming into the country at the rate of £135,000,000 a year, it is certain that "free imports" are now finding annually about £110,000,000 worth of employment for workmen in foreign trades at a time when the unemployed in this country are rapidly increasing.

Take the state of trade exhibited in the following statistics, and summarized in the figures given above. In this instance, as in that of Germany, we prefer, in the desire to conduct the inquiry in a sober temper, to run the risk of understating the case rather than of exaggerating it. We therefore do not use the board of trade returns, which include cost, freight, and in-

^a Excluding new ships.

insurance in the value of United States imports, and estimate British exports in terms of home cost only. The fair comparison is to set the value of American goods at American ports against the value of our goods at our ports. We imported from the United States in 1901 to the enormous total of £108,000,000. The United States, in return, took the produce of the United Kingdom to the extent of something over £18,000,000 only. We purchased from our great protectionist competitor exactly six times as much as she purchased from us. We question whether there has ever been anything like that disparity in the commerce of nations.

HOW THE MCKINLEY ACT INJURED GREAT BRITAIN.

Up to the adoption of the McKinley Act our exports to the vast and rapidly increasing people, to whom we were as valuable as nearly all other customers put together, had shown their natural increase. We threw our ports open to American trade. The great tariff policy associated with the name of the late President was meant to shut out ours. It has succeeded with tolerable efficiency. The board of trade figures also tell their own tale; and though the comparison they suggest is not quite so black as it looks, owing to the fact that the freights included in the cost of the American products are mainly earned by British ships, the statistics show with perfect accuracy how our exports to America have been beaten down by protection and how her sales on this side have increased under free trade by leaps and bounds. In the year before the McKinley Act came into force the account was as follows:

Year 1890.	
Imports from United States.....	£97,280,000
Exports of British produce.....	32,000,000
Now look at the reverse of the medal after unconditional Cobdenism has been pitted for twelve years against consistent McKinleyism:	
Year 1901.	
Imports from United States.....	£141,000,000
Exports of British produce.....	18,390,000

In other words, America has increased her sales to us by about 45 per cent. She has actually cut down her purchases from us, in spite of the immense expansion of her population and industry, by more than 40 per cent. There is not much pabulum here for those who maintain that protection stifles the commerce of countries adopting that heresy, and that free trade alone is enough to promote the interests of those who meekly imbibe the pure milk of that word. And if these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? The prospects of any drastic modification of the American tariff, as suggested in Mr. McKinley's last memorable speech, have disappeared with the tragedy at Buffalo. To the power of the tariff has now been added the power of the trusts. The most tremendous organization ever known in the sphere of international competition is rendered impregnable by an ironclad defense against the efforts of all external rivals. It is developing an immense equipment with which to attack in the future its rivals in their own market. And upon this side there is no obstacle whatever to its operations. Its strategical base upon the other side of the Atlantic is unassailable. Upon this side it can strike whenever it pleases at our center.

GREAT BRITAIN GREATLY FEARS OUR "TRUSTS."

The policy of the steel trust has been repeatedly declared by Mr. Schwab. Sooner or later it will be put into practice, and we shall have to meet it. In that day some minds which are dark to the meaning of Mr. Chamberlain's warning may regard it under a very different light. The steel monopoly, with a capital of over £300,000,000 sterling, has been occupied since its foundation with the home demand. That demand is building up to still more menacing dimensions its formidable power. When the American boom breaks, as it must eventually, the immense process of massed production, upon which the whole position of the steel trust is based, can not be suspended.

There can be no shutting down. The output must be maintained, and a market must be found for it. If it does not exist at home, it must be created at any cost abroad. Mr. Schwab has never concealed what is the intention of his directors when that emergency arises. It is to descend upon foreign markets, and, above all, upon the British market, with the full weight of the industrial power which is accumulating behind the American protectionist system like water behind a floodgate. A special project of Mr. Schwab's is to strike in between England and her colonies, and to "cut off" our export, as he once expressed it, to Canada, South Africa, Australia, and India alike. Some day the steel trust will be supplemented by a cotton trust. America is manufacturing more and more of her own cotton in her own mills. Every other country has some guaranty against the swamping of its home and foreign markets by the trusts. We have no guaranty, and if we still have none when the boom breaks in America itself we are likely to meet with surprises in the fight for trade hardly less remarkable than our military astonishments at the beginning of the Boer war.

This situation at once brings us to the root of the argument. What does free trade mean? When Cobden and his companions introduced that system they imagined that all the world would follow our example. By free trade they meant free exchange—the throwing down of the barriers on each side. This is the only state of things under which trade could be free. In that sense, free trade does not exist—it has never existed. There is no such thing. What we have are free imports only. We do not say now that this system is necessarily bad in itself, but let us call the system by the name which corresponds with facts. We have a free importation of foreign products; but to British products no important foreign market in the world is free. The conditions of equal and untrammelled exchange which Cobden and Bright prophesied, we repeat, do not exist and have never existed.

In one word, we have been told for a couple of generations that no sane mind could question the elementary wisdom of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. We were assured that even free imports, in default of free trade, would secure for us a blessed permanence in the former advantage. But what is the summary of the matter with regard to our commerce with America even more than with Germany? Our exports to the fatherland are either stationary or declining, apart from coal and herrings, while its exports to us are growing rapidly. While America, since the adoption of the McKinley Act, has increased her sales in this country by 45 per cent, our sales to her have gone down by 40 per cent. We are certainly buying in the cheapest market. But, so far from selling at the same rate, or at anything like it, in the dearest markets, we are gradually ceasing to sell at all. That is the argument which knocks the bottom out of the whole contention of unmitigated Cobdenism.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON VS. ADAM SMITH.

Our practical business is to use every effort we can to seek compensation within the inter-imperial market for our increasing disadvantages in the extraimperial. What Mr. Chamberlain proposes is a mild form of preventive

But paid by the British consumer. Contrary to the general impression, America pays us very little for freight. The great volume of our Atlantic trade is inward, and the British consumer pays the import freights exactly as he pays his railway rates.

inoculation with American principles. Under any circumstances, Washington could not logically, much less justly, object to the partial application, in our interests, of methods which she declares vital to her own. The American protective system was founded immediately after the Declaration of Independence by Alexander Hamilton's famous memorandum. That document has influenced "the wealth of nations," in the long run, more than Adam Smith. Germany, like every other continental country, has followed the American example, not ours. The Republic is the patentee of tariffs. She sells to us, as we have shown, six times as much as she buys.

We have shown that the mass of our European trade in recent years has been absolutely and relatively far less than is generally imagined. But now let us take the character of that trade; let us take its progress. A glance at the subjoined figures will show that our continental commerce has been steadily declining with respect to manufactured articles for the last thirty years. In the character of our trade as a whole there has been an immense deterioration. We showed on another page that our exports to Germany were sinking except in respect of coal and kippers. The same statement is true of our sales to all our industrial competitors—to France, Holland, Belgium. And not only of them, it is true of Europe as a whole. But what, it may be asked, is the explanation of so strange a mystery? How does it happen that the reality of decay has been concealed under every appearance of progress? Leaving out new ships, which were not introduced into the returns until the other day, the course of our European commerce in twenty years would present to the casual eye a not unpleasing picture.

BRITISH EXPORTS TO EUROPEAN COUNTRIES—AN APPARENT GAIN BUT AN ACTUAL LOSS.

1882.....	£85,300,000
1902.....	96,100,000

The apparent increase, therefore, is not much—less at the best than the rate at which not only German and American, but even French manufactured exports have increased in the same period. But still the comforted Cobdenite may protest there is some progress. Alas! there has been no progress at all. Beneath the surface of these delusive statistics our exports of manufactures to the Continent have been steadily sinking for nearly thirty years. We have made up the balance and effected an apparent increase, not by sending our competitors more manufactures, but by sending them less and less manufactures, and more and more coal to manufacture with. We have been parting with more and more of our fixed capital in order to help our foreign rivals to swell their current profits. It is coal, and coal alone, which explains the mystery. Coal, and coal alone, has concealed the truth about the condition of our foreign trade.

And now to our figures. We do not share the opinion that in view of remote contingencies we should hoard our coal as Indian peasants do their silver. If nothing but keeping that residuum locked up in the country would prolong our industrial life by a few decades in the far future, we should be, in any case, past saving. Let us, by all means, sell what we have that is marketable, and get the money for it, instead of refraining from immediate business through the preoccupations of a remote and problematical future. But at the same time do not let us mistake one thing for another. Do not let us think that we are maintaining our manufacturing position because we are merely selling more coal.

A workman out of employment might as well boast of maintaining his position by selling his tools. We might continue to do a roaring trade in the way of disposing of our primary raw material to foreign producers if every loom and forge in our own country were stopped. Excluding the new ships entered since 1890, which would only vitiate the value of the comparison, we now give the following remarkable table showing the decline of our European trade in everything but coal during the last thirty years. The figures in the left-hand column are taken partly from Prof. Adolph Wagner's excellent and careful study in "Agrar-und Industriestaat" and partly from the Blue Books. With respect to coal we have ourselves taken the thirty years' figures from the Blue Books.

Total British exports to all European countries (in years of maximum and minimum trade) compared with exports of coal, 1872 to 1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Years of maximum and minimum trade.	Total exports.	Coal.	Exports minus coal.
1872 ^a	108.0	7.2	100.8
1879 ^b	79.5	5.3	74.2
1882 ^a	85.3	7.1	78.2
1886 ^b	74.0	7.4	66.6
1890 ^a	92.4	14.2	78.2
1894 ^b	83.4	13.1	70.3
1896 ^a	87.3	12.0	75.3
1898 ^b	93.2	14.1	79.1
1899 ^a	103.6	18.3	85.3
1900 ^b	115.2	30.7	84.5
1901 ^a	98.7	22.9	75.8
1902 ^b	96.1	20.4	75.7

^a Maximum year.

^b Minimum year.

There is no getting over this statement. It is one upon which it would be impossible for Englishmen to ponder too earnestly or too long. There have been fluctuations for good years and bad. In periods of inflation there has been a temporary recovery. But, on the whole, the course has been steadily downward. We do not lay all the stress upon 1872, by far the greatest season that our European trade has ever known.^a But last year was, on the whole, an excellent year, and 1879 was the bottom of a period of severe depression. Yet, in spite of the increase of 20 per cent in our own population and the still larger ratio of development that machinery has given to our productive power—in spite of the immense concurrent growth of the population and the wealth of Europe—we sold to that continent, apart from coal, little more in 1902 than we had done twenty-three years before.^b Our coal shipments had risen in the interval from over £5,000,000 to over £20,000,000. All our other

^a 1872 as the last maximum year before foreign competition must necessarily be taken as a basis of comparison with recent maximum years under foreign competition.

^b Deducting herrings as well as coal, we sold actually less to the Continent in a good average year like 1902 than we did in a year of profound depression like 1879.

shipments had crept up from 74.2 millions to 75.7 millions. Herrings alone, as we have already explained, would account for that.

BRITISH EXPORTS OF TEXTILE GOODS HAVE DECREASED.

If a more detailed analysis of the thirty years' figures were made, we should find that another momentous change had occurred. We have been exporting less textile goods and more machines for making them. We have been building ships to compete with our own for ocean freights. We have been equipping the mills and extending the transport service of our competitors. We have been arming them, above all, in times of inflation for the better struggle against us in times of depression. When Mr. Chamberlain says to the nation, "Look to your armor," let every business man exposed to foreign competition, let every workingman in a trade exposed to foreign competition ask himself whether the colonial secretary has spoken too soon.

We know the Cobden Club answer. They will talk with scholastic solemnity of "Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers" and tell us that the apparent stagnation of our European trade is a mere case of decline in values. We shall at once knock the bottom out of that argument. The decline in prices has affected every nation's exports equally. How is it, then, that the manufacturing shipments of every competing country have expanded even in value at a far faster ratio than ours? Upon that point take the following comparison to clinch the argument as to relative rates of increase, new ships being included in the British and German figures:

Manufactured exports (four countries), 1882 and 1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	United States.	France.
1882	217	94	28	76
1902	235	155	84	100

From this we may see that the Cobdenite argument from shrinkage of prices only recalls Mrs. Siddons's famous inquiry, "Will it wash?" and that the answer is decidedly in the negative. The respective percentages of increase in manufacturing trade during twenty years have been as follows: England, 8 per cent; France, 25 per cent; Germany, 64 per cent; United States, 200 per cent. And in our case the whole of the increase has occurred in trade with the great self-governing colonies. Take the figures as we like, they will prove that in the last few decades, since our three great rivals commenced in earnest the giant struggle of universal protection against isolated free imports, our European exports, apart from coal, have shown an absolutely marked and, relatively, an immense decline by contrast with the general progress, not only of Germany and America, but even of France, whom we had considered out of the running.

THE FOREIGN INVASION.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1882.	1890.	1900.	1902.
Exports of British manufactures to competitive countries (all Europe and the United States)	109	110	103	99
Imports of foreign manufactures into the United Kingdom	55	63	93	99
Balance	54	47	10	-----

No one who knows anything of public opinion, or the conditions of business can doubt that a tax, and a stiff one, upon foreign manufactures would be one of the most popular as well as one of the wisest imposts ever levied in this country. Either the foreign manufacturer would pay the duty or the home manufacturer would get the trade. That internal trade, which the free-import system has enabled protected capital to capture, is, as we see, immense. It is better worth fighting for than all the foreign markets of the world. Our fiscal system has thrown this vast business at home into the hands of competitors who shut us out from their sphere abroad. Its recovery would mean increase of output, and therefore cheapening of production, and is indispensable to the success of our renewed assaults in the future even upon foreign markets. The benefits would be shared in the shape of profits and wages by every single class of society. If we can get back that trade, we ought to levy the tax for the security of capital and the advantage of labor. If we can not get that trade, we ought as obviously to levy the tax for revenue. In both cases the foreigner would either pay or fail in our market, precisely as we do in his; and in either case we should soon have the governments of competitive nations offering at last to lower their tariffs in our favor. The free traders may depend upon it that an hour of Lord Lansdowne's "big revolver" will be worth a century of the moral snasion in which Cobden believed and Mr. Disraeli never did. But the present foreign minister's opinion is not only his. It has always been that of Lord Salisbury, as it was the lifelong conviction of Lord Beaconsfield. Few Englishmen of independent mind, we imagine, will regard the figures at the head of this article without a feeling of sheer stupefaction that matters should have remained unmeddled with until they have drifted to this.

GREAT BRITAIN THE DUMPING GROUND OF THE WORLD.

These figures show how in twenty years the workshop of the world has become the dumping ground of the world. But let us be certain of this, that a dumping ground for goods is a slumping ground for capital. That is the key of the whole question, and it is by far the greatest economic and social issue for the nation in the present controversy. Glance again at the statistics heading this argument. Cobden imagined that under his system we should always go on exchanging manufactured goods for foreign food and raw material. While that state of things continued even free imports without true free trade was an ideal system in our industrial interests. We were the workshop, for instance, and America the wheat field. All that we could desire under such circumstances was the unfettered facility to deal. That golden age of free trade disappeared forever before the iron age of foreign competition, when America and Germany after their wars set up in business for themselves. They proved to us that manufacturing power was no monopoly. They repelled our goods from their markets, disputed the ground with us in neutral markets, and, above all, they invaded us in our own.

We are thus struck a threefold blow by every industrial country which puts up a hostile tariff against us and utilizes to the full the free imports system amongst us. We showed in the previous article that our foreign trade, except with our colonies and with respect to coal, has been stagnant for thirty years. In the meantime the foreign trade of the protected countries has

made great strides. Why? Not mainly because of our lack of education, though we need to be better educated. Not mainly because of our lack of energy, though we need some stirring. No; Englishmen in a single generation have not become so stupid or inert as that.

What is this mysterious change in our national intelligence and character which everybody talks about and nobody proves? We are substantially, let us depend upon it, the same men. Why do our foreign competitors, one and all, increase their trade? Largely because they one and all possess in this country the complete freedom of the greatest center of consumption in the world. Why is our trade stagnant? Because it has no corresponding advantage whatever—because our products in their turn can no longer find in the whole world a single market that is free. And not content with being repulsed in every other country we surrender our own. These are not theories. The facts at the head of this article make the reality of the position as patent as day, though not its full consequences.

GREAT BRITAIN HAS LOST THE BALANCE OF TRADE IN MANUFACTURES.

Twenty years ago we sold twice as much manufactures to our European and American competitors as we purchased from them. Ten years ago the balance was still substantial. Three years ago it existed. Now it has disappeared, and by the complete inversion of the whole Cobdenite expectation we are not only dependent upon foreign nations for food and raw material, but we actually purchase from our chief rivals more finished goods than we sell to them.

If the balance is against us upon the manufactures, how in the end are we to pay for our imported food—for the cheap food which is evidently to play so large an electioneering part in this issue? As a matter of comparing predictions with facts, the prophecies of the early free traders seem to have turned themselves topsy turvy and to be all walking toward fulfillment upon their heads.

Richard Cobden was a manufacturer. A very large majority of manufacturers in this country have been convinced by bitter experience that the only wisdom in these matters is justice; that for equal progress in the world's trade we require equal opportunity; and that tariffs ought to be met by tariffs and freedom offered only in exchange for freedom. It is not an unreasonable presumption that if Richard Cobden were in presence of the state of things under which Europe and America not only supply us with food and raw material, but sell in our home market more manufactures than they purchase, his masculine intelligence would repudiate doctrinaire disciples who tell us that, however much we may be handicapped in trade by the fiscal methods of other nations, England's only policy is impotence.

Preference is the only guaranty of increased supply and future cheapness. But for the cabinet inquiry, we presume, and for the ordinary man the determining question will not be what is Mr. Sauerbeck's index number of the current price of food, but what are the position and prospects of our national prosperity—the future security for capital, employment, and wages. What, therefore, is the measure of our relative well-being under free imports? Let us take the various tests that eminent statesmen in admirable speeches have proposed in the course of recent debates.

There are two classes of free-trade critics, the optimists and the pessimists. Two irreconcilable conceptions of our social state are, indeed, often most incongruously mingled in the same speeches. The workingman is told that his condition is one of unparalleled prosperity under the unparalleled success of free imports. Let that should not move him, he is also told that a whole third of the working classes in this country are on the brink of starvation after fifty years of free trade. These inconsistent dialecticians can not have it both ways. They must really declare on which horse they mean to win, and they must decide whether they mean to argue that we ought not to change free trade because we are prosperous, or that we dare not change it because we are wretched. Let us take the optimists first, or at least their optimism first. Lord Goschen has referred, in a fine oration, to the evidence of the savings-bank deposits.

Those deposits in the free-trade island seem satisfactory. But how do they compare with the savings-bank deposits of the peoples under protection? We do not ourselves think the point of any real importance either way, for the reason that the British workingman is a heavy consumer. He saves less out of higher wages than his continental brethren, or their wives for them, contrive to save out of lower. The international figures may prove that improvidence rather than poverty is the complaint of the British workingman. They certainly prove nothing as to his exceptionally prosperous state under free trade. In the "Journal de Statistique Suisse," M. Fatio gave the following estimate of the savings-bank deposits in different countries per head of population:

Savings banks in eleven countries, 1900.

Country.	Per head of population.
Denmark	£ s. d. 15 11 6
Switzerland	13 0 2
Germany	7 10 6
Norway	7 8 7
Australia	7 6 4
Belgium	6 7 0
United States of America	6 4 10
Austria-Hungary	5 8 3
Sweden	5 1 0
France	4 8 3
Great Britain	4 2 3

The only country, therefore, which possesses free imports is at the bottom of the list. Cobdenism is not necessarily to blame for that, but certainly the Cobdenites had better leave the savings banks out of the question.

But others rely rather upon the income-tax returns, as shown in the "Statistical Abstract." Let us examine them. For many persons in the country it is apparent that they form something like the bedrock of fiscal faith. Successive chancellors of the exchequer dwell with complacency on budget nights upon the increasing yield of each penny in the impost. Lord Rosebery points out the augmentation in ten years of the amount of income on which income tax was received. The following are the figures:

Total income taxed.

1891-92	£537,000,000
1900-1901	591,000,000
Increase	54,000,000

Lord Rosebery regards this increase as evidence that we have not done so badly under free trade. But how has Germany done under protection? We take the following figures from a German pamphlet by the Cobdenite

economist, Prof. Lujo Brentano, written to demonstrate the advantages the Kaiser's subjects have derived from their modern industrial development:

National income, Saxony.
[4,000,000 inhabitants.]

Income, 1879.....	£52,000,000
Income, 1892.....	85,000,000
Increase, 13 years—1879—1892.....	33,000,000
Income, 1899.....	114,000,000
Increase, 7 years—1892—1899.....	29,000,000

Our increase (for 40,000,000 inhabitants) in 10 years, 1891—1901..... 57,000,000

Allowing for the fact that we are here dealing with the total returns of a little people, while our figures apply only to incomes over £160, it must be apparent that income is increasing far and away faster in industrial Saxony under protection than in industrial Britain under free trade. And now take the figures for Prussia under Doctor von Miquel's income-tax system. It has, indeed, a finer mesh than our own, and takes in those who have £45 a year. To make the comparison more suggestive and useful, we quote from Professor Brentano's statistics, first, the total income-tax figures for Prussia, and, secondly, the figures almost exactly comparable with our own for incomes over £150:

Prussia (population 34,500,000).

Year.	Total income taxable.	Total of incomes over £150 per annum.
1892.....	£286,000,000	£161,000,000
1900.....	392,000,000	221,000,000
Increase.....	106,000,000	60,000,000

We do not care whether the larger increase for the whole Prussian nation, or the figures for the well-to-do classes only, be taken. In each case they prove that the prosperity of Prussia in the last ten years, under the Caprivi system of reciprocal tariffs, has increased more rapidly in the aggregate, and much more rapidly per head, than has the prosperity of this country in the last decade of isolated free imports, during which our manufactured exports to Europe and America have decreased, while their sale of finished goods in our home market alone has risen by leaps to a present annual value of over £100,000,000 sterling.

CAPITAL IN THE UNITED STATES HAS GROWN MUCH FASTER THAN IN GREAT BRITAIN.

But if this has been the case with our continental competitor, the contrast with America is infinitely more serious. Across the Atlantic capital is accumulating with incomparably greater rapidity than it has recently done here. The American manufacturer pays no income tax, and we have not the advantage of the returns; but there can be no doubt that capital in the United States now possesses a much greater accumulative and progressive power than does capital in this country. Mr. Carnegie, who ought to know, has always maintained that the main strength of American business depends upon the almost absolute command of its home market, secured by the tariff.

The Americans have great natural resources. But their idea of efficient organization absolutely rejects dumping-ground principles as a system incompatible with the encouragement of enterprise and the confidence of capital. Every protected manufacturer makes for two markets. He has a monopoly of his own, and freedom in ours. The governing law of cheap production is quantity of production. The larger the output the lower the cost. The foreign capitalist who makes for two markets, the one from which he excludes us by tariffs and the one to which we admit him by free imports, must and does possess an immense pull over the British manufacturer, who only makes for one market and is never sure of that. Pure free trade may be an indisputably sound principle. The combination of hostile tariffs abroad and free imports at home, giving the foreign producer the best of both worlds—that, it will be seen, is a principle which the common sense of the country must investigate and will, indeed, reject.

By all means let us look hard at our bargain, but let us apply the criterion of uncompromising common sense all around, with some little contempt of pious superstitions in politics. Let us adjust our living interests to the real conditions of the living world about us, in the remembrance that the theories of dead men and the doctrines of a dead period are, on the face of things, unlikely to be true forever. Darwin's law of the struggle for existence has taught us that survival depends upon adaptation to environment, upon the power of a living type to change as all around it changes. That is the iron rule for nations as for nature.

THE UNITED STATES KNOWS HER BUSINESS.

In spite of the alarming predictions of the Cobden Club the United States adopted the McKinley tariff. They knew exactly what they wanted; they believed that the more completely they secured their home market for home enterprise the higher would be the development of their internal industry and the greater, therefore, its success in foreign trade. No estimate was ever more brilliantly verified, against all the calculations of the prophets of free imports, like the late Mr. Gladstone, who declared, we believe, that America was not naturally fitted to excel in the production of iron and steel. The steel trust, with its £300,000,000 of capital, has been created since then. What McKinleyism meant to the textile and tin-plate trades in this country we know, but this is what it meant to America herself (Sir A. E. Bateman's memorandum on foreign trade):

American exports of manufactured articles.
[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Decade before the McKinley bill:	
1880.....	21
1890.....	^a 31
Decade after the McKinley bill:	
1891.....	35
1900.....	^b 90

There is no putting back the clock in that contrast.

Germany, under Bismarck, abandoned the system of approximate free trade in 1879 in the teeth of her doctrinaires. She has since achieved the marvelous expansion in manufacture and commerce with which we have had cogent reason to be well acquainted. She has stopped the stream of emigration from her shores; that is the test. The Kaiser's subjects would have continued, as before, to flow abroad by millions if prospects of prosperity previously unknown had not been opened up at home after

^a 33 per cent increase.

^b 190 per cent increase over 1890.

the free-imports system was abandoned. No competent witness can deny the immense subsequent increase of employment and the remarkable advance in the general well-being of the German people. These things have occurred in spite of the strangely misinformed comments of the Radical press, and even of some Unionist free traders upon the Socialist successes in the Reichstag elections. It is when Jeshurun is waxing fat that he kicks most lustily against a jack-boot system. Prosperity increases the sense of democratic independence. The Socialist party in Germany was founded and became formidable under approximate free trade, and only complete ignorance of German conditions can imagine that the army of protest under Bebel and Singer would be disbanded by free trade. Nothing will arrest its progress but the concession of responsible parliamentary government—a remote remedy. In the meantime our purpose, again, is to look at the facts. (Sir A. E. Bateman's memorandum on foreign trade.)

German exports of manufactured articles.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

1880 (when free trade was abandoned).....	83
1890 (10 years after).....	^a 107
1900 (20 years after).....	^b 149

This has not been due to the tariff alone; other causes have cooperated. But what these figures absolutely prove is that free-trade theories can not be so important as their professors would have us believe. Free trade may be excellent, better trade is better.

But the case of France is the most remarkable of all. The Méline tariff of 1892 was the negation of free trade. Upon every calculation of the Cobden Club it should have ruined the French export of manufactures. But what has happened? They have increased more rapidly and steadily than before. Observe the following figures for maximum years of trade:

French manufactured exports.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Before the Méline tariff:	
1882.....	78
1890.....	80
After the Méline tariff:	
1893.....	70
1902.....	95

Our foreign trade has shown nothing approaching this ratio of increase for thirty years, and this in spite of the colossal burdens of the French people—a national debt twice as large as our own (also far heavier bounties and subsidies to shipping), and a normal peace taxation equal to our recent war taxation. France has diminished her exports of raw material, but increased her sales of finished articles; while of us, apart from our colonial trade, the converse has been true. Here are all the prophecies of the Cobden Club falsified by facts in three cases as widely different as could well be imagined. We are familiar with the orthodox explanation in the case of America. She has succeeded, we are assured, on account of her boundless resources; not because of protection, but in spite of it. Could anything be more ludicrous than this solemn affectation of superior intelligence by our doctrinaire mandarins at the expense of the most acute business nation in the world? Americans, for their part, adopted the tariff in order to secure certain results; they believe the results have been secured through the tariff, and could not have been secured without the tariff. Germany is a poor country, with a bad seaboard, which can not compare with our own in its natural advantages for industry and trade, and it has doubled the heresy of protection by the heresy of conscription. Upon free-import principles, if the tariff succeeded in the United States, on account of their enormous internal resources, it ought at least to have failed in the Fatherland. According to Cobdenite doctrines the competitive success of the German people against a nation like ourselves, enjoying all the blessings of a small army, a popular government, open ports, and unlimited cheap consumption, ought to have been impossible. But German manufacturers and the greater majority of the German people are as convinced as Americans that the development of home production secured by the tariff is the true basis of successful attack upon foreign markets. In France, where the old free-trade party is becoming extinct, no widespread section of public opinion thinks for a moment of reversing M. Méline's economic policy.

GREAT BRITAIN'S COMPETITORS PROVE FREE TRADE A MISTAKE.

Of the four chief trading nations the country under isolated free imports is the only one which has shown, apart from coal and the colonies, a complete loss of expansive force in foreign trade. For each of its three rivals, in varying degrees, the tariff has meant encouragement of capital, stimulation of enterprise, activity of invention, the rise of new industries, the increase of profits, wages, and employment, and the improvement of relative position in international trade. In all these cases the Cobden Club was confident, and in all these cases it was wrong. Those who disregarded its insular traditions and shaped a new policy to the needs of new times are perfectly satisfied with the results. The question is whether, with far more favorable opportunities, as the figures at the head of this article suggest, for the strengthening of home trade and the expansion of exports, we should not derive similar results from an analogous policy. In this rapid sketch of the great reaction from free trade, which has transformed the conditions of competition and the whole economic outlook of the world, we have given thinking men some additional reason to mistrust the loud dogmas of radicalism resisting change, and the stopped-clock theory of political wisdom.

This, then, is the real issue before the country. Are free imports under present conditions a check on industrial efficiency and national progress? Does Cobdenism prevent the development of employment? And would preference increase it? Is a dumping ground for goods a slumping ground for capital? These are searching questions. The early free traders, to do them justice, never for a moment pretended that cheap food was in itself the primary condition of prosperity. They knew that prosperity depends far more upon the activity of enterprise and the demand for labor. They rightly advocated free imports as the best means in their time for developing production and facilitating exchange. These are still our objects. Free imports have ceased to promote them. Let us see why.

PROTECTION RAISES THE VALUE OF LABOR.

Richard Cobden, in his first speech to the House of Commons, said: "I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the rate of wages has no more connection with the price of food than with the moon's changes. It depends entirely on the demand for labor." But what makes the demand for labor? Ask those who have done most in the modern world to create it—men like Mr. Carnegie in America, the Krupps in Germany, or the late Lord Armstrong, whose life work converted a stretch of green river bank into a vast arsenal employing nearly 20,000 men. Cheap consumption alone never yet created a Pittsburg, an Essen, or an Elswick. The history of the Lancashire cotton industry is the record of one long triumph of mechanical invention, and no free trader would pretend, we imagine, that the repeal of the corn laws was comparable in importance with the improvement of machinery.

^a 29 per cent increase.

^b 79 per cent increase over 1880.

The key of competitive power in the modern age is the encouragement of capital. Now, it is obvious that tariffs in countries like America, Germany, and France mean the maximum of security for capital and the maximum of inducement. Free imports making one country the dumping ground for the surplus of all the rest and exposing the home manufacturer to the attacks of foreign rivals, who are all protected by their tariffs from his counter operations—free imports under these circumstances must necessarily mean the minimum of security for capital and the minimum of inducement. That is our real industrial malady. That is our real national peril.

Here, indeed, we have the Cobdenite in a quandary. He is not really satisfied with the condition of national trade. When he is discussing education his pictures of our industrial prospects are appalling. When he opposes Mr. Chamberlain his optimism is strictly ad hoc. Every competent observer in this country agrees, as a matter of fact, that if we are to maintain our commercial supremacy there must be an immense stimulus of the enterprise—that is to say, the expenditure—of capital. * * * Again, we have British capital discouraged and British employment decreased by hostile tariffs, and still the influx of foreign manufactures into this country increases at the rate of £30,000,000 a decade; foreign capital is encouraged and foreign employment increased by our free imports. "A mad world, my masters"—or rather a shrewd enough world with an inimitable island in the midst.

A correspondent requests us to clinch the case by showing in detail in what trades our progress has been paralyzed and in which articles the imports of foreign manufactures have increased. We therefore give the following comparison. Look on this picture. It shows:

British manufactured exports in ten leading lines.
[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1890.	1902.
Iron and steel	31.5	29.0
Steam engines and machinery	16.4	18.7
Hardware and cutlery	2.7	2.1
Cotton manufactures	62.0	65.0
Linen	5.7	5.4
Woolens	20.4	15.2
Apparel	5.6	6.2
Haberdashery	2.1	1.7
Earthenware	2.5	2.0
Chemicals, drugs, etc.	8.9	9.5
Total	158.8	155.8

And look at the opposite picture:

Manufactured imports into United Kingdom in leading lines.
[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1890.	1900.
Cotton manufactures	2.3	4.7
Glass manufactures	2.0	3.2
Iron and steel manufactures	3.1	8.3
Leather goods	8.4	11.1
Silks	11.3	14.2
Woolens	11.1	11.4
Paper and pasteboard manufactures	1.9	4.4
Watches and clocks	1.2	1.9
Zinc	.4	.5
Miscellaneous	19.6	28.0
Total	61.3	87.7

These, we repeat, are astounding figures. What would Cobden have thought if he could have foreseen the time when we should be buyers of cottons as well as buyers of corn—buyers of metals as well as buyers of meat; and when our imports of textiles and iron would show in one decade a greater absolute increase, an immensely larger relative increase, than our exports of these commodities?

Not is there any mystery about the process by which our trade, apart from the colonies, is driven in at the circumference and attacked at the base. The American has his home market of nearly 80,000,000 souls and ours of 40,000,000.

The German has his home market of nearly 60,000,000 souls and ours of 40,000,000. The British manufacturer has to share his only free market with all his rivals. It is not possible for insular capital to compete under these conditions, or for insular enterprise to survive. * * *

It is as certain that capital is discouraged, enterprise repressed, and employment restricted under free imports in this country as that all three have been stimulated during the last decade in the great competitive nations under tariffs. In these circumstances, according to Cobden's admission, the wage-earning classes must suffer from the absence of a keener demand for labor more than they can gain by having their quarter loaf a half-penny cheaper than it might be under preference, especially when every half-penny put upon the loaf would be taken off tea and sugar. If British manufactured exports had increased in the last twenty years in mere accordance with the growth of our population, they would be at least £40,000,000 annually more than they are now. That is the minimum estimate of the rate of loss which hostile tariffs are inflicting upon us.

GREAT BRITAIN'S COLONIAL TRADE ALONE SAVES HER FROM GREAT DEPRESSION.

Colonies and commercial supremacy, exports (minus coal and ships) a
DECLINE.

Year.	Amount.
To protected foreign markets (all Europe and United States):	
1872	£141,000,000
1882	109,000,000
1890	110,000,000
1900	104,000,000
1902	99,000,000

a New ships were not included in the returns before 1899. Since then they have given a fictitious appearance of increase to official estimates of our manufactured exports.

Colonies and commercial supremacy, exports (minus coal and ships) —Continued.
PROGRESS.

Year.	Amount.
To British colonies and possessions:	
1872	£59,000,000
1882	83,000,000
1890	85,000,000
1900	90,000,000
1902	105,000,000

"If figures do not rule the world," said Goethe, "they show what rules it." Nor is it true that figures can be made to prove anything. If honestly handled they can prove but one thing to a clear intelligence, and that is the truth. Wherever there has been a margin of doubt in the evidence we have preferred to understate rather than to overstate the case against free imports, and no assertion of a matter of fact throughout these articles has yet been shown to be either inaccurate or misleading.

For the benefit of those who are prepared to look a fact, whatever it is, between the eyes, we shall now carry the investigation a long step further. We propose not merely to assert, but to prove beyond question, that the whole future of British trade depends upon the maintenance and development of our commerce with the colonies. There we have doubled our dealings in a single generation. Elsewhere our manufactured exports have been either declining or stationary for thirty years. On the Continent our commercial supremacy is actually lost, though it was as complete there in 1872 as it is in the colonies now. Germany's total of exports to European countries already surpasses our total.

Since our trade dropped low under the blows of the McKinley tariff she has gained upon us in the American market and now runs us neck and neck. In the southern and eastern markets of the globe, literally from China to Peru, we just hold our own, our peculiar position in Egypt and our increasing business with our ally, Japan, having gone far to balance adverse influences in other quarters. But with regard to all the world outside of the flag, the total result of our thirty years' trading is that, apart from the exports of coal, with which we feed the competitive power of the Continent, our outward commerce has fallen in annual value by over forty millions sterling. This is the account:

British exports (excluding coal) to all markets outside the Empire.
[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1872.	1882.	1890.	1900.	1902.
To United States	40.6	31.0	32.0	19.7	21.0
To Asia, Africa, and South America	45.0	39.5	49.0	49.0	48.0
To all Europe	100.8	78.2	78.2	84.5	75.7
Total (excluding coal in all cases)	186.4	148.7	159.2	153.2	144.7

BRITISH EMPIRE NO LONGER FIRST IN EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.

Our rivals have shot forward, while we have been pushed back. The overwhelming supremacy we held thirty years, and even up to a dozen years ago, throughout the world, we now retain in the colonies alone. In other words, apart from trade within the Empire, our historic predominance as a country manufacturing for export is gone. It is not merely about to go, or going—it is gone! It has disappeared in a single generation of hostile tariffs, enabling our competitors to develop their home market, and of free imports, enabling them to conquer ours.

The result of thirty years' trading, we say, is that our commercial supremacy, except in the case of our commerce under the flag, has been destroyed. Let Englishmen summon up imagination enough to realize how that statement would have sounded in the ears of their fathers. Then let them look at the proof:

Exports of manufactured articles, 1900 (excluding British trade with British possessions).

Germany	£149,000,000
United Kingdom (including new ships)	140,000,000

This is the result of the decline in the total annual value of our foreign trade in finished goods. They fell by over £27,000,000 between 1872 and the next best year, 1890. They sank once more by £6,000,000 between 1890 and the next high-water mark year, 1900. They have fallen again by a further £8,000,000 in the last two years, which we had imagined to be a period of a rather encouraging character. We can not put the point more plainly. In foreign trade free imports as against hostile tariffs have brought us down in a single generation to the second place. Turn the figures how we like, the inquiry on which the cabinet is engaged will prove that we are not at the top of the poll, and no recounting of the votes will count us in. Let any private man in business ask himself whether, upon the overhauling of his books, he would be content with similar results or with the system that had produced them.

The members of the Cobden Club call upon the high gods to witness that "preference" would sacrifice our traditional position in foreign trade. Free imports, as we see, have already sacrificed our traditional position in foreign trade. Glance again at the figures heading this chapter and you will see that, as we have repeatedly asserted, the colonies alone have saved us. The increase of our business with our own possessions in the last thirty years has more than balanced the decline elsewhere. In the period 1872-1890 our finished exports fell in foreign markets by £27,000,000 and rose in imperial markets by £26,000,000. Between 1890 and 1902 the fall in foreign markets amounted to another £14,000,000, but the gain in trade under the flag was no less than £20,000,000. We set out the statement as follows:

IMPERIAL TRADE—RISE.		
1872-1890	£26,000,000	
1890-1902	20,000,000	
Total	46,000,000	
FOREIGN TRADE—FALL.		
1872-1890	£27,000,000	
1890-1902	14,000,000	
Total	41,000,000	

No folly in politics has ever been more ludicrous than that of the fanatical sect which disparages the value of colonial trade, and in presence of facts like these shuts its eyes and shouts its shibboleths. Look at the following

extraordinary picture of progress in Canada under the preference clause, and in South Africa since the war:

Three years' exports of British produce.

	1900.	1901.	1902.
To Canada.....	£7,600,000	£7,800,000	a £10,300,000
To South Africa.....	12,700,000	17,100,000	b 24,400,000
Total.....	20,300,000	24,900,000	34,700,000
Deduct 1900 total.....			20,300,000
Total gain in annual exports to 2 British colonies in 3 years.....			14,400,000

a Thirty-five per cent increase over 1900.
b Ninety-two per cent increase over 1900.

There is no single market in the world outside the flag in which our manufacturing trade has shown anything like this vitality since the age of foreign competition began. We sell more to India than we do to the greatest continental nation—Germany. We sell more in average years to the Australian Commonwealth, with its 4,000,000 population, than we do to the United States, with its nearly 80,000,000 inhabitants. We sell more to South Africa already than to France and Belgium put together. We sell more to Canada, with its 5,000,000 of whites, than we do to China, with nearly 400,000,000 of yellow men. Last year the Russian Empire, with its 130,000,000 Slavs, purchased from us £8,000,000 worth of our home produce, and grand little New Zealand, with its less than 1,000,000 people, of our own blood, purchased £5,000,000 worth. These facts are so. If they were not so, the cry of the unemployed would long ago have been loud in the land, and the din of many a forge and factory would have been silent.

THE GREAT DANGER IN IMPORTING CHEAP GOODS.

We should long ago have learned that there is no form of ruin more ingenious than the cheap consumption of other people's products, which means the displacement of our own. There could be no form of cheap consumption cheaper while it lasted than that of feeding the dog with pieces of his own tail. It would be a perfect economic process if it did not impair the vital powers of the animal. The expansion of trade under the flag has prevented the public mind from realizing the retrogression of trade not under the flag. Contrary to their wish and intention the colonies alone have saved Cobdenism in this country. It is unlikely that they will go on saving it.

The one certainty of the future is that if we can not maintain and strengthen our colonial trade to compensate for the steady and uninterrupted weakening of our competitive power in purely foreign trade the commercial supremacy of Great Britain will be a dead thing in twenty years.

There is a vague notion abroad that since the German crisis foreign competition has been shaken off, and that the peril which seemed so menacing and immediate a few days ago has become in some mysterious manner less threatening. There is not a vestige of reason for that impression, and the sooner we disabuse our minds of this false sense of security the better we shall be advised. Germany has recovered from her severe check and is again extending her exports with extreme rapidity.

Germany at the present moment is running us closer than ever before. In the first quarter of the present year her exports were only £12,000,000 in amount behind ours. We may take it, therefore, that Germany's rate of trade in annual value is only £50,000,000 behind ours, and this with coal, new ships, and our colonial advantages thrown in upon our side. If our great continental rival continues to overhaul us as rapidly as she has done during the last ten years and is doing now, not even the existing conditions of our commerce with the colonies could save us, as they have hitherto done, and in fifteen years at the outside we should have to chronicle the result of the race for supremacy among the exporting nations of the world as follows:

Commercial supremacy stakes, 1915.—1, United States; 2, Germany; 3, United Kingdom.

This is not a scare picture. It is a calculation as certain, unless some radical change in the conditions take place in our favor, as any result in the rule of three. * * *

If the mother country does not see her way to adopt an imperial preference policy, then the Canadian preference policy is unquestionably doomed.

Not only so. The United States is straining now, since the Birmingham speech, to concede the reciprocity conditions which stop-clock radicalism asks us to refuse. If that ever takes place and the Dominion enters into close preferential partnership with the neighboring republic, then good-by to our Canadian trade and good-by in the long run to Canada. That issue, we think, is fairly argued, and we confidently leave it to the saving common sense of British minds.

AMERICAN GAINS IN ENGLISH COLONIAL TRADE.

American business men, upon the other hand, and especially the organizers of the steel trust, look forward with exceptional complacency to the future of American trade in Australia and South Africa. They have peculiar experience in making for the needs of agriculturists in new lands, and, in the last few years particularly, in tools and machinery they have made rapid progress at our expense. Look at the following figures from the last statistical abstract for the colonies (1887-1901):

American exports to Australasian colonies in 1892 and 1901.

	1892.	1901.	Increase.
To New South Wales.....	£823,000	£2,800,000	241
To Victoria.....	588,000	1,538,000	161
To South Australia.....	265,000	556,000	108
To Western Australia.....	30,000	597,000	1,000
To Tasmania.....	13,000	73,000	461
To Queensland.....	98,000	375,000	282
To New Zealand.....	382,000	1,415,000	270
Total.....	2,200,000	7,264,000	a 230

a Average increase per cent.

Without preference nothing in the future of our colonial trade can be secure—not even that others will not reap where we sowed in South Africa, despite all the toil and sacrifice of the war, for the crowning ornament of the situation in respect of imperial trade is this: We still support in the national debt the burdens of the wars to which we owe our dominion in India and to which the colonies one and all owe their freedom. But in India and the colo-

nies alike what we call equality means that we alone bear the taxation of empire which remains from the winning of those markets, while the foreigner alone enters them upon exactly the same fiscal terms, but free of what we may call the historic tax still charged in the shops of the national debt against every man in this land. For imperial purposes we have free trade and taxation—our foreign competitors upon our own ground enjoy free trade without the taxation. There is only one class of person under free imports who does not enjoy equality in the British Empire, and that is the Briton who made it and still pays for having made it.

Our exports of people, 1902.

11,000,000 British colonists purchased £60,500,000 British goods... £6 (nearly)
78,000,000 Americans purchased only £23,800,000 British goods... 3s.

Twenty years' emigration of British subjects, 1881 to 1902.

To British possessions.....	1,607,000
Present annual trade, gain.....	£10,000,000
To United States.....	3,071,000
Present annual trade, loss.....	£18,000,000

Britain is still the seed-sheet of empire. The seeds she scatters abroad upon the earth are men. The harvests are nations. But whether they rise under the flag or outside the flag, whether to strengthen or to rival the Empire, whether the living weight of our emigrant population is to be cast into the scales in our favor or against us—that is the most vital and far-reaching of our problems. It is in this respect that Mr. Chamberlain's proposals go right to the root of the imperial question and offer for the first time a solution which may make all the difference to the future of our trade and power. A British emigrant who settles in a British colony becomes the most valuable asset in the strength and wealth of the King's dominion. In war, as we saw during the South African struggle, he is a unit of defense. In peace he plays a still more important purpose. He becomes, in the main, a producer of the food and raw material which return to our dense industrial market. But, above all, he remains a steady consumer of British manufactures. For a large part of our working population, whose ears are now besieged by electioneering claptrap on the subject of the dear loaf, the colonial is the real finder of employment, the real payer of wages. He purchases from us twenty times as much per head as does the average United States citizen, and considerably more than twenty times as much as does the average inhabitant of the European Continent. (Colonial and American figures as above. Europe, with a population of about 370,000,000, took last year British exports to the value of just about £100,000,000 sterling, including coal and new ships, or 5s. 5d. worth per head.)

HOW THE UNITED STATES GAINS AT GREAT BRITAIN'S EXPENSE.

This alone furnishes an overwhelming proof of where the real security for the future of our trade resides, or under a preference policy might be made to reside. But when the British emigrant, instead of settling under the flag becomes a citizen of the United States, what happens? He not only takes away his savings and the capital value of his personal efficiency, but he is a unit lost to British power, a unit lost to British production, and, above all, a unit lost to British custom. Instead of taking £8 worth yearly of home goods and providing, therefore, £8 worth of home employment, he does both on the 6-shilling scale only. But that is not all. Settling under a prohibitive tariff, he is another consumer gained for that vast national monopoly—the American home market; he is another producer gained to swell the population and to nourish the industrial vigor of our most formidable competitor; and in the contest for trade supremacy he works with deadly effect in a commercial sense against the country that bore him, and against his fellows at home. We grumble at the British workman. It is because we do not know how to manage him or because our system of free imports, with the lethargy of enterprise and restriction of employment it creates, prevents us from offering him the inducements and opportunities which seem to transform his character when he crosses the Atlantic? America, at least, is only too glad to get him, and when she has got him she turns him into one of the keenest workers in the world. It is notorious that British emigrants are everywhere among the most efficient artisans in the States.

These remarks, it is unnecessary to say, are not prompted in the faintest degree by any feeling of unfriendliness toward America. Friendship with the great English-speaking Republic must remain the foundation of our external policy. The cause of Anglo-American amity would be as little affected by preference on this side as it was by the McKinley tariff on the other side. These are purely business readjustments, which every nation has the right to make, and which every nation but ourselves does make. The cry of retaliation, like the cry of the dear loaf, is part of the mere melodrama of Radical stage management. But what has become a matter of life and death to this Empire is that every nerve should be strained for the purpose of inducing the vast majority of the King's subjects who leave the mother country to settle under the flag. Of the four great expending peoples, the American, the German, the Russian, and ourselves, the British Empire, owing to our utter neglect, under the era of free imports and laissez faire, of the deepest of all our questions, has now considerably the smallest white population. Not only so, but all the others are increasing far more rapidly, as we shall presently show, than we are. Every thoughtful politician has long since realized that our political and economic future alike depend upon the success of some resolute attempt to modify present tendencies and to stop the steady drift of our people away from their allegiance. Year by year, to the number of more than a hundred thousand annually of our best, they are lost, not only to England, but to the Empire; not only to the mother country, but to the flag. Year after year they go to advance the development of the great trans-Atlantic competitor, whose industrial advantages were already almost overwhelming. In the meantime, while the growth of population bounds in the United States, it creeps in the colonies. At the present rate, when the inhabitants of the Canadian Dominion and the Australian Commonwealth alike increase by a poor half million or so every decade, it would be fifty years hence before either of these great States of the Empire counted as much as 10,000,000 souls each. * * *

BRITISH EMPIRE LOSING RELATIVELY IN POPULATION.

Since the free-imports system was completed in 1861 the relative population of the five leading powers of the world has changed approximately as follows: [Amounts expressed in millions.]

Country.	1861.	1881.	1903.	Present rate of increase per decade.
British Empire (mother country and colonies).....	32	42	53	5
United States.....	32	51	78	13
Germany.....	38	46	58	8
France.....	36	38	39	0.3
Russia (Slavs).....	70	90	120	14

Upon this showing the state of the international poll in about seventeen years—a period, let us remember, not much longer than that which has elapsed since Queen Victoria's first jubilee—would come out like this:

Prospective population A. D. 1920.

British Empire (whites).....	62,000,000
United States.....	100,000,000
Germany.....	72,000,000
France.....	40,000,000
Russia (Slavs).....	144,000,000

There is no need after these figures to labor the proof. We need every man. There is this fact further to be considered, that while our increase of population under free imports is of every advantage to our rivals, their increase of population under hostile tariffs, as the trade statistics of the last thirty years show, is of no advantage to us. But if preference were adopted, the figures of the forecast we have given would be immensely modified. The colonies would fill out at more than double the present rate. We should not only keep the vast majority of our island-born people for the flag. Canada would stop the flux across the frontier by which she has lost a large proportion of her inhabitants. The inflow from the American Northwestern States would be stimulated. * * *

We can now form a clear conception of the bearing of the emigration question upon the problem of comparative population and comparative trade. The figures upon the subject divide themselves naturally between two statistical periods. The first, which we shall ignore, stretched from 1815 to 1853—that is, from the battle of Waterloo to the eve of the Crimean war. Within that time about 1,400,000 people left British ports for British colonies, while 2,000,000 went to the United States. But these numbers mean all emigrants sailing in British ships, and include a certain foreign admixture. In 1853 the emigrants of British and Irish origin began to be shown separately. For exactly half a century under free trade, therefore, the statistics of Anglo-Celtic dispersion are thus shown:

British emigration, 1853-1902.

To British colonies.....	3,145,000
To United States.....	6,100,000

If these last six millions had remained under their own flag it would have meant that by natural increase the white population of the colonies would now be double what it is. Instead of exporting £60,000,000 worth of British goods to Canada, Australasia, and South Africa, we should be exporting at least £130,000,000. The force of American competition would be much less formidable, and the whole political and commercial system of the Empire would rest upon a solid basis. But under the influence of the Cobdenite idea, before the age of international competition, it was imagined that Americans would indefinitely continue to send us corn and to take back cottons. It did not matter at all on that calculation whether our people remained under the Union Jack or changed to the Stars and Stripes. There we have the secret of the little England indifference upon the subject of the colonies, which had its original root, let us always remember, in the free-imports principle.

It may be urged, however, and perhaps legitimately, that we carry these reflections too far back, to a period when the opponents of Cobdenism were little wiser in imperial matters than its friends. We have anticipated the objection by reserving details for the more recent period. Let us take, then, the last twenty years. Throughout the whole of that time foreign competition, backed by hostile tariffs, has been recognized as the governing influence of the world of commerce.

What the transfer of our people to the Stars and Stripes and the loss of our colonists to the colonies would mean under these circumstances ought to have been clear enough. But nothing was done, and the following contrast is the result:

British emigration, 1881-1902.

To British colonies.....	1,607,000
To United States.....	3,071,000

The loss of these three millions more in two decades is equivalent by now to the loss of a market for British goods worth £18,000,000 a year. The employment represented by that annual value is taken away from the working classes at home. The demand for their labor is prevented by so much from expanding, and their wages are prevented to exactly the same extent from rising. The productive force of America is proportionately stimulated, and the balance of population is turned still more decisively against us. South Africa, as well as Canada, has exerted in the last few years a strong counteracting influence, but the figures for the last three years show that the large majority of British emigrants are still leaving the Empire:

British emigration, 1900-1902.

	To colonies.	To United States.
1900.....	66,000	103,000
1901.....	68,000	104,000
1902.....	97,000	108,000
Total.....	231,000	315,000

Suppose that half the 300,000 in the right-hand are males with twenty years' work before them at £2 a week. The capitalized value of their personal efficiency would be ever £300,000,000. This is the lowest estimate—undoubtedly a great underestimate—of the living capital which has been transferred in three years from this country to the United States, and it means that the demand for British goods is already nearly £2,000,000 per annum less than it would have been if our emigrants to the United States during the last three years alone had been kept under the flag. This process is nothing short of industrial suicide, and must be arrested at any cost. * * *

GREAT BRITAIN HAS PUT THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE.

If we wish the future power of the Empire to rest upon an adequate basis of population relatively to America and Germany, we must use every effort to win settlers for the flag. In the last twenty years, while we have annexed millions of square miles to the Empire, under the idea that we were opening up new markets to compensate for the effect of hostile tariffs in closing the old, we have been, in reality, putting the cart before the horse. We have been acquiring territory and losing people, and at the present rate the United States and Germany would turn the industrial, and ultimately, therefore, the political, scale against us by numerical preponderance. In face of these fundamental problems of trade and empire, Mr. Chamberlain proposes preference. Mr. Chamberlain's opponents propose—nothing, except that we should put our trust in Cobdenism and keep our principles dry. * * *

The false theory of free imports—Imports and payments, 1883, 1890, and 1902.
[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Year.	British manufactured exports.	Imports of manufactures.	Net exports of manufactures.	Imports of food and raw material.	Percentage of those imports paid for by net manufactured exports.
1883.....	215	53	162	373	43
1890.....	229	63	166	358	46
1902.....	229	99	130	430	30

* Leaving out new ships not available for comparison in the earlier returns.

If the radical theory of the necessity of free imports were true, it would only remain for us to experience the grim humor of an historic witticism. Free imports would be the unavoidable process of compelling us to pay for the razor with which to cut our own throat. That is no loose metaphor. It is, on the contrary, a strictly apt illustration of the severe realities of fact. There is no doubt that for all we import some one must pay. But there is also no doubt that under our present methods, the free imports paid for by one part of the nation are to a large extent killing the capital and repressing the labor of other parts of the nation. The devotees of unconditional Cobdenism believe, as they are bound by their creed to believe, that this assertion is not capable of proof. It is perfectly capable of proof, and we propose to prove it to the satisfaction of any practical intelligence by exposing the immense fallacy which underlies the whole traditional Cobdenite theory of exchange as applied to present circumstances.

In examining our outward trade we have shown beyond question that, coal being deducted from the returns, our exports of manufactured goods made no progress for thirty years, until the total for 1902, entirely owing to the South African demand, surpassed at last the total for 1872.

Our finished exports to the colonies have vastly increased. But that increase has just been sufficient to conceal the steady and heavy decline of our dealings in finished articles with foreign countries. That decline has not taken place in the neutral spheres of South America, Africa, or the Far East, where we are on an equal footing with our rivals, and is therefore not mainly due to our lack of technical education. It has occurred for the most part in our exports to the great protected markets on the Continent and in the United States. The falling off has been directly due to the tariff barriers on every side, which no technical education would ever enable us under present conditions to surmount. In the future, as in the past, any real increase of competitive efficiency on our part would be met by a further heightening of the tariff wall. * * *

FREE IMPORTS NOT BENEFICIAL.

But now let us see with equal clearness what is the truth of our position with regard to imports. The Cobden Club maintains that all imports are equally beneficial and can never be injurious. The whole theory upon which reactionary radicalism regards the dogma of free imports as something little less than a supplement to revealed religion, rests upon this fundamental and demonstrable falsehood. * * *

The essential doctrine of free imports is that all imports being equally beneficial, we can never have too much of them. If we only import at a prodigious rate it does not matter what we import. Since we have to pay, it does not matter how we pay. Does not this theory, on the face of it, look too easy and too beautiful to be true, or to be anything but a plausible imposture, which can deceive no unbiased mind capable of distinguishing between names and things? We shall see in a moment that, as regards the permanent prosperity of the greatest number of the nation, there is a most serious and vital distinction to be drawn between various classes of imports and various methods of payment. But, in the meantime, the Cobden Club is provided with that most dangerous of mental possessions—a fixed theory upon which every possible phenomenon of events can be explained beforehand. They are like the eighteenth-century chemists, who explained everything by assuming the existence of "phlogiston," until the determined search for "phlogiston" proved that there was no such thing as "phlogiston." If it had only happened to exist it would unquestionably have been significant of much. That it was proved a myth after being implicitly accepted for generations as an elementary certainty, shows that there is no security for sound thought but close and vigilant attention to fact. To any mind which is really living and not fossilized, changes of fact must constantly give reason for changes of opinion. Things are always what they are, but there is no more perilous habit of mind than that which assumes that things "must be" what we think they ought to be. It always renders us liable to the unpleasant discovery that "phlogiston" after all does not exist. Now, let us apply these considerations to the present controversy. We shall endeavor to state fairly the Radical theory of exchange.

We shall then apply the test of facts and figures to it. We shall rely on the common sense of the ordinary Englishman to check the result. Another chapter will show what must be our true theory of exchange if the commercial supremacy of this country upon the sea is to be preserved, and if even the prosperity of our home trade is to be safeguarded. We must aim at exchanging to the utmost possible extent manufactured goods and shipping services for food and raw material. We can not continue without certain and grave danger our present tendency to buy, under free imports, more and more finished goods from the protected nations, who take less and less of ours. If we regard the matter from this point of view, we shall perceive that Mr. Chamberlain was unanswerably right in his contention that our present system means the displacement of labor, the restriction of employment, the insecurity of capital, the discouragement of enterprise, and the unmistakable slowing down of our whole productive energy and exporting power. The process of slowing down by comparison with our protected competitors—this, again, is a fact and the whole country is conscious of it.

The consistent assumption underlying the philanthropic theory of commerce is that there can be no such thing in international trade as getting the worst of a bargain. Upon the Cobdenite doctrine of exchange every transaction must benefit both sides, and any kind of transaction is as good as any other kind.

GREAT BRITAIN PLAYING A LOSING GAME.

When you paid, and more than paid, for your food and raw products by your exports of manufactured articles and the services of your ships, and had the utmost possible profit at every stage of the process, it was well. When you sell coal, as last year, to the extent of £30,000,000 sterling and take in return foreign manufactures, much of them carried hither in foreign ships, it is equally well. When your exports of British manufactures increase in the twenty years 1883-1902 by some £14,000,000, while your imports of what

are to a large extent accurately described as anti-British manufactures increase in the same period to the extent of £46,000,000 sterling, it is also well. If your total export of manufactures in 1902 was £235,000,000, while your import of manufactures was about £100,000,000, so that you had only a net manufactured export of £135,000,000 as part payment for food and raw material purchased to the tune of £429,000,000—if this is the present position, it is again well, as every possible position "must be" upon the theory. Once more, if the McKinley tariff cuts our American export of goods straight down by 50 per cent, while we have to pay America a larger bill than before for food and raw cotton, and to pay it by the dividends on trans-Atlantic investments which would otherwise have gone on, as formerly, accumulating at compound interest as capital, it is still well. And, finally, if Germany in 1875 took considerably more finished goods from us than she does now, sending us agricultural and forest products, while now she takes less of our manufactures than she did, but sends us five times as much of her manufactures as she did, what can it be (upon the theory) but well?

Great is the theory which enables you to declare at once that there is nothing wrong with facts like these, and that nothing could be wrong with them if they showed that our shrinking net export of manufactures, immensely reduced, as we see, in the last ten years, had totally disappeared, and the products of our workshops had ceased to contribute one farthing toward the national payment for our gigantic purchases of food and raw material. Let the theorists convince plain people if they can that this tendency is wholesome or that its development can be other than fatal. For here we come to the point where any ordinary person's experience of life and business is worth all the economic doctrine of the schools.

THE ENGLISH ALREADY DEFEATED IN THE INDUSTRIAL CONTEST.

If free imports can never be injurious, what follows? It follows that there is no destructive power in foreign competition. It follows that there is in reality no such thing as competition. When we speak of the "struggle" between commercial nations we are told that we are deluded by military metaphors (although it was Clausewitz, a deeper thinker than Cobden, who declared that economic competition was a form of war, and war only an "altered form" of economic competition). The Cobden Club would have us believe that what we call foreign competition is simply foreign cooperation, and that it can be nothing but a valuable contribution to our own prosperity. Nothing could be more useful, as we have found in all parts of the world, than the commercial "cooperation" of Germany, and nothing could be more comforting than the future prospect of even more vigorous forms of "cooperation" on the part of America! For, as we have said, the "theory" is a beautiful theory.

The only weak point in it is that it is confuted by history, ridiculed by every man's experience every day, and most conclusively disproved by the modern development of international trade. With the discovery of America and the Cape, the overland transit trade of the great German cities like Augsburg and Nuremberg was ruined. So was the maritime supremacy of Venice and Genoa. Their position passed to the Dutch. We in our turn wrested the carrying trade from the Dutch by the most stringent protectionist system ever known—that of the navigation laws, which were the original sinews of the Empire, and which Adam Smith, father of the free-trade theory (not the free-imports theory) as he was, defended on political grounds to the last. There was in that process not much of the mutual-benefit system into which international trade resolves itself in the Cobdenite imagination. Nor did foreign nations think so. They, in the days of our pride, had to consider the danger from British manufactured imports, as we have now to consider the danger from foreign manufactured imports. America and Germany, among others, did not believe at all in the mutual-benefit theory of all international dealings. They believed that "British imports" displaced labor or prevented the development of the industrial demand for labor. They were perfectly right in that belief, as the whole world now admits. By using tariffs to keep down our competition they have both secured a magnificent development of the home market. They both hope to displace this country, and if they progress in the next twenty years as they have progressed in the last twenty they will do it. They will both displace this country precisely as this country superseded the Dutch. But there is no need to labor the point. In private business every man knows that his alternative is success or failure by comparison with his competitors. The same law holds good in international business. Where there are two tenders for an order one gets it and one does not. A new business in an old trade can only get to the first place by relegating those who formerly held that position to the second place. It is the mutual-benefit theory that is false where imports and exports of manufactured articles are concerned. It is the theory of ruthless competition that is true. Foreign manufactured imports into this country, precisely as Mr. Chamberlain asserted, displace home labor and enterprise, or prevent the expansion of home labor and enterprise, just as British competition was a check on foreign industrial development until foreign nations secured their home market by shutting us out.

THE BALANCE OF TRADE IS TURNING AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.

To make this point clear, we now give one of the most remarkable sets of figures we have yet had to present, showing how the profits of commercial exchange, despite the philanthropic theory, are unmistakably turning against us. Sir Alfred Bateman's figures used at the head of this article do not show the full gravity of the case, for, in accordance with customary classification, the chief statistician of the board of trade excludes from his tables of foreign manufactured imports chemicals, wines, and beet-root sugar.^a These are products of skilled industry, like the famous "pickles and jam," and we have reckoned such articles on both sides with the manufactured rather than with the crude commodities. We then get the true analysis of the change since 1875—chosen as a good average year, midway both in time and circumstances between the inflation of 1872 and the depression of 1879—in the character of our trade with the five competitive countries, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and the United States. This is the statement:

British imports from competitive nations, 1875 and 1902.

[From Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, food, etc.....	£117,700,000	£156,100,000
Manufactures.....	50,100,000	116,500,000
Total.....	167,800,000	272,600,000

^aThis understatement is remedied by the new classification adopted for the board of trade returns, which show that imports of "articles wholly or mainly manufactured" are now coming into this country at the rate of £135,000,000 a year.

British exports to competitive nations.
[To Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, etc.....	£8,100,000	£21,400,000
Manufactures.....	71,300,000	57,600,000
Total.....	79,400,000	79,000,000

Thus the total volume of our exports to our five chief competitors was actually less in 1902 than it was in 1875. But the composition of those exports had undergone a portentous change. We sold to Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, and the United States £12,000,000 more raw material than we did twenty-eight years ago and nearly £14,000,000 less manufactures. But in the meantime, while our finished and half-finished exports to these great competitors had fallen from £71,300,000 to £57,600,000, their sales of manufactured goods had increased in our market by 130 per cent—from £50,100,000 to £116,500,000. The significant details for each country may be set out thus:

Manufactures exported to England.

From—	1875.	1902.
Germany and Holland ^a	£10,500,000	£46,900,000
Belgium ^b	8,600,000	19,000,000
France ^c	29,000,000	36,700,000
United States ^d	2,000,000	13,700,000

^aIncrease over 340 per cent. ^bIncrease, 130 per cent.
^cIncrease over 26 per cent. ^dIncrease, 585 per cent.

Manufactures imported from England.

To—	1875.	1902.
Germany and Holland ^a	£33,500,000	£22,000,000
Belgium ^b	5,200,000	6,400,000
France ^c	12,300,000	9,600,000
United States ^d	20,600,000	19,500,000

^aDecline over 30 per cent. ^bIncrease, 23 per cent.
^cDecline, 22 per cent. ^dDecline, 5 per cent.

But the last table is exceptionally favorable to the United States, since 1875 was a poor year for American trade, while 1902 was by several millions the best we had enjoyed for a long period, owing to the temporary circumstances of the trans-Atlantic boom. Each of the continental countries now sends us more manufactured goods than it takes. Germany and Holland send us twice as much finished and half-finished goods as they take and over four times as much as they sent us in 1875. Belgium sends us now three times as much manufactures as she takes and more than twice as much as she sent in 1875. France sends still more than she did in that year, when the disproportion was already great, and takes still less. In a very short time, as we see, the United States will ship more manufactures to this country than she receives from us. We shall still have to balance the account, but not a shilling's value of British goods would be any longer applied to that purpose. All our finished exports would be required to pay for our finished imports.

The account for food and raw material is balanced even now, not by any present earnings of our own, but by the interest upon the savings of a former generation, and must be balanced to a greater and greater extent in that manner. This interest formerly accumulated as additional capital invested abroad.

Under our present system a heavy check is already placed upon that accumulation of capital. Americans are steadily buying back their own securities.^a At this rate the time must arrive when we shall begin to trench upon the capital itself, and nobody is quite sure, or can be quite sure, that we are not trenching upon it now.

Thus the whole elaborate contention upon which our stopped-clock economists rely is a house of cards which comes down if you breathe upon it. "Imports must be balanced by exports, and therefore imports, even of manufactured goods, must employ and can not displace labor." We have just shown that when there is an increase in the excess of imports additional labor need not be, often notoriously is not, employed to make up the balance. We make instead a larger draft upon the income from our foreign investments and pay away on current account what was formerly reinvested. Labor might be displaced to a large extent before the fact was discovered by any difficulty in paying for exports. What is certain at present is that our revenue from our investments abroad and our other invisible exports in the shape of freight must even now be almost pledged to the hilt. We are working so much in the dark upon this matter that immense mischief might be done before we know it. No one can say for certain to a few hundred millions more or less what is the total value of our capital sunk abroad. No one thinks it safe to reckon it at more than £2,000,000,000, or to put the income on it at more than £120,000,000.^b Suppose we add another £70,000,000 for the freights paid to British ships upon foreign and colonial trade. This is the figure usually given. In that case the national balance sheet would stand as follows:

National balance sheet, 1902.

Exports of home produce.....	£282,000,000
Reexports of foreign and colonial produce.....	65,000,000
Invisible exports (freights and income from investments).....	190,000,000
	537,000,000
Deduct total imports.....	528,800,000
Balance.....	10,200,000

That is a narrow margin—even if it exists!^c Any Cobdenite will admit to you that this point is as fairly stated as it can be. The balance upon our

^aThe writer is assured by a great financial authority that they have practically bought them all back.

^bThe Berlin official estimate is that Germany has now £1,000,000,000 invested abroad, and receives £60,000,000 annual interest upon it.

^cThe most extraordinary fact disclosed by some recent efforts to inquire is that not even the greatest authorities upon high finance in the city know whether any balance exists or not.

trading formerly available for reinvestment is coming down by millions upon millions and at the present rate must disappear wholly, if it has not already disappeared. What is already quite certain is that the huge surplus of interest once annually available for reinvestment is no longer available. It is patent to reason that if the McKinley tariff cuts down our export of goods to America by ten or fifteen millions, and outward freights proportionally, while the United States invoice to us for value supplied is greater than ever, we must pay her more out of investments when we pay her less in goods. Our imports are not balanced by our present earnings, whether in respect of goods or freight. They are balanced by the revenue from the immense national fund abroad, which represents the savings of a former generation. If we are not actually beginning to live upon that capital, the process by which a large part of it accumulated up to a comparatively recent period at compound interest has been severely checked, if not finally stopped. When hostile tariffs check the export of our goods, while imports have still to be paid for, what is the practical difference between living on capital and living on the interest which formerly went to the increase of capital? Everyone knows how the financial influence of the city over Berlin and New York has diminished in recent years.

And, finally, comes the simplest and most crushing of all practical replies, the reply of facts to the critic who maintains that imports can never be in excess from a sound business point of view and that imports can never displace labor.

UNITED STATES HAS RUINED BRITISH AGRICULTURE BY PROTECTION.

What was it, in the name of all that is notorious, that displaced British agriculture if it was not our free imports of American agriculture? You may urge that if labor was displaced in the furrow it was employed all the more in the factory. True. We allowed agriculture to be overwhelmed because we had manufacture to turn to. But when your manufacture itself is attacked, as now, in an open market by the power of protected capital, what then? Let no workman be so foolish as to imagine that the fate which reached the farmer and the rural laborer can in no circumstances reach him.

When free imports are pitted against the tariff-insurance system of our rivals, every industry in the protected market is guaranteed, but not a single industry in the unprotected market can consider itself secure. The British silk industry, for instance, was doomed to the fate of agriculture when our ports were thrown open to France. The woolen trade is the most ancient and national of all our manufactures, but while our export of woolen goods is now about £15,000,000 our import of woolen goods is already over £11,000,000. Some older industries have been destroyed; new industries have not been created. The development of the electrical trades, for instance, has been far slower here than it has been abroad—the most significant among all symptoms of the extent to which enterprise in this country has been handicapped in the last twenty years. The foundations of the iron and steel industry are being sapped by the underselling operations of foreign syndicates and rings, against which no counter attack can be directed by the British capitalist. Tariffs protect them. Free imports expose him.

It is perfectly possible for certain kinds of free imports to injure and destroy home industry, while hostile tariffs simultaneously force us, as we have seen, into less advantageous methods of paying for our imports. The sentimental doctrine that international business is a mutual-benefit system in all its forms, and that it does not matter what we import and does not matter what we pay, is demonstrable and dangerous nonsense. To the final profit of our annual transactions both these things matter vitally. So much for the false theory of imports. We shall see in another article what is the true theory of exchange, and we shall be assisted in establishing it by the unconscious evidence of witnesses, who are admitted by free traders themselves to represent the pink of orthodox Cobdenism.

THE TRUE THEORY OF IMPORTS.

Manufactured exports and imports per head of our population.

Year.	Population.	Total manufactures exported per head.		Our manufactures exported to Europe and United States per head.		Our imports of foreign manufactures per head.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1883	35,800,000	6	0 1	3	0 0	1	9 6
1890	37,800,000	6	1 7	2	18 4	1	13 5
1902	41,950,000	5	9 3	2	7 1	2	7 2

^a Upon the revised board of trade classification the true amount of foreign manufactures annually imported per head of our population is £3 5s. We use the old classification in order to keep the figures comparative.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EXPORTS.

The aggregate imports of the country are not given to us. How, then, are they to be paid for? How alone can they be paid for? Not with gold, because we do not export gold. They can only be paid and accounted for in two ways: First, by the goods which we now export to pay for them; or, secondly, as a means of receiving and settling the interest due to us on foreign debts. But how were these foreign debts incurred? By the export of British goods or services in past years, and in no other way. (From the late Lord Farrer's standard statement of the Cobden Club case, Free Trade v. Fair Trade.)

Imports may be regarded as remittances for exports, present or past—present, in the plain shape of goods and shipping services; past, in the foreign loans and investments made long ago, mainly in kind, upon which interest still accrues. Foreign nations are bound to remit what they owe. But, as we shall now show, it makes all the difference to us how they remit; and, while tariffs are regarded by America and Germany—countries, on the Cobdenite view, profoundly lacking in intelligence—as a means of guiding national commerce into the most profitable channel, free imports deprive us of all control over the matter. Our competitors must pay us, but they can pay as they like, and not as we like. No money passes. What is shipped to balance the account is not gold, but goods.

Now, when you are paid in money, you may convert it into what you wish; but when payment is made in kind, difficulties must and do arise as soon as the industrial development of foreign nations enables them to send you what you formerly sent them. So long as they could give you only food and raw material, and were forced to take manufactures in return, they had to remit in the way that suited you, and, your ships getting the freight both ways, the higher your imports mounted under those circumstances the better it was. But when, as now, the competitive nations sell you at least 20s. worth of manufactures for every pound's worth they buy, the case is so much altered that it is as well to listen to Mr. Chamberlain when he advises you to reconsider, after half a century, your business arrangements. For payment in kind being in question, if you are a miller, it makes all the difference whether you are paid in wheat or flour. If you are a shoemaker, it makes all the difference whether you are paid in leather or in boots and shoes. If you are in the woolen line, it is better for your debtors to remit the

fleeces than the cloth. If you are an ironmaster, it is distinctly preferable for you and infinitely preferable for your workmen that national claims should be settled in raw ore rather than in foreign stocks of wrought metal and machinery dumped upon this country at surplus prices.

That is the problem before this nation. Free imports mean that we take more of their finished goods from rivals, who take less and less of ours. Mr. Chamberlain tells us quite truly that we can not maintain our commercial supremacy unless we remember that to exchange, not goods for goods, but goods for food and finished stuffs for raw products, is the vital necessity of our economic position. To secure this process is the whole aim of the preference policy. In no other possible way can it be secured.

THE ELEMENTARY ERROR OF FREE-TRADE REASONING.

The elementary error of Cobdenite reasoning lies, as we have seen, in its failure to distinguish between competitive imports and noncompetitive imports. If we thoroughly grasp this distinction, though some of us may still not agree about preference, we shall approach agreement as nearly as reasonable men can do in reasonable discussion. On account of the clear and scientific distinction they draw between competitive and noncompetitive imports, modern tariffs have nothing in common with the old protective systems which Cobden swept away. Under these systems even raw material had been taxed. Now no progressive country taxes raw material, and Mr. Chamberlain would be the first to repudiate any proposition to tax it. Even the United States places raw materials upon the free list.

American raw cotton and Australian wool enter German ports as freely as they enter our own. In other words, the whole object of a modern tariff is to encourage home production, and preference would not only aim so far at the same end by the same means, but would simultaneously secure by the reduction of colonial tariffs in our favor a larger and freer imperial market. Our industrial rivals welcome all noncompetitive imports. In the case of competitive imports they examine and discriminate. The reason is this: When a country imports what it does not produce at all, or not in sufficient quantity, say in our case things like raw cotton or iron ore, it expands its means of production. Everybody in that country must be benefited, and nobody can be injured. That is the ideal but, to a large extent under modern conditions, the impossible system of exclusive exchange.

The second stage is when a country imports something which it has been itself producing, but which some other land produces unquestionably cheaper. In that case the import may still be immensely beneficial to the nation as a whole, but at the same time must be destructive to the interests of a minority.

American corn is the obvious illustration of a competitive import which injured one class of society for the real or supposed advantage of the remainder. Cobden maintained that free trade would not ruin the farmer. But it did. Most Englishmen have long been agreed that, looking to national safety, the physique of the breed, and the sound basis of society, the work of sacrificing agriculture for the purpose of immediate commercial gain was allowed to go too far.

Germany had to face the difficulty of competitive imports in both its forms at the outset. To build up her home market she raised a tariff against British goods. Nevertheless, if she ceased to produce the greater part of her food while failing to obtain the command of the sea, she would then have the weakest national organization in the world and would fall into a fatal predicament.

For Germany, therefore, home agriculture is an indispensable military asset. That is why the Kaiser's Government has had to keep up a corn law imposing a duty of over 7s. a quarter, or 25 per cent, upon foreign wheat, and that is why the new tariff bill proposes to raise the minimum duty to about 18s. or 35 per cent. This is the maximum, by the way, to which Canadian wheat is already subject for the fiscal offense of having given a preference to the mother country, and as wheat from the United States and Russia pays upon the lower scale, the extent of the disability may be imagined.

FREE IMPORTS IN A FREE-TRADE COUNTRY HAVE PROVED DISASTROUS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

But to recapitulate. In our case, the first and noncompetitive phase of imports—that of raw material—was wholly and universally beneficial. In the second phase, when imports began to be competitive, but meant cheaper food, they were still mainly beneficial, but already, by depressing agriculture, they were partly destructive. But for England, and England alone, the only great industrial country which gives foreign rivalry free footing, the process is advanced to a third and most dangerous stage, where competitive imports in the form of finished goods become mainly destructive and are only partly beneficial. Competitive food imports attacked the interests of agriculture only in favor of manufacture at large. But with competitive manufactures themselves coming into the country in the third phase at the rate of over a hundred millions sterling annually, it is clear that every manufacturing interest in the country is either already attacked or liable to be attacked.

For the farmer, who was told that it was his patriotic duty to be ruined, and that he should scorn, like a true Briton, to protest, there are infinite possibilities of grim humor in the situation. Imports are remittances for exports, no doubt. But if machinery is on the free list as well as ore, we make it as easy as possible for foreign nations to send us the machinery. So with boots and shoes instead of the leather, and woolsens (as now in the case of France) instead of the wool. This, as we have already said, is the process of paying for the razor which is to cut your own throat, and it is a process from which Germany, Belgium, France, and the United States—though, according to the Cobden Club, they are not intelligent countries—take good care to be free. Our failure to distinguish between noncompetitive and competitive imports, and in the latter class between mainly beneficial things, like food products, and mainly destructive things, like foreign manufactures, which take the profits out of the pockets of British capital, and must take in time the cheap bread itself out of the mouth of British labor—this is the vital, the incredible mistake of our commercial system. It is worthy of the country which, as Hegel jested, "calls a telescope a 'philosophical' instrument," and hates inquiring into abstract principles of procedure. America and Germany, let us believe it, are formidable enough in their business methods, without any elaborate efforts on our part to throw every possible advantage in their way. So far from facilitating their efforts to send the highly competitive article, instead of the raw or the slightly competitive article, to this country, we ought to make that process as hard for them in our market as they make it for us in theirs.

For all broad purposes British trade has passed through three historical stages, corresponding to the predominant activity of each of the three main classes of imports in turn. In the first period, extending from the foundations of our industrial supremacy to the repeal of the corn laws, with foreign and colonial merchandise for exportation. This period, as we are beginning to discover, is worthy of far closer study than the ordinary politician for many years has thought necessary to devote to it. Our unenlightened forefathers, as Schiller somewhere suggests, had usually at bottom uncommonly good reasons for their actions. The old mercantile system, like the British constitution, was hopelessly illogical in principle, but in practice worked to great purpose. It was that "system of monopoly," so evil in the sight of our modern commercial philanthropists, which gave us, as a matter of fact, our long "monopoly" of manufacture and the sea. The policy of our ancestors,

Whig and Tory alike, looked to the interest of England, and to that alone, having found in the battle of generations for trade and power that foreign nations could be trusted to look after themselves to the best of their ability.

BRITISH PROSPERITY BEGAN WITH PROTECTION.

The mercantile system was worn out with the changes of the times, as Cobdenism is wearing out. But protection and the navigation laws did not go until they had placed our industrial and maritime supremacy upon a firm foundation. Cobden had nothing to do with the laying of the foundations of our prosperity, as some people imagine, though he enlarged the house and put modern doors and windows—too many of them, perhaps, for the complete security of small property—into its solid old front. It was a protectionist nation that won India and North America in the great trade wars of the eighteenth century. It was a protectionist nation which won the carrying trade of the world, sustained the twenty years' crisis of the revolutionary wars up to Waterloo, founded machine industry, invented the locomotive, and gave an example of triumphant vigor and success, of force of character and genius of mind, such as no people ever has surpassed. We drew in complete safety the raw materials of our industry from every clime. They were worked up here in the central mart and workshop of the world. Then the finished goods went out again, far and wide, to all the nations of the earth that could be reached by traffic from the sea. We laid the world under tribute, and even the power of Napoleon could not break the bond. The armies he led were clothed and shod to no small extent with the British manufactures he prohibited.

That was England before free trade. Cobden and Bright did not possess the distinctively historical mind. In that respect Carlyle read them through and through from the first. They not only hated protection; they hated all that we understand by imperialism. They believed in the near approach of cosmopolitan democracy under universal free trade—an ideal at the present moment more impossible than ever—and their influence was responsible for the generation of weakness and humiliation in foreign policy from which we have only recently begun to recover. We may well wonder whether either Cobden or Bright ever realized the full greatness of the land that bore them or the part played in our national development by the system which they indiscriminately despised. In its later phases the old restrictive method was full of error and mischief, and was carried to ridiculous and pernicious excess. But we have had some reason to question in late years whether in fiscal policy, any more than in other directions, it was a quite wise and farsighted thing to rush from one extreme to another before we were quite sure that other nations would follow our example.

FREE TRADE RUINED ENGLISH FARMERS.

Then came the second era, when imports no longer subject to duties of any kind by which home industry could benefit entered upon their competitive period. Rural England was soon a scene of shrinking culture and dwindling population, and agriculture decayed in spite of Cobden's early assurances to country meetings, on his faith as a farmer's son, that free trade could influence nothing unfavorably but rents. In this second period, however, the complaint of the farmer and the squire was a feeble note of discord lost in the swelling praise of an optimistic nation. The period between 1861, when the last of the old tariff disappeared, and 1876, when the industrial tide was fairly on the turn, was an epoch of marvelous commercial expansion such as no other country has known or is likely to know. In those fifteen years the wealth of the nation must have increased a full 100 per cent before the population had increased 20 per cent. Freights alone were sufficient to balance the apparent excess of imports, and there was in reality a constant excess of exports, which meant an immense accumulation of British capital abroad. In 1861 our total outward trade was £159,000,000. In 1864 it was £212,000,000. In 1872 it was £314,000,000; that is to say, it had expanded 100 per cent in a single decade. During the same period imports rose from £217,000,000 in 1861 to £54,000,000 in 1872—an increase of 63 per cent. * * *

But foreign competition since the general abandonment of free-import principles by other nations after the seventies has introduced the third era of imports—that of the immense influx of untaxed manufactures from countries which keep down our exports by hostile duties. That this process must be mainly destructive to the interests of our industry it is not possible for any cool and searching thinker to deny. The essential falsehood of the Cobdenite theory, as was shown in the previous article, lies in the childish belief that there is no such thing as real competition between nations—that their apparent fight for trade represents in reality the cooperation of nations—and that it can not matter what we import, since we must produce something to pay for it with. Hostile tariffs, as we have repeatedly shown, prevent you more and more from paying for foreign goods by British goods, or force you to pay with coals and herrings where you formerly paid with finished stuffs.

In the former case your home production is directly and obviously discouraged and injured by the fiscal legislation in which foreign nations make you suffer the greatest injury it is in their power to inflict upon you. In the latter case, where you are compelled to sell more coal instead of more cotton goods, and more herrings instead of more iron and steel, you are driven from the higher to the lower forms of production. Upon the balance, so far from your exports of all descriptions, lower and higher, together rising in proportion to your imports of foreign manufactures, you are forced more and more to pay clean out of income from investments—to pay by the sheer equivalent of cash and to spend where you formerly saved. In the meantime free imports of foreign competitive manufactures aggravate the mischief by directly transferring to foreign capital and labor the orders which ought to have helped the profits and expanded the employment of British labor and capital. Our export of manufactures has declined, and is declining, to all the countries which compete. It has risen rapidly with British possessions which do not compete. The latter fact alone has concealed the former.

In one word, the more manufactures we import from foreigners the less we export to foreigners. Overwhelming proof of this statement was furnished by the figures in the previous article. We are almost ashamed to have to demonstrate these truisms to Englishmen. To sum up, noncompetitive imports, such as formed the bulk of our inward trade before the Cobdenite epoch, can injure nobody. All competitive imports must injure somebody. Even when they take the form of agricultural produce they hurt the farmer, though benefiting manufacture. When they take the form of foreign manufactures they hurt the manufacturer and those he employs, and must in the long run hurt everybody.

RELATIVE AND ACTUAL DECLINE IN EXPORTS OF BRITISH MANUFACTURES UNDER FREE TRADE.

To clinch this argument we now give yet another set of figures, upon which we beg every Englishman to ponder, for if he consents to look these facts square in the face we have no doubt of the opinion that he will feel himself bound to form. Some time ago we took the chief staples of British export and showed that in every one of them, with the single exception of machinery, there had been either little progress or positive decline during the last twenty years. In hardware and cutlery, for example, we sent abroad in this branch goods to the value of £4,100,000 in 1882, but that figure dropped to £2,100,000 in 1902. You turn to the Blue Books in the endeavor to trace in detail the causes of this process for half a dozen staple industries. You have only to open the

second volume of last year's Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom and glance at the pages relating to the competitive continental countries. There you will find this startling state of things in respect of various classes of manufacture in which our competitive supremacy twenty-five years ago was absolute:

Imports from England.

Articles.	Belgium, 1902.	Germany and Holland.	France.
Cotton goods	£1,675,000	£3,238,000	£663,000
Linen goods	74,000	262,000	158,000
Woolen goods	781,000	1,457,000	1,559,000
Iron and steel	485,000	1,734,000	634,000
Hardware	55,000	192,000	24,000
Earthenware	42,000	130,000	62,000
Total	3,112,000	7,013,000	3,650,000

Exports to England.

Articles.	Belgium, 1902.	Germany and Holland.	France.
Cotton goods	£2,080,000	£2,383,000	£263,000
Linen goods	207,000	255,000	188,000
Woolen goods	619,000	4,297,000	5,301,000
Iron and steel	2,875,000	2,949,000	121,000
Hardware	185,000	598,000	98,000
Earthenware	29,000	624,000	373,000
Total	5,995,000	11,076,000	7,040,000

Total trade in six staple articles with competitive countries of Europe.

Articles.	Imports from England.	Exports to England.
Cotton goods	£5,376,000	£5,422,000
Linen goods	494,000	650,000
Woolen goods	3,747,000	10,397,000
Iron and steel	2,853,000	5,945,000
Hardware	271,000	851,000
Earthenware	234,000	921,000
Total	13,175,000	24,111,000

But what about machinery, says the Cobdenite, for "upon our theory" you must get your compensation somewhere? But that is the voice of the doctrinaire. To these four countries you export machinery to the value of £4,000,000, and they send you machinery back to the value of £1,550,000, the gain in this one line of staple trade in which we retain our predominance amounting to less than a fourth of the total loss upon the other branches. These tables settle the question. They show it to be an untrue and absurd contention that competitive imports must mean in some mysterious fashion an equivalent development of manufactured exports. They show the system of exchange into which we are forced by the double action of free imports in this country and hostile tariffs in competitive countries to be a destructive system of exchange. "Birmingham and Sheffield," our old geography books used to tell us at school, "are the principal seats of the hardware industry." Will any Radical reactionary or Unionist Cobdenite tell Birmingham and Sheffield that it is to their advantage that foreign hardware should drive out their trade abroad by hostile tariffs and invade this market free to take £800,000 of annual profits and wages out of British pockets?

ENGLISH LOSSES IN POTTERY, WOOLEN, AND COTTON INDUSTRIES.

Will Mr. Chamberlain's opponents go into the potteries and tell them there that it is all for their gain when exports of china and earthenware sink to £234,000 in the four great continental markets, while foreign imports of the same articles from the same places are already taking away their livelihood to the tune of nearly a million sterling a year? The woolen industry is the oldest of our national staples and was the foundation of our industrial greatness. That trade has been harder hit by hostile duties than has any other. Prince Bismarck's tariff, M. Méline's tariff, Mr. McKinley's tariff, Mr. Witt's tariff have dealt blow after blow at the prosperity of Bradford and other Yorkshire centers.

Yet, while our exports of woollens to Germany, Holland, France, and Belgium have dwindled under fiscal attacks to less than £4,000,000, our free imports of woolen goods from the same countries into this open-hearted island have risen to over £10,000,000. Let our stopped-clock economists tell the West Riding that this again is pure advantage, that finished imports mean cooperation, not competition, and that foreign nations only dissembled their love by the tariffs that kicked us downstairs. Then let the comforting pilgrims of the Cobden Club go to South Wales, the Midlands, and the northern ironworks and explain how wise and excellent it is that Germany and Belgium should be able, under free imports, to sell twice as much iron and steel in this market as we are able under tariffs to sell in their market. Finally, let the attention of Lancashire be pointedly drawn to the fact that in cottons, the greatest of all our manufactures for shipment, our imports are increasing absolutely faster than our exports, and relatively are increasing immeasurably faster. Cobden's vision was one of foreign corn pervading the island and British cottons pervading the world. If he could revisit politics at the present moment, when our import of cotton goods from France is already larger than our export to that country, while Germany and Belgium already nearly balance their purchases by their sales, we have not the least difficulty in swearing that Cobden would change his opinion of Cobdenism.

And when we are told that if older industries are injured some new ones must be benefited, we ask, "Where?" Echo answers. The Cobden Club does not. It is precisely in the creation of great new industries, like the electrical trade, that we are most behind the protected countries, which are beating us upon what used to be thought our strongest ground. Or rather they are not beating us. We are beating ourselves by affording every facility to those who subject us to every disadvantage. That all "imports must be paid for" does not prevent competitive imports from making us pay for the razor wherewith to cut our own throat. The early free traders' views depended upon a theory of natural aptitude which fifty years' experience has proved to be utterly fallacious. They thought that nations would devote themselves to the production of different things, and that each would exchange what

it could make best for commodities that its neighbors could make better. But everybody is making cottons, woollens, iron and steel, hardware. Foreign competition means the process by which all the great industrial countries are striving to sell the same things to the same customers. That is what has really revolutionized the problem of exchange.

THE FOREIGNER PAYS THE TARIFF.

Now, what follows? Even after Mr. Chamberlain's ideas become law, which in some shape or another will be the case, we shall be entitled to as large a remittance as ever for exports of goods, freight, and interest. There is not the slightest fear of any reduction in the total volume of our trade, since foreign tariffs have already done us all the harm they can ever do. But if the foreigner would still have to remit, he would have to remit rather differently, or would have to contribute to the revenue of this country by himself paying the duty of at least 10 per cent that would be imposed if we followed German and French examples upon competitive manufactures.

There would be a greater demand here for raw material with the development of home trade that would follow a tariff giving us the same control over our home market that United States citizens and the Kaiser's subjects enjoy over theirs. Raw material being free, a higher proportion of our imports would be remitted to us in that shape. We should import rather less flour than before, but a greater bulk of wheat, so that Atlantic freights would be advantaged rather than otherwise. But the shipment from abroad of competitive manufactures, once they were taxed, would no longer be the most profitable method of balancing accounts for the foreigner.

It would be the least profitable, and by that fact, as we have shown, the cotton trade of Lancashire, the woolen trade of the West Riding, the iron and steel districts, the hardware industry of Birmingham and Sheffield, the potteries, chemical works, glass works, electrical factories, would be at once and immensely advantaged. Our exports would be simultaneously enlarged by freer trade within the Empire, and nothing can be more certain than that foreign nations would lower their tariffs in order to enjoy "most-favored-nation" treatment under ours.

We should, in one word, realize the only sound ideal of exchange, that of encouraging the noncompetitive imports which nourish home industry in preference to the competitive imports which are restricting development at home, abating our power, therefore, to export abroad, and undermining the whole commercial position of the Empire. This is the theory of imports, which our rivals have adopted and worked for twenty years with uniform success. It is time to abandon the false theory of imports in which no commercial nation but ourselves believes. The economic wisdom of the country is not concentrated in the intellects of Lord Rosebery, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. The secret of Mr. Chamberlain's efficiency of mind and action in this, as in other matters, is that he was a man of business before he became the man of empire. With free imports here for every other country and hostile tariffs in every other country for us, we have tried to wage our commercial fight with one hand tied behind our backs. Once cut that knot and the surprising change in the spirit of that contest will make John Bull a harder man to beat and a better man to back than the world around the ring has been inclined to imagine.^a

THE HOME MARKET—GREAT BRITAIN'S HOME MARKET SHOWS SLOW INCREASE.

(1) Total consumption of pig iron.
[Amounts given in million tons.]

	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.	France.
1880	6.2	4.2	2.6	1.8
1890	6.8	9.3	4.8	2
1900	7.7	13.6	9	2.9
Increase (per cent) in 20 years.	24	224	246	61

(2) Comparative imports of raw material for all industries.^a
[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.
1890	165	90	94
1900	192	140	121
Increase (per cent) in 10 years	16	55	29

^a From the British statistical abstract for foreign countries, 1902, pp. 63-73.

MR. CARNEGIE'S OPINION—A PROFITABLE HOME MARKET THE STRONGEST WEAPON TO CONQUER FOREIGN MARKETS.

It is estimated that only one-eighth of Britain's production is exported, but if we consider only manufactured articles we find that in pig iron 2,000,000 tons are made and only 1,000,000 exported. In coal less than one-sixth goes abroad. In textiles of linen one-fourth exported; £20,000,000 produced, £5,000,000 exported. Woollens, £50,000,000 produced, about £14,000,000 exported. In cotton goods alone does the amount exported reach the amount consumed at home. * * * The markets of uncivilized lands amount to so little, and Britain has no advantage from her nominal sway under the policy of free trade. * * * The true statesman will soon turn his attention to the

^a The only answer that has been attempted to the statement of the true theory of imports outlined in this chapter is that our foreign manufactured imports are largely only part manufactured and furnish material for further industry. This is a very two-edged argument. A very large proportion of British exports nominally classed as manufactures are also only half-manufactures. Take the following list of half a dozen articles only:

British exports, 1902.

Cotton yarn	£7,400,000
Woolen yarn	5,200,000
Jute yarn	500,000
Linen yarn	800,000
Pig iron	3,600,000
Total	17,500,000

Upon this line of argument it would be easy to show that we supply at least as much part manufactures to competitive nations as they supply to us, and that the contention of the above chapter is still unchallengeably true—that as we import more and more finished manufactures from competitive nations we export less and less finished manufactures to them.

bettering of conditions at home, for it is here that the greatest increase of British trade can most easily be effected. A profitable home market is the strongest weapon that can be used to conquer markets abroad. (Mr. Carnegie on "British pessimism," in Nineteenth Century, June, 1901.)

A popular cartoonist, whose frequent wit is always accompanied, and often replaced, by rather tedious ill nature, drew a recent picture of Mr. Chamberlain as a rat nibbling at the free-trade dike to let in the impending waters.

An odd inversion of ideas! Free imports do not mean a dike. They mean the absence of a dike. They mean what happens to you when you have no dike. Every other country which thinks that the interests of home labor and capital should never be swamped by the interests of foreign labor and capital possesses a dike. They call it "tariff." In America, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, in all the progressive manufacturing countries, the tariff was adopted to secure and develop the home market. In every one of these cases the home market, once secured, has been immensely developed. Behind the fiscal barriers the strength of internal industry is built up, and its power to compete abroad is and must be in proportion to the progress and vigor of domestic business. Of two countries like Germany and England, the one with a tariff giving every possible encouragement to home enterprise, the other with free imports affording every possible facility to foreign enterprise, the first must in the end have the larger production, and the second only the larger importation. No law of modern economics is more certain than that.

We admit to the Cobdenites that it is difficult for them to argue upon exports. We agree that it is almost hopeless for them to argue upon imports. But they had better fight this issue upon either of them, or upon anything, than upon the question of the home market.

They are not mistaken as to the importance of the subject. They are remarkably mistaken as to its bearing. The prime factor of cheapness under modern conditions is no longer Cobdenism. It is quantity. The larger your output the lower your relative cost. The crushing statistics at the head of this article prove that our protected competitors tend to overproduction, while the only free-importing country tends to underproduction.

GREAT BRITAIN HAS DROPPED FROM FIRST TO THIRD PLACE IN MANUFACTURES.

Unless we change that position totally, and soon, no cheap imports can save us from being permanently undersold. The first set of figures, relating to home consumption only, shows how in twenty years we have sunk from first place to third place in the fundamental manufacture of the world. In the second set of figures we show that Germany, which draws a large part of her imported supplies through the Netherlands, is increasing her demand for raw material three times as rapidly as we are, while France is increasing her industrial consuming power almost double as fast. As the Cobdenites told you when they thought the comparison was the other way, your import of raw material is the true index to the development of your total production, and therefore to the progress of the home market. In every one of the great protected countries, in the United States, Germany, and France alike, industrial consumption and production have advanced more rapidly under the tariff than they have advanced here under free imports.

Take the analysis of imports for 1890 and 1900 and note carefully the differences in the rates of increase for the three main classes of goods:

British imports, 1890 and 1900.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

Articles.	1890.	1900.	Increase.
Food and tobacco	177.4	219.7	Per cent. 24
Foreign manufactures	63.2	93.2	48
Raw materials for home manufacture	165.0	192.0	16

Thus the articles which add to the comfort of our people are rising only half as fast as the articles upon which our competitors make their profit. Again, the foreign goods which attack the home market are increasing three times as fast as the raw materials which nourish home production. That contrast is damning, and no serious attempt to explain it away can be made by any rational being. The Cobden Club boasts that we at least receive an unparalleled volume of imports; but the figures we have given prove that, while the consuming power of our people is increasing and the competitive success of our manufacturing rivals is advancing by leaps and bounds, our home production is unmistakably slowing down by comparison with that of all the chief protected countries. In one word, cheap and growing consumption in respect of food does not and can not mean by itself cheap and progressive production in respect of manufacture. This is another law of modern machine industry, and the reason for it we shall presently explain. Across the whole record of British industry for the last twenty years the inquirer sees one final phrase written in red, "Slowing down." The facts about the home market are much worse than the facts about foreign trade. The latter point to some need of repairs to the roof, the former point to the settlement of the foundations.

BRITISH INTERNAL TRADE HAS SUFFERED THROUGH FREE TRADE.

Let us look, then, at the extent of our internal business and the comparative condition of our great internal trades. No thorough survey of the whole field of domestic production, unfortunately, has ever been undertaken. It is generally agreed that the whole value of our home trade is at least eight times the value of our exports. Some think it nine times as much. Others believe even on the lower estimate to be seriously exaggerated. But, just as no one really knows whether the total of our investments abroad is £1,500,000,000 or £2,000,000,000, no one knows to within a few hundred millions what is the annual value of the national output. Allowing for coal, cotton, and other items, of which our knowledge is exact, the figure may be put at the vast aggregate of £2,000,000,000. State the contrast as follows:

Output and export, 1902.

Total annual output	£2,000,000,000
Total export	280,000,000

In other words, 90 per cent of the employment in the country depends upon home trade, though if shipbuilding be considered you will see that foreign trade, after all, is the piston rod that drives the engine. Germany's export, though still considerably behind ours, is probably a full fifth or more of her whole production. With America the case is vastly different. Her manufactured exports are probably less than a twentieth part of her manufacturing production, which must already be far greater than ours if we are to judge by her immensely larger consumption of coal and make of iron and steel—facts corresponding to her huge population, which is now nearly twice the size of our own, and more prosperous head for head. This is what makes it certain that when the slump across the Atlantic follows the boom America will begin at once, no matter what may become of the trusts, to offer infinitely the most formidable rivalry we have yet had to meet. The competitive power of America has nothing to do with the artifices of Wall Street. It depends upon the fact that the American home market is larger than our own.

and that she has our market, the second largest in the world, to work in as well, while we are excluded from hers. In a commercial crisis the big closed market must pour its surplus at a swamping rate into the big open market, as naturally as water rushes from a higher level to a lower.

We shall show in a moment that you can not confine yourself in this country to the Little England ideal of domestic bliss. You, at least, can not separate the interests of internal trade from those of your external trade, nor the development of your home market from the development of your imperial market. Without sea-borne supplies your machines would starve like your people. Your greatest industries depend upon cotton from the United States, wool from the Antipodes, and ore from Spain. The supply that comes to your mills from your colonies—wool—is the one supply of which you can always be certain, now that America has begun to consume and corner her own cotton and the Bilbao ores are giving out. Germany, at least, produces the raw material for her steel and iron industries from her own mines. In these circumstances the stopped-clock economist who tells you that the home trade can ask nothing from the State but what Diogenes asked of Alexander—"Stand out of my light"—talks the extreme of folly.

As American and German industry is encouraged by every fiscal and administrative device known to Washington and Berlin, British industry must be backed by the whole power and resource of the State if we are to hold our own. But in the meantime let us meet those who tell us that free ports are the necessity of home progress by asking what free ports have done during the last twenty years of foreign competition for the advancement of our staple manufactures. The metal and textile trades were the two strong pillars of British industry. Let us see what has happened with regard to them in this home market, and what has happened under protection in other home markets.

In every complex subject like the present, where arguments are inextricable in detail, there is always some decisive fact upon which a practical mind will fasten as a criterion of the rest. If you want to know what the weather will be in the course of the day, you do not plunge into the study of meteorology in the morning. You tap the barometer. If you want to judge the progress of home production in any country by the index fact, inquire what are the make and consumption of iron and steel.

SOME UNPLEASANT FIGURES FOR FREE TRADERS.

In the twenty years before Cobdenism, say 1825 to 1845, we tripled our output of iron. It is a remarkable coincidence that the United States and Germany did exactly the same thing in the two decades of protection, 1880-1900. France, in the same period, after breaking with the Cobdenite doctrine, increased her consumption of iron 60 per cent. We increased our consuming power for iron by 24 per cent. That is the master fact bearing upon the relative progress of home trade. During the last twelve years the iron and steel industries have been immensely helped by the reconstruction of the fleet at a far greater cost than that of the Siberian Railway. We may well wonder what would have been the stagnation of the home market in respect of iron and steel without the exceptional advantage it has enjoyed in the demands of the admiralty. Take, now, the following two tables showing the astounding change which has come over our position with regard to the industry upon which the manufacturing success of every country must in the long run depend:

Comparative output of pig iron.
[Amounts given in thousand tons.]

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	United States.	World.
1880	7,749	2,685	3,835	17,950
1890	7,904	4,583	9,203	27,150
1899	9,302	7,920	13,621	39,752

Comparative output of steel.
[Amounts given in thousand tons.]

Year.	Great Britain.	Germany.	United States.	World.
1880	1,375	728	1,247	4,205
1890	3,679	2,127	4,277	11,902
1898	5,000	6,180	10,633	26,685
1902	4,800	7,800	15,000	30,000

These are far more startling figures than any which can be brought forward from the statistics of our foreign trade. In 1880 we still made as much iron and steel as the rest of the world put together. The position at the present moment is this: We are third now, and without a change of fiscal system we shall remain third. The United States' output of iron and steel is now more than double our own. Germany this year will unquestionably beat her own record in respect of production and exportation alike and will leave our output far and away behind. Yet both these countries when their home market is good have to rely on British and other imports fully to supply their internal demand. When their home market is bad the syndicates swamp this home market. If they can swamp it when they please, the position of the British ironmaster before two or three years have passed must become as untenable as that of the British farmer became thirty years ago.

PROTECTION MAKES THE BEST HOME MARKET.

For the law of cheapness is not free imports. It is quantity. Larger production means cheaper production per ton. Quantity, quantity, quantity—that is the master word of competitive power. The grimly amusing argument is sometimes heard that the trusts can not permanently keep up the process of underselling. They can only assail you occasionally with be-mumbling blows. It would be as sensible to assure a peaceful citizen, knocked down by a footpad, that he ought not to consider the roads permanently unsafe because he had found himself liable to be only occasionally cudgelled. How can British capital compete if it does not possess equal nerve, confidence, and security? How can it possess equal nerve and confidence if capital in this country is liable at any moment to be bludgeoned over the head by the syndicates of protected countries? Wherever there is a tariff capital enjoys continuous security. For capital in this country "discontinuous security" is none, and without inducements equal to those which its rivals enjoy never will nor can develop equal enterprise.

But now let us take textiles. There we have a remarkable study of the home market. What has taken place in the case of the silk industry we know. When Cobden made his treaty with France it was assumed that the British silk trade would be injured by the natural superiority of France in that article, but that Lancashire would secure a corresponding gain on account of an equally natural superiority in cottons. The result has been that the Republic sends us silks to the average value of £10,000,000 annually, taking British cottons to the modest value of £263,000 last year, and actually sending us back French cottons to the value of £269,000. That is another choice instance

of "heads, I win" with tariffs and "tails, you lose" under free imports. Sooner or later Lancashire, under the present system, must share the fate of Spitalfields and Coventry.

Between 1890 and 1900 Germany increased her import of raw cotton by 30 per cent, and Belgium by 20 per cent, while Lancashire increased its consuming power by about 4 per cent. Take the following table:

Cotton consumption, 1891-1899.
[Amounts given in thousand bales.]

Year.	Great Britain.	United States.	European Continent.
1891	3,384	2,367	3,631
1899	3,519	3,552	4,836
Increase per cent.	4	49	33

As regards the total weight of raw material worked up, we are not only third in iron and steel, but second in Cobden's own commodity, cotton.

The consumption of wool since the decline in foreign trade has simply progressed in equal measure with the progress of the population it supplies. In 1880-1891 we used up an annual average of 564,000,000 pounds of wool, and in 1890-1901 we used £23,000,000 pounds, an increase of 10 per cent. Wool is your wear in these climates, and you must have clothing. But your manufacture merely keeps pace with your necessity—no more; and while your whole home production is valued at £50,000,000, the foreign import already cuts into the home trade to the extent of over £11,000,000. Again, note this striking fact, that seventy years ago, long before free imports, we made nearly as much linen as we do to-day, while in the last five years only the import of linen manufactured goods into this country has doubled in value.

If the Lancashire operative could have a realistic vision for one moment of the mills of Cawnpore as the present writer has seen them, with the fronds of the palms brushing the factory windows, he would understand the revolution in the conditions of his industry since Cobden's time.

UNITED STATES COMPETITION SO DANGEROUS BECAUSE BASED ON PROTECTION.

Here, at least, we bring the whole question once more to a clear issue. When American competition is mentioned the ordinary "free importer" throws up his hands and talks of natural laws. He tells us that since the Lake Superior ore beds were discovered the overwhelming supremacy of the United States in total output of iron and steel was assured. But America has no natural supremacy in textiles—not in silk, not in linen, not in wool, not even in cotton. It costs as much to carry raw cotton to a mill in New England as to a mill in old England. In the mills of the cotton belt itself labor is less efficient, while the hereditary aptitude of the Lancashire worker is unmatched in the world.

Further, we have a unique advantage in the dampness of our climate. America has to import the best wool and silk and flax, just as we have in textiles, as in every other branch of industry, her advantage lay in the superior efficiency, enterprise, and inventiveness of capital under the tariff by comparison with capital under a free-imports system. This is what has happened since the McKinley tariff came into operation:

American textile factories.

Year.	Number.	Capital.	Persons employed.
1890	4,276	£100,000,000	528,000
1900	4,312	217,000,000	678,000

What has happened in this country in the meantime? In the four years 1895-1898 alone, according to the latest labor department statistics, the total number of persons employed in British textile factories of all kinds actually decreased from 1,076,000 hands in 1895 to 1,037,000 hands in 1898.

The total import of textile goods of all descriptions into this country must now amount to the colossal sum of £30,000,000 annually, and for this immense influx of competitive imports there has been no compensation in the development of our export of cottons, woollens, and linens to competitive nations. With equal tariff conditions British manufacture would strengthen its home production, recover its sure grasp upon neutral markets, and hold its own against the world. * * *

PROTECTION DRAWS FOREIGN CAPITAL AND FACTORIES.

Finally comes the most important point of all. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who is fervently in favor of free trade for every country except the United States, where his own business interests happen to be situated, once raised a hymn of praise because the McKinley tariff had forced many of the greatest firms in the British textile trades to set up establishments in America. "Protection," says Mr. Carnegie, "has brought to us so many British manufacturers to establish industries, and thus develop our resources—the Clarks and the Coats, of Paisley; the Dolans, of Yorkshire; the Sandersons, of Sheffield; and last, but certainly not least, a great prize from Halifax. Who would not expect us to extol our idea of protection if we capture the Firths?" Who, indeed? That is the point. The present writer was assured recently by one of the first living authorities upon continental commerce that there is at least one great firm in the silk trade which, immediately upon the adoption of a British tariff, would settle in this country and start a factory employing hundreds of hands. German chemical and electrical firms and American manufacturers in several lines would assuredly take the same action. Let them all come, if, rather than lose this market, they will consent to enter for British consumption by employing British labor. This is the form of technical education which we should find a hundred times as speedy and effective as the efforts of an imitation Charlottenburg with limited financial resources. This is the influence which would speed up the whole machinery of the home market from end to end and second the enterprise of British capital in the work of modernizing our plant, processes, and organization. Under Cobdenism you import foreign goods, the product of foreign factories. A tariff alone can bring you the most valuable of all free imports—the foreign brains and capital which will find new employment for British labor, reinforce our competitive vigor in exports, and develop home trade, home enterprise, and home employment in order to supply home needs.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU?—THE "DEAR FOOD" IMPOSTURE—A TRANSFER PROPOSED.

Remove free-trade food taxes of £13,000,000 annually, and reduce the tobacco duty by £2,000,000, making total remission.....	£15,000,000
Maximum addition to national food bill by preference duties on bread (4d. per quarter) and meat (4d. per pound) and equivalent rise in price of home and colonial supplies.....	15,000,000
Net increase of burdens.....	Nil.

THE REAL ISSUE.

Are you in favor of transferring existing taxation from tea and sugar to bread and meat in order that, without any increase of your burdens, you may get an advantage from the second form of taxation that you can not get from the first?

PROTECTION DOES NOT MAKE DEARER FOOD.

We now come to the real issue, upon which the greatest political struggle of our time will be decided. The opponents of preference stake their whole prospect upon the attempt to convince the nation that they stand for "free food" and that Mr. Chamberlain stands for "dear food." They rely upon deceiving the minds of the people by the blind phrases of frantic exaggeration about the food of the people. This cry is raised in unison by the motley members of a mixed party, who are one and all supporters of a fiscal system under which the people's food is already taxed to the tune of thirteen millions a year. * * *

At the present moment—even after the disappearance of the registration duty has enabled the Liverpool bakers to raise the price of bread—your tea and coffee, your cocoa, your sugar, your figs and raisins, your currants, and your prunes are compelled to contribute to the treasury at the rate of £13,000,000 a year, or more than 6s. per head. Take from the national accounts of 1901-2 the following interesting statement of what may be called the "free-trade taxes" on food:

Articles of food.	Rate of duty per pound.	Total tax.
Tea	6d.	£5,800,000
Sugar	1d., nearly	6,400,000
Coffee	1d.	170,000
Chicory	2d.	50,000
Cocoa	1d.	250,000
Figs, plums, raisins	1d.	280,000
Currants	1d., nearly	100,000
Total		£13,050,000

The "free-trade taxes on food," it will be seen, are heavier than any Mr. Chamberlain would need to impose for the purposes of a trade-extension policy. They are, besides, antiquated in principle, wasteful to collect, and useless for any indirect purpose; while there is no more astounding vagary of our fiscal system than that we should levy nearly £6,000,000 of annual taxation against a product of the Empire like tea. But the point for the workman to remember is that those who tell him that preference would mean taxed food and that free trade means untaxed food are practicing upon his intelligence. When workmen sit down to their breakfast they are taxed. They are taxed when they come home to their tea. When their wives buy a pound of that article at 1s. 4d. they receive only 10d. worth of tea, and they must pay 6d.—that is to say 60 per cent.—to Mr. Ritchie. And not only every spoonful of leaf in the teapot is taxed. Every lump of sugar in the bowl is taxed. When the baby begs for a lump of sugar it becomes a taxable consumer, and the treasury takes toll on the baby. Every pot of jam on the table is taxed; every currant in the sweet loaf is taxed, and whenever the workman in the evening takes out his taxed tobacco after his taxed tea and lights his pipe, he pays more than any other man in any other country who attempts the same soothing operation.

Where are the Radical leaders who have ever made a serious effort to mitigate these impost? And where are the Unionist "free fooders" who have ever thought hitherto of proving that they have the slightest title to that name by proposing to remove the existing food taxes, which take 8d. or 9d. a week out of the wages of every man in fair employment who has to pay the grocer's bill for an ordinary household? The truth is that under free trade there is no party which would dare, if definitely challenged by Mr. Chamberlain upon the point, to give an official pledge to remove the £13,000,000 of annual taxation now levied upon food. Irresponsible enthusiasts may be encouraged for electoral purposes to talk about "a free breakfast table," but the talk would be a form of amiable futility in the future, precisely as it has been up to now. In the present year the "free-trade taxes on food" amount to exactly one-eleventh part of our total revenue, or nearly 2s. in the pound. They can not be removed without increases in direct taxation, which would mean restoring the income tax permanently in time of peace to the highest level at which it stood during the war, or by a graduated system, which would mean handicapping capital more heavily than it is handicapped in any competitive country. The American manufacturer, let us remember, is relieved by the tariff from paying any income tax at all, which is not the least considerable point in his favor. * * *

We say that the existing food taxes, heavy as they are in amount, are, at the best, economic dead waste. The free-trade principle of our national finance during forty years has been that national money must be raised with rigid exclusiveness by methods from which English industry could receive no benefit. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, for instance, during the war would tax tea, sugar, and—even by momentary lapse from grace would reimpose the registration duty upon the one sacred commodity—wheat, rather than levy any impost upon foreign manufactures. That would be giving British manufacturers and British labor a slight advantage. It was, therefore, tabooed. So, in obedience to abstract dogmas of Cobdenism, taxation to waste was continued.

Produce of British labor exported.

Manufactured articles exported from the United Kingdom:	
1890	£220,868,743
1902	220,212,625
Decline	656,118

Produce of foreign labor imported.

Manufactured imports into the United Kingdom:	
1890	£63,218,167
1902	39,050,648
Increase	35,832,481

COBDEN UPON TRADES UNIONISM.

"Depend upon it, nothing can be got by fraternizing with trades unions. They are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. I would rather live under a Dey of Algiers than a trades committee."—Cobden's letter to his brother, August 16, 1842.

If you are a workman interested in preference from the workman's point of view, you may be a supporter either of the principles of trades unionism or the principle of free imports, but you can not be a supporter of both. Trades unionism is founded upon antagonism to unrestricted competition. That is why Cobden condemned it. Trades unionism has enforced, as we shall show, whatever is legitimate in its demands, inch by inch, against the doctrines and efforts of the free-trade school in politics. * * *

In proof, study the following figures taken from the Accounts of Trade and Navigation:

A CONTRAST, 1890-1902—HOW FREE TRADE HAS HURT BRITISH LABOR.

Produce of British labor.	
Manufactured articles exported from United Kingdom:	
1890	£220,868,743
1902	220,212,625
Decline	656,118
Produce of foreign labor.	
Manufactured articles imported into United Kingdom:	
1890	£63,218,167
1902	39,050,648
Increase	35,832,481

Who can explain away to you that damning contrast? In spite of the increased demand of the colonies, the hostile tariffs of your rivals have tarped the scale. Your total manufactured trade is entering upon a period of slow decline.

The external demand for the produce of British labor not only was not one shilling more last year than it had been twelve years before, as you see from the official figures, but it was actually less. In 1902 there were at least 12 per cent more workmen in this country than in 1890, but the export trade in manufactured articles paid not one shilling more toward the increase of wages. Upon the other hand, our foreign imports of manufactures provided in 1890 about £50,000,000 worth of wages for foreign workmen; but in 1902 your fiscal system provided at least £80,000,000 worth of wages for foreign workmen, as well as millions of profit for foreign capital. There is not a single British industry which is not relatively weaker in the world than it was a dozen years ago. There is not a single important foreign industry but has strengthened its grasp upon this market and secured extended employment and additional wages for foreign workmen at the expense of British workmen. Every country for itself, and Britain for them all—that is the system.

FREE TRADE LABOR'S WORST ENEMY.

Foreign governments, by taxing you out of their home markets, provide foreign labor with employment at your expense. Even the British Government, inviting under free imports the sweated industries and syndicated capital of the whole world to undersell you if they can, provides still more foreign workmen with employment at your expense. That is the system.

The Cobden Club implores you to support it, and every competitive country devoutly hopes you will. For that is their interest. Mr. Chamberlain tells you to smash it. That is your interest. If you follow his advice you will obtain the defense enjoyed by workmen in every other civilized country in the world; you will secure your home market, extend your colonial trade, increase the demand for your skill, improve your opportunities, and make it as hard as possible for foreign labor to drive out British labor. If you reject the counsels of that born leader of imperial democracy, who has done more for your social advancement than all men living, and do precisely what your commercial rivals hope you will do, you will continue to make it as easy as possible for foreign labor to drive out British labor, and it will be driven out in trade after trade. You have already fallen from the first place to the third in iron and steel—a deeper and more permanent injury to the foundation of your prosperity and power than the loss of any battle.

The textile trades, if you wait long enough, will be the next to go, for your advantage in them is far less natural than your advantage in metals seemed to be twenty years ago. Peace hath her disasters no less fatal than war. If you are content to lose your place in iron and steel, where will you make a stand? If foreign manufactured imports have increased to a hundred millions, why should they not increase to two hundred millions? Why should they stop increasing until they flood you out? If Germany and America oust you in iron and steel, and even France sends you more cottons and more wools than she purchases from you, why should not every competitive country hope to oust you from everything? Take Cobden's advice and save £21— you can always emigrate. But what you have to remember at the next general election is this: In Germany, America, Belgium, France, the tariff means the largest volume and value of home production, the largest demand for home labor. Free imports mean free importation! That is to say, the largest demand for the products of foreign labor.

PROTECTIVE TARIFFS ALWAYS DEVELOP FOREIGN TRADE.

The American, German, and French tariffs of the last twenty years have been followed, not by the decline, but by the rapid development of their foreign trade. Let us repeat once more upon that head the figures we have previously given:

Manufactured exports (four countries).

Year.	United Kingdom.	Germany.	France.	United States.
1882	£217,000,000	£94,000,000	£76,000,000	£38,000,000
1902	235,000,000	155,000,000	35,000,000	84,000,000
Increase	18,000,000	61,000,000	13,000,000	56,000,000
Increase per cent.	8	65	25	20

In every one of these cases you see that the tariffs of your rivals have promoted foreign trade more rapidly than free imports have promoted your own. Mr. Chamberlain's policy would develop our colonial commerce and your home industry. But it would not inflict one particle of injury on your foreign trade. It would improve that also, in improving your commercial position all around. * * *

Capital can move from trade to trade, and from country to country, though not without waste. There is always some damage involved in a compulsory transfer of the kind. But still capital can disengage itself from the wreckage of a beaten industry, as a rule, even though it suffers a certain degree of loss in the process, and can find another investment. You have seen an example of that process in the fact that the tariffs of the United States and the Continent have compelled many well-known British employers to transfer their undertakings to foreign soil and to find employment for foreign workmen. A firm which sets up a factory in France at once obtains the freedom of the French home market and retains the whole of its former freedom in this market. Capital then can move from this country, and has already been compelled by foreign tariffs to move abroad to a considerable extent.

But to a workman the trade he has been taught is his very life. His whole fortune and the happiness of all dependent upon him are bound up with his success in the particular trade to which he has been apprenticed. Cobdenism talks the most cruel nonsense of all his stereotyped pedantry

Excluding for comparative purposes new ships.

when it tells him that if his trade is killed he can turn to another. In all cases but the one in a thousand, he can do no such thing. If the ordinary skilled artisan can not find employment after he attains full manhood in the trade to which he has been brought up, he is ruined—unless he emigrates to a country like America, a country with a tariff, not only willing to give him employment, but giving him an absolute guaranty against the displacement of his labor by foreign competition. Any workman who examines the matter must see that the free imports of foreign competitive manufactures are simply incompatible with his security in his livelihood, and that the whole theory of traditional Cobdenism is irreconcilable with the principles upon which all that is best in trades unionism is founded.

POORHOUSES A FREE-TRADE LEGACY.

The workhouse system that exists to this day, repulsive and hateful from the first to the mass of the people, was the creation of the classical economists. It leveled misfortune with disgrace and condemned honorable age and stricken poverty to the same dreary fate that was reserved for the sot, the wastrel, and the vagabond. That was the classic free-trade idea of provision for old age. It was heartless, but it was the system. No matter how staunchly and well you had done your social duty in the time of your health and strength, no matter what blow of fate or bereavement might have rendered you helpless, nothing but the blank walls of the social prison house could be provided for you, lest the "sturdy independence of the people" should be sapped. This was one example of the tender mercies of the good, as the free-trade economists endeavored to make them prevail in British legislation.

Meanwhile trades unions had made their first appearance in the industrial system and were fighting their way to the full legal recognition of that elementary right of combination which is now the common possession of employers and employed. Cobden, in their early days, could see nothing good in them. They were founded, as he declared in the well-known letter to his brother, "upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly." Yet these were the days, as every student of industrial conditions knows, and as Mr. Disraeli knew, when the abuses of the power of capital were greater than they ever were before or since in any civilized country.

Cobden was a sincere man. But great is the power of self-interest in corrupting the judgment of the most sincere of men, and great is the power of an all-sufficient and unyielding system to warp the intelligence of the clearest mind. The essence of the Cobdenite creed was an absolute belief in the universality of cut-throat competition for the salvation of men and nations. Upon the teaching of the orthodox economists in Cobden's day the whole theory of trades unionism was not only wrong but impossible. The Cobden Club is not more convinced to-day of the unchangeable truth of free imports than the original free importers were convinced that there was "an iron law of wages." According to this conception political economy provided naturally for a fixed "wages fund." It could neither be diminished by the efforts of the employers nor increased by any effort of combination on the part of workmen.

Supply and demand determined it by automatic and inflexible laws, and no section of workmen by the artificial efforts of their trades unions could raise their wages except at the expense of some other section of workmen. There was a "wages fund," and if some temporarily secured too much of it there would be so much less for the rest. Capital could not be permanently affected. This theory has long since been allowed by all economists to descend into the deepest limbo of extinct doctrines, but it was not one whit less confidently held and preached in Cobden's time than the infallibility of free imports is held and preached by Mr. Chamberlain's opponents to-day. Workmen did not believe Richard Cobden upon this matter, and they never believed in the blind principle of unrestricted and unregulated competition.

FREE TRADE SACRIFICES THE HOME INTERESTS.

"Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market," even when the negotiable commodity is flesh and blood, and regardless of all collateral circumstances. That was and is the fundamental maxim of the "free importers" creed. In pursuance of this creed, you workmen whom we address have always been, and still are, sacrificed without a moment's hesitation by unintelligent pedants to a short-sighted ideal of immediate cheapness. When in America or in any continental country home labor is seriously depressed by foreign competition, the state steps in, checks the invasion, and gives the threatened industry time to form square. You can protect your own interests by your combinations when you have nothing but domestic competition to face, but as soon as foreign competition begins to displace your employment and to depress your wages the weapon of combination is broken in your hands. If you are undersold—well, as Abraham Lincoln might have put it, upon free-import principles—you are undersold, and there's an end. In the last few weeks we have seen the London County council putting into practice the principles of the Cobden Club in all their pristine purity, and with a logical consistency worthy of an earlier and a better age. The issue of general national well-being, as opposed to the ideal of immediate cheapness, was raised on the question of buying Belgian rails for the southern tramways. The contract, and the amount of employment represented by the contract, went out of the country, and one more nail was driven by our own hands into the coffin of home industry. If the contract had been kept in England we should have lost a little profit, but we should have kept a good deal of wages. By means of those wages the British workman who received them would have provided employment for other British workmen. When he bought clothing with them he would probably have purchased West Riding woollens. The Belgian workmen will provide employment for other Belgian workmen with the wages paid to that country by the London County council.

ENGLISH LABOR FAVORS PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRIES.

It was again, and more recently, decided that the materials for the Vauxhall Bridge might be of foreign manufacture, and again a considerable amount of employment may be transferred clean out of the country at a moment when employment has begun to shrink in all the skilled trades. In both these cases the labor members upon the London County council, with the exception of the member from Battersea, opposed the principle of encouraging the output of foreign industry at the expense of home industry, but in both cases the stern and unbending "free importers" of Spring Gardens were not to be deterred from nourishing the forces of foreign production in the supreme interest of the odd halfpenny.

Employers will never get rid of trades unionism. Trades unionists are now advised by all their most intelligent leaders that they can never resist with advantage or success the technical developments of modern machine industry. The problem is to find the adjustment reconciling the enterprise of capital with the security of labor. While free imports prevail in this country and hostile tariffs abroad that adjustment never can be found. The instinct of labor led it long ago to recognize that the principle of unrestricted competition was false.

CAPITAL COMING TO THE SAME CONCLUSION.

The experience of capital throughout the country is leading it at last to the same conclusion. Competition without cooperation would be mere anarchy—cooperation without competition mere monopoly. The true principle of modern industrial organization lies between the two extremes. Trusts

and trades unionism represent the modern necessity for internal combination for the development of massed production—that is to say, of cheap production and competitive efficiency. But the workers of Great Britain may depend upon it that class combination will be useless without the principle of national combination against external attack represented by the tariff. Trades unionism may protect the individual while the trade exists, but only a national tariff can protect the existence of the trade.

WHY WE SHOULD CHANGE.

Comparative exports, 1873-1902.

[Amounts in million pounds sterling.]

	1873.	1890.	1900.	1902.
British exports:				
(1) To British possessions.....	61	87	94	109
(2) To foreign countries.....	196	176	197	174
Total.....	257	263	291	283
German exports.....	116	166	238	241
French exports.....	150	150	164	170
United States exports.....	89	176	304	282

PRINCE BISMARCK'S PROPHECY, 1873.

I base my opinion on the practical experience of the times we live in. I see that the protected countries are prospering and the free-trade countries decaying. Mighty England, like a powerful athlete, strode out into the open market when she had strengthened her sinews, and said: "Who will measure with me? I am ready for all." But England herself is slowly returning to the protective tariff, and some years hence she will adopt it in order to keep at least her home market. (Bismarck's speech on breaking with free trade, May 2, 1873.)

THE COUNSEL OF DESPAIR, 1903.

I have myself urged that our leadership in the industry of the world was passing away. We need not lose anything of the position we hold, but we have already ceased to be first in more than one commanding department. (Mr. Leonard Courtney, defending free imports in the Contemporary Review, August, 1903.)

We have now examined in all its main aspects the greatest controversy of our time from the standpoint of an observer with every original prejudice in favor of free trade, but forced by the study of foreign facts to change insular convictions. Cobdenism was presented and adopted fifty years ago as an infallible recipe for success. It was to be the universal principle of commercial policy equally applicable to all nations and to all times. Rejecting it you could not prosper. Embracing it you could not fail. If hostile tariffs should be continued against us by some erroneous portion of mankind, these perverse systems would only injure their authors and benefit ourselves. For Britain, at least, the stimulating pressure of open competition would be the sure guaranty of perpetual vigor and improvement. While her pampered rivals under protection, deprived by state aid of the true incentive to personal exertion, were bound to become languid and remiss, the merchant of England, relying upon themselves alone, would possess the superior secret of efficiency. Look at it closely and you will see that the whole question lies there.

PROTECTION PRODUCES INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

These theories have been disproved by modern facts. Free trade is no guaranty of industrial efficiency. Protection does not prevent industrial efficiency. In America and Germany alike the views of the thinkers who rejected Cobdenism from the beginning have prevailed. In America and Germany alike we see commercial energy and intelligence working at a higher power than in this country. Two generations ago, before the old tariff system of this country was destroyed, we were first in everything—first in invention and enterprise, first in every department of manufacture and transport.

Before free imports existed we had invented steam power, railways, textile machinery. We have done nothing of equal importance since. What are we first in now? In iron and steel we are not even second. In Cobden's own trade—cotton—Lancashire mill owners have lately discovered that they must take lessons in point of technical progress from the protected mill owners of America. Germans have the fastest steamers upon the Atlantic. In shipbuilding alone we are still far ahead, but we are already told that we depend in that branch upon the cheap importation of German iron and steel. If that is so, the transference even of our shipbuilding supremacy to the land where the materials are most cheaply produced can be only a matter of time. The United States has now the largest home production, the strongest home market—"the best weapon," as Mr. Carnegie most truly remarks, "for the conquest of markets abroad."

In other words, those who produce most must be able to sell most if allowed to keep their own market for themselves and to exploit yours also.

This must be the case whatever becomes of the trusts in their present exaggerated form. When the boom across the Atlantic breaks, as we all know it must, we shall find what American dumping power means, and we shall need no second teaching. Meanwhile, as the figures at the head of this chapter show, German exports have again begun to gain upon us hand over hand. In foreign trade alone she has already beaten us. At the present rate, and within little over ten years, she will outstrip us altogether in spite of the advantage in colonial trade by which we still keep the lead. You are told that exports are not everything. Those who tell you so are superficial sophists. They lay stress in the same breath upon the amount of your investments abroad; but your investments abroad represent past exports and nothing else. Germany is now acquiring wealth by export precisely as you did formerly. She has now over £1,000,000,000 invested abroad.

UNITED STATES ACCUMULATING WEALTH FASTER THAN GREAT BRITAIN.

In another generation of your present system Germany and America will surpass you even in accumulated wealth. Do not mistake the meaning of these facts. The creed of immediate cheapness is the creed of ultimate decay. It means that some British industry is always helping to destroy another British industry. It means that even your shipbuilding is to become a parasitic trade, depending upon imported iron and steel. What has relaxed our nerve and dulled our insight? What has developed the industrial efficiency of our protected rivals? There is singularly little that is pampered or effete about protectionist competition, whether across the Atlantic or across the North Sea. But the one country under free trade is standing upon its defense, attacked through free imports by the countries who are absolutely secured by their tariffs against all measures of counter attack on our part. Ten men armed to the teeth, as Swift remarked, are usually a match for one man in his shirt. With isolated free imports pitted against universal tariffs—that is our position in the industrial struggle of to-day.

These are the facts. What is the moral? We can give it to you in a few

sentences. The strength of any society, whether political or industrial, depends upon its power of combination. Cobdenism means indiscriminate competition—a system under which we deliberately invite foreign producers, who take excellent good care that nothing of the kind happens on their side, to undersell us if they can—the system of the house economically divided against itself—the system under which the farmer was sacrificed by the ironmaster to the ideal of immediate cheapness, as the ironmaster is now to be sacrificed by the shipbuilder, as the British shipbuilder will be sacrificed in turn by the British shipowner when cheaper vessels can be bought on the Baltic, and one trade will undermine another in like fashion until our commercial power passes away. In politics and commerce alike Cobdenism means disintegration. The tariff in America and Germany is nothing more or less than a method of securing an adequate measure of national combination in the interests of national industry. If they will not give free trade for free trade, you must meet their unity by your unity. * * *

Even in the last twelve years, since 1890, which have witnessed the marvelous developments of American and German trade and the revival of enterprise in France, we have made a certain progress. But summon your familiar observation to your aid. A railway engine which is slowing down makes progress until it actually stops. And that is very like your position. You have been carried on by the momentum of your former power; but your rivals are working at accelerating speed. The distinction is very great. If you are referred to the income-tax returns, the reply is that in the last decade, both in the United States and Germany, income has increased much faster than in this country. That can not be denied. If you are referred to the savings banks, the reply is exactly similar. The working classes in the United States and Germany have been increasing their savings faster than the working classes here. You have increased your output of iron and steel, and your import of raw materials for textile manufacture; but that does not alter the fact, as we have previously shown, that the United States and Germany have increased their iron and steel production so much faster than you now hold the third place, where only twenty years ago you held the first. And if you point again to the volume of your imports, the answer is that, in respect of the best kind of imports—raw material—all the leading protected countries are increasing their industrial consuming power far more rapidly than yours has increased.

WAGES IN GERMANY HAVE INCREASED UNDER PROTECTION.

You buy, indeed, far more sea-borne food, because you have diminished your internal agriculture, and you buy more foreign manufactured goods than any other country because you are the only nation which admits competitive manufactures free. English workmen receive high wages under free trade. But American workmen receive wages from 50 to 100 per cent higher under the tariff. In Germany wages are still lower than in this country; but, as the late Mr. Whistler said of nature, Germany is "creeping up." In the last twelve years wages have risen more rapidly than in this country. The first-class German workman is now paid nearly as well, and in several industries quite as well, as the first-class British workman.

At the other end of the scale human labor is nowhere in the world paid worse than in the sweating shops of this country. When Bismarck broke with free trade in the determination to secure the German market for German enterprise, his countrymen were leaving the shores of the fatherland at the rate of 200,000 a year. Conditions at home have been so much improved, in spite of conscription and jackboot militarism, that emigration from the fatherland is now little more than 20,000 a year. The Iron Chancellor was told exactly as Mr. Chamberlain is now, that if free imports were abandoned the foreign trade of Germany would be ruined. The actual result is that Germany has doubled her foreign trade. It is a very remarkable circumstance that when the German Government introduced the new tariff it also referred to the savings banks, the income tax, the increase in shipping, the general rise in the standard of life, and all the rest of it; but it applied all these arguments of our Cobdenites with at least as much force in precisely the opposite sense in these terms:

"Strengthened by protection, our industries have been able to increase their production, and have thereby afforded fuller employment and rising wages to the working classes.

"With the larger turnover the traffic on our railways, rivers, and canals has grown and our merchant marine has experienced a considerable and constantly increasing expansion, and its freight services for foreign countries have been a source of great profit to Germany. At the same time the investment of German capital in foreign enterprises has increased. Emigration has very substantially diminished. The effect of the growing wealth of the nation may be seen by the visible progress in the conditions and in the life of the broad masses of the people, especially of the workmen. The improvement in the standard of life may be seen in the large proportion of taxpayers who pay upon moderate incomes; from the improved yield of the income tax; from the growth of savings-bank deposits; from the expansion of life insurances, and from the rising consumption of the more expensive articles of food."

THE AMERICAN WORKMAN THE MOST PROSPEROUS, BEST FED, AND BEST CLOTHED.

This is the German testimony. It turns inside out all the favorite Cobdenite arguments of the moment. But take the American testimony. Mr. Carnegie proved in his latest book, *The Empire of Business*, that the cost of living in the United States has been much exaggerated, and after a number of detailed demonstrations of his point, he summed up as follows:

"How are we to account for the general impression still lingering in Britain that the cost of living is higher in the United States? Simply for this reason, that while it is true that a pound sterling in the United States to-day will purchase more of the necessities of life for the mass of the people than it will in Britain, and while the American workman has great advantages over his fellow British workman in consequence, still it does not follow by any means that the American workman lives as cheaply as the Briton—far from it. He has much higher wages. The report of the Senate committee, recently made, shows that the average percentage of American wages obtained by the British workman is only 56 per cent—not much more than half—the principal handicrafts being made the basis of comparison. Having higher revenues, the American is not content to live without what would be considered luxury in any of the old countries of Europe. He earns more and he spends more."

By comparison with twenty years ago, the nation is better off. But on the same comparison our two protected rivals, having nothing but the tariff system in common with each other, are better off still. We are progressing, but at a relatively feeble rate. We are progressing, and still the rate of progress is slowing down. We are progressing, but not enough to prevent us from being driven down by the two great protected countries to the third place in the world's commerce, long before the twentieth century has entered upon its second quarter.

WHAT FREE TRADE HAS COST GREAT BRITAIN.

Nothing can get over the three great index facts to which we have called attention:

(1) That as regards exports, our total exports of manufactures, according to the board of trade returns, were less in 1902 than they were in 1890;^a

^aThey were less in 1900 than in either year.

(2) That as regards imports, raw materials increased less than any other class of our purchases, and less than the raw imports of Germany, France, or the United States; and

(3) That as regards the home market, we have sunk to the third place in the production of iron and steel—the sinister index of our industrial future. If it had not been for the coal that we owe, not to ourselves but to nature; if it had not been for the long-established position, accumulated wealth, and advantage of empire that we owe, not to ourselves but to our fathers, and should already have yielded place to at least one nation which relies not upon any heritage from the past, however great, but upon its own living strength and effort. Germany would already have superseded England as completely as England superseded the Dutch. * * *

EMPLOYMENT DECREASING; WAGES AND PROFITS FALLING.

Employment is decreasing. Wages are already falling and profits are falling. We shall see that free imports, as they have minimized our gains in good times, will aggravate our losses in bad. This must be so, since our competitors in periods of depression must be more keen than ever to sell in their markets, while we are more effectively prevented by the tariff from selling in theirs. Throughout the country manufacturers declare trade to be far worse than is yet generally realized. Why? Somewhat shallow ridicule has been expended by Pangloss in the attempt to prove that the dumping ground is not a dumping ground. This will really not succeed. America's dumping power, as we have explained, has been "held up" for two years; but in spite of that fact, imports of foreign manufactured iron (excluding pig iron, let it be noted) and machinery have increased as follows:

(1) Imports of bar and manufactured iron.

Year	Tons.
1900	622,000
1901	728,000
1902	865,000

(2) Imports of machinery.

Year	£3,475,887
1900	3,963,020
1901	4,761,108

But it is not only the actual and immediate dumping that is in question, though those who have any acquaintance with the iron trade know even this to be a very serious matter. What of the efforts and sacrifices required to keep dumping out? "What's done we partly may compute, but know not what's resisted." The effort to hold his own against the dumping process places a strain upon the British manufacturer which none of his rivals is called upon to endure, and cuts down his profit in many trades to the lowest point at which it is possible to carry on. The foreigner, armed with the double advantage of a tariff in his own market and free imports in this, has every facility and every encouragement. We place our own manufacturers relatively under every difficulty and every discouragement. They can not have, and they will never have, the same success until they enjoy the same security. If the shipbuilders say that they can not succeed without cheap German materials, let the shipbuilders wait. Their turn will come, and the turn of trade after trade will come unless we learn in time that without a certain measure of national unity we can not have national success in industry any more than in war. In this sense Mr. Ruskin spoke with one of his strange flashes of Old Testament prophecy when he said: "Government and cooperation are the laws of life; anarchy and competition are the laws of death." All over the country the decrease in wages is beginning to follow the reduction of profits. For the first six months of 1903 our imports of raw material were rather less than in the corresponding period of last year, but the Trade and Navigation Accounts for the six months ending June 30, 1903, show that our "imports of articles wholly or mainly manufactured" are actually coming into the country this year at the rate of £15,000,000 annually! This is the statement.

Articles wholly or mainly manufactured.

Imports for six months' periods ending June 30—

Year	£64,000,000
1901	66,640,000
1902	67,700,000

That is why trade is dull and will be duller, unless you change your system.

BRITISH WEALTH NOT GROWING AS FAST AS POPULATION.

But it remains to deal once more, and finally, with the most fallacious argument of all—the argument drawn from the income-tax returns. If Mr. Chamberlain's critics insist upon fighting the issue on that ground, very well. Mr. Chamberlain's supporters can desire nothing better. The Cobdenite controversialists, with some want either of research or candor, have been comparing national income in poor years of trade with the same thing in excellent years of trade. They can not be allowed that method. The yield of the penny, for instance, was £2,238,000 in 1891-92, and was only £2,188,000 in 1897-98. Since then it has risen again, owing to the universal inflation, and last year it was £2,500,000, having increased in eleven years very little more than the population increased. Now, there are three reasons for that result. The first is that this country alone has been in business for over a hundred years as a first-class commercial power. There is more money accumulating at compound interest in England than in any other nation, and thus the profits of thirty and of fifty years ago are still swelling the income-tax returns and concealing much of the profit decline upon more recent business. That is a very important fact. Another consideration is that Government expenditure is about fifty millions a year more than it was ten years ago, and this again has increased the income-tax returns by the process of fattening the dog with pieces of his own tail, and in the same way the exceptionally favorable penny yield of 1900-1902 was partly due to the war expenditure. Finally, there is another fact more significant still. The transference of private businesses to limited companies has been going on at a very remarkable pace in the last ten years.

But what does that mean? It means an apparent increase in national income where there is no real increase. The vendor receives payment for the invisible asset of "good will," a number of small investors come more completely within the purview of the treasury, and profits are more fully declared after conversion than before. Add to this that the inland revenue department has been more vigilant in the collection of its dues from all classes of society. If these considerations are borne in mind, it will be seen that the following conclusion must be true: The yield of the penny rose from £2,240,000 in 1891-92 to £2,500,000 last year, an increase of 11 per cent. The population increased in the same period by 11 per cent. But it is certain, as we have just shown, that the income-tax returns include accumulation at compound interest, which is not current profit, increased payments to the treasury through the limited company system representing no real increase of profit; and a large increase of Government expenditure benefitting some taxpayers out of the pockets of other taxpayers, which may be called, so far as the nation at large is concerned, conventional profit. Reckon all these influences and it is certain that what the income-tax returns really show is that the increase of our national earnings has ceased to keep pace with the increase of the population, in spite of the five fat years we have enjoyed. But

now for the final test. We have given something like it before, but let us repeat the lesson. Take from the last statistical abstract the following figures:

British income-tax returns.

Total income taxed:	
1891-1902.....	£537,000,000
1900-1901.....	594,000,000
Increase.....	57,000,000
Or 10 per cent.	

PRUSSIAN WEALTH GROWING MUCH FASTER.

But now take the Prussian income-tax returns for the same period and for the same classes of society, but for a country with a smaller population (Prussia alone 34,000,000 inhabitants), and with far less accumulated wealth.

Prussian income-tax returns.^a

Total income taxed, counting only persons with over £150 per annum:	
1892.....	£161,000,000
1901.....	235,000,000
Increase.....	74,000,000
Or 46 per cent.	

And this leaves out altogether Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, where the increase of wealth has been more rapid than anywhere else. We regret we have to demolish the foundation upon which Mr. Chamberlain's opponents have rested their fondest hopes; but it is clear that with twenty years more of "free imports" in this country and twenty years more of the tariff in the fatherland, Germany, which was a byword for poverty in the recollection of the majority now living, will surpass this country in accumulated wealth.^b

That is why we should change—that is why we shall. If we do not we shall realize the grim truth of Carlyle's reflection that "man by nature hates change; seldom will he quit his old house until it falls about his ears." But by new departures suited to the time all things great are, and forever will be, accomplished. By obstinate belief in the permanent truth of systems and institutions that were only temporarily good the decay of nation after nation has been wrought. Their government, as Emerson somewhere says wisely, became a fossil where it ought to have remained a growth. Two lands have been transformed in our time. They are the United States and the German Empire. The country where the ancestor worship of the Cobden Club would be most completely appreciated is China. We refused for generations to rectify our astronomy because the Gregorian calendar had been invented by the Pope. We still reject the decimal system, which would make the ordinary man at least twice as quick at calculation. In the same way we adhere to the isolated fiscal system which the experience and intelligence of the vast majority of the civilized world condemn—which is disowned, not only by the continental nations, but by the larger part of the English-speaking race in the United States and our own colonies. Germany has tried both systems.

WHY GERMANY ABANDONED FREE TRADE.

She found "free imports" to be incompatible with the due national development of manufacturing industry. Prince Bismarck adopted the tariff in the teeth of all radical prophecy, and the result has been the most remarkable example of industrial and commercial success that the Continent has ever seen. The issue has been fought in America again and again. But again and again the doctrine of "free imports" has been rejected by the vote of the people. In every case the eloquent predictions of woe indulged in by free traders have been falsified, and in every case the anticipations of tariff advocates, like the late President McKinley, have been more than fulfilled. When his policy was adopted it was ridiculed by the Cobden Club. Time has proved that Americans knew their own business better than we did. They believed a tariff to be necessary for a strong home market. They believed a strong home market to be, as Mr. Carnegie would put it, "the strongest weapon that can be used for the conquest of markets abroad."

From the British Blue Book on Foreign Trade, 1903.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON COMMERCE WITH THE PROTECTIVE AND NONPROTECTIVE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, RESPECTIVELY.

The statements which have already been quoted from the London Daily Telegraph, a leading British publication, urging the abandonment of free trade and the substitution of protection as the only means of rescuing British industry and commerce, are based upon a series of tables and statistical statements sent to the British Parliament by the British Board of Trade, the statistical division of the British Government. Its statements regarding the trade conditions of the United Kingdom are accepted the world over as trustworthy, accurate, and an official expression upon the subjects which it is called upon by Parliament to discuss. These statements, submitted to Parliament in August, 1903, in response to a request as to the value of imports and exports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods into and from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States, for as long a series of years as possible, show the relative growth of manufactures and commerce in the four great countries in question, and the gains which the United States, Germany, and France have made under protection upon Great Britain under free trade. The extracts and statements herewith given are quoted verbatim from the British Blue Book, an official publication, issued with the purpose of presenting the facts thus gathered, with especial reference to the effect of the protective and free-trade systems as applied in these four greatest commercial and manufacturing countries of the world.

I quote the following from the British Blue Book on Foreign Trade of 1903.

^aFrom Richard Calwer's *Handel und Wandel*, 1901.

^bIt is also most important to remember that our immense volume of foreign importation means that middlemen are more numerous in this country than in any other, and increase the income-tax returns the more they succeed in displacing the home product by the foreign product.

EXPORT TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO PROTECTED AND UNPROTECTED FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND COLONIES.

The following memorandum with tables deals with the course of the export trade of the United Kingdom carried on during the last half century with protected and unprotected countries and colonies, respectively, with special reference to exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles:

(1) In dealing with this question the first matter to be decided is the division of the foreign and colonial markets of the world into "protected" and "unprotected" groups. It is clear that this division can only be rough and approximate, since foreign and colonial tariffs present all degrees of protective intention and effect. Moreover, during so long a period as half a century, some of the countries have more than once changed their tariff policy. Yet, in order to preserve the continuity of the statistics, the same list of countries must be included throughout in the same group. The difficulty is especially felt in connection with our self-governing colonies, which half a century ago had only just received tariff autonomy, and in some of which it is still doubtful how far the principal aim of their tariffs is protection or revenue.

On the whole, it has seemed best to select a list of the principal protected countries and colonies, which, if not quite complete for all years of the period, is at least typical of the protected markets of the world, and to adhere to this list throughout, grouping all the rest of the world under the title "all other countries or colonies." The latter group includes all the neutral markets of the world, together with some of minor importance in which the tariffs have had a certain protective element, at least during a part of the period considered. The following is the selected list of "principal protected foreign countries": Russia, Spain, Germany, Portugal, France, Italy, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Holland, United States.

The only countries in this list which require explanation are Holland and Belgium. Holland is hardly to be described as a protectionist country, and the Belgian tariff is less protective than those of most continental countries. It is, however, necessary to include both countries in the list, because a large part of the trade recorded in our official returns as between the United Kingdom and Holland and Belgium is in reality trade with Germany which passes through Rotterdam and Antwerp, so that it would be misleading to place Holland or Belgium in a different list from Germany.

The only British colonies which it has seemed proper to consider as "protected" over the period throughout which the statistics extend are Canada and Victoria. India is shown separately, and the remainder are grouped under the head of "All other colonies and possessions."

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF BRITISH FREE TRADE.

The following summary table, which relates solely to the years 1850, 1860, etc., to the year 1902, shows at a glance the changes which have taken place in the distribution of our export trade as between the principal protected and other markets, both as regards our total exports and our exports of manufactures.

The table following shows for each year 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1902 the percentage distribution of (A) exports of all articles of British produce; (B) exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles among principal protected and other countries and colonies:

Classification and years.	Principal protected countries and colonies.		All other countries and colonies.	Total to all countries and colonies.
	Per cent.	Per cent.		
A.—Exports of all articles of British produce.				
1850.....	56	44		100
1860.....	51	49		100
1870.....	53	47		100
1880.....	49	51		100
1890.....	46	54		100
1900.....	45	55		100
1902.....	42	58		100
B.—Exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles.				
1850.....	57	43		100
1860.....	50	50		100
1870.....	50	50		100
1880.....	47	53		100
1890.....	44	56		100
1900.....	42	58		100
1902.....	38	62		100

The summary shows that in the period 1850-1902 the proportionate distribution of our total exports as between the protected and unprotected markets of the world has been reversed, the proportions in 1850 being 56 to protected and 44 to other markets, whereas in 1902 the proportions were 42 to protected and 58 to other markets.

Taking the category of manufactured articles separately, the change has been even more marked, the proportions in 1850 being, protected, 57; other, 43; and in 1902, protected, 38, and other, 62. The change has been a continuous one, but it operated most rapidly during the first decade (1850-1860) and during the last few years (1890-1902). No doubt some allowance should be made for the expansion of the British Empire which took place during these two periods—e.g., the consolidation of the Indian Empire in the fifties and the extension of British dominions and protectorates in Africa in recent years. But after allowing for this there can be no doubt as to the effect of continental and American tariffs in checking our export trade, especially in manufactured articles, with the group of "protected countries" during the last two decades.

Summary Table II, which relates to the same series of years as the last, shows clearly the changes which have taken place from 1850 to the present time in value of our total exports and of our exports of manufactured articles to each of the main groups of protected and other countries and colonies and also the gradual changes in the proportion borne by manufactures to total exports to each of these groups. In drawing conclusions from the figures it is desirable to have regard to the caution already given to the effect that certain classes of prepared foods and drinks, such as confectionery, beer, etc., which are really of the nature of manufactured articles, are not included under that head.

The table following shows, for each year 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1902, the value of (I) total British exports; (II) exports of goods manufactured or partly manufactured in the United Kingdom to the principal protected and other countries and colonies, and (III) percentage which manufactured and partly manufactured articles formed of the total exports to each group.

TOTAL BRITISH EXPORTS BY DECADES UNDER FREE TRADE.
[Amounts given in thousand pounds sterling.]

Classification and years.	Principal protected countries and colonies.			All other countries and colonies.				Total to all countries and colonies.
	Foreign countries.	Colonies (Canada and Victoria).	Total.	Foreign countries.	India.	Other colonies.	Total.	
I.—Exports of all articles of British produce.^a								
1850.....	36,180	3,481	39,661	15,759	7,242	8,706	31,707	71,368
1860.....	61,080	8,639	69,719	31,146	16,965	18,061	66,172	135,891
1870.....	94,521	10,570	105,091	53,251	19,304	21,941	94,496	199,587
1880.....	97,743	11,779	109,522	50,063	30,451	33,024	113,538	223,060
1890.....	107,640	13,928	121,568	68,521	33,641	39,801	141,963	263,531
1900.....	115,147	13,276	128,423	73,910	29,829	50,442	154,181	282,604
1902.....	100,753	15,284	116,037	69,095	32,563	59,857	161,515	277,552
II.—Exports of manufactured and partly manufactured articles.								
1850.....	34,842	3,243	38,085	(b)	-----	(b)	28,715	66,800
1860.....	55,060	6,895	61,955	(b)	16,083	(b)	62,915	124,900
1870.....	81,987	8,968	90,955	(b)	18,040	(b)	91,405	182,400
1880.....	83,401	9,948	93,349	(b)	29,112	(b)	104,851	198,200
1890.....	88,931	12,785	101,696	60,808	32,089	34,217	127,104	228,800
1900.....	82,437	12,067	94,504	59,659	28,519	43,177	130,896	225,200
1902.....	73,753	13,300	87,053	57,905	30,873	52,435	140,538	227,000
III.—Percentage which manufactured and partly manufactured articles form of total exports.								
1850.....	96	93	96	(b)	-----	(b)	91	94
1860.....	90	80	89	(b)	95	(b)	95	92
1870.....	86	85	87	(b)	93	(b)	97	91
1880.....	85	84	85	(b)	96	(b)	92	89
1890.....	83	92	84	89	95	86	90	87
1900.....	72	91	75	81	95	86	85	80
1902.....	73	87	74	84	95	88	87	82

^a Except ships.

^b Can not be stated.

It appears from this summary that the proportion of manufactured to total exports has gradually fallen from 94 per cent in 1850 to 80 per cent in 1900, whence it has risen to 82 per cent in 1902. The main cause of the decreasing percentage has been the growth of our exports of coal, and the increased percentage since 1900 is no doubt mainly attributable to the fall in the value of our coal exports since the high prices of 1900. This increased percentage of manufactures as between 1900 and 1902 is therefore more apparent than real.

Taking the principal groups of markets separately, we see that while the

percentage of manufactures to total exports to protected countries and colonies fell continuously from 96 per cent in 1850 to 74 per cent in 1900 the corresponding percentage to "All other countries and colonies" only declined from 91 per cent to 85 per cent. This shows that, as may also be inferred from the figures in the previous summary, the manufactured element in our exports to protected markets is declining considerably faster than in the case of other markets. In the case of India manufactures formed 95 per cent of our exports in 1900, the same percentage as in 1860, the first year for which comparable figures can be given.

TABLE II.—Total exports of British produce, distinguishing the principal protected foreign countries, the principal protected colonies, other foreign countries, India, and other British possessions.

[Amounts given in thousand pounds sterling.]

Year.	Foreign countries.			British possessions.			Grand total.
	Principal protected countries.	All other countries.	Total.	Principal protected colonies (Canada and Victoria).	India.	All other colonies and possessions.	
1850.....	36,180	15,759	51,939	3,481	7,242	8,706	71,368
1851.....	35,987	18,063	54,050	4,084	7,022	9,293	74,443
1852.....	39,227	18,566	57,793	4,381	6,483	9,420	78,677
1853.....	47,375	18,226	65,601	11,637	7,324	14,372	87,304
1854.....	44,033	18,640	62,673	11,363	9,128	13,361	85,152
1855.....	45,244	23,891	69,135	5,294	9,949	11,310	90,384
1856.....	57,113	25,414	82,527	9,195	10,546	13,559	111,232
1857.....	57,656	27,255	84,911	10,413	11,667	15,075	113,055
1858.....	51,374	25,012	76,386	8,151	16,735	15,289	102,401
1859.....	57,656	26,612	84,268	9,611	19,845	16,688	113,111
1860.....	61,080	31,146	92,226	8,639	16,965	18,061	127,252
1861.....	54,149	28,709	82,858	8,825	16,412	17,007	116,082
1862.....	56,555	25,542	82,097	9,391	14,618	17,886	113,991
1863.....	61,352	34,371	95,723	10,174	20,002	20,739	136,634
1864.....	64,179	44,556	108,735	10,521	19,951	21,242	150,429
1865.....	72,625	45,004	117,629	10,063	18,290	19,894	155,819
1866.....	81,845	53,353	135,198	12,541	20,010	21,169	176,818
1867.....	80,579	50,583	131,162	10,034	21,805	17,961	170,949
1868.....	82,612	47,301	129,913	10,184	21,252	18,429	169,774
1869.....	91,479	50,402	141,881	11,030	17,590	19,474	178,945
1870.....	94,521	53,252	147,773	10,570	19,304	21,941	189,587
1871.....	119,550	52,266	171,816	12,011	18,033	21,186	202,006
1872.....	132,857	62,804	195,701	15,579	18,471	25,505	221,757
1873.....	126,681	62,155	188,836	14,757	21,354	30,218	225,851
1874.....	112,648	54,030	166,678	15,739	24,081	32,410	203,898
1875.....	101,131	51,243	152,374	14,953	24,246	31,893	189,514
1876.....	90,534	45,246	135,780	13,101	22,405	29,353	167,538
1877.....	82,500	46,470	128,970	13,725	25,338	30,860	165,163
1878.....	81,676	44,935	126,611	11,787	23,277	31,174	159,068
1879.....	86,629	43,901	130,530	9,548	21,374	30,080	160,582
1880.....	97,743	50,063	147,806	11,779	20,451	33,024	181,051
1881.....	99,410	55,248	154,658	14,195	29,244	35,925	199,902
1882.....	102,952	53,689	156,641	16,258	29,059	39,509	204,419
1883.....	100,436	55,886	156,322	15,000	31,874	36,514	198,706
1884.....	97,409	54,740	152,149	14,702	30,584	35,530	192,459
1885.....	86,592	48,528	135,120	13,545	29,314	35,136	174,969
1886.....	87,917	49,137	137,054	14,324	31,397	34,950	173,471
1887.....	92,395	54,149	146,544	13,727	30,659	30,984	178,216
1888.....	92,335	57,958	150,293	16,046	32,615	35,581	184,524
1889.....	100,686	64,970	165,656	15,462	31,048	36,769	203,473
1890.....	107,640	68,520	176,160	13,929	33,641	39,801	219,531
1891.....	99,544	61,735	161,279	14,070	31,178	40,708	203,165
1892.....	92,736	59,732	152,468	17,598	27,934	35,216	195,714
1893.....	89,436	56,674	146,110	10,012	28,815	33,323	184,349

TABLE II.—Total exports of British produce, distinguishing the principal protected foreign countries, etc.—Continued.

Year.	Foreign countries.			British possessions.			Grand total.	
	Principal protected countries.	All other countries.	Total.	Principal protected colonies (Canada and Victoria).	India.	All other colonies and possessions.		Total.
1864	85,807	57,410	143,217	9,307	29,340	34,142	72,789	216,006
1865	96,474	59,457	155,931	9,224	24,753	36,230	70,197	226,128
1866	92,013	63,996	156,009	10,185	30,088	43,854	84,137	240,146
1867	92,914	60,631	153,545	9,794	27,382	43,499	80,675	234,220
1868	89,294	60,638	149,932	10,471	29,730	43,226	83,427	233,359
1869	102,772	65,908	168,680	11,719	31,227	44,274	87,220	255,905
1870	115,147	73,910	189,057	13,276	29,829	50,442	93,547	282,604
1871	96,957	69,583	166,540	13,140	34,903	56,290	104,333	270,873
1872	100,753	69,065	169,818	15,284	32,563	59,857	107,704	277,562

TABLE III.—Exports of articles manufactured or partly manufactured in the United Kingdom to (a) all countries and colonies, (b) principal protected foreign countries, (c) principal protected colonies, (d) all other foreign countries and colonies, and (e) India. [Amounts given in thousand pounds sterling.]

Year.	Value of exports of articles wholly or partly manufactured to—					Year.	Value of exports of articles wholly or partly manufactured to—				
	All countries.	Principal protected foreign countries.	Principal protected British colonies (Canada and Victoria).	All other countries and colonies.	India. ^a		All countries.	Principal protected foreign countries.	Principal protected British colonies (Canada and Victoria).	All other countries and colonies.	India. ^a
1850	66,800	34,812	3,213	25,715	(b)	1877	178,300	71,086	11,554	95,660	24,071
1851	69,600	34,553	3,758	31,289	(b)	1878	173,000	69,927	9,974	93,039	22,113
1852	72,900	37,255	3,942	31,703	(b)	1879	170,300	73,975	8,062	88,263	20,519
1853	92,100	45,010	10,357	36,733	(b)	1880	198,200	83,401	9,958	104,851	32,112
1854	88,700	41,282	9,827	37,591	(b)	1881	209,100	85,210	12,167	111,723	28,074
1855	85,100	40,391	4,406	40,303	(b)	1882	214,900	87,892	14,043	112,905	27,897
1856	104,800	51,538	7,578	44,684	(b)	1883	213,300	85,621	13,015	114,664	30,569
1857	110,500	52,084	8,584	49,832	(b)	1884	206,300	82,486	12,948	110,866	29,361
1858	106,300	46,783	6,599	52,918	(b)	1885	188,100	77,981	11,960	103,159	27,848
1859	119,100	51,973	7,709	59,418	(b)	1886	188,100	74,230	12,815	101,055	29,828
1860	124,900	55,090	6,895	62,915	16,083	1887	196,200	77,957	12,407	105,836	29,126
1861	112,700	47,794	7,016	57,890	15,591	1888	206,100	77,128	14,699	114,273	30,984
1862	112,000	49,854	7,530	54,616	13,887	1889	218,800	84,208	14,178	120,414	29,495
1863	133,900	54,444	8,321	71,135	19,002	1890	228,800	88,931	12,765	127,161	32,089
1864	148,000	57,094	8,623	82,283	18,755	1891	215,400	81,081	12,858	119,461	29,784
1865	153,100	64,337	8,398	80,365	17,165	1892	195,600	75,288	10,694	109,618	26,517
1866	174,400	72,530	10,480	91,390	18,809	1893	189,100	72,548	9,337	107,215	27,547
1867	166,700	69,770	8,500	88,430	20,497	1894	183,500	67,528	8,642	107,330	27,936
1868	165,100	72,016	8,572	84,512	19,764	1895	191,700	77,153	8,704	108,843	23,422
1869	175,200	80,239	9,456	85,505	16,331	1896	209,800	73,654	9,747	126,389	28,933
1870	182,100	81,397	8,998	91,405	18,040	1897	200,900	73,040	9,355	118,505	26,294
1871	201,100	103,047	10,116	87,937	16,790	1898	198,000	68,671	9,921	119,408	28,555
1872	233,400	116,155	13,301	103,944	17,178	1899	213,500	77,983	11,098	124,419	29,929
1873	223,900	108,774	12,373	107,753	20,073	1900	225,300	82,337	12,067	130,596	28,519
1874	214,400	96,220	13,333	104,847	22,636	1901	221,000	70,200	11,792	133,038	33,569
1875	201,200	87,288	12,607	101,305	22,732	1902	227,600	73,753	13,309	140,538	30,873
1876	179,500	77,621	10,972	90,907	21,285						

^aOwing to its importance, India, although included under "All other countries and colonies," has also been shown separately. ^bFigures not available.

NOTE.—The figures in *italics* are ascertained from analysis of the official trade accounts; the intermediate figures are estimated. The method of estimating may be made clear by a single example: A comparison of the ascertained figures for 1880 and 1890 in Tables II and III shows that manufactured and partly manufactured articles formed 85 per cent of our total exports to the "Principal protected foreign countries" in 1880 and 83 per cent in 1890. For the year 1885 it has therefore been assumed at 84 per cent. But in 1885 our total exports to "Principal protected foreign countries" are shown in Table II to have been £86,592,000. Our exports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods to the group in 1885 are consequently estimated provisionally at 84 per cent of this total, viz. £72,737,000. The corresponding figures for the other groups are similarly calculated, and finally the figures thus arrived at are "adjusted" so as to add exactly to the ascertained total of £188,100,000 for the exports of manufactured goods in 1885. It is believed that the estimates arrived at in this manner are sufficiently close for all practical purposes.

TABLE IV.—Value of exports to protected and unprotected markets of certain classes of British produce.

[Amounts given in thousand pounds sterling.]

(1) COTTON YARN AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF.

Year.	Value of exports of British produce to—				
	All countries.	Principal protected foreign countries.	Principal protected colonies (Victoria and Canada).	All other countries and colonies.	India.
1850	28,257	11,043	656	16,558	(a)
1860	52,012	15,814	930	35,268	10,773
1870	71,416	18,886	1,074	51,456	12,836
1880	75,564	15,980	1,622	57,962	21,088
1890	74,431	14,620	1,514	58,297	21,240
1900	69,751	13,840	2,243	53,668	17,591
1902	72,458	13,098	2,345	56,415	18,442

(2) WOOLEN AND WORSTED YARN AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF.

Year.	Value of exports of British produce to—				
	All countries.	Principal protected foreign countries.	Principal protected colonies (Victoria and Canada).	All other countries and colonies.	India.
1850	10,040	7,372	601	2,067	(a)
1860	16,070	11,223	862	3,985	267
1870	26,814	19,611	1,528	5,677	391
1880	21,488	13,526	1,727	6,235	632
1890	25,679	17,413	1,890	6,406	560
1900	21,806	11,475	2,160	8,171	643
1902	20,459	10,518	2,434	7,507	523

TABLE IV.—Value of exports to protected and unprotected markets of certain classes of British produce—Continued.
(3) LINEN YARN AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF.

Year.	Value of exports of British produce to—				
	All countries.	Principal protected foreign countries.	Principal protected colonies (Victoria and Canada).	All other countries and colonies.	India.
1850	4,829	3,138	124	1,567	(a)
1860	6,606	4,618	110	1,878	62
1870	9,612	6,261	253	3,098	73
1880	6,814	4,895	349	1,570	68
1890	6,577	4,384	368	1,825	103
1900	6,159	4,052	417	1,690	105
1902	6,272	4,208	424	1,640	132

(4) IRON, STEEL, AND OTHER METALS AND MANUFACTURES THEREOF.

1850	8,785	5,650	551	2,584	(a)
1860	17,476	9,767	1,146	6,563	3,113
1870	28,365	17,746	1,830	8,789	2,973
1880	32,000	17,626	2,383	11,991	3,547
1890	38,304	16,895	2,964	18,445	4,368
1900	37,638	15,171	1,844	20,623	3,761
1902	34,617	11,359	2,734	20,524	4,257

(5) MACHINERY AND MILL WORK.

1850	1,042	630	8	404	(a)
1860	3,838	1,869	179	1,790	625
1870	5,293	2,974	132	2,187	288
1880	9,264	5,797	216	3,251	856
1890	16,411	7,807	407	8,197	1,801
1900	19,620	10,892	365	8,363	1,916
1902	18,755	8,342	320	10,093	2,659

(6) COAL, COKE, CINDERS, AND PATENT FUEL.

1850	1,284	764	20	500	(a)
1860	3,372	2,005	63	1,304	92
1870	5,638	3,173	96	2,369	152
1880	8,373	4,822	65	3,486	317
1890	19,020	10,417	24	8,579	491
1900	38,620	23,349	32	15,239	129
1902	27,581	15,744	105	11,732	162

^aFigures for India in 1850 are incomplete, and have been omitted throughout.

TABLE V.—Value and per cent of exports to protected and unprotected markets of all articles of British production except coal, machinery, and ships. [Amounts given in thousand pounds sterling.]

Year.	Value of exports of British produce to—									
	All countries.		Principal protected foreign countries.		Principal protected colonies (Victoria and Canada).		All other countries and colonies.		India.	
		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.	(a)	(a)
1850	69,042	100	34,786	50.4	3,453	5	30,803	44.6	(a)	(a)
1860	128,681	100	57,206	44.5	8,397	6.5	63,078	49	16,247	12.6
1870	188,656	100	88,374	46.8	10,342	5.5	89,940	47.7	18,864	10
1880	205,423	100	87,124	42.4	11,498	5.6	106,801	52	29,278	14.3
1890	228,100	100	89,416	39.2	13,497	5.9	125,187	54.9	31,349	13.7
1900	224,364	100	80,906	36.1	12,879	5.7	130,579	58.2	27,784	12.4
1902	231,216	100	76,667	33.2	14,859	6.4	139,690	60.4	29,742	12.9

^aFigures for India in 1850 are incomplete, and have been omitted throughout.

Value of the imports into the United Kingdom of articles manufactured or partly manufactured (excluding articles of food and drink and tobacco) from the undermentioned selected foreign countries during each of the years 1890 to 1902.

Countries from whence imported.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
From United States:							
(1) Manufactures	£10,279,669	£10,617,552	£10,300,898	£11,341,306	£10,814,304	£10,552,411	£13,672,663
(2) Total imports	97,233,349	104,409,050	108,186,317	91,783,847	89,607,392	86,548,860	100,347,319
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	10.6	10.2	9.5	12.4	12.1	12.2	12.9
From Germany:							
(1) Manufactures	9,447,584	10,138,913	9,591,754	9,424,422	10,351,859	10,499,059	11,765,442
(2) Total imports	26,073,331	27,031,743	25,736,738	26,364,849	26,874,470	26,992,559	27,585,232
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	36.2	37.5	37.3	35.7	38.5	38.9	42.7
From Belgium:							
(1) Manufactures	12,680,772	12,960,332	12,630,596	11,697,307	12,108,282	12,557,220	14,022,386
(2) Total imports	17,383,776	17,253,265	17,013,967	16,848,979	17,032,404	17,545,169	19,221,408
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	72.9	75.3	74.2	69.4	71.0	71.6	73.0
From Holland:							
(1) Manufactures	15,447,380	16,075,264	17,097,901	16,970,218	16,100,790	16,699,005	16,927,417
(2) Total imports	25,000,924	27,301,657	28,820,921	28,851,490	27,606,397	28,419,944	29,361,023
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	59.6	58.9	59.3	58.8	58.3	58.7	57.8
From France:							
(1) Manufactures	25,848,000	24,484,527	25,124,753	24,439,466	25,062,478	29,165,605	30,652,375
(2) Total imports	44,828,148	44,777,480	43,519,130	43,658,090	43,450,074	47,470,583	50,104,971
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	57.7	54.7	57.7	56.0	57.7	61.4	61.2
From Russia:							
(1) Manufactures	2,778,239	2,568,054	2,770,627	2,482,592	2,930,327	3,242,593	2,801,537
(2) Total imports	23,730,898	24,110,251	15,122,677	18,574,595	23,598,748	24,796,919	22,677,443
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	11.7	10.6	18.3	13.4	12.4	13.1	12.4
From Italy:							
(1) Manufactures	1,950,154	2,201,445	2,072,468	1,596,471	1,778,344	1,711,587	1,787,290
(2) Total imports	3,003,918	3,419,281	3,284,486	2,948,336	3,129,173	3,132,720	3,192,856
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	63.0	64.4	63.1	54.2	56.8	54.6	55.9

Value of the imports into the United Kingdom of articles manufactured or partly manufactured, etc.—Continued.

Countries from whence imported.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
From United States:						
(1) Manufactures	£14,247,233	£17,552,315	£19,293,400	£21,317,411	£20,017,687	£20,930,627
(2) Total imports	113,041,627	126,062,155	120,081,188	138,789,261	141,015,465	126,961,601
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	12.6	13.9	16.1	15.4	14.2	16.5
From Germany:						
(1) Manufactures	11,646,459	12,233,908	13,080,235	13,431,875	14,452,718	16,057,059
(2) Total imports	26,189,469	28,534,159	30,123,058	31,181,667	32,207,214	33,633,956
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	44.5	42.9	43.4	43.1	44.9	47.7
From Belgium:						
(1) Manufactures	15,522,372	16,360,918	17,212,397	16,776,556	18,391,617	20,684,253
(2) Total imports	20,865,812	21,534,313	22,861,967	23,502,693	24,696,081	26,538,759
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	74.3	76.0	75.3	71.4	74.6	77.9
From Holland:						
(1) Manufactures	16,035,434	15,383,344	16,476,595	16,739,238	18,135,261	19,786,587
(2) Total imports	28,971,316	28,532,904	30,473,489	32,381,023	32,871,843	34,842,529
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	55.3	53.9	54.1	53.3	55.2	53.8
From France:						
(1) Manufactures	31,647,204	31,268,442	31,987,245	31,630,371	29,751,589	31,071,413
(2) Total imports	53,346,833	51,386,733	53,000,788	53,618,656	51,213,424	50,642,928
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	59.3	60.8	60.4	57.1	58.1	61.4
From Russia:						
(1) Manufactures	3,046,215	3,154,679	3,235,179	2,771,985	3,160,056	3,084,804
(2) Total imports	22,284,395	19,489,514	18,711,168	21,983,652	21,903,574	25,673,958
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	13.7	16.2	17.5	12.6	14.4	12.0
From Italy:						
(1) Manufactures	1,893,711	1,803,008	2,002,555	1,762,784	1,769,706	1,901,486
(2) Total imports	3,317,292	3,332,213	3,637,086	3,417,790	3,383,858	3,582,246
(3) Percentage of manufactures to total imports	57.1	54.1	55.1	51.6	52.3	53.1

Value of exports from the United Kingdom of articles manufactured or partly manufactured in the United Kingdom (excluding articles of food, drink, and tobacco and ships) to the undermentioned destinations during each of the years 1890 to 1902.

Destinations.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Principal foreign countries:							
Germany	£15,950,000	£15,150,000	£14,492,000	£14,853,000	£14,550,000	£17,297,000	£19,175,000
Belgium	6,766,000	6,474,000	6,139,000	6,429,000	6,829,000	6,516,000	6,947,000
Holland	9,332,000	8,546,000	8,138,000	8,628,000	8,137,000	6,725,000	7,542,000
France	12,537,000	12,415,000	11,050,000	10,293,000	10,135,000	10,649,000	11,024,000
Russia	4,649,000	4,347,000	4,316,000	5,235,000	5,632,000	5,807,000	6,023,000
Italy	5,246,000	4,131,000	3,415,000	3,216,000	3,044,000	3,457,000	3,476,000
United States	29,089,000	24,735,000	23,864,000	21,087,000	16,464,000	24,985,000	18,129,000
Total of above countries	83,629,000	75,858,000	71,414,000	69,801,000	64,791,000	75,416,000	72,326,000
Total of all foreign countries	149,651,000	135,265,000	128,111,000	123,323,000	117,907,000	131,566,000	133,685,000
British colonies and possessions:							
British India	32,089,000	23,784,000	26,517,000	27,547,000	27,928,000	23,422,000	28,023,000
Self-governing colonies	35,516,000	33,908,000	31,281,000	28,041,000	27,597,000	30,177,000	37,671,000
Other British colonies and possessions	11,549,000	11,380,000	9,710,000	10,230,000	10,136,000	9,580,000	10,161,000
Total	79,154,000	78,162,000	67,508,000	65,808,000	65,649,000	63,179,000	76,755,000
Total of all destinations	228,805,000	213,427,000	195,619,000	189,136,000	183,556,000	194,745,000	209,840,000
PERCENTAGES.							
Foreign countries	Per cent. 65	Per cent. 64	Per cent. 65	Per cent. 65	Per cent. 64	Per cent. 68	Per cent. 63
British India	14	4	14	15	15	12	14
Self-governing colonies	16	17	16	15	15	15	18
Other British colonies and possessions	5	5	5	5	6	5	5

Destinations.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.
Principal foreign countries:						
Germany	£18,223,000	£18,802,000	£20,761,000	£19,839,000	£16,681,000	£16,442,000
Belgium	7,226,000	7,697,000	8,199,000	8,822,000	6,703,000	7,061,000
Holland	7,977,000	8,688,000	8,030,000	8,679,000	7,297,000	6,829,000
France	10,458,000	10,048,000	10,843,000	1,723,000	10,062,000	10,259,000
Russia	6,312,000	7,681,000	8,797,000	7,365,000	6,376,000	6,209,000
Italy	3,354,000	3,207,000	3,862,000	3,077,000	3,457,000	3,578,000
United States	17,662,000	12,544,000	15,213,000	16,499,000	15,275,000	19,498,000
Total of above countries	71,212,000	68,665,000	75,705,000	77,004,000	65,851,000	69,837,000
Total of all foreign countries	127,774,000	122,804,000	134,858,000	142,200,000	128,116,000	131,683,000
British colonies and possessions:						
British India	26,294,000	28,555,000	29,920,000	28,519,000	33,569,000	30,873,000
Self-governing colonies	36,241,000	35,264,000	35,563,000	41,779,000	45,266,000	52,211,000
Other British colonies and possessions	10,600,000	11,431,000	12,162,000	12,685,000	14,100,000	12,875,000
Total	73,135,000	75,250,000	78,645,000	82,963,000	92,935,000	95,959,000
Total of all destinations	200,909,000	198,054,000	213,503,000	225,163,000	221,051,000	227,642,000
PERCENTAGES.						
Foreign countries	Per cent. 64	Per cent. 62	Per cent. 63	Per cent. 63	Per cent. 58	Per cent. 58
British India	13	14	14	13	15	13
Self-governing colonies	18	18	17	18	21	23
Other British colonies and possessions	5	6	6	6	6	6

NOTE.—The above figures are exclusive of the value of "ships and boats (new) with their machinery" which was not recorded in the trade returns prior to 1899.

Proportion of the total imports and exports of manufactured articles into and from the undermentioned countries which were derived from or exported to the United Kingdom in each of the years from 1890 to 1901, inclusive.

Year.	Imports of manufactures.					Exports of manufactures.				
	Proportion derived from the United Kingdom.					Proportion exported to the United Kingdom.				
	Germany (estimated)	France.	Russia.	Italy (estimated).	United States (years ended June 30, estimated).	Germany (estimated).	France.	Russia.	Italy (estimated).	United States (years ended June 30).
1890	47.1	38.8	23.3	40.3	48.4	10.9	26.3	2.7	9.9	(a)
1891	47.1	36.7	25.8	(a)	47.3	11.7	26.8	2.6	(a)	(a)
1892	49.4	36.6	28.5	31.7	44.1	11.3	30.6	2.4	8.4	24.5
1893	49.2	38.1	26.3	33.4	44.6	11.3	29.6	2.3	7.2	23.9
1894	46.6	38.4	27	31	39.8	12.3	29.1	4.3	7.4	25.4
1895	46.5	39.9	22.8	29.5	44.5	11.2	30.2	4	6.7	29.5
1896	48.9	38.9	21	31.8	45.6	12.2	29.8	3.6	6.8	28.9
1897	48	36.6	21.2	26.3	42.9	13	30.3	3.3	7.4	30.5
1898	44.9	34.8	21.5	27.6	40.3	12.8	28.9	3	6.5	27.2
1899	45.2	32.3	22.3	23.9	37.8	12.2	30.9	3.6	7.1	26
1900	40.3	29.7	19.9	22.8	42.2	11.8	29.5	3.2	7.5	22.4
1901	34.4	28.5	(a)	17.6	36.5	13.4	30.8	(a)	6.6	24.7

NOTE.—Trustworthy figures or estimates can not be given for Belgium and Holland.

^aInformation not available.

STATISTICS OF THE TIN-PLATE TRADE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BRITISH EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER DESTINATIONS, AND THE EFFECT OF THE UNITED STATES TARIFF THEREON.

In view of the important influence exercised by recent tariff changes in the United States on the export of tin plate from this country to the American market, it has been thought of interest to bring together in tabular form some of the more important statistics bearing on the recent history of the tin-plate trade. The periods compared are those during which the various tariff laws of the United States have been in operation, years in which important tariff changes took place being omitted.

With reference to III (exports with drawback) it should be explained that 99 per cent of the American import duty on tin plate is returned in the form of drawback on the exportation of articles manufactured from such tin plate. Our exports of tin plate to the United States are now practically confined to such "drawback" plate.

As regards the growth of our exports of tin plate to other destinations, the principal countries to which we exported tin plate in 1902, other than the United States, were Germany, Holland, and Belgium (47,000 tons), Russia (31,000 tons), Canada (23,000 tons), France (19,000 tons), Australia (19,000 tons), India (17,000 tons).

Statistics of the tin-plate trade with special reference to British exports to the United States and other destinations, and the effect of the United States tariff thereon.

Statistics of the tin-plate trade.	Annual average for 1887-1890. (Four years before McKinley tariff.)	Annual average for 1892-93. (Two years of operation of McKinley tariff.)	Annual average for 1895-96. (Two years of operation of Wilson tariff.)	Annual average for 1898-1901. (Four years of operation of Dingley tariff.)	1902. (Dingley tariff still in force.)
I. Exports of British tin plate:					
Value—					
To United States of America	£4,273,667	£3,527,568	£1,927,572	£806,600	£887,432
To other destinations	1,403,974	1,633,190	1,710,682	2,591,794	3,445,734
Total	5,682,641	5,160,758	3,637,604	3,398,394	4,333,166
Quantity—					
To United States of America	Tons. 304,695	Tons. 287,040	Tons. 168,063	Tons. 65,687	Tons. 65,142
To other destinations	94,634	120,271	148,479	197,194	246,727
Total	399,329	387,311	316,542	262,881	311,869
Percentage of total exports taken by United States	76	69	53	25	21
II. Production of tin plate in United States	Tons. 61,125	Tons. 36,993	Tons. 137,014	Tons. 347,437	Tons. 396,000
III. Tin plate exported from United States with drawback		a 54,334	b 56,597	c 57,451	(d)
IV. Import duty on tin plate in United States	Per ton. £4.60	Per ton. £10.12	Per ton. £5.52	Per ton. £6.90	Per ton. £6.90
V. Average price of American tin plate delivered at New York		£3.34	£6.62	f 19.86	f 19.49
VI. Average declared value of British tin plate exported to United States	14.01	13.21	11.43	12.28	13.62
VII. Average number of tin-plate mills working in United Kingdom	Number. (d)	Number. (d)	Number. g 318	Number. 353	Number. 367

^aTotal for 1893. ^cAverage for 1898-1900. ^eAverage for 1888-1890. ^gAverage for 1896, the first year for which these figures are available.
^bTotal for 1895. ^dNo information. ^fPrices for 1899 are "f. o. b. mill."

NOTE.—Date of McKinley tariff, October 1, 1890. (The section dealing with tin plate, however, did not come into operation until July 1, 1891); date of Wilson tariff, August 23, 1894; date of Dingley tariff, July 24, 1897.

MEMORANDUM ON THE COMPARATIVE LEVEL OF WAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, UNITED STATES, GERMANY, AND FRANCE AT THE PRESENT TIME.

The present memorandum embodies an attempt to make a comparison of the present level of wages in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, and France, so far as the available data enable this to be done.

At the outset it should be understood that the problem of comparing the average level of wages in different countries is a very difficult and complex one, not only because of the defects of the data, but also because of the essential ambiguity of the problem itself.

(1) We may approach the question of comparative wages from two entirely different points of view, leading to divergent and sometimes even to opposite conclusions. We may either seek to compare the material well-being of the wage-earners or the wages cost of a given amount of work.

From the former point of view we are mainly interested in the average income of the wage-earning population, modified, of course, by differences in cost of living, but irrespective of differences in the efficiency of labor. If a bricklayer in France earns half the weekly wages of a bricklayer in America, we should say his wages are half as great, although conceivably the American

might lay so many more bricks per hour that his labor might be even cheaper to his employer.

From the second point of view we are interested, not in the weekly income of the laborer, but in his wages regarded as an item in the cost of production—i. e., the wages cost of hewing a ton of coal, spinning a pound of yarn, or laying a hundred bricks, of course under identical conditions.

How entirely divergent are the above two methods of comparison will be realized from the fact that competent American economists are of opinion that in the United States the average "labor cost" of a given volume of production is at least as low as in Europe, if not lower, while the average income of the working classes is certainly higher in America than in any European country.

However this may be, it is clear that the real cost of labor varies much less from country to country than the level of weekly wages or of yearly earnings, and that a high labor cost is compatible with low wages, and vice versa, owing to the variations in the efficiency of labor.

This being the case, it seems convenient to confine the term "wages," for the purpose of the present comparison, entirely to the money income of the workmen for a given period, and to employ the term "cost of labor" to express the wages cost of a given quantity of work of a given quality.

With the latter question, important as it is in relation to industrial efficiency, we are not concerned in the present memorandum.

(2) Having thus cleared away the greatest cause of confusion in comparative statistics of wages, we have still to consider several possible modes of procedure.

Are we to compare wages per hour, per week, or per year? The question between the hour on the one hand and the week or year on the other as the unit of comparison is of great importance, as it involves the question whether or not the differences of the average hours of labor are to be taken into account. If a German laborer at a blast furnace earns the same wages for a twelve-hour shift as a similar workman in the Cleveland district for an eight-hour shift, are the wages to be deemed identical, or is the English workman to be reckoned as earning half as much again as the German? There is much to be said on both sides of this question, but on balance of considerations it has been decided in the present investigation to ignore the question of hours of labor altogether. If necessary a similar comparison of hours of labor could be instituted to supplement the comparison of average wages, but it is thought best not to mix up the two questions for the following reasons:

(a) One of the principal objects of the comparison is to compare the incomes of the working classes in relation to their consuming capacity, etc., and for this purpose we want weekly and not hourly wages.

(b) If we reckon the English blast-furnace man as more highly paid because he only works eight hours as against twelve hours in Germany, it seems necessary to go farther and allow for differences in the intensity of work during those hours. We are thus driven into questions of efficiency, which we expressly set aside as bearing on cost of labor rather than on wages.

It is, therefore, to be distinctly understood that besides the difference of wages level, ascertained from the statistics given below, there is a difference in the number of hours worked per week, for which no allowance is made.

Generally speaking, the countries compared stand in the following order as regards the length of the current hours of labor: Germany, France, United States, United Kingdom.

The question between the week and the year as the unit of comparison is of far less importance, and we should probably reach much the same result by either method. It may be said at once that the existing data are too incomplete to enable us to make a free choice in this matter. In some cases we find it necessary to compare yearly income, in some cases weekly wages, according to the nature of the data.

(3) Are we to compare wages in identical occupations, or the average wages prevalent throughout entire groups of trades, or throughout all the industries of the countries compared?

Whatever course we adopt we shall almost certainly arrive at the same conclusion so far as concerns the order in which the countries will be ranged, but the various methods will be found to yield very materially different results as regards the actual proportions which the average wages in the various countries bear to one another.

MANY WAGES IN UNITED STATES DOUBLE THOSE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Forexample, if we merely compared wage rates for identical skilled occupations (e. g., for carpenters, bricklayers, etc.) in America and the United Kingdom, we should arrive at the conclusion that American wages are not far from double those prevalent in this country. If, on the other hand, we compared the average rates for all workmen engaged in certain large groups of trades (iron, textile, building, etc.), we should find that though American wages are considerably higher than English they are very far from being double. The chief explanation of the difference is that the prevalence of high rates of wages leads to increased subdivision and graduation of labor, so that the proportion borne by the more highly paid to the less highly paid classes will naturally be smaller in a country where the general level of wages is very high than where wages are generally low.

If, again, instead of comparing average wages of individuals, we compare average income of working-class families, the difference of level in favor of America would be still further reduced, since the extent to which the earnings of the head of the family are supplemented by wife or children is smaller in America than in the United Kingdom.

Again, the proportion borne by agricultural to industrial population in the United States is higher than in the United Kingdom. Ought this to be allowed for in the comparison or not?

The answers to be given to the above questions depend naturally on the point of view. If we merely wish to ascertain the average income of a working-class family in each country we should naturally take into account all classes of laborers as nearly as possible in the proportions which they actually bear to one another. In countries mainly agricultural the result would be almost entirely dominated by agricultural labor; in more advanced countries the bulk of the laborers would be industrial. There is much to be said logically for this method of comparison, but it is open to the grave objection that it may lead to strange and even paradoxical results in making comparisons between countries with very different staple industries. In speaking of wages as higher or lower in one country than another it is usually assumed that the kinds of industries compared are on the whole sufficiently similar to enable comparison to be fairly made, e. g., cotton spinning with cotton spinning, coal mining with coal mining, etc.

It has therefore seemed best to confine the present comparison entirely to the principal groups of industrial occupations, omitting agriculture, which presents special difficulties of its own, owing to the prevalence of payment in kind. It is, however, necessary in considering the results arrived at to bear in mind that no allowance is made for the different distribution of the staple industries.

As regards the question between comparing rates for particular occupations or average family income throughout large groups of trades, both methods have been adopted in the present inquiry and the results are separately given. The data, however, for comparison of rates are much more satisfactory than those for comparison of family income.

It remains to describe the actual data and methods of computation and the results of the investigation.

(1) RATES OF WAGES FOR PARTICULAR SKILLED OCCUPATIONS.

A large number of quotations of rates of wages for adult workmen in various skilled occupations in different cities and towns of the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, and France have been brought together. So far as possible, care has been taken to choose groups of towns with populations not very widely differing in the different countries. All the rates relate to years between 1895 and 1902, and the great majority to years between 1898 and 1901. Where the rates for different countries refer to different years they have been corrected to the same "standard" year by the percentage changes estimated to have taken place in each country in the intervening years. For each occupation two comparisons have been made, (1) between the capitals (New York has been taken as the capital of the United States); (2) between the "means" of the other towns selected. These results have then been expressed as percentages of the rates current in the capital and provincial towns of the United Kingdom, respectively.

The results for each occupation are shown in table following, "Current rates for certain skilled occupations," from which it will be seen that over a thousand wage quotations have been used.

Finally, the mean of the figures for all the trades has been calculated, with the following results:

Comparison of rates of wages in skilled trades in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, and France.

Classification.	United Kingdom.	United States. ^a	Germany.	France.
(A)—Number of quotations of wages on which the following results are based.....	470	141	184	248
(B)—Mean weekly rates for 15 skilled trades:				
I. Capital cities.....	s. d. 42 0	s. d. 75 0	s. d. 24 0	s. d. 36 0
II. Other cities and towns....	36 0	69 4	22 6	22 10
(C)—Percentage comparison (United Kingdom = 100):				
I. Capital cities.....	Per cent. 100	Per cent. 179	Per cent. 57	Per cent. 86
II. Other cities and towns....	100	193	63	63

^aNew York has been taken as the capital of the United States.

The foregoing table shows that the mean rate of wages in London in the 15 skilled trades included in the table is 42s. per week. The mean of the 45 quotations for the same trades in provincial towns in the United Kingdom is 36s. per week, showing an average difference of 6s. per week between London and the provincial towns. In other words, the provincial level of wages for skilled trades is about 14 per cent below the London level. On the other hand, the average rates current for the same skilled trades in the United States, outside of New York, are about 8 per cent below the New York level, while those in Germany, outside Berlin, are only 6 per cent below the level of Berlin. In the case of France the difference is much greater, the average level for provincial France being about 37 per cent below that of Paris.

(2) AVERAGE INCOME OF FAMILIES IN GROUPS OF TRADES.

The available data for comparing average family income in large groups of trades are much less complete and satisfactory than those for comparing rates of wages for particular occupations. The data that have been used for the purpose are the statistics of the average income and expenditure of working-class families in the cotton, woolen, glass, iron and steel, and coal trades in the United Kingdom, United States, Germany, and France, as shown in the United States inquiry into cost of production and living in 1891. The figures have been corrected to a standard year and reduced to percentages, as explained above. It may be observed that the basis of the comparative figures obtained from this source is much broader for America and the United Kingdom than for Germany and France. The result obtained is as follows:

	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany.	France.
Comparison of family incomes.	100	124	69	83

(3) CONCLUSION.

It will be seen that, as is natural, the results obtained for the four countries on the basis of family income show a much smaller range than those referring to individual rates for skilled occupations. The difference in the results yielded by the two methods is greatest in the case of the comparison between the United Kingdom and the United States.

There is no doubt that, as stated above, the data for a comparison of rates of wages in skilled trades are more complete and trustworthy than those for a comparison of average family income, which are entirely derived from the United States inquiry of 1891.

There is, however, no real discrepancy between the conclusions to which we are led by the two calculations, since, for reasons given above, we should expect to find (as we actually find) a much greater difference between the current rates for adult workmen in skilled occupations than between the average incomes of working-class families taken as a whole.

If, in order to arrive at the most probable result from our present imperfect data, we adopt the rough-and-ready expedient of "splitting the difference" between the figures arrived at by the two methods, we should conclude that the average level of industrial wages in the United States is not far from one and a half times that in the United Kingdom. In the same way, we might without great error take the average for Germany as two-thirds and for France three-fourths of that which prevails in the United Kingdom.

It may be repeated that in this estimate no account is taken of differences of distribution of industries, of hours of work, or of efficiency of labor. The sole object has been to estimate, not the absolute, but the comparative, level of wages in the four countries.

Current rates for certain skilled occupations.

[Extracted from a large number of official and unofficial sources.]
NUMBER OF QUOTATIONS OF RATES OF WAGES INCLUDED.

Occupations.	United Kingdom.	United States. ^a	Germany.	France.
Masons.....	1	1	1	1
Capital.....	35	12	5	22
All other towns..	1	1	1	1
Carpenters and joiners....	38	13	20	21
Capital.....	1	1	1	1
All other towns..	37	11	19	20
Plumbers.....	1	1	1	1
Capital.....	34	9	5	7
All other towns..	1	1	1	1
Painters.....	37	12	1	22
Capital.....	1	1	1	1
All other towns..	36	3	15	17
Turners.....	1	1	1	1
Capital.....	1	1	1	1
All other towns..	36	5	24	22
Pitters.....	1	1	1	1
Capital.....	35	7	15	22
All other towns..	1	1	1	1
Smiths.....	37	8	1	1
Capital.....	1	1	1	1
All other towns..	36	7	1	1
Pattern makers.....	1	1	1	1
Capital.....	18	7	8	1
All other towns..	1	1	1	1
Brass molders.....	1	1	1	1
Capital.....	37	14	7	22
All other towns..				

^aNew York is taken as the capital of the United States.

Current rates for certain skilled occupations—Continued.
NUMBER OF QUOTATIONS OF RATES OF WAGES INCLUDED—continued.

Occupations.	United Kingdom.	United States. ^a	Germany.	France.
Lithographic printers.....	Capital..... 1	1	1	1
	All other towns..... 15	3	2	1
Cabinetmakers.....	Capital..... 1	1	1	1
	All other towns..... 28	7	4	20
Upholsterers.....	Capital..... 1	1	1	1
	All other towns..... 27	7	1	21
Coopers.....	Capital..... 1	1	1	1
	All other towns..... 5	8	2	16
All of above fifteen trades.....	Capital..... 15	15	11	13
	All other towns..... 455	125	173	235

AVERAGE OF RATES OF WAGES CURRENT IN SOME RECENT YEARS, CORRECTED WHERE NECESSARY SO AS TO MAKE THE FIGURES RELATE TO THE SAME "STANDARD YEAR."

Occupations.	United Kingdom.	United States. ^a	Germany.	France.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Masons.....	Capital..... 43 9	120 0	0 0	34 7
	All other towns..... 39 2½	84 4½	27 6	21 7
Carpenters and joiners.....	Capital..... 43 9	82 7	25 1	40 10
	All other towns..... 38 3	73 4	21 7½	23 6
Plumbers.....	Capital..... 43 1	93 3	0 0	36 0
	All other towns..... 38 3	93 9	0 0	21 7½
Plasterers.....	Capital..... 45 10	106 7	0 0	0 0
	All other towns..... 39 5	87 6	27 6	21 9
Painters.....	Capital..... 36 5½	87 3	0 0	34 7
	All other towns..... 35 0½	73 3	0 0	21 7
Turners.....	Capital..... 38 0	70 7	24 0	23 8
	All other towns..... 35 0	52 10	20 0	24 0
Fitters.....	Capital..... 38 0	62 6	22 6	36 0
	All other towns..... 35 0	52 10	20 0	21 7
Smiths.....	Capital..... 38 0	62 6	21 0	39 7
	All other towns..... 42 0	75 0	21 0	24 0
Pattern makers.....	Capital..... 37 0	68 9	21 0	43 10
	All other towns..... 33 0	75 0	26 7	22 8
Brass molders.....	Capital..... 36 0	66 3	19 11	0 0
	All other towns..... 38 0	79 2	26 7	33 7
Compositors.....	Capital..... 32 3	56 3	23 1	24 0
	All other towns..... 40 0	104 2	27 0	41 0
Lithographic printers.....	Capital..... 34 0	85 3	23 7	29 5
	All other towns..... 42 8½	70 0	22 6	28 5
Cabinetmakers.....	Capital..... 35 6	58 2	22 6	24 0
	All other towns..... 44 10	75 0	28 4	43 2
Upholsterers.....	Capital..... 36 0	55 3	27 11	25 0
	All other towns..... 42 0	72 5	23 2	31 8
Coopers.....	Capital..... 36 0	52 7	22 7½	19 8½
All of above fifteen trades.....	Capital..... 42 0	75 0	24 0	36 0
	All other towns..... 36 0	69 4	22 6	22 10

CORRECTED RATES OF WAGES EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES OF UNITED KINGDOM AVERAGES.

Occupations.	United Kingdom.	United States. ^a	Germany.	France.
Masons.....	Capital..... 100	274	.....	79
	All other towns..... 100	215	70	55
Carpenters and joiners.....	Capital..... 100	189	57	93
	All other towns..... 100	192	57	61
Plumbers.....	Capital..... 100	216	.....	84
	All other towns..... 100	245	.....	56
Plasterers.....	Capital..... 100	233	70	.....
	All other towns..... 100	223	.....	55
Painters.....	Capital..... 100	239	.....	95
	All other towns..... 100	209	.....	62
Turners.....	Capital..... 100	186	63	62
	All other towns..... 100	151	57	69
Fitters.....	Capital..... 100	164	59	95
	All other towns..... 100	151	57	62
Smiths.....	Capital..... 100	164	55	104
	All other towns..... 100	208	60	67
Pattern makers.....	Capital..... 100	179	50	104
	All other towns..... 100	186	57	61
Brass molders.....	Capital..... 100	208	74	.....
	All other towns..... 100	184	55	.....
Compositors.....	Capital..... 100	208	70	88
	All other towns..... 100	174	72	74
Lithographic printers.....	Capital..... 100	260	68	103
	All other towns..... 100	251	69	87
Cabinetmakers.....	Capital..... 100	164	53	67
	All other towns..... 100	164	63	68
Upholsterers.....	Capital..... 100	167	63	96
	All other towns..... 100	154	77	69
Coopers.....	Capital..... 100	172	55	75
	All other towns..... 100	146	63	55
All of above fifteen trades.....	Capital..... 100	179	57	86
	All other towns..... 100	193	63	63

^aNew York is taken as the capital of the United States.

PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES HAS ENORMOUSLY DEVELOPED OUR RESOURCES AND INCREASED OUR WEALTH.

Now, then, Mr. Chairman, turning now from the tariff situation in Great Britain, let us review the situation in our own coun-

try, and consider the matter in the light of history and experience here. The Democratic party ruled the country for sixty years, and toward the close of that period the matters in dispute in which that party raised the issue were the tariff and the extension of slavery. Democracy was in complete control of the Government, and passed the Robert J. Walker revenue tariff bill of 1847. But Democracy could never let well enough alone; it was governed body and soul by the slave power. A portion of the party was for the extension of slavery by act of Congress. They were the John C. Calhoun, Judge Taney, Dred Scott, John C. Breckenridge set, who tried to force slavery into the Territories, because "the Constitution follows the flag." A portion of the party wanted to sneak slavery into the Territories by squatter sovereignty. These were the Stephen A. Douglas straddlers; and between them they brought about secession, and threw away the opportunity to govern the country according to the tariff of 1847. The party has never been in shape since then, except during one period, to pass any kind of a tariff bill, and all Democratic attempts to deal with the tariff have been, like early Democratic tariff bills, Randallized or, like the Wilson bill, Gormanized.

Both these efforts show that the need of protection and the benefit of the Republican policy in that respect has been such that the Democratic party has never been able to get itself together to support a return to the former Democratic system. And why in the world should the country quit a system which has had the history of the protective policy since it was adopted in 1862? Who can close his eyes to that magnificent history? Do you know that in importance it disputes supremacy with the defeat of the attempt to divide the Union and prevent the establishment of a more permanent Union, by the glorious results at Gettysburg and Appomattox? Look at some of the facts. The total valuation of property, including slaves, in the United States in 1860 was \$16,000,000,000. The South lost three thousand million dollars of property in slaves; not less than six thousand million dollars of other property was destroyed and lost during the war. Notwithstanding these immense losses, the increase in the value of property in the country from 1860 to 1890 was forty-nine thousand million dollars, or one thousand million dollars more than the total wealth which England had acquired in all the centuries of her history and preeminence in the arts and in commerce.

During the years from 1880 to 1889 the wealth of the country increased 49 per cent more. It is fair to say that during the last ten years the wealth of the country has been increased by 40 per cent, and if that is so then we have increased in the last ten years by an amount of wealth equal to the entire wealth of the world in 1776.

CHEAPENED THE COST OF PRODUCTION.

It is a well-known fact that at the close of the civil war, when the southern railroads had to be reconstructed and our own protective-tariff system had not had sufficient time, after the passage of the tariff act of 1862, to relieve the people, railroad iron was purchased for some of the southern railroads at \$150 per ton. It is also well known that under the influence of the protective-tariff policy of the Republican party we are now producing iron at the rate of \$18 per ton, and supplying not only our own country but many countries and many railroad systems in all parts of the world. Our own people are getting the benefit in cheaper transportation and in the vast benefits arising from having the work done by American laborers in American shops, eating American food, and in every way promoting the prosperity of the country. How would our steel industry ever have reached this point without protection from the cheap labor of England? And what reason, if any, have we for believing that we would not still be paying English iron masters \$150 per ton for steel rails except for the tariff which has enabled our own iron manufacturers to get a start?

What American goods were manufactured and sold abroad twenty years ago? In 1860 the total amount of our exports of manufactures was \$40,000,000, while in 1903 they amounted to \$403,000,000. This means that we are sending our manufactured goods abroad and competing successfully with the cheaper labor of Europe in every market of the world.

The average wages of shoe manufacturers in the State of Massachusetts is \$15 per week; the average wages for the same work in Germany is \$4 per week; but in Germany the average cost of shoes is 58 cents, and in Massachusetts it is 40 cents. This means greater use of machinery and skill under the encouragement of a protective tariff. Ten years ago the Pittsburg iron manufacturers had a contract to deliver 180,000 tons of steel rails in Siberia. There are a hundred American engines at work on the railroads of Japan. There are a thousand of them on the railroads of Siberia and in Russia. On a bidding for the construction of railway engines abroad, English manufacturers bid \$14,000, while Americans wanted \$7,250, with almost two years less time to deliver. A contract was let in Burma to Americans by an English contractor, because the lowest English bid was \$600,000, with

three years to deliver, while Americans were willing to take the contract at \$300,000, with one year to deliver.

THE "AMERICAN INVASION" OF FOREIGN MARKETS.

Our goods and our machinery are being sent all over the world. A single manufacturing concern in this country received this year orders from England, France, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Japan, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Patagonia, Chile, Argentine Republic, and Canada. Go abroad and you will find American goods everywhere. It is known now in every country in Europe as the "American invasion." Many American travelers have told of it during the last year or two. None have given a more vivid account of it than Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He said that American locomotives, running on American rails, now whistled past the Pyramids and across the long Siberian steppes. They carried Hindu pilgrims from all parts of the Empire to the sacred waters of the Ganges.

Three years ago there was but one American locomotive in Great Britain. To-day American engines pull trains on all English roads of importance. American bridges span rivers on every continent. American cranes are swinging over many foreign moles. Wherever there are extensive harvests there may be found American machinery to gather the grain. In every great market of the world tools can have no better recommendation than the mark "Made in America." We have long held supremacy as a producer of cotton. We are now gaining supremacy as a maker of cloths. American cottons are going into every country. You will find them in Manchester as well as in the native shops of the Orient. Bread is baked in Palestine from flour made in Minneapolis. American windmills are working east of the Jordan and in the land of Bashan. American phonographs are making a conquest of all tongues. The chrysanthemum banner of Japan floats from the palace of the Mikado from a flagstaff cut from a Washington forest, as does the banner of St. George from Windsor Castle. The American typesetting machines are used by foreign newspapers, and our cash registers keep accounts for scores of nations. America makes sewing machines for the world. Our bicycles are standards of excellence everywhere. Our typewriters are winning their way wherever written language is used. In all kinds of electrical appliances we have become the foremost producer. In many European cities American dynamos light streets and operate railways. Much of the machinery that is to electrify London tram lines is now being built in Pittsburg. The American shoe has captured the favor of all Europe, and foreign shoemakers are hastening to import our machinery that they may recover the power to compete with us.

In the Far East, in the capital of Korea, the Hermit Nation, there was recently inaugurated with noisy music and flying banners an electric railway built of American material by a San Francisco engineer, and it is now operated by American motormen.

THE UNITED STATES SENDS COAL TO NEWCASTLE.

We have been successful in meeting competition everywhere. America has sent coal to Newcastle, cotton goods to Manchester, cutlery to Sheffield, watches to Switzerland, and Rhine wine to Germany. Our exports have risen from \$1,000,000,000 in 1896 to \$1,500,000,000 in 1901. In the last five years our exports have exceeded imports by nearly \$3,000,000,000. Do you know, my Democratic friend, the meaning of all this? It means the prosperity of America as it has been developed by the American system formulated by Mr. Dingley on the model prepared by William McKinley, in accordance with the principles laid down by Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant, and a long line of American statesmen and patriots.

Are you trying, my Democratic friend, to keep up with the movement of the world, with the growth of our industries, with the enlargement of our markets, with all the range of activities which are rapidly making the United States the richest nation in the world? Don't you know that we are fast taking possession of the markets of the world with the products of our industry? Do you not know that in 500 different articles our manufacturers are excelling the best that England ever produced, excelling the best that Germany ever produced; that the English, the Germans, the French, the Italians, the Austrians are going into the stores of their own cities and towns every day, and more and more for the last five years, asking for American goods, and refusing to buy the goods manufactured in their own countries, giving constant preference to the American article? Do you not know that this is so in every English village? Has not the consequence here at home been increased activity in all lines of manufactured goods, increased prosperity to labor and capitalists, because of the fact that we are now producing for consumption in other countries than our own all around the world?

PROTECTION BUILDS UP THE HOME MARKET.

What is the cause of all this remarkable prosperity? Does anyone doubt that it is the result of the policy which kept our man-

ufacturers from being destroyed by destructive competition, before they became firmly established, with the established manufacturing concerns of Europe? Realize, if you can, the great change that has taken place. We paid England \$150 per ton for steel rails in 1866, and now we are building railways and bridges and furnishing locomotives in Burma, in Egypt, in Great Britain herself, and laying down the steel in those countries to do this work, or sending the finished product there made of steel at \$18 per ton. Could we ever have done this had not our manufacturers and our laborers been protected by a tariff while we were learning how to do it? And now, in the face of all this prosperity, and all this marvelous growth, of which the United States is getting the full benefit, the Democratic party is demanding that we change our tariff policy in order to adopt a tariff for revenue only. And this at the very moment when every country in the world has abandoned that system except Great Britain, and when Great Britain herself is engaged in a great struggle to change back to the protective system, because of the realization that under the free-trade system they can not meet the competition of American manufacturers, and realizing that if the people of Great Britain do not agree to the change and with the establishment of a protective tariff the British Empire will decline from being the first power of the world to a fifth-rate position.

When Mr. Cobden preached his doctrine of free trade he believed that foreign countries would supply Great Britain with food and raw materials, but that England would remain the workshop of the world. Mr. Cobden was wrong. What he predicted has failed to come to pass. On the contrary, in the thirty years past England has sent abroad less and less of her manufactures, and foreign countries have sent to her more and more of their industrial products. England is to-day the only free-trade country in the world which ranks among the great powers, and she will have to give up that system or lose her place among the nations. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour were both educated as free traders, and have been free traders all their lives, but both attribute the marvelous change in the relative positions of England and this country to the fact that England is a free-trade nation, while the United States is under a protective tariff.

ALL EUROPE SAVE GREAT BRITAIN UNDER PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Germany guards her manufacturing interests by a high protective tariff. She has found it necessary to do that in order to build them up and maintain them in the face of the superiority and the other advantages which England acquired by her great start of other nations in the development of her manufactures. France pursued the same policy and did it of necessity, and the protection of home industries has been the established policy of Italy, Spain, Austria, Russia, and of every great nation of the world except England.

Under the influence of the ingenious mind of Richard Cobden and the vigorous oratory of John Bright England adopted a free-trade policy in 1846. One year later the Democratic party adopted a similar policy by passing the Walker tariff act, which looked toward free trade. But for the civil war, which followed shortly thereafter, it is not unlikely that the Walker free-trade tariff would have remained the policy of the country under Democratic ascendancy. The evil was cured, however, by the tariff act of 1862, and we are enjoying the advantage of learning what a bitter experience we have escaped by witnessing, from a distance and in safety, the paroxysms of pain and anxiety which now threaten the British Empire, as expressed by the mouths of her leading and responsible statesmen.

Responsibility clears the mind, quickens the reason, sobers the judgment, strengthens the wisdom, and rouses the patriotism of public men in every station in public life, except when they are out of office and getting up any kind of a hue and cry in order to get in. Mr. Chamberlain was elected to Parliament and chosen secretary of state for the colonies because he was a Cobdenite and free trader. He believed in it. So did Mr. Balfour, and he was prime minister on the same platform. Now they have disrupted the administration on this question, and Mr. Chamberlain, the most forceful statesman in England, is on the stump, advocating a protective tariff.

THE UNITED STATES THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL POWER.

The fact is that the United States has come to be the greatest industrial power in the world. Germany's second and England has fallen to the third place. British exports to foreign countries are 20 per cent less than they were thirty years ago, while American exports have increased under the influence of protection more than 200 per cent and German exports more than 100 per cent. The Democratic party has had to abandon the free-silver issue, it has had to abandon the Philippine issue, and it will soon be compelled to abandon the low-tariff issue, because England, the great mainstay and hope of the free trader, the only example to which the free trader could point with pride, is preparing to

abandon that policy in order to adopt the Republican tariff policy of the United States.

What will the Democratic party do if it is placed in a position where it can dictate the tariff policy of the country? The party has no definite policy to announce, no specific remedy to propose. The party can do nothing but criticise. Democracy does not attempt to explain the enormous prosperity the country is now enjoying and has enjoyed since we recovered from the period of Democratic depression caused by the Wilson tariff. We can all well remember when we sent very few manufactured articles abroad. We can remember when articles of foreign manufacture, mostly English, were brought here in abundance and preferred by many to American goods. They were either better than our own, or thought to be better, or were preferred because they were of English make. Nobody nowadays asks for foreign goods in this country. The superiority of American makes is universally acknowledged. This is true not only here, but abroad. Through Europe and in England—free-trade England—every village of any size has a store where American goods are sold, and American goods are rapidly superseding home manufactures in the foreign market. This is so all over the world. Our manufacturers, our laborers, our capital are profitably employed, are active and prosperous, because we are making a mighty surplus of goods over and above what we need for our own home consumption. Yet this condition the Democratic party aims to destroy and to put an end to a situation which enables American labor to be profitably and continuously employed.

WE MUST HAVE FOREIGN MARKETS.

We are now prospering and growing rich on the wants and needs of the world at large. We sell \$20,000,000 worth of cotton goods alone in Manchuria and northern China. That \$20,000,000 is divided among the laborers and mechanics in cotton factories and their owners. That money goes to buy American flour and meat and corn, and circulates among our people, increasing the general prosperity. Since 1898 our exports of manufactured articles have exceeded our imports by over \$400,000,000. This means—does it not?—that we must have a foreign market wherever it can be found. It means, if we do not secure foreign markets, that our manufactories will be congested with materials, must shut down, and laborers be thrown out of employment. It will mean that there can be no manufacturing over and above the demand of the home market. Our production already far exceeds the home demand, and a foreign market is needed to give employment to labor and to prevent distress all over the land. A return of such a situation would be a Democratic opportunity, for the reason that it would be a return to Democratic times. Democracy prospers on the distress of the country.

As I said before, we have reached a condition of prosperity when we must have wider and wider markets. We are going on in our own quiet, peaceful way seeking these markets, not looking for anybody's territory, nor grasping forcibly that which rightfully belongs to anybody else. When in 1898 the outraged cry of suffering Cuba and the destruction of the *Maine* precipitated the Spanish war, on a bright morning in early spring-time Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet and gave us the port and harbor of Manila. It was a Democratic proposition to give up all this advantage, to sail out from Manila Harbor and leave things as they were before. What kind of statesmanship was that? I am reminded of the venerable antebellum class of patriots who believed with Splatterthwaite Dubbs, of Dinwiddie, that "Virginia's State rights were at their best when her roads were at their worst."

MANILA THE COMMERCIAL DOORWAY TO THE ORIENT.

Manila Harbor is a glorious acquisition. It is a doorway to the great and growing commerce of the Orient. It came to us through the valor of American sailors and the far-seeing statesmanship of William McKinley, and we will keep what we have. And we acquired Guam and Hawaii, and we now have coaling stations clear across the center of the Pacific Ocean, and stations where we have planted an American cable. All this means that in our great growth and in our need of larger markets we have thrust into our lap the opportunity to supply the most populous nations of the world, to keep our industries active, prosperous, and productive, and our labor employed. It was purely unintended and almost accidental; we had not planned it. Did ever Providence look after a nation as it looked after our nation in this time of impending perplexity? Let us acknowledge our God-sent gifts in humility and reverence, and use them in the cause of civilization and liberty. We have before us in the Orient, grouped around Manila, the greatest populations in the world, China, Japan, Siam, India, Australasia, with 800,000,000 of human beings, ready to be developed as a market for American productions. Manila is the greatest of all keys to the great markets of the world.

The prosperity enjoyed by the United States during the past

few years has not been equaled in the world. In no other country has prosperity been so great or continued so long. This year industrial depression has affected nearly all European countries, and in some it has been quite acute. In England some industries have worked only one-third or one-half the time part of the year. Our prosperity has had no parallel, and has been the marvel of the world. We are not only the largest manufacturing country in the world, but no other country manufactures more than about one-third as much as we do. Wages and consumption have increased with the same marvelous strides, and nearly 90 per cent of our production is consumed at home. The home market continues the best market in the world.

SHALL WE HELP OR HINDER PROSPERITY?

Shall we help or hinder this prosperity? The chief danger is political interference with business. With us everything rests with the people, and the people sometimes exercise their power and vote for a "change" when in the midst of prosperity. This was painfully illustrated in 1892, when the nation was enjoying greater prosperity than ever before. The immediate effect of the change was the most severe industrial depression the country ever experienced. Are the people ready to duplicate that experience?

Two causes led to that change, and are operating to-day—the influence of the persistent teaching of free trade and the preaching of a group of political agitators who attempt to inflame social envy and hatred by spreading the false idea that the rich are daily growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. These breeders of class prejudice, who endeavor to array the masses against the classes, are some of them honest but misguided, while others are political charlatans. Among those arrayed against the present era of prosperity are those who march under the banner of a tariff for revenue only and socialism. It makes no difference that Great Britain, the leading free-trade country, is agitating for a change to protection because the United States and Germany are outdistancing her in manufacturing. Democracy still favors a reduction of the tariff to a level which will invite dangerous foreign competition.

If wealth is increasing, so are wages. Hours of labor are being shortened and the purchasing power of wages has increased. Labor is not the sole producer of wealth. The increase in production comes from machinery, which is only made possible by capital. Labor never received so much for its product as now, and the social and economic condition of the masses never was so high. Where large capital and improved machinery are used, prices decline and the public gets cheaper goods. Where capital and machinery are employed but little, prices have risen.

Probably never in the history of the country have wages increased so much and has the laborer been so independent as during the past five years.

Farmers have never been so prosperous as in these recent years. Agricultural products have increased in price, with an ever-ready market for the output. Farm mortgages have rapidly decreased or disappeared altogether, and farm values steadily increased. Much farm land in Oklahoma thrown open to settlement ten years ago now brings \$50 an acre. In no other country in the world do all classes and all industries, in all sections, enjoy such a high tide of prosperity.

This prosperity is a natural growth and if let alone will continue. Shall we help or hinder this growth? Confidence is the lifeblood of business. Capital is bold and hazardous when it has confidence in the security and safety of its undertaking. It is timid and cowardly in the face of danger. Several movements are on foot to-day which strike at confidence and tend to drive capital into hiding. One is the clamor for tariff reform. In England to-day that cry means tariff increase; in this country it means free trade. The antitrust cry as used is a movement in the same direction—the appeal to prejudice against all large and successful business enterprises. The false cry that the tariff is the mother of trusts is used to fan a blaze which would destroy all tariff protection. The preaching of class antagonism adds to the flame. To this is added socialism—the demand that all public utilities be owned and conducted by government, a movement which will logically lead to the government ownership of all enterprise.

THE MISTAKEN PREDICTION OF MR. BRYAN.

The possibility even of Bryan's success in 1896 paralyzed business. At his defeat business leaped forward and prosperity since has been unbroken. Bryan has been a discredited leader several years, but the forces of discontent and disturbance he led are now arrayed under other leadership.

Ohio has been a leader in political movements in this country. She stemmed the tide of inflation by scorching the greenback craze. She furnished a leader who resumed specie payments, and that other leader under whose direction prosperity returned to the whole country. The country looked to Ohio, and not in vain, for a crushing defeat of the forces of free trade, discontent, class

antagonism, socialism, and single tax marshaled under Tom L. Johnson. The consequences of that decision will not be limited to Ohio, but will be felt and are being felt in every part of our country, giving renewed confidence to Republicans everywhere. Let us recall a few of Bryan's utterances and view his predictions in the light of subsequent events:

There can be no general prosperity in this country until we stop the conspiracy of those who would make gold the only standard of the world. (Bryan's First Battle, p. 41.)
If we are defeated in this campaign, there is nothing before the people but four years more of hard times and greater agitation and then victory will come. (Bryan at Baltimore, September 19, 1896.)

We know that victory did not come for Mr. Bryan in 1900, but was his defeat in 1896 followed by four years more of hard times? Let the unassailable figures answer.

	1897 (fiscal year).	1901 (fiscal year).
Exports	\$1,050,000,000	\$1,487,000,000
Imports	764,000,000	823,000,000
Government revenue	347,000,000	587,000,000
Factory production	10,000,000,000	14,000,000,000
Export manufactures	200,000,000	450,000,000
Postal receipts	82,000,000	111,000,000
Railroad mileage	184,591	198,787
Gold production	57,000,000	78,000,000
Silver production	69,000,000	77,000,000
Interest on public debt	34,000,000	29,000,000
Gold in Treasury	696,000,000	1,124,000,000
Deposits, national banks	1,613,000,000	3,044,000,000
Deposits, savings banks	1,935,000,000	2,650,000,000
Railroad earnings, net	369,000,000	558,000,000

Mr. Bryan predicted four years more of hard times unless the country went Democratic in 1896, but it went Republican, and instead of four years more of hard times, things got better each year, resulting in no decreases (except \$5,000,000 decrease in the yearly interest on the public debt), but in increases all along the line. Giving his prediction the full four years to become effective, analysis of the above figures shows increases in the fourth year as follows, under Republican policies and control:

	Increases 1901 over 1897.
Exports	\$437,000,000
Imports	59,000,000
Government revenue	240,000,000
Factory production	4,000,000,000
Postal receipts	29,000,000
Production of gold	21,000,000
Production of silver	8,000,000
Gold in Treasury	428,000,000
Deposits, national banks	1,431,000,000
Deposits, savings banks	715,000,000
Railroad earnings, net	189,000,000
Total Republican increases	7,557,000,000

And the list of increases might be largely extended.

These results prove that Mr. Bryan's false prophecies and reckless assertions did more harm than good to the Democratic cause in 1896, and repeated their mischief with worse results to Bryan's party in 1900.

PROTECTION HAS BUILT UP OUR POTTERY INTERESTS.

The great pottery interests of Ohio, built up by the Republican protective tariff, have a keen and direct interest in this statement of the secret of their success by one of the greatest free-trade papers of Great Britain, the Birmingham Post, Joseph Chamberlain's organ, when it says:

Between 1882 and 1902 our exportation of chinaware to the United States declined from 100,506 to 48,198 crates. Thus America (1) puts a tax of 60 per cent on English pottery, (2) attracts our skilled workmen by the larger wages that are possible under protection, and (3) gets year by year a larger helping of the limited supply of potters' clay; and so a once prosperous industry is approaching the starvation point. Having no tariff, we are helpless to check these proceedings.

Such an acknowledgment from such a source should strengthen every protectionist to support the protection principles of the Republican party. Every Ohio potter remembers bitterly how their industry was crippled by the last Democratic tariff; but that was only partial free trade, while Tom Johnson, late Democratic candidate for governor in Ohio, is an absolute free trader and when in Congress offered a bill to abolish all the custom-houses. How quickly would that destroy Ohio's immense pottery interests? How many workers in this line would it rob of their jobs?

THINGS TO BE REMEMBERED.

Remember 1893-1896 and the days of industrial gloom.
Remember 1893-1896 and the thousands of capable mechanics looking in vain for work.
Remember 1893-1896 and the hundreds of thousands of laborers walking the streets from sunrise to sunset looking for the work which could not be found.
Remember 1893-1896 and the countless number of women and children waiting, faint with hunger, for the bread which never came.

Remember 1893-1896 and the heartsickness, the worry, the unpaid and unpayable debts, and all the many ills that attend the man out of work.

Remember 1893-1896 and the landlord waiting at the door for the rent money, which could not be provided.

Remember 1893-1896, when the factory whistle failed to blow for another day's work, another day's pay.

Remember 1893-1896 and the wives and children wanting clothes.

Remember 1893-1896 and the home comforts which were wanting.

Remember 1893-1896 and the un-American soup houses and other forms of charity necessary to relieve those who need no relief when they can get work.

Remember 1893-1896 and the delusive promises made by the Democratic party in the campaign of 1892.

Remember 1893-1896 and the fulfilled promises made by the Republican party in the campaign of 1896.

Remembering those Republican promises and their fulfillment in the years since, calling to mind the unfulfilled Democratic promises and the bitter years of 1893-1896, what will you gain by voting the Democratic ticket in 1904?

Remembering all those things, your duty to your wives, your children, and yourselves demands that you vote the Republican ticket on November 3.

Vote the Republican ticket, and you will be doing your share as an American citizen to protect your neighbors and yourselves against the cheap labor of Europe and Asia; against the always nationally disastrous rule of Democratic policies; against free trade, which is aptly termed "an empty name and a vain farce;" against issuing Government bonds to pay the Government daily bills; against retrogression in every direction, and in favor of continued progress, prosperity, and patriotism.

HOW DEMOCRACY WOULD CRIPPLE OUR INDUSTRIES—AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL REMEDY PROPOSED.

In the late political campaign in Ohio the Democratic candidate for governor was an absolute free trader, with the courage of his convictions and not afraid to express them. When in Congress he proposed a tariff law as simple as it was drastic. It was nothing less than the repeal of all tariff and internal-revenue laws and the sale of all custom-houses. In one of his speeches in Ohio in the late campaign he said:

It is mere talk; it is a mere claim that in some way protection to our American labor is necessary to allow it to compete. What our American labor needs is freedom, the same kind of free trade between the nations of the world that we have between the forty-four States, and if you attribute our prosperity in the United States to anything, it is attributed to the fact that we with our seventy-five or eighty millions of people have more free trade among the forty-four States than any other set of people on the face of God's earth.

The Democratic party in Congress does not evidently go quite to that length. No Democratic speakers in this session have proposed to sell all custom-houses and revenue cutters, but some of them have proposed a remedy by which they propose to smash the trusts. What they offer is to take off every dollar of tariff tax from every article that is manufactured by any trust, combine, or understanding, whatever name or form it assumes. Before this House votes for such a proposition it would be advisable to consult the Constitution to see if it will furnish any light on this proposition. Section 8, Article I, of that document declares that "all duties, excises, and imposts shall be uniform throughout the United States." Will our Democratic trust smashers kindly advise us how they would form a tariff law which would admit trust-made goods free of duty and still protect the manufacturer not inside a trust who turns out the same goods? There is no trust, however large, which manufactures the entire output of goods of its class. The great steel combine has countless competitors—some large, some small. Numerous independent oil operators contend against the Standard Oil Company. The same is true in every line of business. The tariff which protects the output of trusts and gigantic corporations gives the same protection to the output of small competing establishments.

If withdrawal of tariff protection will "smash the trusts," still more will it destroy the small competitor who has greater need of tariff protection. It is impossible to pass a tariff law which will affect one class of manufacturers and not affect all persons engaged in the same business, for all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States. As a matter of fact, this new tariff proposition of the Democrats would injure the trust or large concern less than it would damage the small ones. The large corporation, on account of owning vast supplies of the raw material it uses, and because of the countless economies it practices in production and manufacture, might survive such a law, while the small manufacturer would be completely ruined. Thus this remedy, instead of "smashing the trusts," would only destroy the small competitor and make the trust more powerful than ever. Such a law, moreover, would not be uniform, and therefore would not be constitutional.

The Democrats are unfortunate in their proposed remedy. They should study the Constitution, which they profess to hold in such great esteem and reverence. Democratic platforms and Democratic speakers have had much to say against the trusts, though the party never legislated in restraint of them when they had the power. The only Federal legislation against trusts is credited to that grand old Republican statesman, John Sherman. It was enacted by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President and has put an end to numerous gigantic and oppressive combinations which violated the law. Under the inspiration of the present able and vigilant Attorney-General a decision was obtained applying the law to an oppressive railroad combination out West which threatened to destroy competition and prevent the natural growth of needed railroad enterprise. Now it is generally admitted that we have sufficient legislation in restraint of trusts to accomplish the ends at which the law was aimed.

There are trusts and trusts—some good, some bad. The American people have nothing against a trust that will produce, distribute, and sell its product cheaper than anybody else will produce, distribute, and sell. All railing against such a trust as that is flat demagoguery. There may be trusts that are oppressively monopolistic. The charge is made on the other side, but is not substantiated by any details or specifications. If such trusts exist, they have apparently succeeded in escaping the Argus-eyed vision of Democratic inquisitors. If there are any such trusts which need attention, the American people may be depended upon to attend to them; and when the time comes they will call upon their servant, the Republican party, that does things, and not upon the Democratic party, that only says things.

THE COMING ISSUE—DEMOCRATIC PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES IN THE PAST.

The chief political issue in the approaching Presidential campaign is the continuance of the splendid prosperity which began with the very day on which the election of William McKinley became known. At the next election the people will be given an opportunity to indicate whether they desire to repudiate the party and the men whose policies have given to the country the greatest prosperity it has ever known, or whether they desire to return to the experiment which was in operation in 1896. The men who were then most loudly urging free silver and free trade as the only means of prosperity are declaring that the principle of a lower tariff is still an issue. It is an appeal to the country to return to the doctrines which gave us the conditions of 1893 to 1896. The fact that some of the issues of the campaign of 1896 are being advocated at the present time justifies us in examining the conditions which a Democratic system had created at that time, and the assertions then made as to the respective merits of the plans offered by the Democratic party and the Republican party.

Let me recall the condition into which the Democratic party had brought the country, the plans which were offered by it for restoration to prosperity, and its assertions as to what would be the effect of the adoption of Republican policies. The conditions existing from 1893 to 1896 were the work of the men who are now asking the people to again put them into power. The assertions of what would follow the adoption of Republican policies were made by the very men who are to-day leaders in the Democratic party. By comparing conditions at the present time with those at that time we can determine whether we shall be benefited by returning to Democratic control of national affairs, and by comparing present conditions with the assertions of these leaders as to what would follow the adoption of Republican principles we can determine whether their predictions and advice and promises are worthy of further consideration.

What were the principles upon which they then made their appeals to the people? Free trade and free silver. What were their assertions as to the effect which the principles of the Republican party would have upon the country? That protection could not bring prosperity, and that the gold standard could not increase the currency. Only free silver, they asserted, could give sufficient currency, and only free trade could give prosperity. Now, let us see, briefly, whether these assertions have stood the test of time. If they have not, do we want to accept the advice of those men now?

WEALTH HAS GROWN GREATLY AND IS MORE WIDELY DIFFUSED.

Their assertions were that prosperity could not come through protection. Nevertheless, protection was adopted. Has prosperity been driven from the United States since the exchange of free trade for protection? Let us see. The national wealth was set down by competent authorities in 1895 at \$77,000,000,000. In 1900 it was put by the same authorities at \$94,000,000,000. At the same rate of increase since 1900—and nobody will deny that the increase has been quite as rapid since that time—the total wealth of the country at the present time may be conservatively put at

\$100,000,000,000. This is an increase of \$23,000,000,000 since 1895, a gain of 30 per cent in eight years, and it will be conceded by all that whatever gain has come began subsequent to 1896. It is an increase in the average wealth of from \$1,117 per capita in 1895 to \$1,250 per capita in 1903.

But the reply to this will, of course, be that this increase in wealth has been solely by the trusts and corporations. It is the logical sequence to the cry of 1896 and 1900 that "the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer." Now, let us see about that. The reports of the Comptroller of the Currency are accepted by everybody as reliable and trustworthy. They show that the deposits in savings banks were, in 1895, \$1,810,000,000, and in 1902 were \$2,750,000,000. These deposits, it must be recognized, are those of the masses. Trusts and corporations do not deposit their money in savings banks, but the employees of trusts and corporations do deposit in those institutions. Compare the deposits of 1903 with those of 1895 and you will see that there is an increase of just 50 per cent in the amount. Then compare the national wealth of 1903 with that of 1895 and you will find the increase to be 30 per cent. Who is it, then, that has made the greatest gains relatively? The national wealth has grown 33 per cent, the deposits of the people in the savings banks have grown 50 per cent in the same time. Does this look like the "rich growing richer and the poor poorer?" The deposits in the savings banks of Ohio in 1895 were \$33,000,000, in 1902 they were forty-eight millions. The number of people in Ohio who had deposits in savings banks in 1902 was 21,000 greater than in 1895, and the amount of deposits had increased \$15,000,000. The number of persons in the United States having deposits in savings banks in 1895 was 4,875,000; in 1902 the number was 6,667,000. Does this seem to support the assertion that prosperity could not come to the country with protection? Or does it sustain the assertion that it is only the corporations and trusts which prosper under it?

DEMOCRATIC ASCENDENCY RUINS BUSINESS.

The Democratic party came into power in the National Government March 4, 1893, and I propose to compare conditions in a few of the leading industries and interests which measure the welfare of the people in the years of Democratic control and low tariff with conditions under Republican control and a protective tariff, both before and subsequent to the unfortunate experiment during the control of the Democratic party.

IRON.

Ohio is a great iron-producing State and a great consumer of pig iron in its manufacturing. The consumption of pig iron is recognized as an accurate barometer of general business conditions. If free trade is so good a thing for this country, how was it that the production of pig iron in the United States—I say "production," because practically all of the pig iron produced in the United States is consumed at home—how was it that the production of pig iron, which had been over 9,000,000 tons in 1890, fell to six and one-half million tons in 1894, the year in which your low-tariff bill became a law, and that it increased to eleven and one-half million tons in 1898 under the protective tariff and to seventeen and three-fourths million tons in 1902?

COAL.

Coal is another measure of business activity. If the low tariff was so good a thing, how was it that the coal production of the United States fell from 160,000,000 tons in 1892—the last year of Republican control—to 152,000,000 tons in 1894, the year in which your low-tariff act was put upon the statute books, and remained almost stationary during the existence of that act, increasing in 1898 to 196,000,000 tons and in 1902 to 269,000,000 tons? Here are two great factors of industry in which Ohio is a large producer and consumer—coal and iron. In each case the production, and therefore the consumption, for they are practically all consumed at home, fell as soon as a Democratic bill was offered and it became apparent that it would become law, and continued at a low state of production and consumption until that act was removed and the protective tariff resumed, when an enormous increase immediately occurred. Pig-iron production increased from 9,500,000 tons in 1897, the year of McKinley's election, to 17,821,000 tons in 1902, having thus nearly doubled, while coal production increased from 178,000,000 tons in 1897 to 269,000,000 tons in 1902, an increase of about 50 per cent.

MANUFACTURERS' MATERIALS.

The Democratic party assumed that a low tariff would stimulate manufactures by permitting the importation of manufacturers' materials free of duty; but in that, as in other propositions, its theories failed. Manufacturers' materials imported in a crude condition for use in manufacturing averaged but about \$200,000,000 per annum during the time in which your low-tariff act was in operation, and formed but 26 per cent of the total imports; but under the stimulus given to the manufacturing industries of the country by the protective tariff they have increased

to \$375,000,000 in value in 1903 and formed 36 per cent of the total imports. To be sure, there was one line of importation which increased under your low tariff, and that was manufactured articles. Under your low tariff they formed, in 1896, 21 per cent of the total imports. Under the Dingley tariff they form 16 per cent of the total imports. Do you think that the people employed in the great manufacturing establishments of Ohio and the United States prefer to see manufactured goods brought in to take the place of those which are being manufactured at home, form 21 per cent of the total imports rather than 16 per cent as at present? Perhaps they may have something to say upon this subject when they come to determine at the polls whether they shall encourage the restoration of the Democratic party and the low tariff. The fact that the manufacturing establishments of the country consumed during the entire period of your low tariff law an average of but about \$200,000,000 worth of imported raw material, and that they consumed \$375,000,000 worth last year under the protective tariff, is a suggestion as to the relative activity and amount of manufactures turned out under the two systems.

TELEGRAMS AND BANK DEPOSITS.

There are many other incidents of business and public affairs which measure business activity. I have already referred to pig-iron and coal production and consumption as a method of measuring business activity, but there are others. Take the matter of telegrams, for example. If Democratic control and the low tariff which it brings with it are good for business, how was it that the number of telegraph messages sent fell from 76,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1893, to 69,000,000 in 1894, and made no perceptible increase during Democratic control, increasing under Republican control and the prosperity which came with it until the total for 1902 was 89,000,000 as against an average of 70,000,000 annually during the national control by your party? Bank deposits are another measure of business activity and prosperity. The deposits in the banks of the United States, which averaged about four and one-half billion dollars in the years of Democratic control, were in 1903 nine and one-half billion dollars, having thus practically doubled under the prosperity which came to the country with the restoration of a protective tariff. Savings-bank deposits alone increased from one and three-fourths billions of dollars in 1894 to two and three-fourths billions in 1902.

INCREASED PROSPERITY OF FARMERS.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the increased prosperity of the farmers. This speaks so loudly for itself through the increased prices and increased demand, the cancellation of farm mortgages, and the general prosperity. Yet, I can not forbear mentioning the fact that the value of farm animals alone, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, fell from \$2,461,000,000 in 1892 to \$1,655,000,000 in 1897, but immediately began to increase upon the restoration of protection and the demand for farm products which came with it, until the value of farm animals reported by the Department in 1901 was over \$3,000,000,000, or nearly double that shown in 1897. In other articles of farm production the increase in value has been equally striking, and with it the increase in the general prosperity of the farmers.

Still another evidence of the paralyzing effect of the low-tariff proposition which the Democrats are urging the country again to adopt is found in the fact that the tons of freight carried by the railroads fell from 730,000,000 in 1892 to 674,000,000 in 1894, and in 1900 was 1,071,000,000, and in 1901, 1,084,000,000 tons.

BUSINESS FAILURES WORSE UNDER DEMOCRATIC ASCENDENCY.

Business failures are another method by which we may measure the prosperity and general conditions of the country. In 1892, under Republican Administration, the liabilities of the failing business concerns of the United States were reported by Dun's Review at \$114,000,000; in 1893, the first year of Democratic control, and with the prospect of a change in the tariff, the liabilities increased to \$346,000,000, and in 1896 were \$226,000,000, while in 1901 they were \$113,000,000, and in 1902 \$117,000,000.

MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

Money in circulation is another measure of prosperity. The Democratic party told us in 1896 that there could be no permanent increase in the circulating medium of the country, and therefore no general prosperity, without the free and unlimited coinage of silver, as well as free trade. Yet, notwithstanding that fact, the total money in circulation, which at that time was \$1,506,000,000, had under protection and the gold standard reached \$2,000,000,000 in 1900, and in 1903 was \$2,367,000,000.

Inasmuch as the Democratic organization still fully indorses the Kansas City platform of unprotected American labor, a vote for the Democratic national ticket means a vote for the spoliator of the home of the American wage-earner. It means that the voter will have done all he can toward lessening the demand for labor, and thereby lessening the comforts of his wife, his family,

and himself. Free trade, or even low tariff, never made busy factories and never will. A few figures from the Statistical Abstract of Great Britain for 1902 proves the truth of this statement:

<i>Export of British manufactures.</i>	
1890	\$229,868,743
1902	229,212,625
Decrease	656,818

That decrease does not look very alarming of itself, but what about the increase in population? What about the more mouths to feed—the more little ones to clothe and educate?

The next illustration is alarming:

<i>Import of foreign countries.</i>	
1902	\$299,050,648
1890	163,218,167
Increase	135,832,481

And this in one year. As fully one-half of the value of manufactured goods consists of wages paid out, here is \$67,916,240 out of the pockets of the British workman in one year, and this is only one instance of loss out of many. Is it any wonder that reports reach us of 13,000,000 suffering for want of food in free-trade England? Or that Mr. Chamberlain and his farsighted associates are moving heaven and earth to secure a small protection for British labor?

Now look at the most ancient and formerly the most flourishing of Britain's factory interests—the woolen industry:

<i>Export of woolen and worsted manufactures.</i>	
1887	\$40,594,972
1901	14,257,368
Decrease	26,337,604

Another more than \$8,000,000 lost to British work people in one year.

<i>Import of foreign woolens and worsteds.</i>	
1901	\$9,577,680
1887	7,711,227
Increase	1,866,453

Nearly another million lost to British labor. And so the list might go on—industry after industry. The interest and duty of the wage-earning voter is clear—not to vote for any party or any member of a party whose policy aims at lessening the demand for American labor.

WHY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DESERVES CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT.

The Republican party deserves confidence and support because it has redeemed all the pledges it made in 1896 and 1900; because it has secured for American trade the "open door" in China; because it has successfully put an end to Canada's claims for a valuable portion of increasingly valuable Alaska; because it has made an educational and commercial success of Porto Rico.

The Republican party should be continued in power because it put down insurrection in the Philippines (unfortunately encouraged by the "anti-imperialists" and their allies) with a minimum loss of life and property; because it has men in its ranks like President Roosevelt, Secretary Hay, Secretary Root, Governor Taft, Governor Hunt, and many others who are equal to all emergencies arising in the government of the necessary outside territories we have acquired; because it made a glorious success of our war with Spain for the freedom of Cuba; because its temporary military occupation of Cuba was a success in every way; because it has made the American flag respected as the emblem of liberty the wide world over.

The Republican party is a party of deeds and actions. In the case of Venezuela it successfully upheld the Monroe doctrine for the entire continent of America as against the powers of Europe. It promulgated and put in force the doctrine of "protection to American industries." As William McKinley said:

You do not have to guess what the Republican party will do. The world knows its purposes. It has embodied them in law and executed them in administration.

The Republican party has earned the right to four years more of power because it has given the country what William McKinley asked for at Niles, Ohio, on June 20, 1896, when he said: "What I want in this country is a policy that will give to every American workman full work at American wages;" because it has preserved the purity of the American dollar; because it prevented the attack on the sacredness of the Supreme Court of the United States; because it paid the expense of the Spanish war with no more strain on the people than the purchase of a few postage stamps; because our relations with Spain are now more cordial than they ever had been before the war, and the trade between us is increasing both ways.

The Republican party is entitled to the vote and interest of every citizen because it has increased the number of factories in the United States from less than 350,000 in 1896, running on short time or not at all, to 600,000 in 1903, running on full time; because it has increased the number of factory workers from less

than 4,000,000 in 1896 to over 7,000,000 in 1903; because it has increased the yearly product of our factories from less than \$10,000,000,000 in 1896 to over \$15,000,000,000 in 1903.

The Republican party has increased our yearly exports from \$882,000,000 in 1896 to \$1,420,000,000 in 1903; has increased our imports from \$779,000,000 in 1896 to \$1,025,000,000 (nearly one-half materials for manufacturing) in 1903; has increased the revenue of our Government from \$326,000,000 in 1896 to \$558,000,000 (with all the war taxes abolished) in 1903. On such a record the party is content to stand. It can not fall.

WHY COMPLAIN?

The record of achievement by the Republican Administration since William McKinley was inaugurated President is one of which every citizen of the country may well feel proud. It is a record of signal and substantial gains in all lines of industry and production, in general welfare and content, in national prestige and attainment. It is a record unsurpassed and unsurpassable, except by the party which has written the history of the country the past seven years. Despite the signal prosperity the country is enjoying, the voice of the Democratic croaker is heard in the land. He is complaining because he thinks some person or persons are enjoying more than their fair share of prosperity. Is it not better to have too much prosperity than too little? Under the last Democratic Administration the only institutions universally successful were the free soup houses, established to feed workmen thrown out of employment by the Democratic tariff. Why complain now because the cup of prosperity is running over and some one perhaps is enjoying an undue proportion? Who is complaining, anyway, unless it be the Democratic politician, hungry for the loaves and fishes of patronage? Who else has a right to complain?

Why should the advocate of a protective tariff to build up new industries complain when the importation of tin plate dropped from 1,036,000,000 pounds in 1891 to 117,880,000 pounds in 1901, and the amount manufactured in this country jumped from nothing to 894,400,000 pounds?

Why should the small investor complain because a rich man's panic on Wall street has taken more than \$6,000,000,000 worth of wind and water out of stocks, put a stop to reckless speculation, placed business on a sounder basis, and increased the value of money so that it is now almost impossible to sell at par gilt-edged municipal securities bearing 4 per cent interest?

Why should the banker complain when the total money in circulation in the country has increased from fourteen hundred million dollars in 1890 to twenty-two hundred and fifty million dollars in 1902, or 50 per cent, and circulation per capita from \$22.82 to \$28.43, while deposits in bank have grown from \$3,000,000,000 to nearly six billions, or almost double, and deposits in savings banks have increased in number from four and one-fourth millions to six and two-thirds millions, or over 50 per cent?

Why should the man proud of the material greatness of the country complain when the value of manufactures in the United States increased from nine and one-third billion dollars in 1890 to over \$13,000,000,000 in 1900, or almost 50 per cent; when exports of merchandise per capita have increased from \$13.50 in 1890 to \$17.49 in 1902, while imports of merchandise per capita have decreased in the same time from \$12.35 to \$11.43; when exports of iron and steel and manufactures of those commodities have increased from twenty-five and a half million dollars in 1890 to nearly one hundred and twenty-two millions in 1900, or almost fivefold, while the falling off since has been due entirely to the enormously increased domestic demand, which has been beyond the capacity even of our own mills to supply; when exports of manufactures have increased from one hundred and fifty millions to four hundred millions and we lead the world in the production of gold, petroleum, pig iron, steel, wheat, corn, and cotton?

Why should the farmer and dairyman complain when the amount of oleomargarine made in this country the year before the present Republican oleomargarine law was passed was 126,315,427 pounds and only 71,211,244 pounds the first year after the law was passed, a loss of 55,104,183 pounds, or 44 per cent, which caused an additional consumption of butter to the value of \$11,080,836, or the output of 650 creameries of average size, which raised the average price of butter to 20 cents a pound?

Why should the wage-earner complain when, according to Dun's Review, there has been a very material reduction in the cost of living over a year ago? Meat is lower than at any time since the prices went up two years ago; breadstuffs and cereals are cheaper, and the splendid crops now being harvested are an assurance they will become still cheaper. In almost every line the cost of living has been reduced. On the other hand the advance in wages the past year has been almost universal. Railway trainmen are benefiting from a 20 per cent raise, while skilled labor generally is en-

joying wage increases varying from 5 to 15 per cent. Labor is getting its share of the common prosperity.

Why should the friends of expansion complain when the imports into the United States from Porto Rico have increased from \$2,181,024 in 1897 to \$11,051,195 in 1903 and the exports from the United States to Porto Rico have increased from \$1,988,888 in 1897 to \$12,246,225 in 1903, and the imports into the United States from the Philippines have increased in the same time from \$4,383,740 to \$11,372,584 and the exports from the United States to the Philippines, exclusive of supplies sent by the Government, from \$94,597 in 1897 to \$4,033,909 in 1903?

Why should the exporter complain when our total exports to Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines have grown from six and three-fourth million dollars in 1897 to twenty-seven and one-eighth millions in 1903, more than quadrupled, while the total exports of the United States in that period have grown from one billion to over one billion four hundred million, a gain of over \$1,000,000 for each and every day in the year?

SOME GAINS UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

Our production of zinc in 1903 was greater than ever before, reaching a total of 156,927 short tons. Our home consumption of lead in 1902 was greater than ever before, namely, 335,485 short tons, against 274,020 tons in 1901. Business failures in the United States in the nine months ended September were 500 less in number than in the corresponding months of 1902. The figures were 8,176 against 8,676. General business is still good. The United States Treasury on December 1 last held \$681,000,000 of gold coin and bullion. This is the largest amount of gold ever held in the Treasury, and greater than any ever held by any nation at one time. Our gold mines are yielding us gold to the value of \$75,000,000 to \$80,000,000 each year.

The Government revenue for the year ended June 30, 1903, was \$560,396,674, giving us a surplus for the year of \$54,297,667, in spite of a drop of \$41,000,000 in internal-revenue receipts. The proportion of gold held by us to our money circulation is 42.11 per cent—the highest ratio ever recorded. Our Government revenue for 1903 fiscal year was \$39,988,439 more than for 1902 fiscal year, great as that year was. The \$54,297,667 surplus in Government revenue was after expending \$21,000,000 more on our Army and Navy than the year before. The last fiscal year found us with \$1,043,058,869 of gold and silver in the Treasury. Our money circulation increased \$121,740,252 in the fiscal year just closed.

Our production of iron and steel made a new record in the same year, reaching 19,000,000 to 20,000,000 tons. At current prices the last cotton crop will give to the South the largest sum it has ever received for a single crop. On September 29, 1903, in spite of the heavy falls recently, the listed stocks averaged in value 107 per cent higher than in 1895 (Democratic), and some of them were enormously higher. For instance, Union Pacific, 1,763 per cent higher, and Atchison common, 1,800 per cent higher. This proves that under Republican policies and control well-administered properties are as prosperous as ever.

On September 30, 1903, the total money in circulation amounted to \$2,404,000,000, equal to \$29.75 per capita on a population of 80,000,000, against \$435,000,000 in 1860, equal to a per capita of \$13.85 on a population of 31,000,000. Our public debt on September 30 was only \$1,307,000,000 (of which \$389,000,000 is offset by our available cash balance of \$239,000,000 and \$150,000,000 by our special gold reserve), against \$2,046,000,000 in 1870, a reduction (irrespective of offsets) of \$739,000,000.

Great Britain's merchant marine, mainly engaged in foreign trade, is 16,006,374 tons, while ours is only 3,611,956 tons, and only 873,000 tons of that is engaged in carrying goods to or from foreign ports. Great Britain has 50 per cent of the world's total marine tonnage of 33,000,000, while we have only 10 per cent, including our lakes, rivers, and coast service. Germany, with less than half our population, has 3,283,247 tons of merchant marine against our 3,611,956 tons, or only 328,709 tons less.

Our hay crop this year will be worth fully \$580,000,000, against \$542,000,000 in 1902. In 1870 only 15.69 per cent of our imports consisted of raw materials, while in 1903 the proportion was 36.58 per cent. This being the case, wherein is the Dingley tariff hurting our factories?

Our postal receipts for September showed an increase of \$449,594 over September of last year. This is at the rate of 8.8 per cent. Our exports of raw cotton in the year ending August 31, 1903, was of the value of \$306,000,000, against \$191,000,000 in the year ended August, 1896, the last Democratic year; 1893 (Democratic) was \$67,000,000 less than 1892 (Republican). All but \$46,000,000 of Uncle Sam's \$1,300,000,000 bond issue is held for investment by Uncle Sam's numerous family. That is as if we did not owe the debt at all. It also means that nearly all of the interest paid is out of one pocket into another.

Our exports in the nine months ending September, 1903, amounted to \$989,000,000, against \$943,000,000 for the same months of last year, an increase of \$46,000,000. The increase over the same months of 1897 is \$120,000,000. Our imports (mainly materials for manufacturing) in the nine months ended September, 1903, were of the value of \$758,000,000, an increase of \$56,000,000 over 1902 and \$283,000,000 over 1897. Yet the Ohio Democratic platform, in indorsing the Kansas City platform, affirms that a protective tariff lessens imports and deprives the Government of revenue.

Our export of provisions in the nine months ended September, 1903, amounted to \$145,000,000, against \$138,000,000 in the same period of 1902, an increase of \$7,000,000. Our export of breadstuffs in the nine months ended September, 1903, figured at \$142,000,000, against \$130,000,000 in the same months of 1902, an increase of \$12,000,000. The farmers and wage-earners know what all this means to them. They can continue the roll of prosperity by voting the Republican ticket.

BENEFITS OF EXPANSION—LET US PROFIT BY THE EXPERIENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Time and events move in ever-recurring cycles. Nations, like individuals, learn by experience. Human nature is much alike the world over, and every nation can learn from the history of other nations. The United States in particular has much to learn from the teachings and experience of Great Britain. We have the same language, the same law, the same literature, the same splendid inheritance, and are developing along similar lines to serve great national destinies which are much alike. Both countries have grown immensely in territory, power, and influence. From the comparatively small islands in the North Atlantic off the west coast of Europe, which once held the English Kingdom, has developed by steady and successive stages the great British Empire of to-day, with immense possessions in every continent and strong strategic positions in every ocean. Her coaling stations circle the globe, and she is equipped for offense and defense in every quarter of the world.

In a similar manner the United States has grown from a narrow fringe of colonies along the Atlantic to become a great world power. At the first step in national expansion the Mississippi was reached. The northeast boundary was established, which confirmed our title to Maine. Florida was acquired, and a strip of land which separated us from the Gulf. The Louisiana purchase gave us a great dominion across the Mississippi. The Lone Star Republic of Texas was incorporated. From Mexico was acquired another great dominion, which planted the Stars and Stripes on a long stretch of the Pacific coast. The settlement of the northwestern frontier added more territory. We next purchased Alaska. Hawaii came to us, a freewill offering. The war with Spain was the cause of the latest expansion, which added Porto Rico and the Philippine group of islands. Expansion has been bitterly opposed in both countries. Every step by which our national boundary has been moved farther west has been strongly contested by able and disinterested but shortsighted statesmen. Predictions of unbounded evil, never fulfilled, were freely made. Dismal forebodings of national peril and disruption filled the air when Jefferson acquired Louisiana, and later when we expanded to the Pacific. The acquisition of Alaska was denounced as a foolish bargain. To-day Alaska returns to us yearly more than her entire cost, and her great resources have hardly yet been touched by so much as a pin prick. The intense opposition of the anti-imperialists to our latest national expansion is too fresh in the minds of the people to need relation here.

England has had her "Little Englanders" who have always opposed her reasonable and proper expansion. British statesmen in the past have frequently failed to take advantage of opportunities which would have resulted in her great advantage to-day. British ministries have more than once lacked the keen foresight and farseeing eye necessary to discern the strategical necessities of the Empire. Vantage points of great value have more than once been given up or handed over to a rival with as much unconcern as one would give a trinket to a child. Had England been as farseeing as she might have been or as great a land grabber as she is accused of being, she would to-day be in a much stronger position than she is in more than one quarter of the globe.

WE, TOO, HAVE SOMETIMES BEEN BLIND TO OUR FUTURE.

The United States has never yet given up territory which she once acquired, but has more than once suffered from a like blindness with Great Britain. More than once we have failed to see our manifest destiny and have neglected to realize the great value and necessity to us of territory which we could have acquired by the asking. Canada would have been ours when independence was granted us had the point been insisted on. Franklin raised the point once, but it was never again mentioned during the negotiations. Canada would have been ours then had we insisted upon it, and we can not but regret that we did not then have the

foresight to realize our own great future and the great advantage to the United States did we possess the imperial dominion which lies to our north.

In 1844 the Democratic party carried the Presidential election on a platform the chief issue of which was "Fifty-four forty or fight." That campaign slogan had reference to our just rights in the Northwest. Had a Democratic Administration shown half the energy and fighting spirit in its negotiations with Great Britain on this point our boundary line in the Northwest would have been moved up to meet the southern boundary line of Alaska, and Canada would have been shut out entirely from access to the Pacific Ocean. But the Democratic party was too busily engaged in those days extending the power and territory of slavery to insist on our just rights in the Northwest. It compromised and threw away our rights there in order to have a free hand to fight Mexico for the benefit of slavery.

While the United States has never yet ceded away territory to which we had acquired undisputed title, yet Democratic orators and newspapers are joining hands with the anti-imperialists to compel, if possible, a sacrifice of the fruits of our war with Spain. There is in that party to-day, and there will continue to be, an element demanding that we give up the Philippine Islands and remove our flag from our possessions there.

HOW ENGLAND HAS SUFFERED FROM ANTI-IMPERIALISM.

It will be profitable to study here the experience of Great Britain to see how she has suffered and still suffers from the spirit of anti-imperialism. It has caused her to throw away many golden opportunities and to make many needless sacrifices which later cost her much expenditure of lives and treasures. The Boer war, with its attendant heavy loss in men and money, was the result of the shortsighted policy of a former ministry, which was controlled by the spirit of "Little England" and failed to appreciate the manifest destiny of the British Empire. England's policy of free trade was inspired partly by Cobden's belief that Great Britain would soon part with all her colonies. English statesmen to-day are advocating tariff preferentials which will bind her colonies more closely to her and give her a distinct advantage over other nations in trade with her dependencies.

England is to-day regretting that she gave up Java and the Philippines. While she has vantage points in the China seas, and Hongkong in particular is a position of inestimable value, she would be in a much stronger position in playing the game of politics in the Orient did she still hold these islands. Java lies athwart the ocean passage from Europe to the Far East, with a length of 700 miles—a link in the partly submerged neck of land which once bound Australia to the continent of Asia. The British took this island from the French in 1811, after they had possessed it for five years, and devoted much time and money to developing its industries and strengthening its defenses. So vigorous and valiant was the defense that the island was only won after much loss of men. The English remained in possession five years, and under able administration the island was proving a most valuable and desirable acquisition, when it was given to the Dutch in the treaty of Vienna. The English minister who indulged in this piece of reckless and improvident generosity was evidently actuated by ignorance of the situation, for it is said that he actually did not know where the island was located.

The same is true as to the Philippines. Great Britain had every right to claim these islands as spoils of conquest in 1763. They were given up as easily and unconcernedly, and with as little appreciation of their true value as Java was treated later, and Great Britain thus lost the advantage which the United States now possesses by reason of its ownership of that group of islands. Had Great Britain retained the island of Java, the Moluccas, and the Celebes Islands, as well as the Philippines, she would to-day be the paramount European power in China, instead of occupying her present inferior position. This is what Great Britain has lost because her statesmen of a century or more ago failed to foresee the development of the British Kingdom and the value and necessity in international trade of a colonial empire.

LET US AVOID SIMILAR MISTAKES.

In the same blind way British ministers have thrown away rich treasures in the West Indies which were won by the valor of British soldiers and seamen. The British have taken Martinique three times and Guadeloupe five times and Curaçoa twice at least. In fact, whenever war broke out between England and France these islands were captured by the British, only to be returned to France or handed over to the Dutch when peace was concluded, and simply and solely because British statesmen did not look into the future, did not foresee the need of strategic strongholds guarding every sea and watching over all possible future rivals. The greatest mistake, however, which England ever committed in the Caribbean was her failure to retain Cuba after it had been so gallantly won by the combined efforts of

England and her American colonies. Civilization and progress would have been the gainer had England retained this "Pearl of the Antilles," instead of handing it back to Spain. The horrible cruelty of Spanish dominion, the nameless horrors of Weyler's rule, our own expenditure of valuable lives in the war with Spain would all have been saved had British statesmen in those days been able to glance into the future as short a space of time as even a hundred years.

The same fatuous policy has controlled England's policy in Africa. Less than two decades ago the administration of her Government was in the hands of men whom we might not improperly liken to our own anti-imperialists. They did not believe in expansion, they did not believe in extending the possessions and responsibilities of the British flag, and talked even of retreating from strong outposts already held and retiring within the insular exclusiveness of the British Isles. It was when Great Britain was suffering from that policy of weakness and inaction that Germany and other powers seized the opportunity to carve up Africa and erect barriers every place to British expansion. England has given up strong strategical positions which, if retained, would give her the controlling power in the future of Morocco, but which has, on the contrary, passed to her great rival, France. It is rather by accident than by any clear foresight on the part of British statesmen in past times that England still retains the strong points of vantage which are yet hers in the Mediterranean. It may be set down to good luck rather than to good judgment that Cyprus and Malta still float the British flag. Tangier, Sardinia, Corsica, Elba, Sicily, and the Ionian Islands might just as well have been British territory to-day, and Great Britain's position in that inland sea would be much stronger now than it is. In a fit of sentimentalism the island of Heligoland was only a few years ago handed over to Germany, a transaction which partook more of the nature of a gift than a sale, for there was no consideration which was visible to the naked eye.

In the words of a recent British writer, these instances show that the building up of the British Empire has been the result of distinctly national efforts, while its contraction, both before and since the loss of the American colonies, has been due to the blindness and shortsightedness of its ministers. It was only after Great Britain had literally thrown away much territory of a most valuable character—*islands and possessions which would have greatly benefited her trade and checked the aggressions of her rivals—that the British people woke up to a full appreciation of their imperial destiny.*

Let us profit by this experience, which has proved in some cases so bitter to Great Britain, and avoid her errors. Let us have the foresight and statesmanship to look to the future a hundred years and see our trade in the Pacific developing and spreading until it is equal to our trade in the Atlantic; the commerce of the Philippines built up until they furnish this country the million dollars a day of tropical products which we now consume, and Manila has become our distributing point for the trade of half the population of the world. Let us have the common sense to see our duty and our future, and not bring inconsolable regret to our descendants by giving up what we have won by the valor of our soldiers and sailors. Where the American flag now floats, let it still float until time shall be no more.

THE DEMOCRATS CALAMITY HOWLERS AND PANIC PRODUCERS.

It is a peculiarity of our history that the cry of calamity and predictions of hard times are made when the Republican party is in power, and the actual experience of those calamities invariably follows the success of the Democratic party. Democratic orators are again devoting themselves to predictions of hard times, and magnifying a few unfavorable symptoms into a condition forecasting general commercial disaster and industrial depression. I deny that conditions warrant any such gloomy forebodings or that anything less appalling than Democratic success in 1904 can seriously impede the splendid onward progress of American commerce or do any serious damage to the substantial prosperity of the country. The reports from financial centers show that the bond market has turned the corner and that a healthy demand for safe securities is succeeding a period of twelve months of stagnation. Large dividend payments made in November and still larger payments which will be made in December and in January will ease the stringency which is prevailing and furnish ample means for all healthy and profitable investment.

The improved situation in the money market is, however, not due so much to improved conditions as to greater confidence on the part of the public. The loss of confidence six months ago tightened the purse strings of financial centers and sent the interest soaring from 4 to 6 per cent; so now the return of public confidence has made money conditions easier and forced the loaning rate back again to 4 per cent. This situation will not only increase the demand for the highest character of securities, but will

create a healthy demand for securities which are amply safe but lack the gilt-edge value of Government bonds.

There has been absolutely no logical reason for the conditions which have prevailed in Wall street in the past six months. Stocks and bonds of high earning capacity have fallen in value without any decrease in their earning capacity or net revenue returns. To my mind the experience of the past year has marked a turning point in our financial history and will in future years be looked back to as marking the decline and disappearance of the supremacy and control of Wall street over the financial interests of the country. For a great many years Wall street presented a true reflex of the financial situation throughout the country. Was Wall street prosperous, then the country was prosperous. Did Wall street speculators take a pinch of snuff, then the whole country sneezed in response. This was absolutely true in the panics of 1873 and 1884 and 1893, and in the cheap-money scare of 1896. The phenomenally prosperous years the country has enjoyed since the Republican party returned to power were also recorded in the financial operations of Wall street. The farmer and the manufacturer were prosperous as never before. Railroad business and prices expanded as never before. The price of all securities mounted to undreamed-of heights, and every security which bore a corporate seal found ready sale.

The year 1903 has marked the beginning of a new and entirely different situation. The \$2,000,000,000 of undigested securities which J. Pierpont Morgan referred to in a reported interview proved too great a load for the public to bear. A halt was called in speculation, which had gone wild and exceeded all demands of business, present or prospective. Liquidation set in, prices began to drop, the entire investing and speculative community closed its pocketbooks, and the more prices dropped the more anxious were people to sell. In some lines production had exceeded demand, especially in cases where demand had been curtailed owing to unfortunate differences between labor and capital, which threw many men out of employment for a time and checked hundreds of projected industrial operations. Then came dire predictions of imminent ruin, a few railroads held up some projected improvements, deep and impenetrable gloom settled down on Wall street, and many timid souls feared a general collapse was at hand.

The disturbance, however, extended no further than Wall street, and the general prosperity of the country moved on unchecked and unhindered. While the speculator on Wall street was in despair, the agriculturists—the mainstay of our prosperity and the backbone of our foreign trade—were reaping a most magnificent harvest. The crops of our farms and plantations this year will pay two times over the tremendous paper losses caused by the squeezing of wind and water out of stocks and other securities. Our corn crop alone will buy all the stocks and bonds of the great steel trust, and leave a surplus of \$200,000,000. The hay crop is worth more than enough to buy a controlling interest in the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, Erie, Union Pacific, and Atchison railroad companies, and its \$560,000,000 is worth more than all the net earnings of all the railroads in the country in 1902. The products of the soil in the United States for the present year are estimated to be worth five thousand million dollars, which would buy at par the capital stocks of more than three-fourths of all the railroads in the country. The prosperity of the agriculturist has been reflected in and has contributed to the prosperity of the railroads. Many of the leading lines show remarkable records of gains in earnings during the present year.

OUR PROSPERITY ON A FIRM BASIS.

The railroad condition generally is in a most healthy and satisfactory condition, with heavy traffic on hand and most encouraging prospects for the future. The abnormally high valuations of railroad securities of a year or two are no more to be accounted for than the unreasonably low valuation prevailing at present. The situation can only be accounted for by the reluctance of buyers to invest in any stock at any price. Baltimore and Ohio, which last year made over 9 per cent upon its common stock, and promises even better results this year, sees its preferred and common stock listed and selling at 87 and 76. The net income of the Union Pacific on its common is nearly 10 per cent, and yet it only brings 73. The situation is illogical and unprecedented, but with large dividend payments due in the immediate future, confidence will be restored and railroad securities will come up to their true value.

A careful compilation of interest and dividend payments made during November gives a total from railroad, industrial, traction, and mining companies of \$60,856,341. This total compares with \$79,100,000 in October and with \$58,386,028 for November, 1902. November is one of the least active months of the year in the matter of dividend and interest payments, but its record is most encouraging.

Dividends on industrial stocks payable during November fell from \$15,797,000 last year to \$13,665,000, all of which shrinkage is due to the retirement of \$130,416,000 of the preferred stock of the steel corporation. The replacement of this stock with bonds, however, reveals itself in interest payments for the month, which are increased by the \$3,527,387 paid out upon the second-mortgage steel bonds. The interest total is further swelled by the new issues which many of the railroads have made during the past year, although sinking-fund operations have cut down the funded debt of many roads.

The United States Steel Corporation paid out a million more last November than it did a year ago, or \$10,308,293, as compared with \$9,263,096 a year ago. No other large industrial companies made interest payments, but the Pullman Company paid dividends amounting to \$1,480,000, the American Tobacco Company \$1,642,000, the American Car and Foundry Company \$825,000, and the Pennsylvania Steel Company \$577,000. The Pressed Steel Car Company paid \$343,000 on both classes of stock.

The Pennsylvania paid out in dividends on the last day of November \$9,035,241, leading the dividend list by a wide margin. Adding the interest due on various bond issues of the company, its disbursements were not far from \$10,000,000. The Northern Securities Company comes next with \$4,104,000 for its stockholders, and half a dozen other railroad companies divided upward of \$500,000 each.

The chief interest payments by railroads were those of Atchison, \$1,655,000, and Union Pacific, \$1,745,000. Ten railroads made payments ranging between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000.

At the beginning of November the per capita circulation of money in the United States was larger than at any time in the history of the country. The circulation statement issued by the division of loans and currency of the Treasury Department, based on an estimated population of 80,946,000, gives the average circulation for each man, woman, and child in the United States on November 1, as \$29.99. The per capita circulation has steadily increased month by month for some time. A year ago it was \$29.36. The total general stock of money in the United States November 1 was \$2,724,579,721, a gain of nearly \$4,000,000 in the last month.

From March 4, 1900, the date of the passage of the act authorizing the incorporation of national banks with minimum capital of \$25,000, to October 31, 1903, there were organized 1,765 associations with aggregate capital of \$104,468,000, and bonds on deposit at date of organization to the amount of \$25,174,850. Banks organized under the act of March 14, 1900, numbered 1,149, and with capital stock of \$29,973,000. During the period in question 616 associations were organized, with capital of \$74,495,000, having individual capital of \$50,000,000 or over. A further subdivision shows that 997 of the associations, with capital of \$51,134,500, were banks of primary organization; 561, with capital of \$36,405,000, reorganizations of State or private banks, and 207, with capital of \$13,928,500, conversions of State banks.

During October 57 associations were chartered, their aggregate capital being \$2,500,000. Of this number 39, with total capital of \$1,000,000, were with individual capital of less than \$50,000, and 18, with capital of \$1,500,000, banks with individual capital of \$50,000 or over. During the month 5 State banks were converted into national associations, 13 organized as successors of State or private banks, and 39 associations primarily organized.

At the close of the year ended October 31, 1903, there were in active operation 5,147 associations, with aggregate capital of \$766,267,095; bonds on deposit as security for circulation, \$382,726,830, and circulation secured by bonds, \$380,650,821. In addition to the bond-secured circulation, there was outstanding \$98,959,862 of circulation covered by deposits of lawful money made by banks reducing their circulation, those in voluntary liquidation, and on account of insolvent national banks.

These figures do not indicate that the country is suffering from any check to its prosperity or that any financial cloud is casting a shadow over the land. Some lines of industry may have expanded faster than conditions warrant, some rates of wages may have been forced up higher than the situation justified, and production in some cases may have exceeded demand and caused a temporary halt in some lines of manufacturing, but actual conditions are all against the return of hard times. Since the first election of President McKinley our population has grown from 70,250,000 to 79,000,000. In round figures there are 10,000,000 more mouths to be fed, 10,000,000 more consumers and purchasers than there were seven years ago. In five years the wealth of the United States has grown from \$77,000,000,000 to \$94,000,000,000 and the money in circulation from \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,250,000,000, every dollar of which is worth 100 cents.

The balance of trade in our favor since McKinley was elected has far exceeded our balance of trade for all the preceding years of our history and has grown from \$882,206,000 to \$1,381,719,000, indicating a steadily growing foreign market for our manufactur-

ing and farm products. We are not only feeding the world, producing 40 per cent of the wheat which goes into foreign commerce, but we are rapidly becoming the manufacturer of articles needed in every nation and in every clime. Our farms have grown in ten years from 4,564,641 to 5,739,657, and the value of farm products from \$2,460,107,000 to \$3,764,177,000. With a constantly increasing home demand and a steadily growing foreign output we are to-day enjoying all of the conditions of continued prosperity which only the shock of threatened Democratic success can imperil.

OUR SPLENDID FOREIGN TRADE IN OCTOBER, 1903.

The healthy condition of our foreign trade is shown by the report of the Department of Commerce and Labor of our exports of manufactures in October. The total amount is \$37,558,675, a larger export than in any preceding October except that of 1900, and even in that banner year of exports the total was less than \$100,000 above that of October, 1903. The increase over October, 1902, is about \$1,500,000; over October, 1901, \$3,000,000, and is more than double the total for October of 1893. Most of the principal articles of manufacture show a slight increase in October, 1903, compared with October, 1902. Agricultural implements show a gain of over \$40,000, compared with the same month of the preceding year; cars and carriages, about \$25,000; clocks and watches, \$45,000; copper manufactures, \$450,000; scientific instruments, \$130,000; steel rails, \$113,000; wire, \$35,000; sewing machines, \$75,000; iron and steel manufactures of all kinds, \$318,000; boots and shoes, \$156,000; leather of all kinds, \$419,000; mineral oil, \$604,000; manufactures of tobacco, \$50,000; manufactures of wood, \$50,000, and manufactures of wool, \$140,000. Cotton manufactures show a slight reduction, the total exports for October, 1903, being \$2,005,650, against \$2,689,076 in October of the preceding year. This reduction occurs almost exclusively in exports of cotton cloth to China, of which the total for October, 1903, was 9,370,600 yards, valued at \$414,156, against 20,472,678 yards, valued at \$1,036,726, in October, 1902. The figures for October, 1903, however, compare favorably with those of the corresponding month in years preceding 1902, in which the exports of cotton cloths to China were extraordinarily large by reason of the small importations during the disturbances of 1901.

On the import side manufactures show a slight decrease as compared with October, 1902. Articles of voluntary use, luxuries, etc., are for October, 1903, \$11,242,417, against \$11,676,126 in October, 1902. Articles manufactured ready for consumption in October, 1903, are \$14,375,375, against \$14,540,799 in the corresponding month of last year, and articles wholly or partially manufactured for use as materials in the manufactures and mechanic arts are \$12,843,890, against \$13,348,145. Iron and steel manufactures, of which the importations had been unusually large, show a marked reduction, the total for October, 1903, being \$2,552,380, against \$4,149,631 in October of last year. Articles in a crude condition for use in manufacturing also show a reduction in October, 1903, as compared with October, 1902, in which the total was the largest for October in the history of our import trade.

The figures of exports of manufactures for the ten months ending with October show a condition quite as satisfactory as those relating to the month of October only. As has been already indicated, the October exports of manufactures are larger than those for the corresponding month of any preceding year except 1900, and this may also be said of the ten months ending with October, in which the exports of manufactures were \$384,688,560, a larger total than for the corresponding ten months of any earlier year except 1900.

The table which follows shows the total exports of manufactures in October, and in the ten months ending with October, from 1893 to 1903:

Exports of domestic manufactures from the United States.

Year.	One month, ending with October.	Ten months, ending with October.
1893	\$16,680,972	\$146,556,413
1894	15,361,063	148,739,702
1895	18,778,945	164,572,481
1896	23,469,182	208,276,185
1897	22,249,159	234,728,097
1898	25,416,046	253,177,715
1899	33,864,376	311,969,173
1900	37,651,357	376,247,618
1901	34,425,130	332,084,782
1902	35,639,593	347,244,064
1903	37,558,675	348,688,560

Our exports for the first nine months of the current year exceed the figures of the similar period in 1902 by \$46,000,000. We shipped in October \$2,000,000 a day of raw cotton. Our exports of manufactures in October last show an increase of \$1,500,000 over October of 1902. It is such showings as these which enable us

to draw gold from Europe whenever we desire. It is estimated that thirteen years ago four thousand million dollars of our stocks and bonds, including Government bonds, were held in foreign countries. A majority of the stock of the Pennsylvania Company and of other railroad lines was held abroad. The situation has since then changed so much for the better that it is now estimated that the aggregate of American securities held abroad is lower than ever before in our history, and does not exceed one thousand million dollars. The balance of trade in our favor is so great that we not only can pay the interest on these holdings, can pay foreign nations \$200,000,000 a year for carrying our foreign commerce, and still have a comfortable surplus to our credit. Our Treasury is bulging with a stock of gold which surpasses the holdings that any other nation ever had. Our financial strength is the marvel of the world, and nothing short of political insanity and Democratic success can call a halt to our prosperity.

As an instance of the country's uninterrupted prosperity, I may instance the single case of a leading steel-manufacturing concern, which reports greater earnings this year than there were last year, with more orders on hand than it can attend to, requiring a considerable increase in the number of laborers employed. It reports an unexpected source of business from a number of large orders which were given to its plant in Great Britain, but could not be handled there, and had to be sent to this country to be filled.

OVERCAPITALIZATION CHECKED.

A pleasing proof of returning sanity in business operations and of the abandonment of wild-cat operations is found in the report of October incorporations. The movement toward concentration of industrial concerns has been checked, and returning sanity on the part of investors has done more toward checking the trust movement than all legislation has been able to accomplish. The aggregate amount of capital expressed in companies with a capital stock of \$1,000,000 and over which took out charters in the principal corporation States was \$73,800,000 smaller than the amount in any corresponding month for several years. Not a single so-called trust combination was organized. The October record for two years is as follows:

State.	1902.	1903.
New Jersey	\$158,000,000	\$28,300,000
Maine	43,000,000	37,250,000
Delaware	16,000,000	7,000,000
New York	5,000,000	1,250,000
Total	222,000,000	73,800,000

The very timely exposure growing out of the hearings in connection with the shipbuilding combination have made plain to the investing public the devious methods employed to float such concerns and the great amount of fictitious value injected into them, for which the public has to pay. The lesson has been a costly one, but worth all that it has cost, and we may look for saner and better methods in future operations of a similar character.

Trade Relations with Cuba.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. SPOONER,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Wednesday, December 16, 1903.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1921) to carry into effect a convention between the United States and the Republic of Cuba, signed on the 11th day of December, in the year 1902—

Mr. SPOONER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: By unanimous consent we vote on this bill today, and it is a part of the agreement that the time shall be equally divided between those who oppose and those who favor the measure. The situation renders it impossible for me to take the time which under other circumstances I should be glad to utilize in a thorough discussion of some of the very important questions which have been suggested.

It is a little odd that this bill should have passed in so short a time and with such unanimity the other body which for the first time considered the subject in considering this bill, and that it should elicit such elaborate and heated debate in this body which as a part of the treaty-making power participated in the making

of the treaty which the bill is to carry into effect. But that can not be helped.

It is not very long, Mr. President—it seems hardly a year—since, with the galleries full and every Senator in his place, in a silence which was profound, this body listened to the testimony of colleagues from personal observations in Cuba as to the poverty, distress, and horror which pervaded the island. It is not very long since this Chamber was filled with eloquent speech invoking the utmost generosity on the part of this people for the people of Cuba.

It does not seem long since very bitter words were heard here against the patient, pale-faced man then President of the United States, because he was not willing to proceed to war with Spain for Cuba with a haste demanded by many, but who, having seen war himself and being sensible of the responsibility and obligation which rested upon him, desired to exhaust every resource of diplomacy in order to avert the horrors of war. It will be remembered that so bitter was the feeling for Cuba that suggestion that ulterior interests and motives governed his action found place here in debate.

If anyone had told the country that in so short a time, when through the efforts of the United States Cuba should have been freed and her people enabled to form a government of their own, Senators would attempt here in elaborate speech to satisfy the Senate and the country that in trade relations with that new Republic we should hold her off and treat her as our cold commercial interests lead us to treat the great nations over the sea, it would not have been believed within the range of possibility.

This debate has furnished some amusing features. Some Senators who all their lives have been advocating a "tariff for revenue only," who have supported a party platform declaring protection to American interests, including the welfare of American labor, to be unconstitutional, who have been willing to throw open our markets to the capital of the world and to subject our labor to the competition of the labor of the world, are filled with excitement and indignation when considering this bill lest the labor of Cuba be brought into ruinous competition with the labor of the United States. Other Senators support this bill, adhering to the principle of their party in favor of a tariff for revenue only, upon the ground that its passage will make a breach in what they call the "protection wall" and be the beginning of the end of the protective system.

One distinguished Senator [Mr. NEWLANDS] has, coincidentally with the consideration of this proposition, introduced a resolution extending an "invitation to Cuba," whose competition with the beet-sugar interest when this treaty shall have been carried into effect is feared (a treaty continuing for only five years, and I think for a lesser time if the interest of either country shall demand it), to become, with Porto Rico as a county or province therein, a State in our Union and forever a part of the United States. I deprecated the introduction of that resolution, while not criticising the Senator for introducing it. It was his right, and, Mr. President, he has advocated it with a dignity and eloquence of speech which does him credit and his State honor.

An "invitation" it is in form. I have feared it might be regarded as more than an invitation. Sometimes an invitation is a command. It depends somewhat upon the relative power and position of the parties. Here it is proposed that one of the greatest nations in the world, a nation which freed Cuba, not for her own sake, but for Cuba's sake, for the sake of liberty, considering a trade treaty asked for by Cuba, shall "invite" Cuba to become a part of the United States. I hope that no South American republic, I hope no nation across the sea, will see in this proposition, even in its introduction, anything sinister; and I hope, Mr. President, for more reasons than one, that it will be indefinitely postponed promptly and by a large vote.

This "invitation" to Cuba to become a State of the American Union would, under the circumstances, be a sorry companion piece for the "Teller resolution," which we enacted as a part of the demand that Spain at once relinquish "its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters," which constituted the ultimatum of the United States and made war inevitable. That resolution was as follows:

That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

This resolution has been much criticised, in the public press and otherwise. The distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. DEFEW], in the course of an eloquent speech in advocacy of this measure, lamented the passage of the Teller resolution and characterized it as due to a "wave of passionate sentimentalism, patriotism, and humanity" then going through this Chamber. The Senator is mistaken. That resolution was not the result, either in its origin or its enactment, of passionate sentimentalism. It

was, on the contrary, deliberate, well considered, and due entirely to the Senate's appreciation of a settled principle of international law and of obvious international decency.

I wish to speak a moment on the Teller resolution. I voted for it, and have never seen a moment when I would have changed that vote if I could. Upon what was it predicated, Mr. President? It must be remembered that the United States were not ready to go to war with Spain because of violated treaties, because of any grievances, although many had existed in the past which would have warranted us in war with Spain on our own account. Nor were we ready to go to war with Spain for the destruction of the *Maine*.

Our people preferred when the time came, when all hope through diplomacy was gone, not to declare war against Spain on our own behalf, but to intervene in the struggle between Spain and Cuba to put an end to Spain's rule in that island and the atrocities, cruelty, and misrule which had characterized her sovereignty there.

Professor Lawrence, in his work on international law, page 120, speaking of interventions undertaken on the ground of humanity, says:

At the same time it (international law) will not condemn such interventions, if they are undertaken with a single eye to the object in view and without ulterior considerations of self-interest and ambition.

President McKinley put it all in a sentence when he said, speaking of intervention:

I speak not of forcible annexation. That can not be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression.

It never entered the minds of any of us who were called upon to act at that day that the United States could honorably enter upon war with Spain to put an end to cruelty and outrage in Cuba, and, in the name of liberty, to wrest her from Spain and in the end take her as a Government asset of our own. There is no principle of international law more jealously guarded and insisted upon by governments than that of nonintervention, except upon high and unselfish grounds, in such a case. Almost every great government has its colonies, and almost every government with colonies, as the years come and go, is confronted with insurrection, and it would not be tolerated by the governments of the earth that other nations should intervene by force, save in exceptional cases, between a parent state and a revolting colony.

So, Mr. President, we intervened on the highest possible ground, and the Teller resolution placed us upon the highest possible ground, and was intended to do so. It was as sacred a pledge as ever was made by any government in the world. *It was not a pledge to Cuba.* It was not needed in Cuba. The people there understood our motive without it, and feared no aggression from us.

The Teller resolution was a declaration made to the world; it was a pledge made to the governments that we intervened for the sake of humanity, on the highest possible ground, and that when the liberty of Cuba should have been achieved and the island pacified we would withdraw and leave the government and control of the island to its people.

No man may say, probably, with *absolute* assurance, but it has always been my belief, confirmed by some conversations with those who ought to know, that the Teller resolution, in addition to putting us on the only ground a Government like this could occupy in that emergency, prevented, in all probability, a concert of Europe against us.

That pledge was made. It is written in the law. It is the word of honor of a great Government. It must be kept. It is to be guarded as a man guards the honor of his own home.

So I deplore the introduction of the resolution inviting Cuba to become a part of the United States. It is, however, in one phase a logical resolution. It contemplates that Porto Rico, which belongs to the United States—what the future has in store as to that relation I do not stop to debate—with a million people, 800 miles or more from Cuba, shall become a county or province of Cuba, and that Cuba, with the county or province of Porto Rico, be invited to enter the Union on an equality with the original States. Think of it! Cuba, asking better trade relations with this great Republic, is invited, if this resolution were adopted, to do what? To commit suicide as a nation, to haul down the flag which floats over Moro Castle, to destroy the Republic of which they are so proud, to abandon the independence for which they fought so long and against such fearful odds.

Is it supposed they do not love their Republic? Is it thought they do not adore their flag? They appreciate with pride the position they have taken in the family of nations. Their Republic and their flag are sanctified to them by the sacrifices and the lives which were freely given to work out the destiny which they have achieved. They do not forget the thousands of their own brethren who died that they might become independent and free. They do not forget Antonio Maceo, one of the most gallant and chival-

rous figures of any war. They do not forget the savagery, the cruelty, and the horrors through which they passed to create in the end, with our help, a government of their own, and to supplant the Spanish flag, which for centuries had been to them a flag of tyranny, by a new flag, the flag of their own Republic.

And yet, in connection with this proposition that we treat Cuba upon the true theory that geographically, historically, and in every way her relation to us differs from that of Germany and Russia and the other great governments across the sea, we are asked to invite her people to furl her flag, abandon their Republic, scuttle their ship of state, and come into the Union, and all for fear that her competition during five years will injure the industries and labor and retard the development of this great Republic. Under the circumstances, Mr. President, the proposition, however intended, is sinister and unfortunate.

For myself—and I speak here for no one else—I pray that the American Union may remain bounded by the shores of the mainland. I am not anxious for island States. I am not willing that the million inhabitants of Porto Rico, 80 per cent of whom can not read or write any language, combining with the fifteen or sixteen hundred thousand people of Cuba, all of a different race, shall come into this Union as a State. I do not tolerate the coming of a time when we shall have to wait to ascertain the result of a Presidential election until we can hear from Cuba or from Porto Rico.

No man can tell what lies hidden in the womb of the future. No one can tell what the relations of Cuba with the United States are to be in the long reach of time, but one thing I hope, for the honor of our country, that if Cuba ever is to become a part of the United States it shall be on her petition, not on our invitation. I want no nation of this earth ever to be able to say with truth that any act of ours has afforded evidence that we forgot for a moment even the pledge of the Teller resolution.

Let us keep our Union confined to our continent and our race, assimilating as far as possible those from other lands who come to us, and then as a government, an Anglo-Saxon government, let us deal with all problems that are put upon us—Cuba and all—as befits a nation of honorable men. I pass that.

Mr. President, the Senator from Texas [Mr. BAILEY], of whom I am very fond, is a very courteous man, and he gave in contrast with some others on his side a very pronounced evidence of it in part of his speech. It was stated by the Senator from Colorado—I think by both the Senators from Colorado—that with this treaty carried into effect the benefit, so far as the reduction of the sugar duty is concerned, will go to the sugar trust, and that that is understood and so intended by those who support this bill; that is, that we on this side are willing to sacrifice the beet-sugar interests of the United States to the sugar trust.

The Senator from Texas was certain that the benefit to be derived from this reduction will inure to the sugar trust, but he was polite enough to say that he believed in our sincerity when we said it would not; that the trouble with us was not that we are not sincere, but that we are stupid—not intelligent about it. One Senator says we are sincere but stupid, and others say we are able but dishonest. [Laughter.] I will leave the Senators to settle that alternative with the very eminent and respectable colleagues of theirs on that side of the Chamber who, with us, support this bill.

I had not supposed—for this bill passed the House of Representatives by a tremendous majority; it was almost unanimous—that any man could impute to that vote other than an honest purpose to benefit by this treaty our own people and the people of Cuba.

The Senators from Colorado arraign us as being the enemies of our beet-sugar interests and both Senators prophesied that if this bill passes, as it will, it will sound the death knell of the beet-sugar industry in the United States. Have we on this side been enemies of the beet-sugar interest? I have lost somewhat my faith in prophecies as to the operation of measures. I can remember a good many prophecies which have been made on the other side that have failed.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to say that the Senator from Wisconsin certainly misunderstood me if he understood that I said the passage of this bill would destroy the beet-sugar industry.

Mr. SPOONER. I think the Senator said that, or perhaps it was the Senator's colleague [Mr. PATTERSON].

Mr. TELLER. I never said it would injure the beet-sugar interests; but if followed by other legislation already pending, and so on, eventually perhaps the beet-sugar industry might be destroyed.

Mr. SPOONER. Of course, Mr. President, the other bill that is pending is not involved now. We will cross that bridge when we come to it. It is a troublesome question. It is one of many which grow out of the situation. I do not know whether that bill will pass or not, but I do not intend now to discuss it. I know one thing, that the Senator from Colorado stood here a year ago, when the House bill was pending, and dared us to pass it, and he said they on that side were willing to accept it.

Mr. TELLER. May I interrupt the Senator?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. SPOONER. Of course.

Mr. TELLER. Does the Senator mean to say that I favored the passage of the Philippine bill?

Mr. SPOONER. No; I am talking about the Cuban bill that came from the House of Representatives in the last Congress, which we did not pass.

Mr. TELLER. I referred to the Philippine bill.

Mr. SPOONER. I know you did. I am referring to the Cuban bill which passed the House in 1902.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator need not read the RECORD on me, for I will admit what the Senator states to be true without that. I did dare my colleagues on the other side of the Chamber to pass that bill. I knew they did not dare do it.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator would not have dared us to pass the bill if he had thought we would pass it.

Mr. TELLER. Perhaps if I had thought that you would pass it, I would not have made the dare.

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. TELLER. But I did say I would vote for it because I knew it would at least for a while put the sugar trust out of competition with the beet-sugar industry.

Mr. SPOONER. It would have been a deadly blow to the beet-sugar interest of Colorado and the rest of the country, and it does not lie in the mouths of Senators to charge—I presume it is a political charge—that by passing this bill we evince hostility to the beet-sugar industry of the country. The Senator from Colorado knew we would not pass that bill; and if he had thought we would pass it he would have been as silent as the grave so far as his challenge was concerned.

Why would we not pass that bill? Does anyone think that we would not pass that bill because of the sugar trust? Does anybody think, Mr. President, that the action of this side of the Chamber or the attitude of the other side to that bill had in it any thought of the sugar trust? The duty imposed by the Dingley law was proposed to be reduced by that bill 12½ cents on the hundred pounds of refined sugar. That bill proposed to make that reduction not simply as to Cuban sugar, but as to sugar from all the world, and invited into this country—

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Rhode Island?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. ALDRICH. I call the Senator's attention to the fact that the bill further repealed the countervailing duty as against bounties, which amounted in some cases to three-eighths of a cent per pound in addition to the one-eighth.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes. The Senator from Colorado said yesterday, and I have no doubt he is right about it, that the Dingley duty on sugar is none too high to protect the beet-sugar interests. I believed that last year. I did not vote for that duty in the Dingley bill on the theory of helping the sugar trust. If there had been no other interest but that in the duty on refined sugar, I should not have been able to find justification for that vote. I voted for it, Mr. President, speaking for myself, mainly in the interest of beet sugar, some of which is produced in my own State, although up to this time comparatively little. I would not vote for that bill which came from the House to us throwing open our market by that 12½ cents per hundred pounds reduction to refined sugar from all over the world, lest it kill, as it would frightfully have discouraged, the beet-sugar industry of the country, so when the Senator taunts us—

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Colorado?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. The Senator has just answered the question I was about to ask him, why he did not vote for the bill.

Mr. SPOONER. That is one reason why I did not vote for the bill.

Mr. TELLER. That is satisfactory to me. I merely want to ask the Senator one question, and I will agree not to interrupt him again. I do not believe much in interruptions.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not object at all, except that I want to get through with my remarks.

Mr. TELLER. I wished to ask the Senator whether he thought

it was fair to the sugar industry of this country to take off the differential, which is 12½ cents on the hundred pounds?

Mr. SPOONER. And the countervailing duty.

Mr. TELLER. The countervailing duty was already then dead. We had made an agreement—

Mr. ALDRICH. Not at that time.

Mr. TELLER. Yes; it had been made, but it did not take effect until last September. When we had the discussion here the countervailing duty was practically dead; there had been no protection to the sugar people from the countervailing duty—not a particle. I said yesterday, and I can prove it to-day, that the sugar trust has always got the benefit of the countervailing duty. Now, I want to ask the Senator a question, and I will agree not to interrupt him further—

Mr. SPOONER. I do not ask for such an agreement.

Mr. TELLER. Unless the Senator should make some statement which I should feel it my duty to correct.

Does the Senator think it fair to reduce the duty 34 cents and a fraction on every hundred pounds of sugar against an industry which has but recently sprung up and is now in its infancy? Some Senator on the other side says "We do not do it." I say, yes, you do. I am assuming that you do it, at all events. If there is any controversy about that, my question may not be pertinent. It all depends upon the correctness of my premise.

Mr. SPOONER. There seems to be a controversy about it. I myself am not an expert—

Mr. TELLER. Yes, it does reduce the duty on sugar, as I have stated, exactly one-fifth of the present duty. Now, I want to ask the Senator if it is fair to take an industry of the character described out from all other industries in the country, which are left with their usual protection, unless you can give a good reason demanding the reduction? If you can not I think its injustice must be apparent.

Mr. SPOONER. I gave the Senator what he said was a good reason for not being willing to vote for that House bill. Will he give me a good reason for his announcement on this floor that he would vote for that bill if we would?

Mr. TELLER. I will. I am frank to say I would have kept that word. I always keep my obligations.

Mr. SPOONER. You would have kept your word because you had given it. That is, having dared us—

Mr. TELLER. I want to say that the Senator is probably correct. I did not want to reduce the differential duty particularly. I was not anxious about that.

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. TELLER. The men who voted in another place to put on the bounty did it to kill the bill, because they thought the sugar trust would lose its interest in it the minute that was done.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. I do not pretend that I was anxious to reduce the duty on sugar in any shape or manner.

Mr. SPOONER. Then, Mr. President, I have developed one thing. I have developed what I was certain was true. It was a "bluff," and I have brought it out into the open.

Mr. TELLER. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. And it does not leave my friend in a position before the country to charge us, because we were not willing to pass that bill, with conserving the interests of the sugar trust and ignoring the interests of beet sugar.

Mr. TELLER. May I say a word more?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. I believed then, and I believe now, that if the same influence had required 12½ cents on the hundred pounds more to be added, it would have been added, and it would have found votes on that side of the Chamber, as it would now probably on this. Instead of being 33 and a fraction, or 34, as we figure it, we added 12½ more to it; and if the same influence had demanded the passage of that bill that has demanded the passage of this bill, it would have passed.

Mr. SPOONER. What is the "influence" demanding the passage of this bill?

Mr. TELLER. I have not time in the Senator's speech to tell him; but I said something about it yesterday.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator means the sugar trust?

Mr. TELLER. I mean in part the sugar trust.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. And I mean, if the Senator will allow me another moment, in part Executive influence.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, Executive influence! I do not know of any Senator here who has surrendered his sovereignty as a Senator to anyone outside of this Chamber. I look upon it as not in the highest degree respectful and courteous to colleagues to charge them with allowing some one outside of the Chamber to vote them. Mr. President, I have no doubt, nor has the Senator, that the President of the United States, in negotiating this treaty, acted under as high a sense of duty as any public officer

ever acted upon a subject. He negotiated the treaty; he sent it to this body. We, as a part of the treaty-making power, had to deal with it. We dealt with it. We had a full hearing before our committee.

We had elaborate debates in the Senate. It was considered from every possible standpoint; its relations to beet sugar; our duty to Cuba, if we have any; the difference of Cuba's status toward the United States from any other country—the whole gamut was run in that debate, and by a vote of 50 to 16 the Senate decided that the interests of the United States and the honor of the United States in her relation to Cuba demanded that this treaty be ratified, and I do not myself take kindly to the suggestion, and I think on second thought my friend will not make it, that votes on that side or on this are influenced by the Executive. I resent the notion myself that the Executive can follow a treaty into the Senate or that he can follow a bill into the Senate. It is the duty of the Executive to recommend; it is our duty, under the oath we have taken, to investigate, to debate, and to act. I have not known an Executive who violated the traditions of the Senate or, Mr. President, invaded the functions of other departments.

The Senator said a word about the propaganda which preceded this measure a year ago. He resented it. So did I.

I am frank to say that I did not like communications from officers of the United States in Cuba, addressed to me as an individual Senator, instructing me in my duty or urging particular action upon such a subject. I did not like the propaganda from Cuba in this country. I think the proper course would have been to report the full facts to superiors, and let the President lay them before the Congress for their action and their judgment. But that does not affect this proposition. The treaty was ratified on its merits, and this is simply a bill to carry it into effect. That is all.

The effect of this measure upon the beet-sugar industry will be very different from what would have been the effect of the House bill, which, when it passed that body was, as the Senator says, never expected or intended to become a law. That bill would have thrown open our market to the refined sugars of all the earth. This bill is confined to Cuba; and I have never yet found a man who has investigated the subject who was willing to say that under the operation of this treaty, at present at least and for a considerable time to come, there is the slightest possibility that the price of sugar in the United States will be affected by this treaty.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEPEW in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. BAILEY. I have no interest in this from the protective point of view at all, but I understood the Senator from Wisconsin to say that he and his party resisted the passage of the House bill because it reduced the protection on sugar in all forms 12½ cents per hundred pounds. To a protectionist that is sufficient explanation. But does not the Senator from Wisconsin know that, according to all authorities who understand the conditions in Cuba, the Cuban sugar lands are capable of producing the entire sugar production consumed by the United States, and you are now reducing the duty on that sugar 33 cents and a fraction on the hundred.

Mr. SPOONER. The reason I would not vote for the other bill, and will vote for this one, is because the other made the reduction applicable to refined sugar from all over the world. That would have brought Germany into competition with our beet sugar, while the reduction proposed by this bill is limited to Cuba, and under circumstances, Mr. President, which render it absolutely impossible, in my judgment, that during the life of this treaty the price of sugar in the United States can be affected by its operation.

Mr. BAILEY. But the fact being admitted that the sugar lands of Cuba can produce enough sugar to supply the entire demand of the United States, I maintain that a reduction of 33 per cent in favor of Cuban sugars is more certain to destroy the sugar industry of the United States than a reduction of 12½ per cent against the German sugar, which, in addition to the smaller reduction, must meet a larger carrying charge. I repeat I have no interest in it as a matter of protection.

Mr. SPOONER. I know it.

Mr. BAILEY. But if that was a good argument against the other bill, it is a better argument against the present bill.

Mr. SPOONER. I think not, Mr. President. I am not here favoring legislation with reference to Cuba upon the theory which seems to constrain my friend. I do not look upon this treaty otherwise than as unique. I regard the position of Cuba to us as *sui generis*. I will not vote against this bill, knowing, as every man knows, and as the Senator from Colorado admits, that it will not reduce the price of sugar in the United States for years, in any event, and, therefore, will not be detrimental to the

beet-sugar interests, because its operation will lead to investments in Cuba, to additional prosperity in Cuba.

Mr. President, as you [Mr. DEPEW in the chair] well said the other day, the various interests opposing this proposition combined prove too much. What a marvelous capacity the little island of Cuba must have! It will overturn the cattle industry of Texas, it will bring ruin to the fruit industry of Florida and the Pacific and the Central West, it will threaten with destruction the cotton industry of the South, it will wipe out the cigar business of the United States, and it will smash the great beet-sugar interest of the United States. Hurrah for Cuba! [Laughter.]

Mr. TELLER. I do not like to interrupt the Senator, but he makes a statement of what I admit which needs a little qualification before I assent to it. I admit that this bill will not reduce the price of refined sugar in the United States a cent or a quarter of a cent or a tenth of a cent or anything else, but I have never said it would not injure the beet industry. It may reduce the price of raw sugar; eventually it must, I think.

One of the objections I tried to urge before the Senate was that you were building up a competition with the beet-sugar interest in this country by the cane interest in Cuba and paying a bounty for the purpose of helping them compete with us in raising sugar. I do not put my objection upon the ground that it is going to lower the price of sugar in the United States, but by and by, when Cuba shall have reached her maximum production, she will sell us sugar in the United States cheaper than we can make it from beets.

Mr. SPOONER. Then the Senator's argument against this measure is not that it will reduce the price of sugar in the United States, and therefore be a detriment to the beet-sugar industry in his State and the other States, but that in the long run it will make Cuba prosperous.

Mr. TELLER. Oh, no; I have not made any such statement.

Mr. SPOONER. That it will build up Cuba; that it will encourage Cuba to plant more acres in sugar cane.

Mr. TELLER. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, 80,000,000 people, with a vast territory that will be dedicated through irrigation to the cultivation of the sugar beet, need not want to lay a heavy hand on the development of the little island of Cuba. Do Senators mean—yes, that is what they mean—that in our dealings—

Mr. TELLER rose.

Mr. SPOONER. If the Senator wants to interrupt me, I will yield.

Mr. TELLER. Let the Senator finish his sentence.

Mr. SPOONER. I can pick up the sentence.

Mr. TELLER. It is very eloquent, but very incorrect.

Mr. SPOONER. No; it is absolutely correct, but not eloquent.

Mr. TELLER. If the Senator had listened to my concluding remarks, he would not, at least, have misrepresented me. I know he would not do it intentionally.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, no.

Mr. TELLER. I said eventually, when Cuba built up the sugar industry to a remarkable degree, as she would, the price would fall and we would be unable to compete with Cuba in raising sugar.

Mr. President, I think that is obvious, and I do not think we who believe in letting Cuba work out her own destiny are under obligations to help Cuba to compete with us.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, Mr. President—

Mr. TELLER. That is all there is of it.

Mr. SPOONER. It is pretty early to be selfish with Cuba. It is not long that there has been a Cuban Republic. It is not long since she was under our military domination. She has hardly started. The position of Senators is this: She has a splendid climate; she has great industrial capacities of every sort, and the United States must forever maintain the same tariff rate against the products of Cuban industry that we maintain against Germany, against Great Britain, against France, although this little Republic lies at our door, under our eye and under our protection. Why? Because she will so develop in the course of years as to be a dangerous competitor with some industries in the United States.

I desire to ask the Senator from Colorado, who talks about the eventual development of Cuba in relation to sugar, who will dare to set a limit on the eventual development of beet-sugar culture in his region?

Mr. TELLER. I will answer the Senator. If we are treated just as the rest of the people of the United States are treated nobody needs to set any limit and nobody can set a limit. That is what we complain of, that we are not allowed to proceed in our industrial enterprises as the rest of the country is.

Mr. SPOONER. If in the course of five years it is found that any substantial industry of the United States is being injured by this treaty, it will all be in the hands of this country; more than that, it is in the hands of this country every hour. This very treaty evinces a purpose on the part of Cuba and the United States not to tie their legislative hands, because it provides in a

section industriously drawn that if either party, pending the treaty, shall so change its tariff laws as thereby to deprive the other of the protection or the privileges given by the treaty, notice may be given, etc.

Mr. BAILEY. Protection!

Mr. SPOONER. My friend is afraid of the word "protection." But if he did not have in mind for just one second day before yesterday in that eloquent speech of his the protection of Texas cattle I did not hear him straight. [Laughter.] Mr. President, protection! There never has been an industry in the world protected as the sugar industry of Louisiana has been protected. Gentlemen down there were in favor of a tariff for revenue only, and they voted with the utmost alacrity to put on the free list almost everything but sugar. "Do not touch sugar!" they always said. Why not? "Because the tax on sugar is a revenue duty. It is not a protective duty. It is a revenue duty."

And so the "revenue" duty on sugar was the most magnificent "protective" duty on Louisiana sugar that ever was conceived of in the world. So far as concerns the protection to that industry, if that had been all that was involved in the sugar duty, I want to repeat, because it is true, what I said once in debate here long ago, that the Government of the United States could have afforded to have bought the entire annual sugar product of Louisiana, tumbled it into the Gulf, and admitted sugar free. It would have made \$60,000,000 a year out of the operation. I notice that Senators have a great deal to say against protection unless some interest in their vicinity is involved. They are for free trade everywhere in the United States except at home. We are for protection as a system.

Now, my friend the Senator from Texas, and those who agree with him, are perfectly sincere about the tariff, and intelligent, too. They believe, they say, that without protection, under a purely revenue duty, the country would have prospered just as much as it has. They think that, do they not? We do not think that. We differ about that. We know one thing—we know it—that it is under the protective tariff that this country has grown to be the richest country in the world, and that there is no labor anywhere under the bending sky in the position of comfort, dignity, and independence of the labor of the United States. But I had expected to be through, and I must hasten.

Mr. President, the Senator from Texas made a very able and interesting constitutional argument. He argued with some elaboration one question which is not involved in this bill, and that is the question, long mooted, more or less, whether the President and the Senate, in the exercise of the treaty-making power, can change, without supplemental legislation, tariff rates. I say that question is not involved here, because it was a part of this treaty, made so by amendment, agreed to by Cuba, that it should not take effect until it had been approved by the Congress. So the question which my friend—and he is a great lawyer; I pay him my respectful homage as that—was discussing, so far as this bill is concerned, is an abstract question.

It is claimed unanimously in the House of Representatives, and has been many times, I think almost continuously, that the President and the Senate have no power by treaty alone to change tariff rates. I do not intend to controvert that proposition. It is a grave controversy. Much is to be said on each side of it. All I care to say about my own opinion now is that I am strongly inclined to agree with the Senator from Texas and the attitude of the House of Representatives that the President and the Senate by treaty alone can not change tariff rates.

On the old controversy, as to whether revenue bills can originate in this body, based upon the distinction as to whether the bill raised duties or reduced duties, I spend no time. I could never see any substantial foundation for that distinction, because while the Constitution says that all bills for "raising" revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives the word is used in its generic sense, and, in my opinion, is of the same meaning as if the word "affecting" had been used. To say that the House may originate bills raising duties, if that had been it, would have been one thing. To say that the Senate has the right to originate a bill simply because it reduces duties, to me is an absurdity; and if my friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] will permit me, I have not yet been able to understand upon what theory he assumes that the Senate may originate a bill to put hides on the free list.

It often happens that one of the most certain ways of raising revenue is by reducing duties. My friend the Senator from Texas would raise revenues for the Government by reducing pretty generally the customs duties, and his object would be not the protection of the industries of the United States and, from our standpoint, the labor of the United States, but the raising of revenues only.

Mr. President, I think the Senator from Texas did the House of Representatives an injustice in a remark which he made as to a provision of this bill. He said the proviso which the House has

inserted here, which under some circumstances would be a little odd, seemed to be an abatement somewhat of the vigor with which the House had always insisted on its prerogative. I think the House properly insisted upon this provision in the bill, and they insisted upon it because of a provision in the treaty that for five years the duties shall not be reduced by treaty or convention, which was an assertion, impliedly, by the Senate of the power to change, by treaty or convention alone, duties; and the House not being willing, by passing this bill without disclaimer, to seem to yield in any degree their contention put in this proviso:

That nothing herein contained shall be held or construed as an admission on the part of the House of Representatives that customs duties can be changed otherwise than by an act of Congress originating in said House.

It was their prerogative which they were asserting, and their disclaimer seemed to me to be a just one.

Mr. CULLOM. It does not bind the Senate.

Mr. SPOONER. It does not purport to bind the Senate. It only says "our acquiescence in this bill carrying into effect that treaty with that provision in it shall not be taken anywhere as an admission upon the part of the House of the power of the President and the Senate alone to change duties."

Mr. President, the Senator from Texas did not, of course, make as elaborate an argument upon the proposition that tariff rates can not be changed by treaty alone as he might have made and would have made under other circumstances. It is a fair thing to say of a great lawyer and charming gentleman who has gone that it would be absolutely impossible for any man to add to the argument made by John Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, in support of the proposition that the President and the Senate can not by treaty alone change the tariff laws. He elaborated it somewhat in his work on the Constitution, and I venture to say that it will be difficult to find a more incisive, elegant, complete argument upon a proposition than the one which he has presented in that work, Tucker on the Constitution (vol. 2, p. 723 et seq.).

I confess, Mr. President, it has not seemed to me that the framers of the Constitution industriously inserted in that instrument a provision that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, obviously intending to place in the hands of that body primarily the scope of taxation and the selection of objects of taxation, could have intended by the clause conferring treaty-making power to turn over the whole subject, without limitation, to the President and the Senate. Otherwise—and it can never be settled except by the Supreme Court of the United States—Congress might pass a tariff law, the result of intense labor and of patriotic work, intended to be upon the statute books for years, as a perfect system of taxation, and yet the President and the Senate, by treaties with foreign governments, might within a year so change it, and change it for long periods of time, as to destroy the system enacted by Congress and force the Government to a different system of taxation or put the Congress to the duty of abrogating treaties, involving grave consequences. But I do not intend to take the time to discuss that question.

The Senator from Texas makes a proposition which while not absolutely novel is substantially so. He not only contends that the President and the Senate do not possess the power to change by treaty alone tariff rates, but goes further and asserts that the President and the Senate have no power under the Constitution to make a reciprocity treaty providing for change of tariff rates, to be carried into effect by legislation originating in the House of Representatives. Mr. Tucker, who was as insistent upon and as analytical and able in his advocacy of the proposition that under the Constitution the President and the Senate can not by treaty alone change tariff rates fixed by Congress, never for a moment denied the power of the President and the Senate to negotiate and ratify such treaties, to be supplemented by legislation originating in the House. He says in regard to it, in his work on the Constitution, volume 2, page 725:

For example, Congress has power to lay and collect duties; the President and Senate have power to make a contract with a foreign nation in respect to such duties. Can any other construction be given to these two apparently contradictory powers than that the general power to make treaties must yield to the specific power of Congress to lay and collect all duties, and while the treaty may propose a contract as to duties on articles coming from a foreign nation, such an executory contract can not be valid and binding unless Congress, which has supreme authority to lay and collect duties, consents to it? If it is then asked how can you reconcile these two powers which appear antagonistic, the answer is clear. Congress has no capacity to negotiate a treaty with a foreign power. The extent of its membership makes this impracticable.

The Constitution, therefore, left the House of Representatives out of all consideration in negotiating treaties. The executory contract between the United States and a foreign nation is, therefore, confided to the one man who can conduct the negotiation and to a select body who can advise and consent to the treaties he has negotiated. But this executory contract must depend for its execution upon the supreme power vested in Congress to "lay and collect duties." It is, therefore, a contract not completed, but inchoate, and can only be completed and binding when Congress shall by legislation consent thereto and lay duties in accordance with the executory contract or treaty.

The contention of the Senator from Texas that, assuming that a treaty can not be operative to change tariff duties without

supplementary legislation by the Congress, the President and the Senate has no power to make such treaty, is fraught with danger, if established. It would shackle the executive branch of the Government in relations which may be of vital interest to the people. The proposition, in my judgment, with all respect for the Senator from Texas, finds little, if any, support in logic, and none in authority or precedent except the Choate report.

The provision of the Constitution as to the treaty-making power is as follows:

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

Of course my friend from Texas will admit that, considered in itself, there is no limit here as to the treaty-making power, but it extends to all matters the subject of contract between nations. Whatever limitation there is upon this power, aside from that stated, is inherent, or to be found in other portions of the Constitution. That there are numerous limitations can not be doubted. Mr. Justice Field, who was a very great jurist, says, I think accurately, in *De Geofroy v. Riggs*, 133 U. S., page 258:

That the treaty power of the United States extends to all proper subjects of negotiation between our Government and the governments of other nations is clear. * * * The treaty power, as expressed in the Constitution, is in terms unlimited except by those restraints which are found in that instrument against the action of the Government or of its departments, and those arising from the nature of the Government itself and of that of the States. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the Government or in that of one of the States, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter without its consent. * * * But with these exceptions it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touching any matter which is properly the subject of negotiation with a foreign country.

Of course no treaty could grant, or agree that the United States should grant, a patent of nobility, nor could it agree not to raise and support armies. I believe, even at the end of a war in which we had been defeated, it would not be competent for the President and the Senate in a treaty of peace to cede, upon the demand of the conqueror, a State or a portion of a State. The conqueror might take the State or a portion of a State, but it would not be under a cession, and the title would exist only under the doctrine of *uti possidetis*, possessory only, and good only so long as held.

The Constitution of the United States, of course, is to be read as other instruments, as a whole, and construed so that every clause in it shall have effect, and so that, as one of the old books puts it, "No clause or word shall be void, insignificant, or of none effect." It is, of course, true that all inconsistent provisions shall, as far as possible without doing violation to the obvious intent of the framers, be reconciled, so that the instrument shall be harmonious. It is a great tribute to the genius of the men who framed it that there is no provision in the Constitution which, when placed by the side of another, presents a case of absolute conflict. I know of no provisions in the instrument which are impossible of reasonable—what is the word?

Mr. ALLISON. Interpretation.

Mr. SPOONER. No; not "interpretation."

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Reconciliation.

Mr. TILLMAN. Execution.

Mr. SPOONER. No; "execution" is too strong a word.

Mr. BACON. "Adjustment" is the right word.

Mr. SPOONER. Reconciliation. I think one trouble with the contention of the Senator from Texas is that his argument does not discriminate between the two kinds of treaties, those which are self-executing and become the moment they are ratified and the ratifications are exchanged ipso facto "the law of the land" and those which require legislation in order to carry them into effect.

Many treaties have been entered into which were executory. Such treaties constitute an imperfect obligation until carried into effect by an act of Congress. In *Wheaton's Elements*, page 329, it is said on this point:

The treaty, when thus ratified, is obligatory upon the contracting states, independently of the auxiliary legislative measures which may be necessary on the part of either in order to carry it into complete effect. Where, indeed, such auxiliary legislation becomes necessary, in consequence of some limitation upon the treaty-making power, expressed in the fundamental laws of the state, or necessarily implied from the distribution of its constitutional powers—such, for example, as a prohibition of alienating the national domain—then the treaty may be considered as imperfect in its obligation until the national assent has been given in the forms required by the municipal constitution.

In *Foster v. Neilson*, 2 Peters, 314, Chief Justice Marshall says:

A treaty is, in its nature, a contract between two nations, not a legislative act, and does not generally effect of itself the object to be accomplished, but is carried into execution by the sovereign powers of the respective parties to the instrument. In the United States the Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is, consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of the legislature whenever it operates of itself, without any legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a contract, when either of the parties engages to perform a particular act, the treaty addresses itself to the political, not the judicial department, and the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court.

In *Turner v. The American Baptist Union*, 5 McLean's Circuit Court Reports, 344, Mr. Justice McLean said:

A treaty under the Federal Constitution is declared to be the supreme law of the land. This unquestionably applies to all treaties where the treaty-making power, without the aid of Congress, can carry it into effect. It is not, however, and can not be the supreme law of the land where the concurrence of Congress is necessary to give it effect. Until this power is exercised, as where the appropriation of money is required, the treaty is not perfect. It is not operative, in the sense of the Constitution, as money can not be appropriated by the treaty-making power. This results from the limitations of our Government. The action of no department of the Government can be regarded as a law until it shall have all the sanctions required by the Constitution to make it such. As well might it be contended that an ordinary act of Congress, without the signature of the President, was a law as that a treaty which engages to pay a sum of money is in itself a law.

And in such a case the representatives of the people and States exercise their own judgment in granting or withholding the money. They act upon their own responsibility, and not upon the responsibility of the treaty-making power. It can not bind or control the legislative action in this respect, and every foreign government may be presumed to know that, so far as the treaty stipulates to pay money, the legislative sanction is required.

From an early day treaties contracting for changes in tariff duties have been entered into by the President and Senate and carried into effect by legislation of Congress originating in the House of Representatives. In 1795 the Jay treaty was entered into, containing stipulations as to commerce and duties upon the vessels of Great Britain and merchandise therein. There was much debate upon another question in connection with it, which resulted in the passage of the following resolution:

Resolved, It being declared by the second section of the second article of the Constitution that the President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur, the House of Representatives do not claim any agency in making treaties; but that when a treaty stipulates regulations on any of the subjects submitted by the Constitution to the power of Congress, it must depend for its execution as to such stipulations on a law or laws to be passed by Congress, and it is the constitutional right and duty of the House of Representatives in all such cases to deliberate on the expediency or in expediency of carrying such treaty into effect, and to determine and act thereon as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good.

This implied power to make such treaties subject to legislation to carry into effect.

The treaty was afterwards carried into effect by Congress, the bill originating in the House. (1 Stat. L., 459.)

Mr. Tucker in his report says:

The next precedent to which attention may be called is the action taken on the treaty of Ghent, made in 1815, with Great Britain. That treaty contained stipulations as to the duties on articles imported from Great Britain and as to commerce with that country. The President (Madison) by message transmitted the proclamation of it, and recommending to Congress such legislation as the convention (treaty) called for. (Annals of Congress, 402.)

It must be remembered that President Madison, who was a distinguished member of the Constitutional Convention, negotiated it and submitted it to Congress for the requisite legislation to carry it into effect, and that a great Senate, whose members were not far removed from the time of the Constitutional Convention, ratified it. It does not seem to have been anywhere attacked as being beyond the constitutional competency of the President and the Senate. After a long debate and conferences between the two Houses a bill was passed.

The Canadian reciprocity treaty, so called, of 1854, by its own terms, was to be carried into effect by legislation of Great Britain and of the United States, but the provision was in a treaty negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate. The same thing is substantially true of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty concluded January 30, 1875, which was extended by treaty concluded December 6, 1884. There are other instances, but I can not take the time to go through with the precedents.

Section 4 of the Dingley law contemplated reciprocal treaties, to be negotiated by the President and ratified by the Senate, proposing changes in tariff duties fixed by that law, to be supplemented by Congressional legislation. (U. S. Stat. L., vol. 30, p. 204.)

Indeed, it seems legislatively from the beginning, with the exception of the Choate report, to have been conceded, even by those who insisted that a treaty is inoperative to change by its own force tariff duties theretofore fixed by law, that it is entirely competent to make such treaties, to be supplemented by legislation giving them effect, such legislation originating in the House of Representatives.

The distinguished Senator from Texas, while contending that the President and the Senate have no power under the Constitution even to make a treaty contracting to change tariff rates to be supplemented by legislation, with some bitterness arraigned the President for negotiating the treaty which this bill proposes to carry into effect while the bill sent here from the House of Representatives in 1902 was pending, and arraigned us, not so bitterly, but with more severity, as I recollect it, for not having passed that bill. Yet that very bill, as I read it, contemplated and required a treaty to be entered into by the President and ratified by the Senate.

That reciprocity in the matter of tariff duties may be brought about by reciprocal legislation can not, of course, be doubted. Congress may pass a law that when the Government of France

shall pass a law admitting certain goods, the product of the soil and industry of the United States, into France at a certain rate of duty, certain enumerated articles, the product of the soil and industry of France, shall be admitted into the United States at a certain rate of duty. That is another thing. In its very nature that is the narrowest conceivable system of regulating trade relations. But the Cuban reciprocity bill of 1902, to which the Senator from Texas referred, is partly that and partly something else. It provides:

That for the purpose of securing reciprocal trade relations with Cuba the President is hereby authorized, as soon as may be after the establishment of an independent government in Cuba—

This was early—

and the enactment by said Government of immigration, exclusion, and contract-labor laws as fully restrictive of immigration as the laws of the United States—

They were after the 300 Chinamen my friend the Senator from Colorado [Mr. PATTERSON] finds went into Cuba in a year.

Mr. PATTERSON. Seven hundred, if the Senator will pardon me.

Mr. SPOONER. Seven hundred Chinamen, 300 laborers. A ghost. I want the attention of my friend from Texas, if he pleases.

Mr. BAILEY. You always have it.

Mr. SPOONER. This is the point:

That for the purpose of securing reciprocal trade relations with Cuba the President is hereby authorized, as soon as may be after the establishment of an independent government in Cuba and the enactment by said Government of immigration, exclusion, and contract-labor laws as fully restrictive of immigration as the laws of the United States, to enter into negotiations with said Government with a view to the arrangement of a commercial agreement in which reciprocal and equivalent concessions may be secured in favor of the products and manufactures of the United States by rates of duty which shall be less by an amount equivalent to at least 20 per centum ad valorem upon such products and manufactures than the rates imposed upon the like articles when imported into Cuba from the most favored of other countries, and which shall not be greater than the rates imposed by the United States upon the like articles imported from Cuba; and whenever the Government of Cuba shall enact such immigration, exclusion, and contract-labor laws, and shall enter into such commercial agreement with the United States, and shall make such concessions in favor of the products and manufactures thereof as aforesaid, and which agreement, in the judgment of the President, shall be reciprocal and equivalent, he shall be authorized to proclaim, etc.

Does not the Senator think that means a treaty? Is the Senator or is any Senator prepared to say that by authority of Congress the President of the United States can negotiate and enter into a commercial agreement with a foreign country to bind during a term of years as to trade relations which is not a treaty within the meaning of the Constitution to be made by and with the consent of the Senate? I do not know myself how the Congress can confer upon the President any treaty-making power whatever, nor do I know how any act of Congress can in the slightest degree impair the treaty-making power lodged by the Constitution in the President and the Senate.

A treaty is simply a contract or agreement between independent governments. I can understand that where Congress passes a law providing for a modification of custom duties on certain lines, when a treaty shall have been made on those lines, the law and the treaty work harmoniously, but such a law does not confer any treaty power upon the President and the Senate. It simply furnishes *in advance* legislation to carry a treaty into effect. It does not affect in any way the constitutional function of the President. He negotiates the treaty, the Senate ratifies it, and the House and the Senate have as legislative bodies given their approval to it in advance; that is all. But the proposition that the House of Representatives and the Senate as a legislative body can confer authority upon the President to negotiate and enter into a commercial treaty or agreement with a foreign government to become obligatory without the intervention of the Senate, I can not believe.

Mr. HOAR. By a majority vote.

Mr. SPOONER. By a majority vote. The President can make no treaty without sending it to this body for ratification in accordance with the Constitution. There can be no evasion of the constitutional provision, as my friend from Massachusetts says, by which a treaty can go through this body by a majority vote. I look upon it as of vital consequence to this Government, and it is sometimes apparently forgotten, first, that neither House should be called upon to surrender to the other any of its prerogatives; that that courtesy should prevail between the Houses, that forbearance, that manifest justice essential to cooperation between two bodies engaged in the service of the people in legislation. I regard it as of vital consequence to the country that the distinction shall exist. It is the foundation of representative government. It is what creates the distinction between representative government and dynastic government that the three coordinate branches are independent of each other, each in its sphere, and that neither shall invade in any way the province of the other, and each shall treat with respect and dignity the other.

But I am clear, although my argument upon it has been imper-

fect, that my friend from Texas is not on solid ground in the contention that the President and the Senate have not power to make a commercial treaty changing tariff rates, to be carried into effect by legislation originating in the House of Representatives. Of course the Senator is correct in his proposition that Congress can not validate a treaty which the President and the Senate can not make.

Congress could not make a treaty, and therefore Congress can not validate a treaty; but when the Senator from Texas urges that that has been attempted in this case he seems to me to beg the question. He assumes that this is an unconstitutional treaty which Congress is attempting to validate, while I contend it is an absolutely constitutional treaty which the Congress is attempting to carry out. It was an imperfect obligation, on the assumption that I am making, that Congress alone can change tariff rates. It was an executory agreement, to be made a completed agreement (the law of the land) when carried into effect by the Congress, and that is what, in my judgment, is being done here.

What relation does the treaty entered into here have to this bill? According to the treaty itself, independent of the constitutional question of the power to change rates by treaty, it provides that it shall not take effect until it has been approved by the Congress. What is to change the tariff rates as proposed by the treaty? Manifestly this bill, if it becomes a law. Where does the bill which changes these rates, I ask the Senator from Texas, originate? Not in the Senate; but in the House of Representatives.

The bill which when enacted into law puts the treaty into operation by a change of the tariff rates originates as much in the House of Representatives as if the President had prepared at the White House a schedule of duties thought on careful examination to be best adapted to a particular situation, and in a message to the House of Representatives recommended that it be enacted into law. If the House saw fit to pass it and the Senate concurred in it, would there be any reason for saying it did not, being a revenue bill, originate in the House because forsooth the President had communicated it to the House and it was not drawn in a committee room of the House by a committee of the House?

Are we to decide that there shall be no more reciprocity agreements with foreign countries; that the only constitutional possibility of enlarging our trade relations with other governments while adhering to the doctrine of protection to our own labor and industries is on the narrow and utterly inadequate line of reciprocal legislation? That is what the Senator's contention inevitably leads to. I agree with him fully that if his views on the tariff prevail there would be no occasion for reciprocity agreements. We would have no basis for a trade agreement with any government on the earth. We do not intend to get this country into that position by resort to the revenue system which the Senator approves if the people will help us to prevent it, as I think they will.

A substantial enlargement of the trade relations of the United States with other governments involves complicated negotiation, and the Senator from Texas will admit that there is no more complicated negotiation than that involved in a considerable reciprocity arrangement. It involves discussion as to details over rates. It involves compromise. It is a great deal like making up a schedule of a tariff bill. It involves secrecy sometimes, so far as other governments are concerned. It is difficult and delicate.

It can not be carried on except by the Executive. There is no possibility of discussion on both sides in reciprocal legislation—no middle ground, no chance for negotiation, no chance for comparison. A reciprocal law passed, if not satisfactory to another country, can not be changed except by an amendment to the act. As it stands it is an ultimatum. We say, "Here is our proposition. Come to it. Comply with it by your legislation and our law takes effect."

I am not willing to surrender upon any demand the power of the President and the Senate to enter into self-executing agreements with other governments under the Constitution, or agreements which need to be carried into effect by legislation, involving change of tariff duties or otherwise. It is not of weight on the question of power to say that the House is constrained, the treaty having been entered into by the President and the Senate, not to exercise independent judgment as to carrying it into effect.

But I must leave this subject. I am sorry to have been obliged to discuss it with so much haste and want of method.

Mr. President, I wish to say something upon the merits of the treaty and the bill. It is argued constantly on this side of the Chamber, as one ground upon which this concession should be made to Cuba, that we have made her a ward or a dependency of the United States by the Platt amendment. For one, I do not agree that the Platt amendment (and I agree with the Senator from Colorado about that) is a basis upon which can be justly placed the treaty or the bill. I am not going at length into that, but I agree largely with the argument made yesterday afternoon by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. PATTERSON].

The circumstances under which the Platt amendment was crystallized into law are sometimes overlooked. The Cuban Republic by its own action put the Platt amendment in its organic law. Of course the Government of the United States made it a condition of the withdrawal of the troops from Cuba. Why? I recollect in one of the letters written by the premier of Spain, through the ambassador of France, just before the protocol was signed, he said substantially: "Of course the Spaniard and the Cuban who have been loyal to Spain in Cuba are to be protected by the United States." That meant much. That is forgotten. Insurrection had gone on there for many years. There were a great number of Spaniards and many Cubans who through it all had been loyal to Spain. Spain was solicitous lest when her military power was withdrawn from the island of Cuba we might incontinently leave that island and a saturnalia of violence ensue, directed largely against the Spaniards and the Cubans who had been loyal to Spain and thereby deemed disloyal to the Cubans. It was a natural and decent solicitude.

And so that was carried into the treaty of Paris. It was a strange provision to put in a treaty, one binding the United States, as a matter of agreement, to discharge, while occupying Cuba by its forces, the obligations imposed by international law upon a military occupant. They were not willing to leave it as a legal obligation resting upon the Government of the United States, but they nominated it in the bond. They asked us, out of an abundance of caution, to contract with them to discharge a legal obligation to protect life and property.

Mr. President [Mr. FRYE in the chair], you were a member of the great Commission which concluded the treaty of Paris. Were the Spaniards, in asking a contractual safeguard that we would carry out international law, solicitous about the interests of the Cuban insurrecto? Not at all. Spain was safeguarding the interest of the Spaniards and the Cubans who had been loyal to her.

We were to occupy Cuba as a military power, not as an owner. "The occupancy of the island by troops of the United States was a necessary result of the war." As between "the United States and Cuba we were to occupy it under the Teller resolution until a stable government should be established by the voluntary action of the people." (Mr. Justice Harlan, in Neely case, 180 U. S., 120.)

President McKinley declared in his message to Congress of December, 1898:

As soon as we are in possession of Cuba and have pacified the island, it will be necessary to give aid and protection to its people to form a government for themselves—

And that—
until there is complete tranquillity in the island and a stable government inaugurated military occupation will be continued.

That was the fair implication of the Teller resolution and of our obligation to Spain under the Paris treaty. The Government was being pressed from many directions, in Congress and out, to turn over the government of the island to the people, and when the Republic was established we withdrew, as was desired by great masses of the Cuban people.

Of course, the Cuban Republic must assume our obligation to Spain to protect life and property, but, as that people had never governed themselves in all the history of the island a single hour until our flag was lowered there and the Republic left, we were withdrawing without waiting to see or to know how stable the Government would be, and we were in honor bound, for the sake of our own obligation as well as for the sake of Cuba, to impose some conditions of our early withdrawal and to demand certain safeguards to be inserted in the organic law of Cuba and embodied later in treaty. And out of this situation was born the Platt amendment. It provides:

First—
That the Government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

Has it ever before been asserted that a provision placed in a constitution by a people disabling its government from entering into a treaty impairing its independence itself impaired or destroyed that independence? We have limited this Republic by our Constitution. Many things we can not do that a monarchy could do. The people have disabled the Government by organic law from doing some things which other governments, under constitutions or without them, can do. Have those limitations impaired our independence?

As the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] well said, that first article is the Monroe doctrine. We would not have permitted any foreign government to impair the independence of Cuba, or to destroy it, without the Platt amendment. But that is pursuant to a national policy. Having poured out our blood and treasure to make Cuba free, we asked her to put in her fundamental

law a provision binding her officials and limiting her Government in this respect. And it ought to stay there, for Cuba's sake, forever.

I can not stop to dwell upon the provision relating to the incurring of public debt. It is a limitation which the people of Cuba, at our request, it is true, put upon their own Government. It puts it beyond the power, if observed, of any Cuban administration to so involve the country in improvident debt as thereby to weaken its credit and ultimately imperil its independence. It protects her forever against the fate of Egypt.

Third—
That the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

What does this mean? What is it put there for? To give us a treaty right of which all the world must take notice from the beginning, that if there be foreign invasion of Cuba or foreign attempt to shackle her independence we have a contract right to intervene. Put into treaty it is a guaranty by the United States of her independence. Does that impair her independence? The consent that we may intervene for the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty is of incalculable advantage to Cuba, absolutely about to enter when the Platt amendment was adopted upon an experiment. That provision is the sheet anchor of the Republic of Cuba.

It is the antidote to the insurrection poison which is always found in greater or less degree in the blood of the Latin race. Its mere insertion in the fundamental law of Cuba is a guaranty against insurrection. There is not in the world a greater shield from harm to any country than this provision assures, and was intended to assure, to the Republic of Cuba. There was nothing of selfishness in it. As it stands we could not let any government on earth constrain her, nor treason or revolution within destroy her. Her independence under the Platt amendment, incorporated in her constitution and resting in compact with us, is a jewel which she has provided shall not be bartered away from her, and which this Government is pledged shall not be wrested from her. And yet it is said that it has cost her her independence.

Fourth—
That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated.

That provision became executed the moment it was adopted.

Fifth—
That the Government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island.

That is for them to administer. I hope the Republic of Cuba will never lose sight of it or disregard it, for it is in the interest of the health and the lives of their people and in the interest of their commerce as well as ours.

Sixth—
That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

I wish to say a word about that, Mr. President. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. PATTERSON] said yesterday that under the treaty of Paris we own the Isle of Pines. I think so, too. The Senator from Colorado thought we had given a great deal to Cuba. He said we had given the lives of our soldiers and poured out our treasure for Cuba, and he made that statement in an argument against this bill. Did we open a book account with the Goddess of Liberty when we freed Cuba? No loftier aspiration ever moved a people than that which animated this people to free Cuba. We took no thought of cost. It never occurred to any man here that when the Republic of Cuba was only a year old we would be haggling over offsets and counterclaims on account of what we had done for liberty—bargaining like a shopkeeper with this Republic of our own creation! I am supporting this bill, Mr. President, not for what we owe Cuba, but for what we owe to ourselves.

I think we own the Isle of Pines, but the Cubans claim they own it. They claimed, when the Platt amendment was adopted, that they owned it, and the Congress treated the matter as a controverted proposition, because this is what the Platt amendment said:

That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

That provision was passed by the Congress. What was given for the coaling stations was not an island conceded by the United States and Cuba to belong to the United States. It was the mere relinquishment to Cuba of a disputed property, as contemplated by this treaty and as authorized by act of Congress.

I have seen some disturbance suggested elsewhere, because it is alleged that by this treaty, for which the United States surren-

dered the Isle of Pines for naval stations, that provision of the Constitution had been violated which gives to Congress the power—

To dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States.

But if Senators will look they will find that Congress itself treated it as controverted, and authorized the settlement of that controversy by treaty.

Mr. President, the independence of the Republic of Cuba has been recognized by every government in the world, I think, except Turkey, and, as I recollect, by one other government about like that of Turkey. We ourselves have recognized it. *We make treaties with her.*

Cuba is unqualifiedly a member of the family of nations. She is as free to-day as we are to make a commercial treaty with any government in the world. Does any Senator challenge that? Cuba to-day may make a treaty with Spain, giving her entire market to Spain, in return for a free Spanish market for her products. She might make a treaty with Great Britain, and we would have no right to object to it, under which her sugar and tobacco would all go to Great Britain, and her imports come from Great Britain. Such action would not violate the provisions of the Platt amendment appended to her constitution, for it would not impair or tend to impair the sovereignty or political independence of Cuba. The fact that we enter into a commercial treaty with Cuba conclusively concedes her power to enter into a similar treaty with any other government. But this is her natural market. Her geographical relation, the history of her struggle for freedom and our participation in it, the establishment of her Republic under our guidance, give her a right to look to us for commercial justice. We freed her from tyranny. Our Army and Navy are behind her for her protection. Her political fate and destiny are irrevocably intertwined with us. We can not now, with national self-respect, treat her, as to trade relations, in a spirit of cold commercial calculation. To cut her at this stage in her existence adrift commercially, and drive her to hunt markets across the sea, would be beneath the lofty and dignified position which the United States, with the general approval of our people, have taken toward Cuba.

Urgent Deficiency Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALLAN L. McDERMOTT,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, January 30, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 10954) making appropriation to supply urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for prior years, and for other purposes.

Mr. McDERMOTT said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Two kinds of sessions of Congress are recognized by parliamentary law, being the ordinary, or regular, and the extraordinary session. The former commences, in the absence of law to the contrary, on the first Monday in each December. Extraordinary sessions are held in pursuance of proclamation by the President or in pursuance of statute providing for the convening of Congress more than once in any calendar year. When Congress decides that a session shall commence on a day other than the first Monday in December, substituting that date for the one fixed by the Constitution, the session held under the statute is a regular or ordinary one. The constitution of the State of New York requires that alteration shall be made of legislative districts at "the first session after the return of every enumeration." The governor of that State having summoned the legislature to an extraordinary session for the purpose of redistricting the State, the apportionment law enacted at the extraordinary session was attacked on the ground that the extra session was not such a session as is contemplated in the constitutional direction. The question was argued in *People v. Rice* (16 L. R. A., 845). Justice Peckham, delivering the opinion of the court, said:

First. It is contended on the part of those who allege the invalidity of the law of 1892 that it was passed in violation of that provision of the constitution which directs the alteration to be made by the legislature at the "first session after the return of every enumeration."

The act was in truth passed at an extraordinary session of the legislature called by the governor and after the return of the enumeration of 1892. The point is made that an extraordinary session is not such a session of the legislature as is contemplated by the constitution. To my mind the objection is wholly without force. An extraordinary session is nevertheless a session of the legislature. The governor, by the terms of the constitution, has "power to convene the legislature (or the senate only) on extraordinary occasions." When thus convened, is not the legislature in session? And can it be for a moment correctly contended that a session thus convened is the same session

which had already terminated by an adjournment without day? It is not a regular session, it is true. It is what the constitution describes it, an extraordinary session, but yet a session of the legislature.

The constitution does not say that the session which is to deal with the question must be a regular one. All it directs is that the legislature at the first session after the return shall proceed to make the alterations. The constitution provides for the assembling of the legislature on the first Tuesday in January in each year. When it adjourns sine die, has not the session of the legislature ended? The term of office of its members may not have ended, but the legislative session has certainly terminated by an adjournment without day. It could not again assemble and perform any valid act unless the governor, under the special power given him by the constitution, should convene it. When thus convened the legislature is in session, and it is clearly not the same session which was ended by a prior adjournment thereof without day. The constitution does not provide that the next legislature after the return of the enumeration at its first session shall make this apportionment. It is directed to be made by the legislature at the first session after such return. Wherein does this extraordinary session fail to fill that description? It was a session of the legislature, and it was the first which was held after the return of the enumeration, and it was competent to deal with that subject because of the recommendation of the governor.

In response to the President's proclamation Congress convened November 9, 1903. The last session of the House held prior to the first Monday in December was adjourned on Saturday, December 5. The Speaker, in then declaring the House adjourned, did not specify any time to which the adjournment was had. This fact is of no importance, for if the contention that we are yet in extraordinary session is correct the rules of the House would designate noon of the following Monday as the time when the House should resume its sitting.

On the 7th of December at noon the Senate adjourned sine die. The President of that body said:

Senators, the hour provided by law for the meeting of the first regular session of the Fifty-eighth Congress having arrived, I declare the extraordinary session adjourned without day.

This declaration was not in obedience to any vote taken in the Senate, but there was not any objection to the ruling, and we must therefore assume that the body assented to the declaration that the Senate was adjourned sine die by operation of law. If, as has been so ably contended by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD], all meetings of Congress held since November 9, 1903, are within a single session, it is clear that the President of the Senate declared an adjournment that is obnoxious to the constitutional provision that—

Neither House during the session of Congress shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days.

On this point the gentleman from Maine says:

I never will concede, neither do I think any court would hold, that the President of the Senate, on his own motion without a preliminary motion adopted by the Senate, could adjourn even that body without day.

But the President of the Senate did not declare anything on his own motion. He declared that the Senate was adjourned; that the session in which the Senators were sitting was ended by operation of law. If Congress is in session in March, 1905, a similar declaration will be made by the Speaker of this House, while at the end of the present session he will declare the adjournment sine die in accordance with a resolution to be agreed upon. If the President of the Senate was as correct in his announcement as I think he was, he merely announced a fact. He did not adjourn the Senate sine die, but merely announced the fact that the law did so.

The proclamation of the President, after reciting that the approval of Congress was necessary to a reciprocal commercial convention with Cuba, declared that an "extraordinary occasion" required the convening of both Houses of Congress, to "the end that they may consider and determine whether the approval of the Congress shall be given to the said convention." When Congress assembled, it was not confined in action to matters pertinent to the "extraordinary occasion" mentioned in the proclamation, but it is nevertheless true that the body was not convened for general legislation. We were not summoned to divide our time upon many subjects, but rather to become intent upon something requiring immediate action. We had the power to act or to refuse to act upon the affairs that gave birth to an "extraordinary occasion" and upon all others matters committed to Congress, but we did not meet for general legislation.

If asked, prior to the 7th of December, by what warrant we were in session, we pointed to the President's proclamation. Now we refer inquirers to the Constitution. Then we were in session to consider a question the importance of which was, in the first instance, decided by the President; now we are in session to consider all questions within our jurisdiction, listening to, but not specially gathered to consider, communications from the President.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD] insists that we have been in continuous session since the 9th of last November. But this contention, although most forcefully argued, is, I believe, contrary to the record of the House and contrary to precedent. The Journal of the House declares that on Monday, December 7, 1903, this body commenced its second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress. This Journal of the House having been

approved, its entries are binding and determine the fact that the first session ended at noon on the 7th of December, and this is assured by the Journal of the Senate, which recites that—

The first Monday of December being the day prescribed by the Constitution of the United States for the annual meeting of Congress, the second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress commenced this day.

We have it, then, that both Houses determined that a new session commenced on the 7th of December, 1903. These entries in the Journals are not meaningless. Their form was the subject of early investigation, discussion, and decision.

The first session of the First Congress was adjourned September 29, 1789. On that day President Washington sent a communication to each House, saying that he had—

Been yesterday informed by a joint committee of both Houses of Congress that they had agreed to a recess, to commence this day and to continue until the first Monday of January next.

On the same day he approved—

An act to alter the time for the next meeting of Congress.

Which enacted—

That after the adjournment of the present session, the next meeting of Congress shall be on the first Monday in January next.

On September 22, 1789, both Houses had, rescinding a resolution passed to adjourn on that day, resolved to adjourn September 26, on which day the following concurrent resolution was passed:

Resolved, That the order of the 22d instant, directing the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives to adjourn their respective Houses on this day, be rescinded, and, instead thereof, they be directed to close the present session by adjourning their respective Houses on the 29th instant.

The Vice-President adjourned the Senate, and the Speaker adjourned the House "until the first Monday in January next."

The House of Representatives met on January 8, 1790, and the Journal was read by the Clerk. The following proceedings are reported in Gales and Seaton's Debates, pages 1077 and 1078:

DEBATE IN CONGRESS JANUARY 8, 1790.

The Journal was then read by the Clerk.

Mr. Boudinot moved to correct the title by striking out all the words, after declaring it merely the Journal of the House of Representatives. He was seconded by Mr. Benson.

Mr. Page opposed it, because the title of the Journal contained nothing more than the fact. It was denominated the second session of the First Congress under the Constitution of the Government of the United States, proposed September 17, 1787, by the convention in Philadelphia; and he called upon the gentlemen to say, if this was more or less than the truth; besides, it was perfectly consonant with parliamentary practice. If the last sitting of Congress and the present were to be determined one session, then all business would proceed from the state in which it had been left last September. Now, this was contrary to the rule established by the Lex Parliamentaria, and might be productive of bad consequences. If the words are to be struck out, the natural implication will be that the two sittings are but one session.

Mr. Boudinot declared he had no design of deciding the question alluded to by his honorable friend. It was merely to rid the Journal of words which appeared to him superfluous.

Mr. Sherman was in sentiment with the gentleman from New Jersey; he did not wish to give an opinion respecting the unfinished business of last session, but he thought the regulation on that head had better be established by a joint rule of both Houses.

Mr. Tucker remarked that the question "whether the business of last session was to be taken up de novo or to be continued onward from the state in which it had been left," was not properly before the House, but the word session, in his opinion, ought to be preserved in the Journal because its meaning was of some importance. He observed that the legislature of South Carolina was a biennial body, and that it was for some time a matter of uncertainty whether the session was not the term of two years for which the senate and house of representatives were elected, but the point had been determined upon a law passed to continue for a term of years, and from thence to the end of the next session of the legislature. The efficacy of this law depended upon the meaning of the word session, and the courts of judicature were of opinion that a session was from the time of meeting until the rising of the legislature, and no longer.

He conceived the title to be of no importance in any other point of view, but in this it might, as Congress had already passed a law for a term expiring at the end of the next session. He therefore wished the word to be defined, and he imagined it would be done by retaining it in the place it stood.

After some further desultory conversation the title of the Journal was established by a vote of the House, as follows:

JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

At a session of the Congress of the United States, begun and held at the city of New York on Monday, the 4th day of January, 1790, being the second session of the First Congress, held under the present Constitution of Government for the United States, being the day appointed by law for the meeting of the present session.

A committee appointed to "examine the Journal of the last session and to report therefrom all such matters of business as were then depending and undetermined" reported that many petitions were, at the adjournment had on September 29, 1789, lying on the table; that committees had been appointed to bring in several bills and had not reported; that there "were postponed by this House for further consideration until the present session" several bills, including a bill passed by the Senate.

Mr. Goodhue moved to discharge a committee appointed at the previous session to prepare a bill for taking the census. The following debate was had on this motion:

DEBATE IN CONGRESS JANUARY 11, 1790, ON THE ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. Goodhue then stated to the House one object which he had in view in moving that the committee be dismissed was to determine whether the business of last session should proceed from the stage in which it was left or be taken up de novo.

Mr. Lee considered this as a question of some importance; but he did not hesitate to say that it was decided by the uniform practice of Parliament, and on long experience it was found to be attended with the least inconven-

ience to commence all their proceedings anew at the commencement of a new session; but as it was a question of order, he would refer the decision of it to the Chair.

Mr. Sherman thought it a question that ought to be decided by the joint resolution of both Houses.

Mr. Page was of opinion that each House ought to establish its own rules to govern its proceedings, and that as it was consistent with parliamentary usage to commence de novo the proceedings of each session, it would be proper for the House to pursue a like line of conduct.

Mr. Tucker said it was a question that deserved very serious consideration, because an act might be passed at this session with the consent of only one branch of the legislature, provided it was determined that the business should progress from the state in which it was left last September. He alluded to the bill respecting crimes and punishments, assented to by the Senate and sent to this House for concurrence at the last session, and also the bill to establish the seat of government of the United States, which had passed this House and lay before the Senate for their assent to a small amendment.

If, on this occasion, the two Houses should establish different rules, one might proceed to pass one of those laws contrary to the sense of the other, which would induce a consequent embarrassment; to avoid this, he thought it best that both Houses should be consulted and establish a uniform rule. But, while he was urging these arguments, he did not mean to contend that this House was not left to its own discretion to establish such rules as the majority might think proper.

As the question had been left to the decision of the Chair and several Members called for Mr. Speaker's opinion, he stated to the House that it had been customary with those legislative assemblies which he had the honor of being a member of since the Revolution to continue the business from one session to another during the time for which they were elected; but as this was not strictly consonant with the usage of the British Parliament, which some gentlemen think essential, although that body differ in many respects from this, and as the House had hitherto prescribed no rule in point he did not conceive that the Chair ought to be considered as adequate to the decision.

Mr. Sherman said it would involve an absurdity if an act was to be passed by one House only in the session, because it would assert in its title that it was an act of the whole Congress done at a session when one branch had never acted upon it. He was, therefore, of opinion that the unfinished business which had passed from the one branch of the legislature to the other ought to commence anew at the present session.

Mr. White did not wish to hurry on a decision of this important question, though he was himself well prepared for it. He had never an idea but the business of a former session terminated with the session and was to be taken up de novo at the subsequent meeting; this had been the invariable practice of Parliament through the period of their existence. If, then, it had been found advantageous by so enlightened a body for a period of five hundred years, their experience was sufficient to satisfy his mind of its propriety, and nothing but solid and substantial objections would induce him to deviate from that principle. But besides the practice of Great Britain he could adduce the mode of transacting business in Virginia, which was exactly conformable to the former instance.

He stated one instance in order to show the impropriety of a different conduct. The State of North Carolina had come into the Union during the recess; the laws that were unperfected before that period ought not to bind her until she had an opportunity of having a voice in enacting them. Now, if the unfinished business was to go on from the stage where it was left last session, a single hour might bind her contrary to her will and contrary to the sentiments of a majority of the people.

Mr. Smith of South Carolina said the best way of trying the question whether the business was to be considered as dead or not was to move to appoint committees to the purposes for which such committees were appointed at the last session, and not to discharge the committee, as moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts, because both the affirmative and negative implied that the committees are still in existence, which is the point in dispute.

Mr. Lee favored this last opinion, and hoped the question would be taken upon it.

Mr. Livermore heartily concurred with the several gentlemen that were up in this, that both the Senate and House ought to establish some rule on this subject, and that the rule ought to be the same in both Houses. He wished it to be done before the business of the legislature was thrown into confusion by a vote of one branch, which would not be acceded to by the other; for this reason he moved that a committee be appointed to confer with a committee of the Senate and report to both Houses a uniform rule of proceeding relative to the business of last session. As to his own opinion on the subject, he was free to declare, as his private judgment, that the business of the late session was at an end.

Mr. Goodhue thought the first motion the best to settle the question, and therefore hoped it would be first put. He further observed that there was a necessity for discharging the committee of three appointed to digest a plan for taking the census, because they were inadequate to the object. The mode of enumerating the inhabitants of the several States depended a good deal upon certain local regulations, and consequently required the circumstance of local information in those who were to bring forward the bill. This, he apprehended, would be best attained by forming the committee of a member from each State.

Mr. White thought it of no use to appoint a committee to confer with a committee of the Senate, because they might report contrary to the sense of the House.

Mr. Lee was of the same sentiment, and urged the propriety of deciding the question under a sure reliance that the Senate would pursue the same line of conduct, and the practice would be established at once.

Mr. Clymer: It appeared to him that the decision of the question which now agitated the House was anticipated, at least the former determination ought to have considerable influence on the present vote. If all business was to commence de novo, why did the House appoint a committee to examine and bring forward the unfinished business of the last session? Either the House did not conceive the business dead or it acted with some degree of absurdity in the appointment of that committee, because a committee could not be appointed on any business until that business was revived by motion or a new application.

Mr. Partridge thought with the gentleman last up, that the business of last session was still before the House, and he was confirmed in this sentiment by several votes taken at their former meeting, by which the business then under consideration had been expressly postponed till the present session. The Senate had likewise adopted a similar practice, as was announced in their message of the 28th of September, in which it is said that the Senate have postponed until the next session of Congress the consideration of the amendment proposed by this House to the bill for establishing the seat of government of the United States.

Mr. Page requested the gentleman last up to declare what the word "session" meant in this case, and observed, in reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Clymer], that if the business was to proceed from the stage in which it was left, there was no necessity of a committee to examine the Journal, as it would have gone on as a matter of course.

Mr. Sherman was of opinion that the business which was undecided on by either House might proceed, but that which had passed one branch and laid before the other for concurrence ought to be taken up de novo. He said this idea made it perfectly consistent to appoint a committee to report the unfinished business.

Mr. Boudinot thought a uniform rule ought to be established between the two Houses.

Mr. Smith of South Carolina said it was a very important question, as it related to the present circumstances of Congress. It is very important as a precedent, and would be of peculiar importance to the distant States at all times hereafter. If it is determined that the House may proceed to finish business left incomplete at their last session, it might be destructive of that harmony which he wished to be ever preserved. The Members from the States near to the seat of government might assemble early in the session and carry measures through with the bare majority of a very thin House, inimical to the public welfare. He thought these solid reasons for commencing all business anew.

Mr. Lawrence thought the word session implied that all the proceedings of the Legislature were to cease at its expiration and to commence anew after the recess, whether the body consisted of the same Members or otherwise, and did not doubt but both Houses would concur in this opinion.

Mr. White did not think the House ought to appoint a committee to confer with a committee of the Senate, because its object was to guard against an inconvenience that might never occur. Perhaps if this House decides that business shall commence de novo the Senate may do the same, and there will be no occasion for a consultation; but if they differ, it will be time enough to appoint a committee of conference.

The reason why the practice in Pennsylvania differed from that of the British Parliament might be on account of a constitutional difference in the mode of considering bills. By the constitution the assembly of Pennsylvania is obliged to submit all its bills to the people for consideration, who are intended to act, in some degree, as another house and check the decisions of a legislative body consisting of a single branch.

Mr. Livermore hoped the opinion which seemed generally to prevail in this House might be adopted by the Senate, and then he had no doubt but the practice of both branches of the Legislature would be uniform, but he still was inclined to think it would be better to settle it in a joint committee. (Gales and Seaton's Debates, pp. 1084-1087.)

On January 20, 1790, the Senate adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That Messrs. Ellsworth, Maclay, and Henry be a committee to confer with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to consider and report whether or not the business begun previous to the late adjournment of Congress shall now be proceeded in as if no adjournment had taken place.

The House appointed, and the joint committee reported in favor of the following resolution, which was adopted by both Houses:

Resolved, That the business unfinished between the two Houses at the late adjournment ought to be regarded as if it had not been passed upon by either. (Gales & Seaton's Debates, pp. 974, 975, 1109-1112, 1115-1117.)

The question may become of great importance. If, on the 10th of last November, it had been enacted that certain actions should be denounced as criminal if done "during the present session of Congress," would such acts, if now done, subject the doer to punishment under that enactment? If leave of absence for the balance of the session had been granted a Member on the 10th of last November, would that leave be now in force? Would not the Journals of House and Senate make the act dispensable and terminate the leave of absence?

The gentleman from Maine cites the proceedings of the Fortieth Congress, in which Senator Sumner moved to amend a resolution adjourning the first session at half past 11 o'clock on the Monday designated by the Constitution for the commencement of the second session, so as to make it 12 o'clock. From the proposition of this amendment it is argued that Senator Sumner recognized that, in the absence of a resolution for sine die adjournment, the first session of the Fortieth Congress would have continued through and after the first Monday in December, 1867. Is not the contrary the proper deduction? If the session would not terminate by operation of law, what need of any resolution to calm the fears of those who were afraid that President Johnson would "do something" if any appreciable time intervened between the first and second sessions?

Is it not clear, that a resolution having been offered to adjourn at half past 11 o'clock, the Senator from Massachusetts moved his amendment so that there should be no ground for argument, no chance for Presidential action; so that the ending of the first should be coincident with the beginning of the second session? So, in the Forty-fifth Congress, convened in special session, the resolution offered by Senator Edmunds declared that the special session expired by limitation of law at the hour fixed for the commencement of the regular session. It is argued that this resolution was agreed to without debate, and is, therefore, to be taken as not well considered. May it not be better said that it was merely the declaration of a self-evident proposition of law that did not call for debate? Certainly no subtraction from its force can be found in the fact that the session was by resolution adjourned sine die ten minutes before the time when such an adjournment would have been effected by operation of law.

The gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD] urges that, as Congress met on the 9th of November, it could continue its session through the following month, and that this continuous session would satisfy the constitutional requirement that—

Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

The Declaration of Independence indicates the reason for this provision. The framers of that document knew by heart the evils of leaving the assembling of the legislative department to be fixed as to date by the vagaries of the King. They knew the history of the Long Parliament. They knew the history of the struggle between Crown and Parliament, the summoning of to-day, to be followed by the angry prorogation of to-morrow. They said to the Congress about to be called into existence: "You must meet at least once in every year and the people shall know when to find you in session. We will fix a date. If it is not a convenient one, you may substitute another, but you must make that substitution by the enactment of a law." Surely this meant that a session of Congress should commence on the first Monday in every December or upon a day fixed by statutory substitution. The debate upon this section of the Constitution, reported by Madison, shows what was intended. On pages 464-467 of Madison's Journal of the Convention the following notes of debate are printed:

Mr. Madison wished to know the reasons of the committee for fixing, by the Constitution, the time of meeting for the Legislature, and suggested that it be required only that one meeting at least should be held every year, leaving the time to be fixed or varied by law.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved to strike out the sentence. It was improper to tie down the Legislature to a particular time, or even to require a meeting every year. The public business might not require it. Mr. Pinckney concurred with Mr. Madison.

Mr. Gorham: If the time be not fixed by the Constitution disputes will arise in the Legislature, and the States will be at a loss to adjust thereto the times of their elections. In the New England States the annual time of meeting had been long fixed by their charters and constitutions, and no inconvenience had resulted. He thought it necessary that there should be one meeting at least every year as a check on the executive department.

Mr. Ellsworth was against striking out the words. The Legislature will not know till they are met whether the public interest required their meeting or not. He could see no impropriety in fixing the day, as the convention could judge of it as well as the Legislature.

Mr. Wilson thought, on the whole, it would be best to fix the day. Mr. King could not think there would be a necessity for a meeting every year. A great vice in our system was that of legislating too much. The most numerous objects of legislation belonged to the States. Those of the National Legislature were but few, the chief of them were commerce and revenue. When these should be once settled, alterations would be rarely necessary and easily made.

Mr. Madison thought if the time of meeting should be fixed by a law, it would be sufficiently fixed, and there would be no difficulty then as had been suggested on the part of the States in adjusting their elections to it. One consideration appeared to him to militate strongly against fixing a time by the Constitution. It might happen that the Legislature might be called together by the public exigencies and finish their session but a short time before the annual period. In this case it would be extremely inconvenient to reassemble so quickly and without the least necessity. He thought one annual meeting ought to be required, but did not wish to make two unavoidable.

Colonel Mason thought the objections against fixing the time insuperable; but that an annual meeting ought to be required as essential to the preservation of the Constitution. The extent of the country will supply business, and if it should not, the Legislature, besides legislative, is to have injudicial powers which can not safely be long kept in a state of suspension.

Mr. Sherman was decided for fixing the time as well as for frequent meetings of the legislative body. Disputes and difficulties will arise between the two Houses and between both and the States if the time be changeable. Frequent meetings of Parliament were required at the revolution in England as an essential safeguard of liberty. So also our annual meetings in most of the American charters and constitutions. There will be business enough to require it. The western country and the great extent and varying state of our affairs in general will supply objects.

Mr. Randolph was against fixing any day irrevocably, but as there was no provision made anywhere in the Constitution for regulating the periods of meeting, and some precise time must be fixed until the Legislature shall make provision, he could not agree to strike out the words altogether. Instead of which he moved to add the words following: "unless a different day shall be appointed by law."

Mr. Madison seconded the motion, and on the question: Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye—8; New Hampshire, Connecticut, no—2.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved to strike out "December" and insert "May." It might frequently happen that our measures ought to be influenced by those in Europe, which were generally planned during the winter and of which intelligence would arrive in the spring.

Mr. Madison seconded the motion. He preferred May to December because the latter would require the traveling to and from the seat of government in the most inconvenient seasons of the year.

Mr. WILSON. The winter is the most convenient season for business. Mr. ELLSWORTH. The summer will interfere too much with private business, that of almost all the probable members of the Legislature being more or less connected with agriculture.

Mr. RANDOLPH. The time is of no great moment now, as the legislature can vary it. On looking into the constitutions of the States he found that the times of their elections, with which the elections of the national Representatives would no doubt be made to coincide, would suit better with December than May, and it was advisable to render our innovations as little inconmodious as possible.

On the question for "May" instead of "December," South Carolina, Georgia—ayes 2; New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina—noes 8.

Mr. RUTLEDGE. Although it is agreed on all hands that an annual meeting of the legislature should be made necessary, yet that point seems not to be free from doubt as the clause stands. On this suggestion, "once at least in every year" were inserted, nem con.

My insistent, Mr. Chairman, is that Congress must annually assemble on the first Monday in December, or upon some other day fixed by law, and then commence a session. No other proposition will satisfy constitutional requirement. Congress must assemble at least once in every year on a day fixed by the Constitution or by statute. A new session must then commence. Every citizen has the right to ask, "When will Congress convene to con-

sider all the business of all the country?" And he is entitled to find his answer in the Constitution. My argument is that, the statute book being silent upon the subject, the session called by the President could not be continued beyond the date fixed by the Constitution for the commencement of a session. But the question is, for present purposes, settled by the record. Each House determined that it did, on the 7th of December, commence its second session of this Congress. It could not be thus declared without settling all doubt of the expiration of the first session. There can not be two sessions of Congress in progress at the same time. One is all that a patient country can bear on the same day.

The following rule, laid down by Cushing, is in point:

In order to determine what kind of a meeting of a legislature in this country will constitute a session, it seems necessary to consider its commencement, its proceedings, and its termination. In regard to its commencement there can be no doubt, when an assembly comes together at the time required by law for the commencement of the regular session, or in pursuance of an executive proclamation for an extraordinary session, or in pursuance of an adjournment by both branches for the purpose of closing one session and commencing another, that in all these cases there is the commencement of a session. (Cushing, sec. 503.)

Consular and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON,
OF ARKANSAS.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, February 4, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 11287) making appropriation for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905.

Mr. ROBINSON of Arkansas said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I desire to call the attention of this body to a measure introduced by myself during the first session of this Congress, entitled "An act to provide for the erection and construction of a Federal building at Pine Bluff, Ark." The measure is, of course, local in its purpose, but is of vital importance to the locality affected, and I think is greatly needed by the Government.

It is my purpose to call attention to some of the reasons why the Government should at once make an appropriation for the erection of this building. The bill is now before the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, and while no authoritative announcement has been made by that committee to the effect, it seems to be understood there is some likelihood that no bill for public buildings will be reported by the committee. I disclaim any purpose of opposing my views to those of the committee or of criticising the opinions or actions of its members. There can be no impropriety, however, in my suggesting that in this period of progress and prosperity I am unable to see why the improvements already begun by the Government should not be speedily completed. In any event I hope, when the committee does see fit to report its bill, that a liberal appropriation will be made for the construction of a building at Pine Bluff.

SOME OF THE REASONS WHY PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE FOR THE ERECTION OF THIS BUILDING AT ONCE.

First, the post-office business at Pine Bluff and the convenience of the public in regard to the same not only justify an appropriation, but make it absolutely necessary.

The post-office at present is conducted in a building leased for five years at an annual expense of about \$1,000. It is 30 by 120 feet, and is entirely too small. The increase of business—the population of the city is now 20,000, having increased almost 8,000 in the last four years—makes necessary a much larger building. Moreover, the present lease expires April 1, 1905, and it is safe to say that the lease can not be renewed for less than at least an advance of 10 per cent over the present price.

POSTAL RECEIPTS

are rapidly increasing at Pine Bluff. In 1900 they were a little over \$22,000; in 1901, \$26,000; in 1902, \$30,000; in 1903, about \$34,000; showing an increase from year to year, and during the four years mentioned a total increase of \$12,000.

MONEY ORDERS ISSUED AND PAID.

In the years 1900, 1901, 1902, and 1903 money orders were issued to the amount for each of said years, respectively, \$69,408.27, \$83,682.05, \$97,425.29, and \$120,000. The amount of money orders paid for these respective years is \$62,704.43, \$76,858.45, \$88,245.56, and about \$110,000 for the last year. This increase of business makes necessary also a rapid increase of employees, while the growth of population within the city limits during these years has compelled the Department to increase the carrier force from five to eight carriers within this time.

SECOND, THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF PINE BLUFF JUSTIFIES THE APPROPRIATION.

Situated in one of the most fertile agricultural regions in the world, it attracts, in addition to its large jobbing business, a great retail trade from the surrounding country.

COTTON RECEIPTS.

During each season it marks nearly 100,000 bales of cotton. From September, 1899, to September, 1900, the number of bales received was 76,480; from September, 1900, to September, 1901, 89,394; from September, 1901, to September, 1902, 84,291; from September, 1902, to September, 1903, 98,558; from September, 1903, to September, 1904, approximately, 90,000; this decrease in last year being due to a short crop.

BANKS.

The city has eight banks, carrying deposits in the aggregate amount of nearly \$3,000,000 and a capital stock of about \$800,000.

TRANSPORTATION OF RAILROAD LINES AND RIVER AT PINE BLUFF.

During the year 1902 the receipts of the two principal railroads aggregated \$1,182,172. The Pine Bluff and Western Railway, \$144,000; the Pine Bluff and Arkansas River Railway, \$50,000; the steamboats on Arkansas River, \$26,000; aggregating nearly one and one-half million. The volume of business over these lines, as to the city of Pine Bluff, has been greatly increased during the present year, and will probably aggregate something near \$2,000,000.

LUMBER INDUSTRY.

It is claimed that this city is the second largest lumber manufacturing point in the United States. The Sawyer-Austin Lumber Company, with a capacity of 175,000 feet daily, and employing 600 men; the Bluff City Lumber Company, with a capacity of 125,000 feet daily, employing 375 laborers, and with branches at other points having a capacity of 150,000 feet daily, are fair illustrations of the importance to which this industry has attained at Pine Bluff.

WHOLESALE HOUSES

to the number of about fifty, engaged in divers mercantile and commercial enterprises, give employment to a large number of laborers.

The Cotton Belt Railroad shops furnish employment for at least 600 men. Good wagon roads piercing the surrounding country and passing through the neighboring counties of Lonoke, Arkansas, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Grant, give easy access from these communities to the city, and combine with other conditions to make Pine Bluff a prosperous and enterprising city.

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

are gratifying. During the year ending June, 1903, there were 4,102 pupils attending the public schools, and of this number 2,070 were whites, and the remainder, 2,032, were colored.

THE BRANCH NORMAL COLLEGE FOR COLORED STUDENTS

is a department of the University of Arkansas. It was established by an act of the general assembly of the State of Arkansas in 1873, and has been continuously in operation ever since. This is one of the most interesting features of the educational system of the State. There are courses arranged for those who wish to become artisans, but the prime purpose is to prepare negro teachers for service in the schools of the State. The tuition is free to all who are residents of the State. The school property comprises a tract of 20 acres of level ground in the suburbs of Pine Bluff, a large school building, a dormitory for girls, and mechanical shops containing complete equipments. The valuation of this property is about \$100,000.

In the academic department negro teachers are employed, and in the mechanical two white instructors are employed.

The young women are taught dressmaking and typewriting. The institution is supported by direct appropriation by the Arkansas legislature and from the Morrill fund. The annual average enrollment of pupils is 210. The white citizens of Pine Bluff give homes and employment to all students who desire them. This institution is conducted on an economical basis, is governed by the same board of trustees which govern the University of Arkansas and has the indorsement and active support of the white people of the community and of the State. Thus for many years at this point there has been maintained, at the expense of the white people, a school for the benefit of the colored race, a school in many respects similar to the Tuskegee Institute.

The city has a population of about 20,000 inhabitants, 7 fine school buildings, 24 churches, 2 public parks, and a complete street electric railway system, is rapidly increasing in wealth and population, and bids fair to become one of the most important inland commercial cities in the South.

Third, the State of Arkansas, compared with other States, has not a fair share of Federal buildings. The present population of the State is estimated at 1,500,000. Its growth and development during the last ten years has been a source of wonder and gratifi-

cation to its own people. Rich in agricultural and horticultural products, with vast quantities of undeveloped minerals stored in her hills, the State faces a future bright with promise and with hope. Pine Bluff is situated in the geographical center, and is the second city in size and importance in the State.

FOURTH, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY COMMITTED ITSELF BY PRIOR LEGISLATION TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THIS BUILDING.

By act of the Fifty-seventh Congress \$7,000 was appropriated for the purpose of purchasing a site whereon to locate a Federal building at Pine Bluff.

The site has been selected, the purchase made. The deed was executed to the Government on the 12th day of January, 1903, to a site which is convenient to both the business and residence population of the town. It may be urged that the question as to whether the Government shall erect a Federal building at Pine Bluff has already been determined by action of Congress. It merely remains to be seen when the Government will proceed with this work and how much it will appropriate to construct the building.

This bill carries an appropriation of \$100,000, which, in my judgment, will provide for the construction of a building sufficient in size and in appointments to comply with the demands of the community. I earnestly urge the propriety of immediate action on this measure. The cause is meritorious, and I am confident that the sense of fairness and the spirit of progress which actuates this body will cause this appropriation to be made at as early a date as may be practicable.

Service-Pension Bill—The Country's Debt to the Veterans—No Retrenchment in Payment of Pensions.

SPEECH

OF

HON. IRA E. RIDER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 3, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 11287) making appropriation for the diplomatic and consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905.

Mr. RIDER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: As the son of a veteran I desire to call the attention of the House to the service-pension bill. No tongue can tell, no mind can measure, no statesman foresee the ultimate results of the greatest war the world has ever known. That fearful internecine strife marked an epoch in the working out not only of the destiny of this nation, but of mankind as well. While we of another generation read of the bloody battles of Antietam, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, the march to the sea, the capture of Richmond, the surrender of Appomattox, and glory in the naval and military genius of McClellan, Hancock, Sherman, and Grant, we must not forget the thousands who made possible the victories achieved. The scenes of carnage in South and North are consecrated by the blood of martyrs in the cause of human freedom. To the survivors of that war we owe a debt of gratitude which we can never repay.

There should be no mean, carping spirit manifest itself in the matter of pension claims. Let us retrench and economize in any other direction, but never let us be guilty of base ingratitude toward those who have made this country all that it is to-day. Best, grandest, and noblest in all the world, with a magnificent domain stretching from the Great Lakes to the tropic sun, with happy homes, with great industries, with mighty cities that rival and excel the cities of the Old World, and more than that, with a people perfectly united, knowing no North, no South, no East, no West—one great land of freemen—and no enemy, however powerful, within our boundaries or without can or ever will overthrow it. Theegis of Him who holds the reins of government over all peoples hovers over us. His guiding hand will lead us on until our destiny shall have been fulfilled.

We read much nowadays of America's invasion of England, Germany, France, Japan, and China, of our commercial supremacy, of the growth and influence of American ideas, and we glory in the power of our country; but let not the glamour of aggrandizement make us forget what we owe and is rightfully due to those who saved the nation's life.

The service-pension bill advocated by the national pension committee of the Grand Army of the Republic, now before Congress, proposes to place on the pension rolls all those who served ninety days and were honorably discharged and the widows of all such at the rate of \$12 per month. The amount of good this measure will do to a great number of men and women who are now getting less than \$12 per month or nothing at all is beyond calculation.

Taking up the pension roll under the old law first, the report of the Commissioner of Pensions for 1903 shows that there are the following invalids on the rolls, with rates—

At \$2	4	At \$9	212
At \$3	1	At \$9.25	5
At \$4	8	At \$9.50	18
At \$5	7	At \$9.75	5
At \$6	37,410	At \$10	23,739
At \$6.25	14	At \$10.25	1
At \$6.37½	2	At \$10.50	11
At \$6.75	1	At \$10.62½	14
At \$7	37	At \$10.75	1
At \$7.50	236	At \$11	2
At \$7.75	4	At \$11.25	51
At \$8	34,156	At \$11.50	105
At \$8.25	8	At \$11.75	3
At \$8.50	306	At \$12	14
At \$8.62½	1	At \$12.50	11
At \$8.75	5		

In all, about 100,000 of this class can trace their disabilities directly to their service; many of these will have their present pensions doubled and many others raised one-half. There are also under the old law over 2,000 widows receiving \$8 per month or less who will receive an increase of one-half.

When we consider the act of June 27, 1890, the good to be effected by the enactment of the new law is still more marked. The invalids on the roll under that law are rated as follows:

At \$6	87,984	At \$9.50	1
At \$7	2	At \$10	53,744
At \$8	141,203	At \$11	1

There are 157,255 widows on the roll under this act at \$8 per month, and two at \$10, with but 4,599 at \$12. Consequently the passage of the service-pension act will increase the pensions of 775,000 invalids under that act from 50 to 100 per cent, and it will give an addition of \$4 a month, or 50 per cent more, to the 157,255 widows who are now on the rolls at \$8 per month.

From 175,000 to 225,000 veterans, in addition, are eligible, or soon will be, if they can convince the Pension Bureau of the merit of their claims. All of these, without further application, will be placed, as they deservedly should be, on the rolls. What if it should cost \$25,000,000 or more; it is a meritorious measure, worthy of every patriotic Member's indorsement. Constantly appeals are made for the introduction of bills for expediting claims. The examinations, delays, calls for more evidence, only bring misery to those who deserve the nation's care. No woman whose husband was wounded, disabled, or died in the cause, no man who ever marched under Old Glory with honor, should appeal to the heart of the nation in vain.

Destitution speaks more eloquently in its very silence than the oratory of the most rhetorical and polished scholar. From all over this land come cries for help from those who answered the call when help was needed. The Grand Army of the Republic has urged the enactment of this measure. Shall we heed it or coldly calculate the cost and reject it? No amount of money can ever repay the debt of gratitude we owe. Pay it in part, and in other directions economize. The sons of veterans, the veterans themselves, and all men who love their country should bend every energy to secure the passage of this act.

Its justice must appeal to us. Though long delayed, let us act now—

Lest we forget, lest we forget.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD B. VREELAND,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, February 24, 1904.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12230) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. VREELAND said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I move to strike out the last three words. I think it is fair that the Committee of the Whole House shall understand from the members of the Naval Committee who examined this subject, and who have acted upon the recommendation of the officials of the Government charged with that duty, just what it is we intend to do under the item now under consideration. Here is an item appropriating some \$800,000 for coaling stations, for dry docks, for wharves, for preliminary work in the Philippine Islands. Notwithstanding the criticism of my friend from Tennessee [Mr. GAINES] and other naval experts on that side of the House who have gone down to the sea in ships,

I desire to say that the Navy Department of this Government, the War Department, all of the trained experts employed by this Government to determine a proper place for a naval station in the Philippine Islands, have, without exception, declared in favor of a naval station at Olongapo, on Subig Bay. Nor will the Government suffer much loss in transferring the site for a naval station from Cavite on Manila Bay to the proposed location on Subig Bay.

The floating dock, the machinery of the coal docks, nearly all of the expense that we have laid out in Manila, we are informed by naval officials, can be readily moved to the new station at Subig Bay. We are simply voicing in this bill the unanimous report of every naval officer and every expert who has examined the subject. The estimates made by the Navy Department and given to the Committee on Naval Affairs by the Secretary of the Navy show that a naval station suitable for the purposes of the United States can be had at an expense of about \$9,000,000. This would provide for a dry dock suitable for docking battle ships, and would provide for a complete navy-yard, shops, machinery, and tools, where all necessary repairs could be made to vessels of the United States. This appropriation, then, is for the preliminary work of making a suitable navy-yard and naval station at Olongapo, on Subig Bay, in the Philippine Islands. I consider it one of the most important items in this entire naval budget. From the testimony of Admiral Dewey and other high officers of the Navy who have appeared before the committee, we learned that the Army and Navy of the United States would be entirely unable to sustain themselves in the Philippine Islands in case of war without a fortified naval station.

The question has been raised by our friends on the other side as to whether we should build a naval station at all in the Philippine Islands. They voted recently, in the fortification bill, against fortifying such a station in the Philippine Islands. They complain that we are unwilling to say what our intentions are in the Philippine Islands. They complain that they are unwilling to expend any money for a station there until we tell them whether we propose to permanently remain in those islands. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that our Democratic friends can find a better answer to that question in the platform of the last Democratic national convention and in the answer of the American people at the last national election. In 1900 the Democratic party, in convention assembled, declared that the question of retaining the Philippines should be the paramount issue before the American people. In so far as they could do it, they made it the paramount issue before the American people. They went before the people in that election upon the ground that we should retreat from the Philippines—that we should either leave them a helpless wreck, or that we should give them back to Spain or trade them off to some other nation, or that we should sail away and leave them, regardless of their fate and of all the expenditure of blood and treasure that we had made. They went before the American people upon that proposition. I say to the gentlemen on the other side that they received their answer from the American people. They received the answer that we would stay in the Philippine Islands; that we would stay there as long as our duty to humanity and the interests of the American people compelled us to stay there. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

But, Mr. Chairman, even from their point of view they should join with us in building a naval station in the Philippines. I have never heard it contended by Democratic authority in any platform or by any Democrat upon the stump that even if we decided to abandon the Philippine Islands, if we should sail away and leave them, we should not retain there a naval station fully equipped for the use of vessels of the United States and for the great commerce of this country which is growing up in the East.

Mr. Chairman, I believe, on the whole, that the debate upon this naval budget for the coming year has been satisfactory to those who love their country. It has not been a partisan debate; it will not be, I assume, a partisan vote. Upon both sides of this Chamber a large majority, I hope, will cast their votes in favor of continuing the policy of building up the American Navy. But one voice so far has been raised upon this side of the Chamber in opposition to that policy. This comes from a man who enjoys justly the highest respect of his colleagues upon this side, but I believe, sir, that he is out of line, not only with his party, in voting against the continued increase of the American Navy, but, what is more important, he is out of line with the best sentiment of all the parties of the American people.

I have taken some pains to notice the press clippings from the papers which represent the sentiment of the people in various parts of the United States, not the papers which represent the sentiment of one party alone, but those which represent the sentiment of both the great parties. So far as my observation has gone, nineteen out of twenty of these representatives of public opinion disagree with the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] in his desire to tie up the American Navy to the

docks and there let it rot. I should love to see him representing in part the great State of Ohio at the other end of the Capitol [laughter and applause], but I would never advise him to go before the loyal people of the State of Ohio upon a proposition that we shall stop building up the American Navy.

What is the need of the Navy? The remarks of the gentleman from Ohio go to the root of the matter. If he is right in his prophecy that an era of peace and good will has come, if he is right in his theory that the days of warfare have passed away, if he is right in his theory that the United States of America are able to impose their will upon the other nations of the earth regardless of whether there is force behind it or not, then we not only do not need to further build up our Navy, but we need no Navy at all.

Why do we need a navy? I suppose, Mr. Chairman, we could get along without one. If we disagree with other nations, if the rights of American citizens of the United States are infringed, I suppose we can surrender. It is always easy to surrender. I suppose we can pay money for damages to placate the possible foe. I suppose we might turn over a slice of our territory to save ourselves from the wrath of those who have not ceased to build navies and to maintain armies. But, Mr. Chairman, none of us believes that the American people will consent to do these things. We all know that the American people are a proud people, a high-spirited people. We know there is no nation on earth which will quicker resent an insult to its flag; we know that there is no people on earth which will more strenuously stand for its rights when it is convinced that its rights are being infringed. We know, Mr. Chairman, that no lack of preparation which might exist would prevent the American people from resenting injuries to their interests or insults to their flag, or that would prevent them from rushing into war should they consider that there was necessity for it.

Our Democratic friends have dwelt for a day or two upon the statement that the Democratic party are a peace party. But, Mr. Chairman, while they no doubt are a peace party, while the American people are a peace-loving people, while they will not willingly take up the gage of battle if any other honorable course can be found, yet I believe that even the Democratic party could not prevent the American people from rushing into war if they believed that their interests demanded it. I say that, because I remember that when the Spanish-American war was imminent, our friends upon the other side were not seeking to hold back the United States from engaging in battle, but I remember that no other citizens of the United States were more urgent and strenuous in their demand that the United States should interfere in that conflict than were our friends upon the other side. I remember that they were so eager for war that they were unwilling to wait until he who then sat in the Presidential chair was able to prepare the forces of the United States for the conflict. And so, Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that we could not depend upon the Democratic party to keep us out of battle in time of need. I should rather conclude that their years of warfare upon the other side, the years of warfare that they have waged against us, the years of warfare which they have waged against each other, the years of warfare which they have waged against everything which was proposed upon this side had so sharpened their appetite for battle that they would be the first to lead us into it.

I know the humane instincts of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] and that his broad love for mankind would incline him to the belief that danger of war had passed away; but I fear that when we look abroad among the nations of the earth little ground can be found for the belief that the United States will be safe in relying entirely upon the justice of its actions.

We see two great nations already engaged in war. It is a matter of common knowledge that other of the great powers may be involved in that conflict. We have seen already in the war between Russia and Japan the tremendous importance of sea power. No man can look even a year into the future and tell what position the United States may be obliged to assume in order to protect its trade and to protect its policies. All of the experience of the past goes to show that the best guaranty we can have of peace with other nations, the best guaranty that we can have that our interests will be respected, is the knowledge that the United States has in addition to the justice of its cause actual visible power to enforce its rights.

If we had had no navy, would war with Spain have been prevented? If we answer, "Yes," then that war would have been prevented for the reason that the American people would not dare to assert their rights in matters where they were vitally interested. If we answer that the lack of a navy would not have prevented that war, and I do not believe that it would have prevented it, then the American people, through lack of preparation, would have rushed into at least temporary defeat and humiliation.

But some of our friends upon the other side say that they are in favor of a moderate navy. If it be conceded that we need a

navy at all, how large should it be, and what is a moderate navy? If we intend only to assert our rights against the second and third and fourth-class nations of the earth, then our Navy is already three or four times larger than it need to be. But if the American people intend to assert their rights when necessary against any or all who may oppose them, and I believe that they do, then in my judgment we need a navy as powerful as that of any other nation on earth except Great Britain. We do not need a navy the size of that of Great Britain because her fairest and greatest and richest colony lies for 3,000 miles along our borders, where no English line-of-battle ships can protect it. It is a hostage practically within our power which stands for peace. But, more than this, the trade relations which exist between the two countries, the community of ideas and of interests along many lines, the ties of language and of blood, and finally the fact that Great Britain has formally and repeatedly accepted the Monroe doctrine, forbid the idea that we need a navy to cope with that of Great Britain. There is no other nation that has a seacoast upon which is so many billion dollars' worth of property, upon which so many great cities, with their inhabitants and with all the wealth in them, lie scattered along its seacoast exposed to the attacks of the enemy as the people of the United States.

We are told by those who know that these cities can not be entirely protected by seacoast defenses or by mines. The best system of defense might easily be that which would strike a powerful blow, perhaps thousands of miles away from our coast and upon the coast and at the cities of our enemy. Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but the United States has voluntarily taken upon itself duties and burdens which require it to maintain a formidable navy. The people of the United States many years ago promulgated the Monroe doctrine. It is not a Republican doctrine. It is not a Democratic doctrine. It is the settled and established policy of the people of these United States, and that policy requires that we shall prevent, by force of arms if necessary, the lodgment upon the shores of this continent, or the continent of South America, of any foreign power; that we shall prevent, by force of arms if necessary, the increase of the interest of foreign powers in the governments or the territories upon this continent. Mr. Chairman, it has been said, and it seems to me it has been truly said, that the Monroe doctrine is just as strong as the battle ships of the United States that are built to defend it. [Applause.]

The Monroe doctrine is not international law. It is the mere assertion by the United States of a policy which it deems for its best interests. It is not a moral question; it is purely a question of national self-interest. Any other nation, if it thinks its interests lie in that direction, has a right to disregard it; but before doing so it would doubtless carefully examine the naval register of the United States. We all remember that while this nation was in the throes of civil war a foreign nation sought to set up a monarchy in Mexico in contravention of the Monroe doctrine. We remember that they discontinued their efforts upon the invitation of our Government, not because they were convinced of the justice of our contention, but because hundreds of thousands of hardy veterans stood armed and equipped ready to enforce our demand.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BURTON] asks what nation is challenging the Monroe doctrine. At present, none. No nation will challenge it so long as the United States is prepared upon the sea to make that challenge result in such an outlay of blood and treasure as would outweigh any probable advantages growing from the colonization of South America. Every portion of the earth's surface not inhabited by nations capable of defending themselves is the scene of exploitation, colonization, and division except South and Central America. Africa has been divided up among the earth-hungry nations of Europe. The probability at present seems to be that a similar fate awaits Asia. If such result does not follow it will be solely because force is set off against force and not because of any principles of right and justice. Japan has a Monroe policy relating to Manchuria and Korea, which it considers essential to its national existence, but the maintenance of that policy to-day depends entirely upon the strength of its fleets and armies.

Mr. Chairman, it is true that the wealth, the number, the resources, and energy of the people of the United States are important factors to be considered by the nation that proposed to engage in conflict with us. We consider that our isolated position renders the maintenance of a large standing army unnecessary. We have no powerful neighbors lying adjacent to our borders able to invade our territory at a moment's notice. Given the modest body of regulars which we maintain as a first line of defense, together with perfected plans for rapidly organizing and equipping the millions of militia and volunteers who would respond to their country's call, and we may feel fairly secure against any invasion of our shores. But for the purposes of maintaining the Monroe doctrine or the foreign policies and interests of the

United States our 80,000,000 of people, with wealth and energy and resources sufficient to build and equip a thousand battle ships, would stand helpless upon our shores while the honor and interests of the United States would depend upon our war ships which were built and equipped and ready to engage the enemy. It seems probable that in future wars the command of the sea, and all the tremendous advantage which goes with it, will be determined in the first thirty days of conflict. The wars of the future will not wait three or four years for us to build and equip battle ships.

Mr. Chairman, what is there in our history which leads gentlemen to say that the possession of a navy is likely to tempt us into unnecessary war? Do they mean that we must keep our forces so weak that we shall not dare assert our rights and protect our interests? Never in our history, perhaps with the exception of the Mexican war, have our people entered upon a war of conquest or aggression, and that was a war brought on by the slave power to furnish room for the extension of slavery to offset the growing forces of freedom. At the close of the civil war the United States was equipped with overwhelming power to cope with any other nation either on land or sea. We had armed and equipped and ready for service a million and a half seasoned veterans of Grant's army. Our ironclads, invented during that war, had rendered worthless the wooden navies of the world. During that war the just and deep resentment of the people of the United States had been aroused against Great Britain, because it had violated the laws of neutrality in permitting Confederate cruisers like the *Alabama* to be built and equipped in its shipyards. Our people were hardened by four years of warfare and flushed with victory, and yet, under these exceptional circumstances, the American people preferred the paths of peace to those of war and set an example to the nations of the world by entering into almost the first great arbitration tribunal for the settlement of differences, out of which came the Geneva award.

The gentlemen who assert that the possession of a strong navy will tempt the American people into an unnecessary war will find nothing in our temperament or history to justify their contention. Some gentlemen profess to be in favor of having a strong navy, but object that we are building it too fast. Their voices are for a navy, but their votes are against it. We commenced building the new Navy in 1883. We have now completed eleven battle ships of the first class; that is about one in two years. We have about twenty-two ships of the line, or an average of one a year. Certainly this record does not invite the criticism that we are building too fast; rather the contrary. Comparison is made of the number of ships we are building at the present time with those being built by other naval powers, showing that we are building more than France or Germany. But this is an unfair comparison, because gentlemen well know that our shipbuilding for a few years past has been congested; that ships which should have been finished years ago are still in the shipyards. For example, the battle ship *Ohio* should have been finished, according to contract, in 1901, but is still only 85 per cent completed.

Mr. Chairman, some gentlemen contend here that we should discontinue spending money for a navy and for the fortifications of our coasts in order that we may spend more money in local improvements. In a government such as ours the tendency is always to neglect purely national interests in order to take care of those which are local and personal. Never in our history have we approached a war for which we were prepared. The reasons for this are evident. All measures for the expenditure of money must originate in this House. The Members of this House represent directly Congressional districts, upon whose favor they must depend for continued service in this body. The Member who can secure a public building for his district or have some river dredged for purposes of supposed navigation advertises the fact to all the people of his district that he is an active and influential Representative. In the ordinary parlance he is "doing something for his district."

Expenditures along this line count for the political benefit and personal aggrandizement of the Member, whereas a greater amount of work put in for the promotion of purely national objects like the upbuilding of the Navy may attract little attention in his district. The tendency always is, therefore, to push the expenditure of public money along a hundred lines which are supposed to confer some local benefit rather than along lines which are wholly national in their benefits. It is creditable to the Members of this House on both sides of the Chamber that they have steadily adhered to the policy of building a navy which shall properly represent the power and greatness of the United States upon the seas. I am unwilling to believe, Mr. Chairman, that any pressure for local benefits will induce Congress to depart from that policy. [Applause.]

Economy in public expenditures is always commendable, but let us not apply it to those projects which concern the safety and

welfare of the whole nation. Let us economize anywhere rather than in our Navy, which represents the power of our country in its intercourse with foreign nations.

Some slighting remarks have been made during this debate about the United States as a world power. The able leader of the minority has talked about the United States going up and down the world "a world-powering." Some gentlemen seem to long to return to the condition we were in seventy-five or a hundred years ago, when the energies of our people were entirely absorbed in developing our own country and we had little interest in the affairs of other countries. But the gentlemen might as well wish that they could be children again. The United States has simply grown to manhood. It stands a Colossus, with ever-widening influence among the nations of the earth. It is first in agriculture and first in mining. In the value of its manufactured products it exceeds any other three nations. The value of the products of its mills and factories and farms exported to all parts of the earth exceed those of any other nation. We have grown beyond the point where the energies of our citizens can be confined to the development of our own country and supplying the needs of our own citizens. In the days of the fathers, to have crossed the ocean was the event of a lifetime, and Europe was another world. In these days of steam and electricity a drop of a point in the stock market of New York is reflected in an hour in London and Paris and Berlin.

While adhering to the policy of protecting our home market, we are competitors for the markets of the world; our interests lie in every portion of the globe where human wants are to be supplied. These are the conditions which have made us a world power. And the energy and genius of our people are such that our interest in the affairs of the world will increase from year to year.

We do not need a navy to protect our merchant marine. We have none. In every other field of human endeavor the American people occupy a leading position. The stupidity of the Democratic party and the cowardice of the Republican party have stripped our merchant vessels from the sea. But I believe, Mr. Chairman, that a people intelligent enough to make this the greatest producing country on earth will not long be content to be absolutely dependent upon other nations to carry their products to market. Mr. Chairman, I should be glad, personally, to see the building programme for the Navy made larger in the present bill. But it represents fairly the consensus of opinion of the committee and I believe will meet with the approval of the country. [Loud applause.]

Commodore John Barry.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MICHAEL E. DRISCOLL,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, March 12, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 62) for the erection of a monument to the memory of Commodore John Barry.

Mr. DRISCOLL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Rather late in the second session of the last Congress I introduced a bill providing for the erection in the city of Washington, at an expense not to exceed \$50,000, of a monument in honor of John Barry, on which shall be placed the following inscription:

Erected to the memory of John Barry, father of the American Navy.

No action having been taken on it, I reintroduced it at the opening of the extraordinary session of this Congress. It was referred to the Library Committee, the chairman of which requested me to submit a statement of the facts which in my judgment would justify Congress in providing for the erection of this monument with this significant inscription. I have therefore prepared for submission to the committee and the House a brief sketch of his life and services, composed principally of extracts from official and public records and statements made by his illustrious contemporaries, and have supplemented this with my own conclusions and reasons why this bill should at this time receive favorable action.

The life and services of this able seaman and distinguished patriot were not properly brought to the notice of our people by our historians and publicists until Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin, of

Philadelphia, a few years ago wrote and published his biography, which he modestly terms "an historical compilation." For the thorough research in the examination of ancient records and the unusual amount of labor and industry necessarily required in the preparation of this work, he is entitled to the gratitude not only of Barry's admirers, but of all Americans who believe in paying a just tribute to the illustrious founders and defenders of the Republic. I freely acknowledge my obligation to him for the facts and references contained in his book, on which I have drawn liberally and verified in most instances.

Isaac Bailey, in his *American Naval Biography*, published in 1815, only twelve years after Barry's death, gives the following statement of his early life:

Commodore Barry was born in the county of Wexford, in the Kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1745. His father was a highly respectable farmer, under whose roof he received the first impressions of that ingenuousness and that high-toned magnanimity which were conspicuous attributes of his character. At a very early age he manifested a strong inclination to follow the sea. His father was induced to gratify his desire, and he was put on board a merchantman, in which service he continued several years. The opportunities afforded by the intermissions of his voyages were improved to his advantage by applying himself to the acquisition of knowledge. Possessed of a strong and active mind, he was enabled, with indefatigable industry, to acquire a good practical education. In the fourteenth or fifteenth year of his age he arrived in America, which he immediately determined to make the country of his adoption.

In his new situation he was not long without employment, but applied himself diligently to his profession; and in a very short time his nautical skill, the steadiness of his habits, and the integrity of his character recommended him, successively, to some of the most respectable merchants of that day. * * * He thus continued growing in reputation and acquiring, by industry and perseverance, a decent competency, until the controversy between the mother country and her then colonies gave a new direction to thought and opened new prospects to ambition. He could not but feel a deep interest in passing events; he did not hesitate as to the part he should act, as the bias of his youth was in favor of liberty. At that interesting crisis when Great Britain brought her veteran armies and powerful navies to coerce a compliance with her unjust demands, and when all but men struggling for their liberties would have deemed resistance folly, it became important to select officers whose valor and discretion, whose experience and skill could give the utmost efficiency to our insignificant means of defense and annoyance. The rare union in Commodore Barry of all these qualities recommended him to the notice of Congress, and he was honored by that body with one of the first naval commissions.

He seems to have been ambitious and capable from the start, for in the year 1766, when only 21 years of age, he was captain of the schooner *Barbadoes*, engaged in trade between Philadelphia and the Barbadoes Islands. The clearance records show that he continued in the West Indies and coastwise trade, in command respectively of the *Patty and Polly*, the *Industry*, the *Frugality*, and the *Peggy*, and on December 21, 1774, he sailed from Philadelphia for Bristol, England, as master of the *Black Prince*, and returned October 13, 1775, in command of the same vessel. She was one of the finest merchant ships on the sea, owned by John Nixon, who read the Declaration of Independence to the people of Philadelphia on July 8, 1776. She was afterwards sold to Congress, equipped as a war vessel, and named the *Alfred*, after the founder of the English navy.

The first two ships purchased by the Congress were the *Lexington* and the *Reprisal*. Captain Barry was appointed to command the *Lexington* in December, 1775, and early in the spring of 1776 he sailed from Philadelphia down the Delaware, and on the 7th of April fell in with the *Edward*, a tender of the man-of-war *Liverpool*. An engagement took place, which he describes as follows:

She engaged us near two glasses. They killed two of our men and wounded two more. We shattered her in a terrible manner, as you will see. We killed and wounded several of her crew. I shall give you a particular account of the powder and arms taken out of her, as well as my proceedings in general. I have the happiness to acquaint you that all our people behaved with much courage. (*Penna. Gazette*, Apr. 17, 1776.)

Of this victory John Adams said:

We begin to make some little figure here in the navy way. Captain Barry fitted out here a few days ago in a sixteen-gun brig and put to sea by the *Roebuck* man-of-war in the Delaware River, and after he got without the capes fell in with a tender belonging to the *Liverpool* man-of-war and took her after an engagement of two glasses. She had eight carriage guns and a number of swivels. (*Athenaeum Mag.*, May, 1826.)

Preble, in his *Origin of the Flag* (2d ed., p. 242), says:

This *Lexington* of the seas, therefore, occupies the position in our naval annals that the *Lexington* from whence she derived her name does from having been the arena of the first conflict of the colonies with England. * * * She was the first vessel that bore the continental flag to victory on the ocean.

Bailey, in his *Naval Biography*, page 157, says:

She (the *Lexington*) was the first continental vessel of war that sailed from the port of Philadelphia. Having cruised successfully in her, he was, in the latter part of the same year, transferred to the *Effingham*, one of three large frigates built in Philadelphia. In the eventful winter of that year, the navigation of the Delaware being impeded by ice and all naval employment suspended, his bold and restless spirit could not be inactive. So zealous was he in his country's cause that he volunteered his services in the army and served with distinguished reputation as aid-de-camp to General Cadwallader in the important operations which took place in the vicinity of Trenton.

When the British obtained command of the city and forts on the river in 1777 it was deemed prudent to send the vessels of war up the river to Whitehall, where they might possibly escape destruction. Commodore Barry, with several others, effected their escape with great dexterity. The vessels, however, were soon after destroyed by the enemy.

While the frigates were lying near Whitehill, Commodore Barry formed a project which for boldness of design and dexterity of execution was not surpassed, if equaled, during the war. It struck him that the enemy might be severely annoyed by means of small boats properly armed, which being stationed down the river and bay might intercept supplies going to the enemy, and in case of danger take refuge in the creeks. He accordingly manned the boats of the frigates, and under cover of night, with muffled oars, descended the river. He arrived opposite the city before the enemy or citizens had any intimation of their movement. In a moment all was consternation and alarm, the enemy apprehending some impending disaster, while the citizens, supposing the project impracticable, despaired of the safety of their friends.

The object was effected, and the success which crowned the adventure was worthy of the enterprising spirit which conceived it. They not only succeeded in intercepting supplies of provisions from the surrounding country, but captured several vessels loaded with military munitions and valuable stores for the British officers.

General Washington always spoke with great satisfaction of this enterprise and those concerned in it; indeed, he gave a public expression of thanks to the commodore and his officers.

Barry continued in command of the *Lexington* to render active service in the vicinity of Delaware Bay, capturing British supplies and protecting American commerce and interests, until he was appointed by the marine committee to take command of the *Effingham* in the autumn of 1776. It may be mentioned here that he was the seventh captain named, while John Paul Jones was the eighteenth. Bailey's Naval Biography, page 157, says:

In the eventful winter of 1776-77, the navigation of the Delaware being impeded by ice and all naval employment suspended, his bold and restless spirit could not be inactive. So zealous was he in his country's cause that he volunteered his services in the Army, and served with distinguished reputation as aid-de-camp to General Cadwallader in the important operations which took place in the vicinity of Trenton.

During the year 1777 he was senior commander of the American Navy at Philadelphia, and for some time prevented the capture of that city by the enemy. In October of that year he repulsed a British squadron in their passage up the Delaware, but later on the British captured Philadelphia and Barry was directed by the marine board to sink the *Effingham* in the upper Delaware.

He was then shipless, but not inactive. The battle of the keys was the result of his resourceful and inventive mind. His idea was to float buoys filled with powder and other explosive materials down the river, and by striking against the enemy's ships he hoped to destroy them. The project resulted in more amusement than damage. But the idea was original and has been developed into the modern destructive torpedo.

While bottled in the upper Delaware, with only some rowboats for a navy, he suggested a plan to harass the enemy below Philadelphia, which is referred to in a letter from the council to the navy board of February 7, 1778, in the following language:

It has been suggested that it is practicable to annoy the enemy in the river below Philadelphia with barges called "guard boats." A spirit of enterprise in this way has discovered itself in Captain Barry and other officers of the continental navy, and other persons, particularly in the Delaware.

Barry led an attack, which is described in Abbott's Naval History of the United States, pages 142, 143, and 144, as follows:

In February, 1778, the Delaware, along the water front of Philadelphia, was the scene of some dashing work by American sailors under the command of Capt. John Barry. This officer was in command of the *Effingham*, one of the vessels which had been trapped in the Delaware by the unexpected occupation of Philadelphia by the British. The inactivity of the vessels, which had taken refuge at Whitehall, was a sore disappointment to Barry, who longed for the excitement and dangers of actual battle. With the British in force at Philadelphia, it was madness to think of taking the frigates down the stream. But Barry rightly thought that what could not be done with a heavy ship might be done with a few light boats.

Philadelphia was then crowded with British troops. The soldiers were all provided with money, and, finding themselves quartered in a city for the winter, led a life of continual gaiety. The great accession to the population of the town made it necessary to draw upon the country far and near for provisions, and boats were continually plying upon the Delaware, carrying provisions to the city. To intercept some of these boats and to give the merry British officers a taste of starvation was Barry's plan.

Accordingly four boats were manned with well-armed crews and with muffled oars set out on a dark night to patrol the river. Philadelphia was reached and the expedition was almost past the city when the sentries on one of the British men-of-war gave the alarm. A few scattering shots were fired from the shore, but the jacksies bent to their oars, and the boats were soon lost to sight in the darkness. When day broke Barry was far down the river.

Opposite the little post held by the American Army, and called Fort Penn, Barry spied a large schooner, mounting ten guns, and flying the British flag. With her were four transport ships loaded with forage for the enemy's forces. Though the sun had risen and it was broad day, Barry succeeded in running his boats alongside the schooner, and before the British suspected the presence of an enemy the bluejackets were clambering over the rail, cutlasses and pistol in hand. There was no resistance. The astonished Englishmen threw down their arms and rushed below. The victorious Americans batted down the hatches, ordered the four transports to surrender on pain of being fired into, and triumphantly carried all five prizes to the piers of Fort Penn. There the hatches were removed and, the Yankee sailors being drawn up in line, Barry ordered the prisoners to come on deck. When all appeared it was found that the Yankees had bagged one major, two captains, three lieutenants, ten soldiers, and about a hundred sailors and marines, a very respectable haul for a party of not more than thirty American sailors. * * *

Barry's conduct in this enterprise won for him the admiration of friend and foe alike. Sir William Howe, then commander in chief of the British forces in America, offered the daring American 20,000 guineas and the command of a British frigate if he would desert the service of the United States. "Not the value and command of the whole British fleet," wrote Barry in reply, "can seduce me from the cause of my country."

In the Army Correspondence of John Laurens, in a letter to his

father, Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, dated March 9, 1778, page 140, he says:

You will be informed of Captain Barry's success with two or three armed boats on the Delaware. Two transports loaded with forage, one of them mounting six 4-pounders, attended by a schooner mounting eight 4-pounders and four howitzers, fell into his hands by his gallantry and address.

Of this Washington said (Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. 5, p. 271):

The exploit was considered highly creditable to Captain Barry, on account of the enterprise and daring he displayed in going down the river when it was full of the enemy's shipping and small craft.

And Washington wrote Barry as follows:

I have received your favor of the 9th instant, and congratulate you on the success which has crowned your gallantry and address in the late attack upon the enemy's ships. Although circumstances have prevented you from reaping the full benefit of your conquests, yet there is ample consolation in the degree of glory which you have acquired.

Frost, in his Naval Biography, said:

For boldness of design and dexterity of execution it was not surpassed, if equaled, during the war.

Nine days later Barry, with four small boats, captured two of the enemy's transport ships, one mounting six 4-pounders, the other two swivels; also a schooner with eight 4-pounders, twelve 4-pound howitzers, and thirty-two men.

In the fall of 1778 Captain Barry was ordered to take command of the *Raleigh*, from which Capt. Thomas Thompson was relieved, and on September 25 of that year he sailed for Boston and was very soon thereafter engaged by a superior force of the enemy. The battle is briefly described in the Army Correspondence of John Laurens (p. 232), in a letter to his father dated October 13, 1778, as follows:

General Greene, who arrived in camp yesterday, gives us an account of Captain Barry's having lost his frigate two days after he sailed from Boston. He engaged a British 32-gun frigate, and had fought her with his usual bravery and great prospect of success, his men and officers being sworn not to surrender, when a 64-gun ship came up and put an end to the contest, but not before he had given two or three such fires as Barry's situation relatively to the British frigate allowed. Our brave captain then avoided violating his oath by running his ship on shore at Seal Island and keeping up a fire from four guns, which he brought to bear in his stern, till he got out his boats and some baggage. He made his escape with eighty hands, the rest were to shift for themselves by landing. Ten who concealed themselves have escaped since; one, an Englishman, remained on board and extinguished the fire which Barry put to the ship in order to destroy her, by which means she was saved, and the enemy got her off.

But the loss of the *Raleigh* apparently did not lessen his reputation with the Continental Congress, for that body, then projecting an expedition against East Florida, appointed him to take chief command of the Navy, in a resolution passed November 10, 1778, which reads as follows:

Resolved, That Capt. John Barry be, and is hereby, directed to take command of all armed vessels employed on the intended expedition, subject to the order of the commander-in-chief in the Southern Department, and that this commission continue in force until the expiration of the intended invasion of the province of East Florida, or till the further order of Congress; that he proceed with the utmost dispatch to the State of Maryland, in order to expedite the equipment of the galleys to be furnished by that State, and proceed with them to Charleston, in South Carolina.

Congress having changed its plans, and this expedition having been abandoned, Barry went to sea in command of the privateer brig the *Delaware*, and continued to harass the enemy's commerce until the summer of 1780, when he was directed to repair to Portsmouth, N. H., and supervise the construction of the *America*. Afterwards, in the same year, he was assigned to the command of the *Alliance*, the finest and fastest ship in the Continental service.

On February 11, 1781, Barry sailed from Boston for France. On board were Col. John Laurens, as special commissioner; Thomas Paine, and distinguished Europeans, active friends of the American cause. On that voyage he captured a British schooner, the *Alert*, and took her to L'Orient.

On March 29, 1781, the *Alliance* sailed for home, and early in the passage captured the *Mars*, the *Minerva*, the *Snow*, and other British war vessels, and on May 28 she met two ships of the enemy. An engagement followed, which is in Bailey's Naval Biography, page 161, thus graphically described:

On the preceding day two sail were discovered on the weather bow, standing for the *Alliance*; after approaching near enough to be in sight during the night they hauled to the wind and stood on the same course with the frigate.

At daylight on the 29th it became quite calm; at sunrise the American colors were displayed on board the *Alliance*; the drum beat to quarters. The strange sails were discovered to be a ship and a brig; the British flag was displayed, and having by means of their sweeps got within hailing distance, they respectively hailed; when it appeared that the ship was His Britannic Majesty's ship of war *Atalanta*, Captain Edwards, carrying between twenty and thirty guns, and her escort, the brig *Trepasa* Captain Smith. The commodore ordered them to haul down their colors, which, being refused, the cannonading immediately began; the *Alliance*, from want of wind, was like a log upon the water; while the enemy, by means of their sweeps, could select their position; they accordingly kept on the quarters, and athwart the stern of the *Alliance*, so that but few guns could be brought to bear upon them. About 2 o'clock the commodore was wounded in the left shoulder by a grape-shot. Though his wound was dangerous, and excessively painful, he remained on the quarterdeck some time, when the loss of blood obliged him to be carried to the cockpit.

Shortly after the colors of the *Alliance* were shot away, and this happening in the interval of loading her guns, the enemy concluded they had been

struck, they manned the shrouds and huzzaed. The American flag was soon hoisted again, and the renewal of the fire from the *Alliance* sent the enemy to their quarters. A little wind fortunately springing up, the broadside of the frigate was brought to bear upon the enemy. It did great execution, and at 3 p. m. they both struck their colors. When Captain Edwards was conducted to the commodore, who was then confined in the cabin, he presented his sword, which was immediately returned to him as a testimonial of the high opinion entertained of his bravery, the commodore observing at the same time that he richly merited it, and that his king ought to give him a better ship.

Soon after the commodore was wounded and left the deck one of his lieutenants went to him while in the cockpit, and representing the shattered state of the sails and rigging, the number of killed and wounded, and the disadvantages under which they labored from the want of wind, desired to know if the colors should be struck. "No," said he, "and if the ship can't be fought without, I will be carried on deck." When the lieutenant made known to the crew the determination of their brave commander, fresh spirit was infused into them, and they one and all resolved to "stick by him." As soon as his wound was dressed, he insisted on being carried on deck; but before he reached it the enemy had struck. The *Alliance* had eleven killed and twenty-one wounded, among the latter several of her officers; her rigging and spars much shattered, and severely damaged in her hull. The enemy had the same number killed and thirty wounded. We have been led into the detail of this victory, as it was considered at the time of its achievement a most brilliant exploit and an unequivocal evidence of the unconquerable firmness and intrepidity of the victor.

In a letter from William Vernon to John Adams, dated April 26, 1782, he said:

You have long since known that the American Navy is reduced to two ships only, viz, the *Alliance*, John Barry, commander, now in France, and the *Deane*, Samuel Nicholson, commander, that sailed on a cruise about seven weeks past to the southward; no intelligence from her since her departure.

Robert Morris, who had principal charge of naval matters, wrote Barry on September 21, 1781, as follows:

John Brown, esq., who is the bearer of this letter, is charged by me in consequence of three several acts of Congress, of which copies are inclosed, with the care of sending to sea the frigates *Alliance* and *Deane*. You will therefore exert yourself to assist him to the utmost of your power. When these ships are ready you will proceed to sea. The ships are both under your command, the captain of the *Deane* being instructed to obey your orders; wherefore you had best to furnish him a copy of these instructions, giving such in addition as you shall judge necessary for keeping company, respecting signals, etc.

This order was afterwards countermanded, and Barry was directed to sail for France with the Marquis de Lafayette as a passenger. He obeyed orders to do no fighting and make the fastest voyage possible, and arrived at L'Orient on January 18, 1782.

On March 16, 1782, Barry sailed for America, arriving at New London on May 13. Soon after he set out on another cruise around the Bermudas and along the American coast. He captured many vessels of the enemy and sent them to American ports according to directions. Then he sailed for France, capturing on his way four prizes, which he took to L'Orient in the fall of 1782, and which, according to his own statement, were sold at public auction in France for the sum of £562,619 12s. 7d.

Early in the year 1783 the *Alliance* left L'Orient for her last cruise. She sailed toward the south and the West Indies, arriving at Habana in March of that year. On her way to the United States with a quantity of specie, having in company the Continental ship *Luzerne*, three of the enemy's ships were discovered. The last naval battle of the Revolution followed, which Bailey describes (p. 161) as follows:

The American vessels were hove about; the enemy gave chase. The *Luzerne* not sailing as fast as the *Alliance*, the commodore ordered her captain to throw her guns overboard. A sail was then discovered on the weather bow, bearing down upon them. The *Alliance* hove out a signal, which was answered. She proved to be a French ship of fifty guns. Relying upon her assistance, the commodore concluded to bring the headmost of the enemy's ships to action. After inspiring his crew by an address and going from gun to gun cautioning his men against too much haste and not to fire till ordered, he prepared for action. The enemy's ship was of equal size with the *Alliance*. A severe engagement followed. It was very soon perceptible that the *Alliance* was gaining the advantage; most of the enemy's guns were silenced; and after an action of fifty minutes his ship was so severely damaged that she hoisted a signal of distress, when her consorts joined her.

The loss on board the *Alliance* was very trifling—three killed and eleven wounded. The enemy's loss was severe—thirty-seven killed and fifty wounded. The other English frigates were watching the movements of the French ship, the captain of which, upon coming up with the *Alliance*, assigned as a reason for keeping aloof from the action that he was apprehensive the *Alliance* had been taken and that the engagement was only a decoy. Chase was made, but the French ship being unable to keep up with the American, it was given over.

A gentleman of distinguished naval reputation, when in the Mediterranean with the American squadron, was introduced to Capt. James Vashan, esq., since vice-admiral of the red, the commander of the British frigate engaged with the *Alliance*. In the course of conversation he made particular inquiry after Captain Barry, related the circumstances of the action, and with the frankness of a generous enemy confessed that he had never seen a ship so ably fought as the *Alliance*; that he had never before, to use his own words, "received such a drubbing, and that he was indebted to the assistance of his consorts."

The war was now over. The young Republic was desperately poor. Her volunteers were mustered out; her seamen were dismissed. The *Alliance* was sold at public auction for £2,887, and the nation was left without a ship. Barry went to sea in command of a merchantman, and continued in private life until the year 1794, when he was again called to serve his country. Algerian pirates were harassing American commerce. There was danger of war with France. Congress resolved to build a navy, and

ordered the construction of a few ships. There was no Navy Department then, but Henry Knox was Secretary of War, and addressed the following letter to Captain Barry:

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 5, 1794.

SIR: The President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, has appointed you to be a captain of one of the ships to be provided in pursuance of the act to provide a naval armament, herein inclosed.

It is to be understood that the relative rank of the captains is to be in the following order: John Barry, Samuel Nicholson, Silas Talbot, Joshua Barney, Richard Dale, Thomas Truxtun.

You will please to inform me as soon as convenient whether you accept or decline the appointment.

I am, sir, etc.,

HENRY KNOX, Secretary of War.

Captain BARRY.

Barry accepted, entered the service, and continued at the head of the Navy until his death, which occurred on September 13, 1803. Of his services during this period Bailey (p. 164) says:

His opinion was very influential in the adoption by the Government of that excellent model for ships of war, the superiority of which over every other has been so strikingly proved as to have extorted the acknowledgments even of our enemies.

During the partial maritime war into which we were drawn by the aggressions of the cruisers of the French Republic, Commodore Barry was constantly and actively employed, and though fortune did not afford him an opportunity of signalizing himself by any splendid victory, yet he rendered essential service to the commercial interests of the country by protecting its flag from the depredations of the French privateers which infested the ocean.

In John Fiske's *American Revolution*, volume 2, page 123, appears the following:

The first commander in chief of the United States Navy was Ezekiel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, appointed by Congress in December, 1775. His rank was intended to correspond in the Navy with that held by Washington in the Army. In the papers of the time he is often styled "admiral;" but among seamen he was commonly known as "commodore." The officers next below him were captains. In February, 1776, Hopkins got out to sea with a small fleet. In April, with two sloops of war and three small brigs, he attacked the British sloop *Glascow*, 20, and failed to take her. His failure was visited with severe and perhaps excessive condemnation. In the following October Congress passed a vote of censure on him; and in January, 1777, dismissed him from the service. For the rest of the war no commander in chief of the Navy was appointed.

One of Hopkins's vessels, the brig *Lexington*, 14, was commanded by John Barry, a native of Wexford County, Ireland, who had long dwelt in Philadelphia. In April, 1776, a few days after Hopkins's failure, the *Lexington* met the British tender *Edward* off the capes of Virginia and captured her after an hour's fight. This was the first capture of a British warship by an American. Barry served with distinction through the war and died at the head of the Navy in 1803.

Judson's *Sages and Heroes of the Revolution* says (p. 417):

He was noble in spirit, humane in discipline, discreet and fearless in battle, urbane in his manners, a splendid officer, a good citizen, a devoted Christian, and a good patriot.

Bailey describes him as follows (p. 164):

He was eminently qualified for the important stations which he filled. He possessed courage without rashness, a constancy of spirit which could not be subdued, a sound and intuitive judgment, a promptitude of decision equal to the most trying emergencies—consummate skill, a generosity of soul which tempered the sterner qualities of the hero and recommended him to the esteem of all, a humanity of feeling which made him no less attentive to the comfort and happiness of those whom the fortune of war threw into his power than he had been ambitious to conquer them. Having spent the greater part of a long life upon the ocean, he had seen every possible variety of service; he knew how to sympathize, therefore, with those who were subjected to his command; to this it was owing that, though a rigid disciplinarian, he always conciliated the attachment of his sailors. It is worthy of remark that no person who has sailed with him as seaman, officer, or passenger has ever been heard to speak of him but with the most respectful gratitude, and, in regard to his seamen especially, with all the extravagance of eulogy. He never found any difficulty in making up a crew, and desertion from his ship was unknown. * * *

We will only add, as a sanction for what has been said, that General Washington had the highest opinion of his merit and entertained for him a sincere and lasting friendship.

The foregoing references, only a few of the many which could be cited, not only justify an appropriation for a monument to the memory of this great seaman, but warrant the claim that it be inscribed as suggested in this bill. They establish the following facts, succinctly stated:

That at the breaking out of the war Barry was master of the *Black Prince*, the finest merchant ship in America. She was purchased by the First Congress, armored for war, and made the first flagship of the first fleet, under the first commodore, and named the *Alfred*, after the father of the English navy; that Barry won the first naval victory of the war in the Continental service and returned the first prize captured from the enemy, in command of the *Lexington*, which was named after the first battle of the Revolution and was the first ship that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean; that Barry was the first captain of our present Navy, and continued first in command until the time of his death; that during the last three years of the Revolution he was ranking officer in the Navy, and fought the last battle of the war in command of the *Alliance*, the last and best war ship of the Continental Navy.

Some of these facts may have been merely coincidents. We do not, however, predicate our claim on coincidents or accidents, but on the substantial merits as proven by the records and writings of his period.

Had conservative opinion on both sides of the Atlantic prevailed, the revolution would have been avoided, or, at all events, postponed many years. It was precipitated by an unyielding government on one side and by extreme patriots and irresponsible hotheads on the other. Business men on this side feared lawlessness, disorder, and mob rule quite as much as the burdensome exactions of the King. The colonies were poor and weak, consisting of settlements scattered along the coast, between which there was little direct communication; nor was their confidence in one another very great. In their rear was a dense, unexplored, limitless wilderness, inhabited by savage men and beasts. Before them was the ocean, and beyond that powerful, ambitious nations looking for conquest. They were largely descended from the British Isles, and spoke the same language. They did not then hate the mother country, and preferred British dominion to any other.

After hostilities began few believed it would be a fight to a finish. Many of those who had property or position to lose were wary and shy. They were noncommittal or openly espoused the royalist cause. Many who sympathized with the revolutionists declined to enter the continental service, for, as John Paul Jones said, "at first the hazard was very great." Patriots were called rebels, and in case of defeat were in danger of losing their properties and their lives. Many hesitated, remained dumb and inactive, or joined the standard of the King.

Not so, Barry. He was not, as some may imagine, a reckless adventurer, but a steady, sober, thrifty, prosperous man. As a mere child he chose a sailor's life, became a shipmaster at 21, and at 30 was captain of the best merchantman in America.

The patriots had denounced the doctrine of taxation without representation. They had raised the standard of freedom and independence for which his ancestors had fought, suffered, and died. He hesitated not. He flung self-interest and policy to the winds, offered his services, and they were accepted. He enlisted for the war. He never looked backward or repented of his action. During the darkest days of the struggle, those times which tried men's souls and when Washington's noble spirit was possessed with doubt and gloomy forebodings, Barry did not despair. He never relaxed, but continued to talk, work, and fight for the cause. His tireless energy, his resourceful activity, his buoyant disposition were a source of encouragement and inspiration to those around him.

At the outset of the conflict the colonies had no fleet. The General Government had no navy. The few merchantmen which were purchased and armored for war were in number, tonnage, guns, and equipment more decidedly overmatched by the enemy than were the American regiments of raw recruits overmatched by the disciplined, well-equipped British regulars; for at least the Yankees were familiar with their firelocks and had learned how to shoot. There was a Continental Congress, but hardly a central government. There were marine committees and naval boards, often undecided and vacillating, engaged in issuing and countermanding orders, promoting and degrading without regard to merit. Many officers on land and sea became provoked and discouraged and retired from the service. Washington's patience was often taxed to the limit. Arnold claimed their treatment of him justified his desertion.

Barry on one occasion expressed his opinion in pretty strong language. But he submitted to the orders of his superiors in authority. He did not think of quitting. He did not sulk in his tent, but in season and out of season continued to fight on land or water until his singleness of purpose, his devotion to the cause, his character as a man, and his ability as a captain compelled the esteem and confidence of the marine committee. During the last years of the Revolution he was intrusted with the most important and responsible duties. He fought one of the very first and the last naval battles of the war, and retired at the head of all there was of the Navy with the same modest dignity and self-abnegation with which he entered the service. He believed in the independence of the colonies, but not in a loose confederation of States, and as a private citizen he assisted in the adoption of the Federal Constitution and its ratification by the States.

When the foundation of our present powerful and efficient Navy was established by the construction of six ships and the appointment of six captains, why did President Washington, the Cabinet, and the Senate place Barry at its head? How did he obtain that honorable and responsible position? Not by purchase, for he was poor. Not because of political pull, for he did not take an active part in politics. Not by family influence, for he was not a member of one of the first families by blood or marriage. Not because of his race, religion, or name, for in those days these accidents of birth were millstones rather than supports. His appointment was made on the merits. His distinguished services in the Revolution were not then forgotten. He was known to Washington and the Senators because in character, experience, ability, and general fitness he was easily the first

naval officer in America, and notwithstanding a change of Administration he was kept at the head of our Navy until his death. That the life and services of such a man should have been overlooked or ignored is passing strange.

The friends of this bill might have continued quiescent were it not that we are honoring the memories of other Revolutionary heroes of foreign birth. I am informed that the Library Committee has reported favorably a bill for the erection of a monument to the memory of John Paul Jones. I have no criticism to offer on their action, and hope the bill may pass, for he was a gallant officer, one of the bravest, and as masterful as he was brave. He carried the flag of the young Republic to the shores of England, where it became known and respected. His services were invaluable. He bearded the lion in his den, and the fight between the *Richard* and the *Serapis* was the most brilliant naval victory of the war. Notwithstanding his brilliant achievements and distinguished services, his claims to recognition are not equal to those of Barry.

Jones was a soldier of fortune; a knight-errant who loved war for the sake of war and seemed to enjoy the excitement and danger of battle. In America he enlisted under the standard of freedom and equal rights to all, and when the war was over he entered the service of Russia, the most despotic government in Europe. Barry drew his sword from conviction and because he believed in the patriots' cause. It does not appear that Jones ever became a citizen of this country, while Barry at the age of 15 made this the land of his adoption. Among the attractive and successful features of Jones's character was a streak of vanity. His name was plain "John Paul," and he appropriated the patronymic Jones, possibly to conceal his derivation and Americanize his name. Barry never denied or modified his plain characteristic name.

The King of France made Jones a Knight of the Order of Merit, and the Empress of Russia conferred upon him the ribbon of St. Anne. Barry was an American in sympathy and sentiment as well as allegiance. He neither sought nor accepted decorations from princes or potentates. Jones drew from Russia a pension. Barry drew no pension from the nation he served so well. Jones lived and died in Paris. Barry lived at home and died in Philadelphia. Jones's guiding star was glory; Barry's, duty. Jones represented the knight-errant's ideal; Barry, the patriot's. Jones was present at the inception of our Navy, but abandoned it for another. Barry remained with it, loyal and faithful till his death. Both should have monuments, but Barry's should be first.

Lafayette was a noble of France, the hereditary enemy of England. He sympathized with the colonists and espoused their cause. His coming to America was a remarkable occurrence, and was heralded throughout Europe as well as this country. He was a brave and gallant officer and risked his life in battle and on the sea. He entered the Continental service at a critical time and helped save the revolutionists from defeat. His distinguished name and personality added luster to his achievements.

Count Rochambeau was a general of France. He commanded the French forces in America and helped turn the tide of battle in favor of the revolutionists. He returned to his native land, continued to serve in the armies of France, and received many honors and emoluments from his King and country.

Baron Steuben, of Prussia, was enjoying a high social and military position at home, but he, too, caught the spirit of the times, crossed the Atlantic, tendered his services to Washington, and rendered valuable aid, especially as a disciplinarian. He remained in this country and received for his services a pension and large tracts of land.

Pulaski was a revolutionist at home. He was defeated and outlawed; the fire of battle was in his blood. He wanted to fight for freedom and the new order. He met Franklin, came to America, fought with the colonists, and was killed at the battle of Savannah. The memories of these gentlemen have been revered and honored by our people. They are household words. Buildings, parks, squares, streets, cities, towns, counties, and rivers have been named after them, and last, but not least, we have erected, or will erect, to their memories beautiful monuments on the several corners of Jackson Square.

Barry was not distinguished for blood or lineage. He was not a scion of a royal house, and made no pretensions. He was not heralded into this world or into this country. Indeed, so ordinary was the social position into which he was born that the exact date and place of his birth are not free from doubt. The penal laws, elaborated and refined until the ingenuity of cruelty was exhausted were then in force in his land. Priests were hunted like beasts of prey. Teachers were outlawed. For a boy of his class to be able to read and write was a crime. What early education he received was picked up after he went to sea by his inquiring mind and close application. His whole career was embarrassed by lack of early training, through no fault on his part. His success illustrates what industrious habits and an indomitable

will, native ability, and high character may accomplish in spite of the handicaps of race and religion. His record is an example and inspiration to boys of our country who are born in poverty, adversity, and circumscribed environments. His life and services reflect honor on the land of his birth, and glory on the land of his adoption.

The people who most earnestly petition for this monument are not poor or financially unable to raise the necessary funds by popular subscription. Thanks to a land of material resources unlimited, to the most liberal and beneficent laws on earth, to our business activity and general prosperity, and to their own active brawn and brain, many of them are in easy, and some of them in affluent, circumstances, and could without embarrassment contribute the sum provided for in this bill. Nor are they parsimonious or sordid, but give liberally to all causes which appeal to their sympathies or patriotism. Why, then, do they ask that this monument be erected at the expense of the nation? Because he richly deserves it. Because the appropriation carried in this bill is a mere pittance compared with the prizes he captured from the enemy and turned into the public Treasury. Because he rendered faithful and efficient service to the Republic when she was poor and sorely in need of his stout heart and resourceful brain. Because he was an honor to the nation, and the nation should honor him.

Barry was descended from that unfortunate people who have no Tell or Washington whose memory they may venerate as the father of their country, who have no day to celebrate as the anniversary of a great victory which gave them a place among the nations of the earth. Erin is depopulated not because her sons and daughters have not loved her green banner and hillsides, but because the political conditions have compelled them to seek their fortunes under other skies and in other countries.

An oppressive and shortsighted government made it impossible for her self-respecting and ambitious young men to remain at home. In their desperation they looked across the sea toward the setting sun for deliverance. They thought and dreamed of the great Republic of the West, where all men were equal before the law, where education was not forbidden, where the avenues to success were not closed, and where merit was rewarded. The Irish youth longed for the time when he could buy or beg his passage across the Atlantic. He came to stay, and became a citizen as soon as the law would allow. He believed in our institutions. He inherited that belief from his fighting ancestors. He inhaled it with his mountain air and imbibed it with his mother's milk. He loved our flag before he saw it, and was always true to that flag and the Government it represents.

In the dark days of the Revolution there were no Tories of Irish birth or blood. There were no Royalists with Hibernian names. They hated oppression and the flag that represented it. They believed in the patriots' cause, and for it they endured the trials of heat and cold, thirst and hunger. On land and sea they fought for the new flag and the government of the people and by the people and for the people until the victory was won. In the second war with Great Britain they again rallied to the standard of their adopted country, with Old Hickory at their head, and in the civil war, when the integrity of the Union was in danger, they contributed their full quota to the Federal armies, while there were comparatively few in the ranks of the Confederacy.

A reference to individuals or a recital of their achievements would be as laborious as unnecessary. Then, of all the men of Irish birth or descent who deserve well of their fellow-citizens, why have Hibernian organizations and students of Irish and American history selected John Barry for this special honor? Because between them and him there is a fellow-feeling—a bond of sympathy. They revere his memory, not only for what he accomplished as a man, but for what he endured as a boy. Their old men experienced it; their young men have read of it. They love him because his early environment did not sour his temper, for he retained his happy disposition through life, and he impersonated in a marked degree the highest characteristics of their nature—loyalty to his plighted faith, patriotism of an exalted type, and fidelity in his affections.

A nation which expends annually \$96,000,000 for the maintenance and development of its powerful and efficient navy can afford to pay this tribute of respect to the memory of its first commander. It has been too long delayed. His name and fame should not be permitted to go into oblivion, but should be kept fresh and green in the hearts of our people. The children of our capital should be prompted to read of him. Visitors to our capital should be prompted to think of him. Our naval officers, who enjoy the luxuries of the modern club on land and the modern battle ship on sea, should be daily reminded of the dangers and trials of naval warfare in the early history of our country. To this end an appropriate monument should be erected in one of our beautiful parks, and dedicated to the memory of John Barry, father of the American Navy.

Special Facilities.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES M. GRIGGS,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 15, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. GRIGGS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: So much has been said about the special-facility paragraph of the bill under consideration, and, in spite of the many discussions of the same previously had in the House, so much misinformation seems to exist, that I may be pardoned for inflicting a plain statement of facts on the House.

This appropriation is intended to expedite the mails between Washington and New Orleans, and that it does expedite the mails will be seen by a reading of the figures which I shall print with these remarks. No portion of any special-facilities fund was expended in the South until 1880. From the appropriation made that year a fast mail service was established on the Atlantic coast from Boston, via New York, Washington, and Richmond, to Charleston, then extended to Savannah and Jacksonville, and eventually to Port Tampa and Habana, making a through fast mail line from the eastern portion of Maine to Habana, Cuba.

This expenditure extended to and included June 30, 1893. During the winter of 1893 that portion of the Coast Line south of Charleston gave notice to the Post-Office Department that it could not longer afford to allow the Department to control its schedule, as it had done under the special-facilities pay, and stated that at the close of that fiscal year, June 30, it would expect to control its own schedule and not receive special-facilities compensation.

At this time there was only one train a day from Washington to New Orleans, La., over the Southern, it being the limited train, No. 37, leaving Washington in the evening and arriving at New Orleans the second morning.

The Post-Office Department was very anxious to have a second train. When it was known that the service was not to be continued on the Coast Line, the officials of the Post-Office Department conferred with the officials of what is now the Southern Railway Company and ascertained that the Southern Railway, together with its connecting lines, would attempt to establish a second through train to New Orleans, leaving Washington about 11 a. m., making connection with the trains from the North, thus forming a through line from the eastern portion of Maine to New Orleans.

This service was inaugurated prior to July 1, the Southern Railway officials preferring to inaugurate it at the spring schedule change instead of in the middle of the summer, and also for the purpose of demonstrating their ability to make the time desired by the Post-Office Department.

This double daily service from Washington to New Orleans continued and seemed satisfactory to the Post-Office Department until 1902, when there was another demand for a fast mail train.

The Southern Railway Company continues to run the second train, established in 1893, by reason of the special facilities, and has also inaugurated a special fast mail train, known as "No. 97," with a schedule as follows:

Leaves New York Monday at 2.05 a. m.; leaves Philadelphia Monday at 4.26 a. m.; leaves Baltimore Monday at 6.30 a. m.; arrives at Washington Monday at 7.30 a. m.; leaves Washington Monday at 8 a. m.; leaves Lynchburg Monday at 12.17 p. m.; leaves Danville Monday at 1.55 p. m.; leaves Greensboro Monday at 3.01 p. m.; leaves Charlotte Monday at 5.25 p. m.; arrives at Atlanta Tuesday at 12.07 a. m., eastern time; leaves Atlanta Monday at 11.15 p. m., central time; leaves Montgomery Tuesday at 3.22 a. m.; leaves Mobile Tuesday at 7.42 a. m.; arrives at Canal street, New Orleans, Tuesday at 11.10 a. m.; arrives at Union Station, New Orleans, Tuesday at 11.30 a. m.

At New Orleans train No. 97 connects with the "Overland limited," that makes fast time to San Francisco, viz: Leaves New Orleans Tuesday at 11.55 a. m.; arrives at Houston Wednesday at 12.05 a. m.; leaves Houston Wednesday at 12.25 a. m.; arrives at San Antonio Wednesday at 7.35 a. m.; leaves San Antonio Wednesday at 9 a. m.; arrives at El Paso Thursday at 9 a. m.; leaves El Paso Thursday at 7.25 a. m., Pacific time; arrives at San Francisco Saturday at 7.10 a. m.

This train from Washington to Atlanta is composed of two postal cars, one mail-storage car, and one express car, a total of four cars, none of them passenger cars.

From Atlanta to New Orleans it carries one 60-foot postal car, one 60-foot mail-storage car, and one coach, a total of three cars. Thus it will be seen that it is a special fast mail. The coach is added in order to make the train a little heavier, it being claimed by railroad authorities that it can make better time with three cars than with two.

It can be seen that this special fast mail train arrives at New Orleans in the morning instead of night, which makes practically a day's difference. It arrives in San Francisco twenty-four hours earlier than it did before the establishment of a fast mail.

At the time special fast-mail train No. 97 was inaugurated it was also arranged to give the people en route as good local service from this train as it was possible to do, and where it did not supply the need for local service to supplement it with another service, it being well understood by the Department that it was impossible to so arrange the schedule of any one train on a long route so that all the local service would be well performed, as well as the through service.

All of the transcontinental service between New York, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City, and the West and New York, Albany, Buffalo, Chicago, and the West is arranged on this basis.

A comparative statement of the service performed by train No. 97 and the original special-facilities train No. 35 may prove interesting.

	No. 97.	Nos. 23-35.
Leaves New York Monday	2.05 a. m.	4.30 a. m.
Leaves Washington Monday	8.00 a. m.	10.51 a. m.
Leaves Charlottesville Monday	10.44 a. m.	1.50 p. m.
Leaves Lynchburg Monday	12.17 p. m.	3.37 p. m.
Leaves Danville Monday	1.50 p. m.	5.33 p. m.
Leaves Greensboro Monday	3.01 p. m.	7.00 p. m.
Leaves Charlotte Monday	5.25 p. m.	10.20 p. m.
Arrives at Atlanta Tuesday (eastern time)	12.07 a. m.	6.10 a. m.
Leaves Atlanta Monday (central time)	11.15 p. m.	5.30 a. m.
Leaves Montgomery Tuesday	3.22 a. m.	11.15 a. m.
Leaves Mobile Tuesday	7.42 a. m.	4.19 p. m.
Arrives at New Orleans Tuesday	11.10 a. m.	8.15 p. m.
Leaves New Orleans Tuesday	11.55 a. m.	9.00 p. m.
Leaves Houston Wednesday	12.25 a. m.	10.15 a. m.
Arrives at San Antonio Wednesday	7.35 a. m.	10.35 a. m.
Leaves San Antonio Wednesday	9.00 a. m.	6.00 p. m.
Arrives at El Paso Thursday	9.00 a. m.	-----
Leaves El Paso Thursday (Pacific time)	7.25 a. m.	-----
Arrives at San Francisco Saturday	7.10 a. m.	-----

^a Tuesday.

The above statement shows the advantage of train No. 97 to the towns on the main line from Washington to New Orleans. The larger cities and towns are on the main line. It will be noted that train No. 97 arrives at New Orleans at 11.10 a. m. instead of 8.15 p. m., which is practically one day. The arrival at San Francisco is twenty-four hours earlier than by the other train.

This train makes several important connections between Washington and Atlanta. Atlanta is the first real distributing point, from which there is a network of connections that very thoroughly cover the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

In imposing fines and deductions the Post-Office Department treats train No. 37, that leaves Washington at 10.45 p. m. with a postal car for New Orleans, as a special-facilities train, and imposes fines on that train as well as train No. 97. In every instance in which a special-facilities train fails to arrive at the terminus of the route on its running time (within six minutes) the whole of the special-facilities pay for the entire run is deducted.

It is claimed by the opponents of this appropriation that it is unnecessary, and the fast-mail trains on the northern and western railroads are used as illustrations of the truth of this claim. Gentlemen ought to know that the same rule which controls in the thickly populated States of the North and West, settled almost entirely by white people, can not be properly applied to the more sparsely settled South, the population of almost half of which is made up of illiterate negroes.

In this connection I have obtained from the Second Assistant Postmaster-General a comparison of the weight of the mail carried on the Burlington route from Chicago to Omaha and that carried by the railways making up the southern fast-mail system. It will be seen by a simple inspection of the figures that the average amount carried on the Burlington route is about three times as much as that carried over the route from Washington to New Orleans. True, no special-facilities pay is given the Burlington route, for the amount of mail handled is ample pay for the special-facilities train. For one-third that amount of mail the Burlington route would undoubtedly refuse to run a special fast-mail train.

The Burlington route is enabled to get this heavy mail by the concentration of mail for the West at Chicago, all of which is given to that road as pay for its fast mail train. All of the southern mail is likewise concentrated at Washington and given the Southern Railway, but all of it, as you will see by an inspection

of this table, is about one-third of that mail carried by the Burlington.

The importance of a fast mail service between the South and Southwest and the North and East need not be discussed. It is strictly a matter of business that everyone will understand without even a suggestion from me.

A comparison between the Burlington routes from Chicago to Union Pacific transfer and the Southern and other railways, making up the special-facilities lines between Washington, D. C., and New Orleans, La., showing the difference in weight of mail, is given below:

[Chicago to Council Bluffs, 500 miles.]

Route.	Termini.	Weight, 1899.	Weight, 1901.
135007	Chicago to Burlington	Pounds. 138,074	Pounds. 182,336
143005	Burlington to Union Pacific transfer	104,135	146,954

[Washington to Atlanta, 648 miles.]

Route.	Termini.	Weight, 1900.	Weight, 1901.
114002	Washington to Danville	Pounds. 87,637	Pounds. 107,578
118013	Danville to Charlotte	59,502	-----
118049	Charlotte to Atlanta	-----	-----

[Atlanta to New Orleans, 490 miles.]

Route.	Termini.	Weight, 1900.
121003	Atlanta to Montgomery	Pounds. 22,803
124012	Montgomery to New Orleans	30,736

Another letter from the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, which I shall insert, shows the distribution of the mail over north, middle, and southern Georgia from Atlanta. Eastern Georgia is supplied via Augusta. The same train which carries the fast mail to Macon and throughout my district supplies all eastern Alabama. The New Orleans train supplies middle Alabama and southern Mississippi, and the Birmingham train supplies northern Alabama and Mississippi.

Gentlemen say the mail is not expedited. Most of the gentlemen who make this claim oppose the appropriation for very different reasons, however, as I shall show later on.

This is the letter:

JANUARY 18, 1904.

Hon. J. M. GRIGGS,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: When I was before the subcommittee of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads on Friday last you asked to be furnished with information as to what trains leave Atlanta for Rome, Macon, Albany, and Thomasville, taking up connection at Atlanta from special-facilities trains 97 and 37 from Washington to New Orleans. The following statement gives the information desired:

Train No. 97 leaves Washington 8 a. m.; arrives Atlanta 12.07 a. m. via Greensboro and Atlanta railroad post-office; arrives Rome 7.33 a. m. via Chattanooga, Rome, and Atlanta railroad post-office No. 13; arrives Macon 4 a. m. via Atlanta, Macon, and Montgomery railroad post-office No. 14; arrives Albany 7.15 a. m. via Atlanta, Macon, and Montgomery railroad post-office No. 11; arrives Thomasville 10.30 a. m. via Albany and Thomasville express No. 74.

Train 37 leaves Washington 10.45 p. m.; arrives Atlanta 4.55 p. m. via Greensboro and Atlanta railroad post-office; arrives Rome 7.20 p. m. via Chattanooga, Rome, and Atlanta railroad post-office No. 15; arrives Macon 7.20 p. m. via Atlanta, Macon, and Montgomery railroad post-office No. 7; arrives Albany 11.25 p. m. via Atlanta, Macon, and Montgomery railroad post-office; arrives Thomasville^a 10.30 a. m.

Very respectfully,

W. S. SHALLENBERGER,
Second Assistant Postmaster-General.

These are the two special-facility trains.

Train No. 97, which is an exclusive mail train, you see, runs the 648 miles from Washington to Atlanta at the rate of 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. The entire distance from Washington to New Orleans is run at the rate of 40.6 miles an hour. This includes all stops, transfers, and changes of engines. This strikes me as "running some." The train makes a difference, as I have already suggested, of one entire day to the business men of New Orleans and farther west.

So much has been said about the opposition of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General to this appropriation that I deem it proper to call attention here to some of his statements made before the Post-Office Committee. I read:

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I will say that I have not regarded it as of service to the Government, but that it is of service to the communities there is no question. It is of special service to the communities reached; but when you ask me whether I consider it of service to the general postal administration, I will say that I have not so considered it and have not recommended it for several years. My predecessor, I believe, did not recommend it, the reason for that being that it seems to be a special privilege given to one section and several railway systems that is not given to railway systems in every section.

^a Train 37 has no direct connection for Thomasville. The mail remains at Albany until the arrival of mails from train 97, the latter having the direct connection.

and the general administration of the office would be more pleasant for me, and more impartial, if I could say to all systems and communities that there is no special appropriation out of which I could pay for expedited service.

Now, Congress having viewed this question from this standpoint and having decided year by year that they would continue the appropriation, and they having charged me with getting compensating advantages, I have so arranged these trains and their schedules, approved by the Department, on the condition that unless they do perform this special service, which other roads are not required to do, we simply do not give the special facility pay.

Train No. 97 makes a speed of 40.18 from Washington to Atlanta. From Atlanta to Montgomery the speed is 42.02. From Montgomery to New Orleans it is 39.45.

Train No. 37, from Washington to Atlanta, 35.36 miles; from Atlanta to Montgomery, 34.32, and from Montgomery to New Orleans, 35.36 miles.

The rule that has prevailed and does prevail is that other traffic must be considered in connection with the mail traffic. Where there is a sufficiency of high-class passenger traffic to justify fast trains, and where the competition is sufficient, we get this service, and easily get it, but where there is not the same traffic and not the same competition we find it much more difficult to secure the service.

I am not prepared to say what the comparative result would be if there were no special facilities, whether delays would be greater and more numerous or not. I simply say that the payment of this money is denied the company unless the special speed is maintained.

Of course the entire section of the country must be considered as getting the benefits. If we consider it as a through service from Washington to New Orleans, then, of course, Atlanta receives the mail by a very quick schedule, which is maintained within five minutes, and it necessarily receives for the entire section south and west of Atlanta those advantages.

By considerable correspondence we secured from the Southern Pacific a willingness to change the schedule of their train about two hours at New Orleans in order to make connections with this special train from the north. We make connections there for points on the Pacific coast. We make connections for Tucson and Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Mr. GRIGGS. Will you please answer me a question or two? Do you put a penalty on the Southern Railway if it fails to make its schedule to Atlanta?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes; if the delay is five minutes.

Mr. GRIGGS. And then do you put a penalty on the Western of Alabama train if that company fails to make its schedule there?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRIGGS. And do you put a penalty on the train to New Orleans if it fails to make its time there?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRIGGS. Then you do not consider it one entire line and put a penalty on it if it is late at New Orleans, but you have these two intermediate points, Atlanta and Montgomery, for failure to reach which on schedule time you put a penalty on the lines for those particular points?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. In other words, you understand if either one of these three trains should fail to keep its schedule by as much as five minutes, and the others make their schedules, we would make the deduction from the one failing to make the schedule, but no deduction from the others.

Mr. GRIGGS. But if all three fail you would make a deduction from all three?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRIGGS. And if either one failed you would make a deduction from that one?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir. We regard it of more importance that we should get the through mail from New York to St. Paul on a saving of eight to twelve hours than that we should secure the expedition of a certain train from New York to Buffalo, regardless of how much that expedition might be, for the reason that when we send a volume of mail to St. Paul on a greatly expedited schedule it inevitably induces the lines west of it to expedite their schedules so as to reap the advantage of it, and when we get a trunk line expedited we can rest assured that all connecting lines will be expedited. In this case we could not rest until we had secured from the Southern Pacific a willingness to change its time so as to connect with the train of the Louisville and Nashville entering New Orleans, so as to give the Pacific coast this advantage. And all of the Texas lines and the Pacific coast also get that advantage.

Mr. GRIGGS. And this train, if I make it correctly from the schedule as put down here by the general superintendent, makes a schedule between Washington and New Orleans of twenty-seven and one-half hours. That would be a little over 40 miles an hour for the continuous trip of 1,142 miles.

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. GRIGGS. Is not that a fast schedule?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. We regard it as a very fast schedule.

Mr. GRIGGS. Is there any single-track railroad in the United States that makes it in ordinary passenger or mail service?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I doubt it. I am not prepared to say whether any single-track railroad makes that.

Mr. GRIGGS. Or any combination of single-track railroads in the United States? Now, this schedule of 40 miles an hour—40.4, or something like that—you do not mean to say that that is the actual running time of the trains between particular points, but that includes all delays necessary for change of mail at Atlanta, change of mail at Montgomery, and change of mail in Charlotte?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. It includes stops.

Mr. GRIGGS. That includes all stops, and would you not call that a very fast train running from Washington to New Orleans on three single-track railroads, involving changes of engines and mails?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. We would regard it as a fast schedule anywhere in the country. It is a very fast schedule.

Mr. GRIGGS. In your opinion, could New Orleans and Atlanta be reached from New York and Washington as quickly without this appropriation as with it?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I am not prepared to say that. I do not know what effect it would have, the withdrawing of this appropriation.

Mr. GRIGGS. You would not say that you could keep it up?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I would not say that I could or could not.

Mr. MOON. You would rather not have it by reason of its interfering with the administration of your office?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I would rather not recommend any change of this kind that would make it necessary for me to consider the propriety of extending it to other sections.

Mr. GRIGGS. Your failure to recommend this service is due to the effect it might have in your dealing, the unpleasantness it might make for you in dealing with the other railroads in the other sections of the country about the same thing?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. Yes; feeling as I do regarding the entire railway system of the United States as a unit in the administration of my office, I believe that I would be justified in recommending a special facility for other sections and other systems if I continued to recommend this—

Mr. STAFFORD. And is the mail of sufficient quantity and are there sufficient railroads to make it an inducement to make them put on the fast mail trains, as they are put on in other parts of the country?

Mr. SHALLENBERGER. I doubt that, but I am not positive of it. The Southern road has put on that exclusive mail train within the past year, as has been stated, in order to relieve it from the necessity of carrying on regular trains an amount of mail which seemed to retard their speed.

Many of my friends on this side of the House run away from the word "subsidy." So far as I am concerned I was never afraid of words. The entire postal system is on a subsidy basis. We expedite the mails to the farmers by rural delivery, the Government losing on every route. Nobody calls that a subsidy, but it is done for no other purpose than to expedite the mails to the farmers. It ought to be done, and nobody objects to it. There seems to be a continual contest over the fatherhood of it. I don't care who is its father. I believe, with a certain distinguished admiral, that "There is glory enough for all" in it. I will illustrate again: The county town of Morgan, in my district, is 8 miles from Leary and 5 miles from Williamsburg, the nearest railroad points. For many years there was a double daily star-route service from Leary at about \$300 a year. This became unsatisfactory to the citizens of the town because their first mail arrived at 12.30 p. m., four hours after the passage of the train with the morning papers. They asked me to see if I could expedite their mails.

I referred the matter to the Post-Office Department, and now a messenger from the Morgan post-office meets every train at Williamsburg, and every mail is delivered at the Morgan post-office one hour after its arrival at Williamsburg. I am informed that this service costs between five hundred and six hundred dollars a year. This is simply to expedite the mails in Calhoun County, and nobody questions its propriety. It is just as much a subsidy as the money paid those railroads for expediting the mails from Washington to New Orleans.

As I said before, the gentlemen who claim that the mails are not expedited by this so-called "subsidy" are opposed to it not for that reason, but because they believe it to be a subsidy.

The one question, it seems to me, with anybody in this connection should be, "Does it expedite the mails?" If so, the appropriation is as legitimate as that for the star-route or free-delivery service.

That it does expedite the mails between Washington and New Orleans and is a vast benefit to a large section of our country ought to be unquestioned after all the facts are known.

I have tried to present these facts clearly, so that "he who runs may read." [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

REMARKS

OF

HON. BURLEIGH F. SPALDING,

OF NORTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 24, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. SPALDING said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I recognize that my proposed amendment is subject to a point of order as being new legislation on an appropriation bill; but I desire, in a word, to explain the conditions which it is intended to remedy and which I think will commend this proposition to the attention of the chairman of this committee and the House and I hope result in his waiving the point of order. With my colleague I represent here 400,000 people, who at the end of the last fiscal year had about thirty-five rural free routes only. There is a strip of land through my State 110 miles wide and 400 miles long in which the farms probably average more than 3,000 acres each and in which for each family there are from 12 to 150 people.

Were the free-delivery service extended there under the regulations of the Post-Office Department to the extent which it ought to be, every one of those people would be a patron of some one of these different routes. But under the regulations the families served are counted as a basis for establishing routes, not the people. To illustrate, I received yesterday a letter from the proprietor of a farm a short distance off one of these proposed routes. The gentleman who wrote me, and his neighbor, have on their two farms, during a goodly portion of the year, more than 300 people who would be receiving and sending out more mail matter than all the other 98 families on the route. Yet these 300 people count for only 2 families. And the result is, as I have said, that in our State, with 400,000 or more people, we have, according to

the last report of the Post-Office Department, only 35 routes, while on the average, if the routes were properly established, they would serve more people than they serve on the average in thickly settled communities.

All that we ask is that the matter be left in such shape that the Post-Office Department can under proper regulations take into consideration the number of people served, and in this way comply with the true spirit of the law.

Gentlemen from some of the Southern States have complained that their section is not properly and fairly treated, but I believe that there are few, if any, States where the Department regulations for the establishment of rural routes have worked so marked an injustice to an educated and reading public as in North Dakota.

Five and five-tenths per cent of the whole population is illiterate. Deducting the Indians, this leaves only a small fraction of 1 per cent of the population who can not read and write.

I said that at the last report of the Post-Office Department, which was June 30 last, we had only 35 routes. To bring the figures nearly down to date, on February 1 there were 47 routes established. This is 1 for every 7,000 population. Georgia, with 30.5 per cent of its population illiterate, had on that date 1 route to 2,900 population; Kentucky, with 16.5 per cent illiterate, 1 route to 7,000; Mississippi, 32 per cent illiterate, 1 route to 11,100; North Carolina, 28.7 per cent illiterate, 1 to 3,700; South Carolina, 35.9 per cent illiterate, 1 to 4,300; Tennessee, 20.7 per cent, 1 to 2,100; Virginia, 22.9 per cent, 1 to 3,900; while Wisconsin has 1 to 1,600; Vermont, 1 to 1,500; Ohio, 1 to 1,500; New York, 1 to 1,600; Kansas, 1 to 1,200; Iowa, 1 to 1,070, and other States in proportion. The only States suffering by comparison with North Dakota are Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, and Wyoming.

These figures are approximately correct, though not carried into small numbers, and are based on the rural population, excluding cities of over 10,000 inhabitants each.

The treatment of my State has not been without protest from its Congressional delegation, but the officials having charge of the establishment of such routes have, for lack of funds, been

unable to establish all routes asked for, and have to some extent, I suppose, established those serving the most families. This results in those States having the smallest farms and the less progressive and enterprising people getting the most routes.

I contend that families as the sole basis on which to establish routes is unfair and inequitable; that there should be some consideration, in these days when large families are again coming into fashion, to numbers, and particularly when they are the result of obedience to and regard for the law and carry no suspicion of polygamy or plural marriage.

The fact is that the large farms for nine months in the year employ large numbers of men, each of whom receives and sends mail.

There should be some fairly equitable distribution of routes among the States in proportion to the population and number of applications.

Mr. Chairman, the dweller in the village and on the small farm comes in daily contact with his neighbor and the outside world; he is entitled to fair treatment, but not at the expense of the farmer on the prairie, isolated from his kind. The isolated farmer is the one who receives the greatest benefit, and next to him, the great world, brought in contact with him by this mail service, is benefited. He is led to feel an interest in the great world beyond his neighborhood, and a daily paper cultivates in him, his family, and employees a taste for news. He is brought in closer touch with politics. He can scan the markets daily. His wife and children can correspond with friends, and the farm life is made brighter and happier. The paper is the substitute for a visit to town and the letter is second only to the hand grasp of relatives and friends.

By restricting the service to communities of small farms we place the thrift and enterprise of the man who can own and operate a large farm or a ranch at a disadvantage which he in no way deserves.

I therefore repeat that I hope the point of order will be withdrawn and this amendment, which will show the Department that it is the wish of this House that the people who are my constituents shall be liberally and fairly dealt with, be adopted.

Rural free delivery, February 1, 1904.

State or Territory.	Population in 1900.	Density of population.	Per cent of illiteracy.	Total number of petitions filed.	Total number favorably reported.	Total number adversely reported.	Total number of routes established.	One route for every—	Total number of petitions pending.
Alabama	1,828,097	35.5		646	254	196	245		196
Arizona	122,931	1.1		9	8	1	8		
Arkansas	1,311,564	24.7	20.4	96	66	7	62	20,000	23
California	1,485,083	9.5	4.8	264	190	49	190	4,400	25
Colorado	539,709	5.2	4.2	114	62	45	61	5,400	7
Connecticut	908,429	187.5	5.9	237	201	22	201	2,100	14
Delaware	184,735	94.3	12.0	118	100	11	85	5,000	7
District of Columbia	4,645.3	9.7		3	2	1	2		
Florida	278,718	4.6	21.9	39	18	8	18	25,000	13
Georgia	528,432	47.6	30.0	1,582	691	463	675	2,900	428
Hawaii	216,331	28.9		1	1	1	1		
Idaho	154,001	1.9	4.6	43	24	16	24	7,000	3
Illinois	4,821,550	86.1	4.2	2,553	1,877	359	1,843	1,400	317
Indiana	2,516,462	70.1	4.6	2,065	1,569	285	1,508	1,250	211
Indian Territory	392,060	12.6		9	2	2	2		6
Iowa	2,231,853	40.2	2.3	2,272	1,749	330	1,719	1,070	193
Kansas	1,470,495	18.0	2.9	1,510	1,084	243	1,032	1,200	181
Kentucky	2,147,174	53.7	16.5	530	285	79	279	7,000	166
Louisiana	1,381,625	30.4	38.5	33	11	5	11	67,000	17
Maine	694,466	23.2	5.1	400	296	57	289	1,100	50
Maryland	1,188,044	120.5	11.1	397	319	50	314	2,000	28
Massachusetts	2,865,246	348.9	5.9	230	178	21	177	3,700	31
Michigan	2,420,892	42.2	4.2	1,672	1,251	226	1,231	1,300	195
Minnesota	1,751,394	22.1	4.1	1,249	818	139	793	1,600	292
Mississippi	1,551,270	33.5	32.0	329	138	40	133	11,100	151
Missouri	3,106,665	45.2	6.4	1,541	1,108	176	1,089	2,000	257
Montana	243,220	1.7	6.1	23	12	8	11	17,000	3
Nebraska	1,096,300	13.9	2.3	944	640	193	624	1,400	111
Nevada	42,835	4	13.3	2	1	1	1	42,300	
New Hampshire	411,588	45.7	6.2	201	148	24	146	1,700	29
New Jersey	1,833,669	250.3	5.9	197	151	29	148	4,900	20
New Mexico	195,310	1.6		3	3		3		
New York	7,298,894	152.6	5.5	1,762	1,381	257	1,395	1,600	124
North Carolina	1,893,810	39.0	28.7	1,060	485	376	480	3,700	229
North Dakota	319,570	15.2	5.6	150	49	46	47	7,000	55
Ohio	4,157,545	102.0	4.0	2,377	1,723	381	1,671	1,500	273
Oklahoma	398,331	10.3		272	161	23	133		88
Oregon	413,536	4.4	3.3	160	114	26	114	2,800	20
Pennsylvania	6,302,115	140.1	6.1	1,805	1,287	292	1,244	2,600	226
Rhode Island	428,556	407.0	8.4	29	23	4	23	3,500	2
South Carolina	1,340,316	44.4	35.9	737	289	305	286	4,300	143
South Dakota	401,570	15.2	5.0	262	141	50	140	2,800	71
Tennessee	2,020,616	48.4	20.7	1,631	944	308	902	2,100	379
Texas	3,048,710	11.6	14.5	901	563	123	532	4,800	185
Utah	276,748	3.4	3.1	48	30	16	30	6,900	2
Vermont	343,641	37.6	5.8	271	199	44	197	1,500	28
Virginia	1,857,184	46.2	22.9	894	437	269	427	3,900	188
Washington	518,163	7.7	3.1	134	91	25	87	4,000	18
West Virginia	958,800	38.9	11.4	180	132	38	128	6,900	10
Wisconsin	2,069,042	38.0	4.7	1,269	939	130	894	1,600	200
Wyoming	92,531	.9	4.0	9	5	4	5	14,000	
Total				33,293	22,276	5,800	21,660		5,317

Promotions in the Engineer Corps.

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALBERT S. BURLERSON,
OF TEXAS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, March 21, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 10670) making appropriation for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURLERSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Owing to the insufficient number of officers of the higher grades in the Engineer Corps of the United States Army, many projects of internal improvement of vast importance to the commercial and agricultural classes of our country are being neglected. This is especially true of the southern section. The necessary improvement of rivers and harbors, which have been most carefully considered, approved, and provided for by ample appropriation in river and harbor bills which have become law, are delayed and hindered because we have not made provision for a sufficient number of competent engineers to supervise and direct these improvements.

On the 8th day of this month the senior Senator from Texas, when the military appropriation bill was pending before the Senate, in order to remedy this evil of which I have spoken offered an amendment to that bill. This amendment was in accord with the recommendation of the Secretary of War made on the 30th day of January, 1904, which recommendation of Secretary Root was based on a carefully formulated report of the General Staff relating to an increase of the Engineer Corps of the Army.

This amendment, as offered by the Senator from Texas, would, if adopted, afford prompt relief, but when same was offered the senior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], who had charge of the bill, declined to accept it. However, he declared the necessity for some such amendment and expressed his willingness to acquiesce in same if it was modified so as to conform to the recommendation of the Secretary of War made in 1901. This action was taken.

I now desire to direct your attention to reasons which imperatively demand, in my judgment, the embodiment of the provisions of the amendment as originally offered by the Senator from Texas in the army appropriation bill instead of the one adopted by the Senate. The amendment reads as follows: "That the Corps of Engineers shall consist of one Chief of Engineers with the rank of brigadier-general, of twelve colonels, eighteen lieutenant-colonels, thirty-six majors, forty captains, forty first-lieutenants, and thirty-eight second lieutenants." If this can be done by the conferees, it will increase the Corps of Engineers to an extent which will enable the work on improvement of our rivers and harbors to progress rapidly and satisfactorily.

It is admitted by everyone that we now have an insufficient number of engineer officers. In consequence of this fact all Government work on rivers and harbors lags far behind what it should be, at least such is the case in my section, and especially on one project which I have in mind.

In support of my contention for an increase of engineers, I wish to call your attention to some remarks made by the Hon. T. E. BURTON, the learned and distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, on the 22d day of last February. In explanation of the omission to pass a river and harbor bill this session, Mr. BURTON said:

Thirty-eight millions of dollars are now lying in the Treasury available for river and harbor improvements, nearly twice as great an amount as was ever expended in a single year. The sundry civil bill will carry probably an additional amount of \$3,000,000, making in all \$46,000,000.

That makes \$46,000,000 to be expended the coming year, more than twice as much as was expended in any single year since the beginning of river and harbor improvements. What does that show? That it would be futile to pass a river and harbor bill with this situation. If there is any lack of promptness in the prosecution of that class of public work, the blame rests with the machinery of the executive department, which carries out the will of Congress. It is our intention to bring in a bill carrying an amount sufficient to maintain the work not expressly provided for. Thus, if any reproach can rest upon this side of the House, or upon anybody, I am willing to take the reproach myself, because, as it seems to me, it was a sensible thing to do under the circumstances. * * * I think the system is wrong. The work, as prosecuted by the engineers engaged—not from their fault, but because of the insufficient number of them—proceeds tardily.

Furthermore, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the increase of twenty-five officers asked for in the report of the Secretary of War and recommended by the General Staff will not have the immediate effect of increasing the number of officers in the Army to that extent. It is the purpose to allow about six years to complete the full number authorized. During this period the War Department can assign each year a larger number of graduates of the Military Academy to the Corps of Engineers, and thus complete the quota. The young men who graduate at the

head of their classes at the United States Military Academy are assigned to this branch of the army service, and whereas they are thoroughly equipped with a technical knowledge of the science of engineering they are without practical experience, and can only obtain this by serving under the more seasoned officers.

All graduates assigned to this corps take the rank of second lieutenant. If this increase can be made, then to give symmetry to the corps and to coordinate and systematize its work certain promotions necessarily follow. It is true the increase will be mainly in the grade of field officers. In explanation of this fact I desire to submit for your consideration this suggestion:

This increase in field officers will enable the Chief of Engineers to reappropriate the United States into engineering districts, increasing the number. It is this action which will bring speedy relief. An increase in the number of field officers who have had much practical experience is what is desired, rather than the slow process of increasing the number of the corps by adding lieutenants as they emerge from the Military Academy.

Permit me to direct attention to this further fact:

In the army bill of 1901 the Corps of Engineers was increased from 127 to 160, but there was no increase in the field officers, such increase in 1901 being 5 captains, 10 first lieutenants, and 16 second lieutenants, giving as a result 49 field officers for a total of 159 officers and reducing very materially the rate of promotion which had existed for thirty-five years.

The last increase being in captains and lieutenants, the present proposed increase should be mainly in field officers, and the two increases should be considered together, and so considered would be a combined increase of seventeen field officers, five captains, ten first lieutenants, and twenty-six second lieutenants. Such combined increase does not restore the ratio of field officers which existed prior to 1901, and the rate of promotion resulting would be slower under the new organization than it was up to 1901.

I wish to invite your attention further to the fact that the sums disbursed by the Corps of Engineers have increased in thirteen years from \$13,000,000 to \$24,000,000 annually.

In 1901 the military duties of the Corps of Engineers were increased by adding two battalions of engineers to the one already existing. This required thirty additional officers, but this increase of officers was incommensurate with the increased needs and there was a net loss in the Corps of Engineers to be assigned to river and harbor work of two majors, three captains, and two first lieutenants.

In our insular possessions engineer officers have been called upon for various duties, such as harbor improvements, road-making, light-house construction, etc., and soon a number will be required for fortification work, as will be seen in the fortification appropriation bill now pending.

In general, the civil and military duties of the Corps of Engineers have been rapidly increasing in late years, and they promise to continue increasing.

The number of engineer officers is absolutely insufficient to give proper attention to the varied duties which have been combined and imposed upon them to such an extent that the interests of the public are suffering. As so well stated by Mr. BURTON—

The existing system is wrong, and the work prosecuted by them—not from their fault, but because of the insufficient number of them—proceeds tardily.

The amendment as offered by the Senator from Texas will restore in part the conditions which existed before the act of 1901. Under the present system it frequently happens that those cadets who graduate at West Point with the highest honors are for a few years outstripped in rank and promotion by their juniors in other branches of the service. The acceptance of the provisions of the proposed amendment will, in part, correct this inequality.

Under the terms of the amendment as originally offered and as recommended by the Secretary of War and the General Staff it will be about six years before the full corps will be completed, and the extra cost will be as follows:

	Num-ber.	Length of serv-ice. Years upon which pay com-puted.	In-creased pay each per annum.	Increase distrib-uted.	Increase imme-diate.
Lieutenant-colonels to be made colonels	5	20	\$500	.....	\$2,500
Majors to be made lieutenant-colonels	9	20	500	.....	4,500
Captains to be made majors	17	20	700	.....	11,900
First lieutenants to be made captains	17	10	480	.....	8,160
Second lieutenants to be made first lieutenants	17	5	110	.....	1,870
Total					28,930
Second lieutenants added	25		1,500	\$37,500	

Probable annual increase in cost over present establishment.

First year.....	\$28,930
Second year.....	36,430
Third year.....	43,930
Fourth year.....	51,430
Fifth year.....	58,930
Sixth year.....	66,430

Net increase in corps, 25 officers.

To demonstrate the necessity of this amendment, I invite your attention to the fact that in recent years a large number of engineer officers have been taken from the civil river and harbor improvement work and assigned to military engineering work all over the United States and in our recently acquired insular possessions. Note this fact.

In 1893 there were seventy-four officers in the Engineering Corps who were engaged in the civil river and harbor improvement work. There are now only fifty-six officers who are engaged in this work, and that notwithstanding the fact that sixty additional projects have been added to those which were in existence in 1893.

The lack of officers has compelled the consolidation of important districts to the great detriment of efficient work, so that there are now only forty-eight districts instead of fifty-six, the number in 1893.

The character of work and the large expenditure of money that is placed in the hands of the Corps of Engineers not only call for an increase in their number, but demand officers of higher rank and of large and varied experience to carry to successful completion the many projects assigned to them.

The officers who will be promoted are men who have had many years of experience and have been long in the service. Considering the transcendent importance of the work assigned to them and the onerous responsibility with which they are invested, it occurs to me that the small amount of money which will be spent in the increase of their salaries will be abundantly justified by the large savings which will result from their personal supervision of the engineering work, and the close attention that they will be enabled to give to the details of all projects.

The General Staff and the Secretary of War have made an extended and complete examination of this matter.

The amendment offered by the Senator from Texas was drawn to embody their views. It does not conflict in its provisions with any other branch of the service.

Its adoption will be of infinite benefit to the civil river and harbor improvement work of the United States.

Its purpose is to provide for such reasonable increase in the rank and number of officers as will enable the civil river and harbor improvement work and other important work to proceed more rapidly and satisfactorily.

Mr. Speaker, these are the considerations which first moved me to interest myself in an effort to secure an increase in the Corps of Engineers; but, sir, there is another reason why this action should be taken—it will enable a too long delayed justice to be done to a meritorious class of officers.

In this connection I wish to call your especial attention to the question of promotion.

I now submit for your consideration a statement of the average time an officer serves in the different branches of the Army before his promotion.

First, the average time he serves before he receives his promotion as colonel.

Second, the average time he serves before he receives his promotion as lieutenant-colonel.

Third, the average time he serves before he receives his promotion as major.

Infantry.—To be colonel, 36 years 11 months 22 days; to be lieutenant-colonel, 30 years 5 months 6 days; to be major, 26 years 1 month 17 days.

Cavalry.—To be colonel, 34 years 6 months 1 day; to be lieutenant-colonel, 33 years 3 months 27 days; to be major, 27 years 5 months 27 days.

Corps of Engineers.—To be colonel, 40 years 1 month 17 days; to be lieutenant-colonel, 36 years 5 months 7 days; to be major, 29 years 2 months.

Artillery.—To be colonel, 38 years 8 months 4 days; to be lieutenant-colonel, 37 years 6 months 1 day; to be major, 30 years 9 months 22 days.

This amendment will change the average of the Engineer Corps to the following:

To be colonel, 39 years, 7 months; to be lieutenant-colonel, 36 years 1 month 13 days; to be major, 26 years 10 months 29 days.

Inasmuch as the first numbers of the class of cadets from West Point are selected for the Engineer Corps, it does seem they should be encouraged to obtain at least the rank of major in the Corps of Engineers as early as in any other branch of the Army.

The great responsibility with which they are charged in the expenditure of millions of dollars for the improvement of the rivers and harbors, the building of fortifications, bridges, public build-

ings, light-house construction, etc., should, to say the least, warrant the assertion that they are entitled to some consideration.

To illustrate how the Engineer Corps is left in the rear in comparison with other branches of the Army, I call your attention to the following:

There are Lieutenant-Colonels Miller, M. B. Adams, Livermore, Heuer, and Stanton, Engineer Corps, who have served thirty-eight years and ten months and were in the same class with Brigadier-Generals Bates, paymaster; Story, artillery; Barton, inspector-general; Colonels J. M. Marshall, quartermaster, and Mills, artillery, who have served thirty-eight years and ten months.

Other comparisons may be shown farther down the line, but I think perhaps this is sufficient to show you how the matter stands.

From the above you will observe that there is little encouragement held out to those who stand first in their class to have an assignment in the Engineer Corps. I understand that many of them are seeking other branches of the Army in order to seek a more rapid promotion.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope the conferees on the military appropriation bill will embody within the bill the provisions of the amendment as originally offered by the Senator from Texas, not alone because it will further the general public interest, but also to award tardy justice to a worthy and deserving corps of officers.

United States Mint at Denver, Colo.

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANKLIN E. BROOKS,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 1, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 14416) making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. BROOKS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I hope the amendment which I have sought to have made to this bill will be adopted. It carries a somewhat large sum, but I feel sure the House will consider both the amount and the purpose proper. It is also of great importance to my constituents.

It contemplates no new undertaking, it initiates no new plan, and calls for no new operation. It simply provides means for carrying on the work already begun and rendering available the large investment which the Government has already made in the Denver mint. Thus far this mint has cost about \$929,000, of which \$800,000 has been expended for a building and site. The work has been progressing since 1897, and the building, which is a large and commodious structure, is nearly completed.

The appropriation now asked for at the hands of the House amounts to \$95,055. It is to be expended for the fittings, machinery, and supplies necessary to complete the mint as a coinage mint, and to begin operations. It was made the subject of a direct request from the Treasury Department, and a report and carefully detailed statement was furnished the committee, showing the exact purposes to which the money is to be applied.

The previous appropriations for this purpose carried \$225,000. Of this amount \$129,400 has already been expended or is necessary to meet payments on existing contracts, leaving available \$95,600. It will require \$185,655 to meet the estimates of the Secretary, leaving the previously mentioned sum of \$90,055 to be provided at this time. The interior of the building is now ready for the installation of machinery, and the Secretary of the Treasury states that the complete equipment will be needed on or about July 1 of the current year. Much of it has already been purchased and some is now being set up. A portion of it is to be exhibited at the St. Louis exposition, and a portion of the remainder is ready for installation.

If this amendment does not carry and the Treasury Department is thereby unable to carry out its plans and buy the necessary machinery, the work will be delayed for at least a year after July 1, 1904, and until Congress shall supply the deficiency. The Government's large investment of nearly \$1,000,000 will be absolutely inoperative for that time, the people of Colorado, who have been looking forward anxiously for the completion of the Government's work, will be disappointed and severely inconvenienced, and the Department will have to carry on its operations at the Denver mint in the present unsuitable and highly inadequate quarters.

The present building is old, unsafe, and un-fireproof, and also entirely too small for the work for which it is designed. Under the very efficient administration of the present officials of the

mint the business has been very large. It is not a coinage mint, and yet it compares very favorably in the volume of business with some of the coinage mints, and it surpasses in the volume of business any other mint in the United States of similar class, with the exception of that at New York City. During the year ending December 31, 1902, the deposits and purchases of gold and silver aggregated \$16,240,000. At the New York mint these aggregated \$50,458,000, and at the next largest mint, where no coinage was done, at Seattle, Wash., they aggregated \$11,811,000.

At the San Francisco coinage mint the deposits and purchases of gold and silver were only \$41,097,000, and at the New Orleans mint the totals were \$449,634.

It is submitted that such a volume of business in the precious metals warrants me in requesting on behalf of my State very liberal treatment from the House. Moreover, the local situation is such as to call for attention. Denver is the largest commercial center of the largest gold and silver producing section of the United States. It is much the largest city of the Rocky Mountain region, which annually pours its great flood of precious metals into the Treasury of the country.

Colorado alone, in the year ending December 31, 1902, produced, according to the figures furnished by the Director of the Mint, the very large sum of \$56,813,000, of which sum \$49,000,000, in round numbers, was in gold and silver, or pretty nearly one-third of the total output of the United States for that year in the two metals, this output being, as furnished by the same authority, \$151,750,000.

As compared with California, the next greatest producer of gold, the figures for the same period are:

California.....	\$16,910,000
Colorado.....	28,516,000

In silver, compared with Montana, the second silver State, the figures are:

Montana.....	\$17,622,000
Colorado.....	20,429,000

With a coinage mint Denver will be the natural and most convenient market for the product of the mines of South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, and New Mexico, with an aggregate gold and silver production for the same period of \$37,680,000, which, added to Colorado's output, makes a grand total of \$86,890,000, or nearly 60 per cent of the total precious mineral production of the United States.

These figures as to production, except the aggregate of gold and silver in the United States, are from the estimates of the several officers requested by the Government to furnish these statistics. The aggregate production of the several States is from the compilation of the Director of the Mint and is slightly less than the aggregate of the estimates of the individual officials. That the gold and silver from this great and productive region should be sent to either one or the other extremity of the continent and not be reduced and placed in circulation from its own metropolis is certainly an unwarranted discrimination.

From considerations of economy in the Government's expenses it seems clear also that the same argument should prevail. At present the precious metals of this region are shipped in bullion or in their semi-refined state from the smelters on an average 2,000 miles to reach the nearest of the three coinage mints. Gold and silver circulate more freely in the ordinary commercial transactions in this region than in the States farther east, and there is also a demand for currency as such. Therefore a large part of the coinage of the seaboard mints finds its way back to the mountain States for actual use. There is therefore the double expense of taking the metal to the mint and bringing it back to the locality where it is needed, which is very considerable.

The commercial needs of this region are large and rapidly increasing. It is becoming a great agricultural region, whose products find their way into every market. The value of the agriculture and grazing products of the State now exceed the output of its mines. Exchanges are enormous and commerce thrives. The national banks of the three eastern cities of Colorado, with an aggregate population of perhaps 250,000, showed deposits, according to the last statements of the Comptroller of the Currency, of \$40,363,884.31, and the deposits in State institutions swell this sum to at least \$50,000,000. These figures tell more clearly than words the growing commercial importance and business needs of this section.

Is it therefore to be wondered at that these people think that the Government should no longer continue to take the products of their mines and the results of their industry and enterprise thousands of miles for treatment, when it has at their very doors facilities for doing the same thing, which only requires this appropriation to become operative?

I ask you, therefore, on behalf of the State which I represent and the people whose wishes I try to voice, that you give heed to these strong claims for legislative recognition and appropriate for our benefit this small sum, that we may derive from our natural resources the advantage that Providence intended we should have.

Rural Free Delivery.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT G. COUSINS,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 25, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. COUSINS said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Perhaps not in the history of our Government has any enterprise involving the expenditure of public money proven so worthy and so useful to the general public as the rural free delivery of mail. Its achievements, even in what may be called the "experimental period," I believe, will multiply and measure even far beyond the contemplations of its original conceivers and projectors.

Referring to the details of the pending measure appropriating for immediate needs, the proposition to increase the pay of carriers is so obviously justified that it can not be intelligently or honestly assailed, and being recommended by the Department and as well by its merits it should prevail. A dollar and sixty-six cents a day as a proposition of compensation for a man and team is ridiculous. It would be scarcely decent recompense even for the Member who opposes this moderate increase.

The propositions to restrict the privileges and usefulness of carriers by legislative provisions are, in my judgment, wrong and unnecessarily meddling. Carriers are already under the discipline of the civil service, and therefore accountable not only for academic and scientific knowledge, but also for good and perfect and subservient behavior. So why make special legislative rules for rural carriers that do not apply to all employees of the postal service?

Why deprive the patrons of the rural routes of any legitimate service which their hard-worked servants might render. Let the carriers serve to the fullest extent the needs of the people for whom their noble enterprise is projected and maintained. Let them do all the good they can for the people whose interests they are supposed to accommodate, and if they do wrong or operate against public policy and the strict discipline of the civil service and regulations of the Post-Office Department, let them be called to account.

When we consider what this service has accomplished for the necessities and comfort of deserving people, even from that one point of view, the appropriations, past, present, and estimated, should be eagerly and generously made.

What has the service accomplished, and who does it accommodate? It has brought the remote regions of the country's best localities in touch with all the world and with themselves. It accommodates the people who produce the things that this world eats. It serves the settlers who suffered hardships in the early days, and their sons and daughters living in the prairie homes preempted by their fathers—the people who labor all the livelong day and do chores half the night; those who patronize our colleges, who save from year to year the meager profits of the dairy and the farm and give it all to the noble purposes of good citizenship—to education and to the building and maintaining of comfortable homes and schools for themselves and for their posterity, who in turn repeat the frugal process; the heads of families whose children, educated in the genuine spirit of unselfish patriotism, uphold the law, and when necessity demands bear arms with fortitude and courage—in short, the folks who feed the world and fight for law and order and for homes, and furnish strong material for all the useful and commanding avocations of our world, for statesmanship and education, for art and commerce, and, if need be, for war; not all the strong material, but most of it and the best of it, and for a very good reason, because they bring to these various avocations the vigor of nature and of manhood, with its unmarred, original impressions and its inspirations of intelligence, integrity, and strength.

For such people and for such justifiable purposes untrammelled service and reasonable appropriation should not be withheld, and unreasonable and unprecedented restrictions should not be placed upon the agents of such useful, laborious, and worthy service.

It is gratifying that the early apprehensions of certain people concerning the possible effects of rural delivery are at last appeased. During the early days of the establishment we occasionally received complaints from certain dealers that "it would keep the farmers from coming to town and spending their money."

But on reflection most legitimate merchants approve the system

now. They know that a countryman who does not waste his time and money coming to town every day or two is a better customer and better able to pay at the end of the year than the one who loafs in town every day, and legitimate merchants who sell the things that country people really need have learned that their customers are vastly strengthened by remaining at home—at least part of the time—attending to their business, thriving, and thus enhancing their ability to buy.

As for the commercial pirate who regards the farmer as a victim of prey, let him take care of himself, and let the farmer heed my advice and provide for himself and for his own. Let him improve the country home so that townsmen will want to come to see it and enjoy it. Let him construct the things that bring comfort for himself and for his friends. Let him beautify the dwellings and the premises of his abode to which the rural service brings the daily mail.

The establishment of rural free delivery has stimulated the betterment of roads and the country telephone system. It has converted the wide-stretching solitudes of sections and of townships into villages of interesting sociability.

No longer does the weary housewife wear her anxious heart away in loneliness and isolation. No longer must she wait with painful and with desolate solicitude for belated messages and greetings of her friends. While many of the weary hearts who braved the dangers and the burdens of the earlier days are sleeping in the silent churchyards of our land, the children of those pioneers, dwelling at the same old firesides or scattered in the multitude of new abodes, enjoy to-day the intercourse afforded by a daily mail.

It is to be regretted that in the beginning of the rural-delivery establishment a definite, intelligent plan was not devised, so that the routes should have been established with regularity and with intelligent arrangement. But at first it was an experiment, and the first fellow who started out to project a route proceeded helter-skelter across lots to take the territory that belonged to a rival

town and without regard to how his route would fit or join other subsequent routes necessary to serve the entire population.

Realizing such confusion and witnessing the operation of such selfishness, I undertook the task of platting all the routes petitioned for in the district which I represent, and especially in my home county. I watched the projection of proposed routes and, before indorsing them, saw to it that each one fitted the other. And by that careful observation and platting system I have secured almost complete county service for that county with only 19 routes, whereas some counties in Iowa of corresponding size have as high as 40 routes. Sumner County, Kans., has 64 routes, and Washington County, Pa., has 103 routes, but the average number of routes for each county affording complete county service in Iowa and Illinois is 40. So, granting 5 more routes necessary to complete county service in Cedar County, Iowa, making 24 in all, there will be saved the expense of 16 routes, which for carrier service alone, at the rate proposed in this bill, is \$11,520 per year, and I will guarantee that with 5 additional routes service in Cedar County will be equivalent to any in the United States, although it has to-day but 19 routes.

I simply use this as an illustration of what might have been accomplished and saved if in the beginning an intelligent, definite plan had been adopted and followed.

But it can all be remedied in time, if people will have patience, by rearranging the routes in accordance with a definite and comprehensive system such as I have indicated and employed so far as possible, or some other which the Department should by this time be able to propose and execute.

For the information of those who may be interested, I exhibit in the following table the number of routes and of pieces of mail collected on rural routes in the United States from January 1, 1903, to June 30, 1903, value of stamps canceled, and pay of carriers, showing that Iowa, as usual, leads all States in every important feature of this service.

EXHIBIT A.

Number of pieces of mail collected on rural routes in the United States for the period from January 1, 1903, to June 30, 1903, by States, value of stamps canceled, and the pay of letter carriers.

State or Territory.	Number of routes.	Pieces collected.							Value of stamps canceled by carriers.	Pay of carriers for six months.
		Letters and packages registered.	Letters.	Postal cards.	News-papers.	Circulars.	Pack-ages.	Total collected.		
Alabama.....	120	1,568	308,889	23,286	1,736	11,775	4,714	352,963	\$7,053.34	\$38,640.00
Arizona.....	5	35	18,010	982	509	54	586	20,176	381.68	1,530.00
Arkansas.....	43	218	92,652	7,122	743	931	1,206	102,932	2,018.93	12,740.00
California.....	144	1,438	704,984	66,807	27,540	6,648	15,072	822,489	16,977.10	43,300.00
Colorado.....	48	363	202,152	14,883	5,060	1,196	4,713	228,372	4,618.50	14,400.00
Connecticut.....	180	3,244	694,894	92,423	25,677	65,074	13,580	874,882	16,723.72	53,340.00
Delaware.....	81	1,100	218,248	32,638	2,166	4,243	2,352	230,807	5,088.65	24,110.00
District of Columbia.....	2	83	3,194	382	72	6	208	3,935	70.64	900.00
Florida.....	3	51	8,804	2,070	155	7	188	11,275	221.11	900.00
Georgia.....	455	3,495	961,429	92,059	5,353	12,775	14,329	1,069,440	21,194.76	136,500.00
Idaho.....	12	121	50,189	3,080	1,452	116	1,624	65,182	1,371.62	3,600.00
Illinois.....	1,352	7,920	3,315,556	319,530	48,194	60,877	61,971	3,114,048	76,485.76	308,580.00
Indiana.....	1,113	8,556	2,970,407	332,552	37,840	90,175	53,888	3,508,478	67,922.14	333,210.00
Indian Territory ^a										
Iowa.....	1,484	5,786	3,695,524	357,117	58,016	57,004	77,603	4,251,750	83,309.24	444,045.00
Kansas.....	796	2,749	2,001,221	229,524	40,144	39,188	46,614	2,357,670	45,461.83	220,000.00
Kentucky.....	184	1,826	411,188	45,731	4,932	9,578	6,232	579,500	9,213.54	53,300.00
Louisiana.....	5	232	24,681	485	184	139	295	26,336	573.12	1,500.00
Maine.....	148	4,033	532,854	68,869	19,274	16,191	13,697	674,918	13,130.17	43,981.25
Maryland.....	272	6,968	849,404	141,803	41,006	40,256	13,029	1,104,096	18,130.20	89,700.00
Massachusetts.....	129	2,598	518,575	78,465	19,087	24,141	10,244	653,110	12,737.28	38,340.00
Michigan.....	815	6,202	2,747,967	391,512	65,939	43,471	60,324	3,315,415	68,193.53	244,023.02
Minnesota.....	628	3,582	1,437,082	112,315	18,768	26,934	31,643	1,630,334	32,884.26	188,400.00
Mississippi.....	53	503	93,474	9,071	873	1,509	2,005	107,974	2,100.51	17,400.00
Missouri.....	739	4,973	1,884,392	182,698	22,314	64,139	38,277	2,191,893	42,447.28	221,300.00
Montana.....	1	13	5,615	112	94	2	130	5,966	121.00	300.00
Nebraska.....	368	1,349	963,513	98,186	26,806	72,584	25,123	1,187,656	22,039.25	110,400.00
Nevada ^a										
New Hampshire.....	123	2,138	455,418	62,304	19,584	35,641	13,709	589,794	11,223.62	30,850.00
New Jersey.....	93	2,297	306,185	60,897	6,398	9,823	5,216	390,086	7,352.35	27,850.63
New Mexico.....	2	25	7,900	359	227	11	182	8,705	172.48	600.00
New York.....	962	10,116	2,853,496	414,987	86,869	107,256	51,215	3,524,039	67,394.47	288,070.00
North Carolina.....	322	4,103	620,295	64,676	5,398	31,018	10,981	737,151	16,184.89	96,040.00
North Dakota.....	40	132	81,456	4,146	786	690	1,605	88,815	1,855.79	9,600.00
Ohio.....	1,105	10,552	3,246,041	499,908	49,733	90,007	62,020	3,958,261	70,816.84	330,920.00
Oklahoma.....	21	138	63,425	4,000	774	369	1,087	59,793	1,188.58	6,300.00
Oregon.....	78	404	259,590	19,480	6,697	1,728	6,112	294,009	5,900.99	23,400.00
Pennsylvania.....	845	15,848	2,404,761	313,104	42,853	90,540	49,100	2,914,298	53,555.46	252,045.00
Rhode Island.....	18	479	70,417	8,450	1,988	1,157	82,273	78,273	1,708.62	5,400.00
South Carolina.....	242	2,406	494,173	50,785	2,332	7,595	7,796	566,047	11,099.09	71,240.00
South Dakota.....	125	464	272,364	20,236	2,955	8,277	5,739	310,035	6,206.22	37,500.00
Tennessee.....	573	10,326	431,773	131,007	22,769	30,644	23,980	1,051,099	33,221.12	171,430.00
Texas.....	280	2,163	805,871	52,442	6,265	6,051	11,730	884,522	17,432.74	83,800.00
Utah.....	27	502	132,525	8,367	2,643	601	2,882	147,525	3,180.54	8,050.00
Vermont.....	127	1,732	403,523	44,189	14,165	10,367	8,037	482,013	9,389.80	37,670.00
Virginia.....	255	3,336	542,947	59,731	8,059	20,896	13,290	648,199	13,523.04	74,630.00
Washington.....	52	323	192,650	11,351	3,857	1,968	3,964	213,513	4,570.93	15,450.00
West Virginia.....	70	1,420	189,284	14,696	3,121	3,130	2,973	214,624	4,161.41	21,000.00
Wisconsin.....	633	5,055	1,778,143	140,983	29,962	23,554	35,374	2,013,371	39,958.86	189,500.54
Wyoming.....	5	32	19,215	705	268	42	348	20,610	421.29	1,500.00
Total.....	15,125	143,057	41,364,380	4,691,885	732,337	1,143,621	819,110	48,951,390	949,084.37	4,518,185.52

^a No service prior to July 1, 1903.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH
OFHON. HERNANDO D. MONEY,
OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Thursday, March 3, 1904.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12230) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. MONEY said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have not been particularly concerned about the details of the bill which has been presented from the Naval Committee by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], but the remarks which have been made that were extraneous to the real matter of the bill have attracted my attention and deserve, perhaps, some reply.

I said several years ago in the Senate that if we are to persist in the policy of subjugation and conquest we would require not only all the navy we have, but a much larger one than the American people would be willing to bear, and I pointed out that the continued occupation of the Philippine Archipelago would entail, among other burdens, the support of a great navy.

When events show that it is not only the purpose of the present Administration and the great party of which he is the head to perpetuate but also to continue the efforts of "benevolent assimilation" to other countries, these philanthropic efforts to give good government to people who do not want it, to give a different religion to people who do not want it, will, as I have said, require a much larger navy than is contemplated in the programme which is laid before us.

We are not going to have a navy second to Great Britain, because the American people will never permit it to be done at their expense, and we will never have the necessity for it. The figures which the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] has just laid before the Senate as a test of the size of the navy we need are exceedingly elusive and evasive and unworthy of any reliance whatever. It is not a matter of the wealth or business of a nation. How much navy would we allot to Switzerland, that has no sea line at all, in proportion to her population? That is an extreme figure, it is true, but it illustrates somewhat the proposition the Senator makes to the Senate.

We can not judge the amount of the navy which we need or its character by the wealth and population of the United States. It can not be done in any such way as that. We must have the judgment not only of people whose business it is to fight in the Navy as a profession, as a bread-and-meat business, but we should also have the judgment of men in this Chamber and the other who have studied history and who know something about these things, although they do not know a barbette from a revolving turret.

It matters not, however, as the Senator says, whether Great Britain has rejected a revolving turret or not. All these great improvements, which are the mark of genius, can be adopted by one country and offset by the invention of another. The invention of Ericsson of the revolving turret, and of the naval officer on the other side in the protection by iron bars of the Merrimac, began a new era in shipbuilding and ship protection. One of the late Secretaries of the Navy, who was spoken of some time ago by the Senator from Maine with great praise for having gone forward in the programme of building a modern navy, did not want any navy built at all except monitors. He was decidedly against battle ships, against cruisers, against torpedo boats, and against everything but monitors, because he claimed we needed no navy except for defense, and that the monitor vessel, built only for smooth water and harbor defense, is the best we could get. However that may be, Mr. President, I say again that if we want to keep up our conquest we have got to have a navy at least as large as the Senator from Maine has proposed, or larger.

We have heard a great deal about the Philippine colonies. There is no such thing as the Philippine colonies. In the Philippines we have simply a military occupation. There is nothing there as an American colony, and there never will be unless the climate changes. It is not the place for a white man to live and homestead. A colony is a number of foreigners who occupy a part of a country for the purpose of cultivating the soil, making permanent homes, and living under a government made by themselves or under the government of the parent country.

The fact is, the word "colony" comes from the Latin word "colonus," which means a tiller of the soil. But military occupation such as Gibraltar and Malta are not colonies any more than the Philippine Islands are a colony of the United States, and it

never will be, because, as I said, climatic conditions absolutely forbid.

We occupy the Philippine Islands not for any such purpose as that, nor do we occupy them for the purpose of seeing that they have a good government. That is all cant. Nobody believes a word of it, and gentlemen may just as well quit using it. There is not a man here who cares a snap whether the Filipinos ever have a good government or not. Nobody cares whether anybody else has a good government or not.

Then who is to be the judge of what is a good government? You take a government that is good for you, and you attempt to impose it on men who heartily detest it and are utterly incapable of conceiving or maintaining it, if given to them and if they be left with it. Every nation evolves its own form of government exactly according to its spiritual and moral and other necessities. It can not evolve anything that does not suit it. It must have that for which it is peculiarly fitted. Have we here a good Government? We say we have. Does anybody else say so?

Mr. President, the great Government of the United States stands to-day condemned by the civilization of the world. Why? Do people in Great Britain, Germany, France, and other countries prefer monarchies or imperialism? I do not know that they do, but they say to us: "Your Government is too good for practical use. You have, theoretically, the best Government perhaps in the world. You approach as near as you can to Moore's Utopia, or to the Atlantis of Plato; but you have not here anything that human nature can maintain; in other words, you can not maintain individualism so as to support a government like yours."

So we are condemned because we are too good, and not because we are ideally too bad, but simply because a practical republic will not operate—I mean a republic of self-governing people will not operate—and the greatest minds in the world have given a final termination to this Republic.

We have been told by the most brilliant historian of the last century that the United States Government will come to an end as a self-governing republic whenever we have cities rich and great enough to corrupt the whole body of the people, which they are doing just as fast as it is possible for an infection to spread. We have been told by others that one and another thing would be the difficulty. De Tocqueville, a Frenchman, who has given the finest view of American institutions ever published, in his Democracy in America, says the great evil to visit the new Republic would be the presence of so many people of a totally different race—the negroes—and that eventually one of them must be exterminated or there must be a mixture and an amalgamation of the two races. Both of these horrible alternatives we will not entertain, because I believe, for one, there is a better way of settling that.

So, Mr. President, we are not holding the Philippines to give them a better government, and we do not care whether they have a better government or not. We are holding them, as we hold everything else for our own selfish interests, for what may be our own good as far as we understand it—and, generally, we understand it in a commercial way—so that we may go there and exploit that great timber country and its land in a way profitable to men who engage in that sort of thing; and the great mass of the people do not care a straw whether they have a good government there or not. And why should they care?

We are not going over the face of the earth correcting all the faults in government. We did not go and invite Great Britain, when the Fenians were rising in Ireland, to give them a better government. We never made a demonstration because the Irish home-rule bill failed. We have not gone anywhere. We have not gone to Russia to protect the Hebrews in that terrible massacre which occurred there a short time ago. They may have a good government or a bad one. They say it is a bad one, yet I venture to say that there is not in America a President who has yet lived in the White House less beloved than the Czar is to-day by his varied subjects. All the twenty or thirty different peoples who give allegiance to that autocrat love him. They speak of him as "Little Father," the "White Father," the "Great White Father," and with all the terms of endearment which it is possible for them to utter of a man whom they never saw, whom they never expect to see, and who we think is grinding them to powder under an iron heel. There is not a Russian moujik—

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. MONEY. In a moment. There is not a Russian moujik who does not speak of the Czar in terms of reverence and affection and does not regard his person as sacred; yet we say he has a very bad government. Certainly, I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. GALLINGER. I was attracted by the Senator's observation that the American people are entirely indifferent as to whether there is a good government or a bad government in the Philippine Islands. That may have been true when the Philippine Islands belonged to a foreign power, but does not the Senator

think the mass of the American people to-day are extremely desirous that there shall be good government in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. MONEY. No; I do not think anything of the sort.

Mr. GALLINGER. Well, Mr. President, of course—

Mr. MONEY. I do not think the American people care about anybody but themselves.

Mr. GALLINGER. Are not the Philippine Islands a part of our possessions?

Mr. MONEY. The American people care only about how much money they can make out of it.

Mr. GALLINGER. To my notion that is an extreme view which the Senator takes.

Mr. MONEY. It may be an extreme view, but it is a very honest one.

Mr. GALLINGER. The Senator says we care nothing except for ourselves. Of course the Philippine Islands are a part of our possessions, and I should think that even self-interest, if the Senator wishes to put it on that point, would lead us to desire good government rather than turbulence or bad government there.

Mr. MONEY. Oh, well, I do not mean to say that the American Government want disorder and turbulence in the Philippine Islands; they want peace and order there. That is not the question at all. I am not comparing a good administration to a bad administration under the same form of government at all. I am comparing two different systems of government—one, in which we exercise here in governing ourselves, based upon individualism, and that which they, let alone, would exercise, perhaps not based upon the same foundation. I think that they as a people are incapable of conceiving or operating or maintaining a form of government copied after ours, which they undertook to do until we put them down; for it happens that now all revolutionary governments immediately copy the Constitution of the United States and then proceed to disregard it afterwards and pay no attention whatever to it, showing that they are incapable of putting into operation the popular institutions which have made this the greatest and the only free country in the world.

Why, Mr. President, take that chain of republics from Mexico, from the Rio Grande to Patagonia—what are they? The mere simulacra of republics, not the true and genuine article. There is no government there that is free. It is government by faction, and generally by the strongest army.

Now, in the Philippine Islands, of course we want peace and order as long as we are dominant; and as long as the Stars and Stripes wave as the standard authority in that archipelago we will maintain order and peace as far as we can, and we can do it pretty well.

But that is not the point. I am saying that, for the sake of the Filipinos themselves, nobody cares whether they have a good government or not. I mean independent, of course. I do not believe they would have our form of government very long. If they should have it, it would be the first instance of the Malay type ever having that kind of government. In my opinion they never will as long as the world stands unless it is imposed upon them like a yoke, as it has been in that archipelago by the superior power of the United States.

Now we are told about the expansion of our commerce in the Orient as dependent on our possession of the Philippines. That does not amount to anything.

When the Philippines were a dependency of Spain they were a simple appurtenance of the viceroy of Mexico. They were not governed by Spain at all except through the viceroy of Mexico. The annual tribute came in galleons once a year to Acapulco from the archipelago and went to the viceroy of Mexico. When Mexico revolted, of course it had to go to Spain, but not until that time.

But, Mr. President, there is another motive, I think, in holding on to the Philippines, which some do not desire to discuss openly. I think the waters around Japan and the Philippines will be the storm center of the world for a good while to come. I am not afraid of war with Great Britain, but not for the reason given by the Senator from Nevada. That is not the reason at all; but it is for the reason that her trade with ourselves is greater than her trade with the whole world, and our trade with her is greater than ours with all the world. We feed her, and she can not afford to go to war with us on that account. That is the real reason why we are bound to be in friendly relations with Great Britain. No matter what affront is given on either side, all will be condoned or will be in some way compromised. So there will be no actual war to stop the supply going from here there and the trade that comes from there here.

But, Mr. President, the party that determined the subjugation of the Philippine Islands and that took Porto Rico from Spain and put the most exacting and aggravating conditions upon Cuba, which really established a suzerainty, which we hold to-day, over that new Republic, wanted the Philippine Islands for a great deal more than to give them a good government. They wanted them for other purposes than the mere possible expansion of commerce

and trade. You will probably recollect, some of you, it was stated here by people who ought to know that it was the design to occupy the Philippines as a military base of operation in the far Orient. For what purpose? That we might be conveniently close when the dismemberment and the partition of the great Chinese Empire occurs. It is only 600 miles across the China Sea from Manila to Hongkong, and that whole magnificent front, with the great river coming down to it, we were told, was soon to have railroads from the mouth up to along their banks; and no doubt it will be, from the concession made to different European nations to build those railways. We were told that the Empire was going to be broken to pieces, and that we should have near by a military base of operations from which we would be enabled to exact our share of the dismembered Empire. "Our share," that was the language used here.

When did we get a share, and how did we get it, and what did we give for it? We did not have any share at all, but it was a game of robbery, just as Poland was divided out to Austria and Russia and Prussia—a nation dismembered, divided out, not a word said—just as we divided Samoa between Germany and ourselves, Great Britain taking her concession from Germany on the western coast of Africa and leaving us to divide Samoa, we who ten years before that had made a convention declaring to maintain Samoa's sovereignty forever and pledging ourselves that that treaty or convention should never be changed without the consent of Samoa. And in ten years, without any consent or reference to her, we divided her territory out. And now we are to take possession of the Philippines, and we are to maintain it at what everybody knows to be a loss, with no compensating advantage whatever to enable us to have a military base of operations.

It was done so that if China shall be dismembered we can claim our share. Our share is what? Whatever we can take; whatever we can get the other robbers in the game to allow us to have. That is all it is. Why, the very fact that this Navy is increased necessarily, I will say, to such an enormous figure proves that the occupation of the Philippines is of no account to this country. It does not add to her wealth nor to anything else, but it does project us into the storm center of future wars of the world, one of which has already begun there.

Now, it was stated a while ago that Japan, perhaps, would take a little thought about the islands, they being contiguous somewhat to her; not really near, because it is 2,000 miles away.

Mr. BACON. Not 2,000.

Mr. MONEY. I am corrected here in my figures by the learned Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON].

Mr. BACON. It is 1,000 miles.

Mr. MONEY. He ought to know better than I do; he has been over the ground. He says it is about a thousand miles. My recollection was that it was a thousand or 1,200 miles from Formosa to Tokyo, when Japan wrested that island as one of the indemnities of her war with China some ten years ago. At any rate, Japan has awakened from a long sleep. She is a nation of warriors. She is probably the best fighting nation now in the world.

I call your attention to one little circumstance that goes to prove that assertion, that in the dash made at Peking to rescue the beleaguered ambassadors there and the missionaries who were threatened by the Boxers there were in the allied force American, British, Russian, Austrian, Italian, French, German, and Japanese contingents. That composite army was under Field Marshal Count von Waldersee. There were only two great walled cities that were attacked, one Tientsin and the other Peking, and around the walls of those two cities were allotted the portions to each army, each nationality, which they were to assault. In both those instances Japan was the first to breach the wall and enter the city. Her loss was the heaviest in killed and wounded. Then, further, she had the only troops that were not guilty of looting, showing better discipline—not more honest men, I will take it, but better disciplined, the most dashing courage and the better disciplined. Well, we know what she did to China in a very brief war.

I recollect, as all of us do, the battle of the Yalu River, where the genius of the Japanese commander was so signally displayed by a magnificent victory which, followed up in the harbor of Wei-Hai-Wei, ended in the destruction of the remainder of the Chinese fleet by the Japanese torpedo boats. I recollect then everybody said if that maneuver had been executed in the presence of an American or European fleet, it would have meant the destruction of the Japs. But the Japs knew their enemy.

The same thing happened at the capture of Port Arthur when, after the Chinese were driven from one chain of forts on that rocky ridge leading down into the town, the military attachés of the several countries were permitted to be present with the Japanese commander, sent by their respective governments to learn from the Japanese the arts and science of war. They said, "Now go in; press in on the retreating garrisons; they are now defeated and depressed by defeat; run in on them and take them."

Oh, no; they did not do that—the sun was nearly three hours high—the Japanese commander said, "No;" but he ordered his army to go into camp, to cook supper, and make themselves comfortable. He stationed strong outposts and camp guards, and calmly awaited the morning. When the morning came there was not a Chinaman in Port Arthur.

Then the Japanese general said to these gentlemen who were giving him instructions in the art of war: "I know my enemy and you do not. If it had been an American or a European army, I would have rushed in on them, but I knew the Chinaman would rush into the city desperate, expecting an immediate assault, and, putting his back to the wall, he would stand there about an hour determined to sell his life dearly. If I had gone in on him, the loss would have been very heavy. After the first hour he would spend another hour wondering why the enemy did not come, and after that, when he did not come, he would begin to see if he could not find a hole to crawl out, and I left a hole for him to crawl out." The Jap knows his enemy, and I venture to say there is not a campaign which is noted in military annals that will surpass that campaign either in the general breadth of conception or in its brilliancy of execution, not excluding the great campaign of Von Moltke from the frontier to Paris.

Mr. President, the Japanese nation is not going to confine itself to its own islands. It is, as I said, a nation of fighters. I recollect very well when that war began a conversation I had with the Japanese minister who was living here and was about to go home and take a portfolio in the cabinet. I asked him if he did not have some apprehension in attacking an empire like China of 420,000,000 people. "No," he said, "we will march to Peking in two months. They are not a nation of warriors. They are trade people, commercial fellows, and will not fight at all, and we will go right through China." I thought he had a great deal of confidence, that he was a little overconfident; but the result justified all he said. He said, "We fight one another when we do not have an enemy," and that is the truth. Those people were under the rule of what we call the "Tycoon" (or "Shogun," as they call him). A Shogun had been to Japan what the mayor of the palace had been to the sluggard Kings of France—the real, but not nominal rulers, the nominal ruler being the Mikado.

For a long time the Mikado was the nominal sovereign, of course. He was to Japan what one of the sluggard Kings had been to France. But it was the practice of the Shoguns, one after another, to keep the barons continually involved in war; and Japan was just like feudal Europe from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century, never really at peace. By such means the whole country was filled with professional free lances, who would go anywhere and fight for any cause, the only thing required being that they should receive their stipend.

They were compelled to reside thirty days in every year in the capital at Tokyo; and when they met in the streets there, every fellow coming down like a Highland chief with his following, they had severe combats almost every day during the occupancy of the city by those great lords. So it went on until the Mikado wanted to get possession of the Empire.

The old Government of Japan was overturned, and since that time they have been going forward in civilization with a rapidity that is absolutely marvelous. They have to-day, according to its size, the most effective fleet in the world. They have two of the biggest battle ships in the world, and I want to say that there is hardly a naval officer but will commend the management and operation of those ships.

Japan is going to have Korea, and she will likewise have the lower part of Manchuria. She really has it now and has had it for a long while. She has possession of Formosa, and she is going to eventually get the Philippine Archipelago. We can not hurt Japan. Japan has to-day 48,000,000 people. They are a homogeneous people, excepting only the hairy men, who do not count; but there are 48,000,000 homogeneous fighting population in Japan, who have developed the very highest military skill and courage both on the sea and on the land. They are an enemy that no nation can afford to despise.

It has been freely predicted from the inception of the great conflict now waging that Japan would clean the Russian fleet off the ocean in a few months, and that in the end she will overcome on land, for the Russians can not get supplies over their 4,000-mile single-track railway. She can hardly supply her army now in Manchuria. She can not ship them provisions.

Japan stands exactly in the attitude toward Manchuria and Korea that she stands in relation to the Philippine Archipelago. There will be no trouble about her getting those islands if she wants them.

As to whether we could resist an attack on the Philippines by France or Germany or any other country, I will say we can send a fleet there, and I do not think there is any fleet in the world as good as ours, and I do not believe there are any soldiers in the world as good as ours; but when we send our fleet and our army

there we are going to open to attack the whole front of the United States. If any nation really means mischief and desires to enter into war with the United States, their very first attack would be upon our most vulnerable part—the Philippine Islands.

What next? When our fleet and our Regular Army shall have been sent there, you will find perhaps an attack upon our Atlantic or Pacific front—most likely on our Atlantic front. You will find perhaps an enormous fleet coming over here, while our own fleet will be across the ocean, and we shall be attacked by two or three hundred thousand troops. The British have not any considerable number of troops in their island, but they have them all over the globe. The Germans have troops in Germany, and the French have them in France, and the Russians have them in Russia.

Now, Senators, that would be a very disastrous condition of things. We have 80,000,000 people, minus 9,000,000 blacks, which I do not consider in a great war like that, although that race has had some good soldiers; but I am speaking of the people whom we call Americans—the white blood of this country. We would defend our frontier, but of course you can not make any number of raw troops available against a picked, disciplined army of two or three hundred thousand men. You must have something with which to defend yourselves.

It is always very sensible in every country to provide an adequate means of defense. The fathers of the Republic would not tolerate for one moment the idea of foreign conquest; but they were always ready to do anything for the defense of the country. George Washington said, in that great address which was read here on the 22d of February, that a well-trained militia was the best defense of a country; but he did not favor a standing army at all. Thomas Jefferson said that the American people ought never to consent to take any island anywhere on top of the globe, because it would entail the necessity for the existence of a great navy, except, he said, the island of Cuba; and he went on to say that if we lacked anything upon our whole southern coast line it was a sufficiency of harbors on our Gulf coast, which was to be found on the northern coast of Cuba, a number of the most magnificent in the world; and he said for the reason that it commanded the commerce of the whole Mississippi Valley he wanted Cuba; but he said that there we ought to set up a stone, and engrave upon it "Ne plus ultra."

We are going to continue, I suppose, to occupy the Philippines, for the party which is in power to-day, at least, has declared its intention to do so. What we are to gain by it we do not know. Nobody has ever yet shown that there is any advantage so far as extending our commerce is concerned. Such a claim is simply ridiculous. We reached the front of the foreign commerce of the world in November, 1898. In that month we went ahead of Great Britain, which had led the van for one hundred and fifty years in foreign commerce; and up to that time we did not own an island or a rock or a colony in the world outside of our own country; we had no possessions anywhere; no so-called "colonies" or military occupation; we had no great fleets, no great armament, and no great armies; and yet, because of the inventive skill of Americans, of industry, of the power of individualism—for that and nothing else is the secret of our success—we had gained the front of the whole world.

England at that time owned more colonies, more fortresses in the sea, more rocks, more islands, more dependencies than all the other nations of the world put together. England was under the delusion for a number of years that she had to have colonies so that she might expand her trade, as the Senator from New York [Mr. DEPEW] expressed it this evening in his speech.

Well, we expanded our trade in the seven years preceding that first month of our supremacy. England had lost 5½ per cent of her foreign trade, and we had gained 18 per cent; and yet we had not a single island; we had not fought anybody; we had not shot a gun, or killed a man, or conquered an inch of land anywhere in the world, and had not expanded our continental territory in the least.

To-day Great Britain is losing her trade with India, a country with 280,000,000 industrious people, producing cotton, sugar, indigo, and many other products. The English trade with India is going elsewhere.

It has only been a few years since a French minister, discussing the budget, declared that France had expended \$16,000,000 for the pleasure of governing other people.

Germany spends three times as much money every year as she gets from the whole trade with her colony in South Africa—not the profit, but the whole trade—and it is all for the amusement of governing other people. There is no compensation to the people who pay the taxes, no compensation to the sailors and soldiers who pour out their blood for the flag, but it is done for what? The building up of a great government, pride in a magnificent country, with a great army and navy.

It is said that we have become a world power, as though the

United States had any more influence to-day than she had before. She never had as much influence in her existence as when she stood alone among the nations of the world presenting a harbor of refuge for the distressed and oppressed of every clime and every country in the world, with no inclination or desire to take what did not belong to her, to force her government upon any other government or any other people in the world, standing and holding the torch of liberty in her hand to the oppressed of every land, and inviting them to come here for shelter and protection.

But when we dropped down from that lofty and inspired attitude and coolly marched in the rank of the robber nations of the world; when we undertook to plunder wherever we had the power to do so under the shallow and flimsy pretext that we wanted to give somebody a better government or a better religion or something of that sort—why, we were no more of a world power than any of the powers of Europe; not a particle. We count our power to-day in guns and in men and ships of war; we do not count our power as we did six or seven years ago, which was a power of moral influence of a great and powerful nation sustaining herself against the world, and sustaining her peculiar institutions, which no other country of the world had ever been able to make permanent, and at the same time holding aloft that torch from which the people of the world could reilluminate their own and light a circle around the world.

That was when we were a world power; that was when the influence of this country outweighed the influence of all the others put together, with its unselfishness and its heroic regard for the rights of man—the proposition that every man is the peer of every other man, which is the corner stone of the great Republic; the individualism of man; his capacity to govern himself; his willingness to do it; his courage to do it and to maintain his own Government. We were then indeed a world power; but we have lost that power, and no addition of land or rocks or fortresses or men or ships or anything else can restore us to the position we occupied before these late conquests.

We have lost the prestige we had. We have got the prestige of our arms, of course. We have that, and so have the Russians and the Germans. We have the same kind of prestige which the German Emperor had when he came back leading his triumphant legions from the siege and capture of Paris; but by that victory he did not gain any greater respect for Germany than it had before, or any greater laurels than it had before. He did gain more fear; but fear and respect are not always very near akin. We fear a great many things for which we have no respect whatever. But the moral influence which the United States exerted before these late wars of conquest—which, like the vibrations that go from the brain 30,000 in a second out into the atmosphere somewhere and find impingement and lodgment somewhere else, we do not know where; that was continually going forth to these people, which was a hope and a stimulant to the people of every country of the world who loved freedom—has all passed away; and we stand here in common with all other nations of the world who only want accretion for their own self-aggrandizement.

We hold the Philippine Islands under the shallow pretext that we want to give good government to their people. If the Philippine group a few years ago had, during some seismic disturbance, sunk below the bosom of the sea, there is not a man in the United States who would have lost his breakfast or shed a tear. I do not say this in censure or criticism, but I say we would not have thought anything about it at all. We did not think anything about it when an island in the sea was swallowed up a few years ago and 40,000 people perished in a night—in a few hours.

Nobody thought anything about it when Mount Pelee erupted down in the Caribbean Sea and spread its ashes over Martinique and 125 miles over the sea to Guadeloupe. And when we read the scare headlines in the newspapers of the war between Japan and Russia it does not cause any great concern among our people.

But I think there is a responsive sentiment in this country to every appeal for help. The American people are generous people; they have always been generous. From the time when they sent potatoes to the Irish, who were in great need, until this day there have been no great calamities anywhere that the American people have not responded to appeals for help.

Mr. President, I am straying away from the discussion of the subject-matter this evening; but I am only following the track of others, and it is because they strayed away that I have done so.

I have not much to say about the bill. I will say this, however, that I have been here a good while and in the other House, where I was generally against my party on the question of the Navy. I was always for a strong navy from the first vote I cast. I was a member of the Naval Committee in the other House for some years; and in that committee I remember distinctly that we carried a bill over the head of the Republican chairman to continue the work of the construction of the Navy. I have always voted for a large navy, not because I wanted the United States to have the pride of having the second navy of the world, or the third;

but because war is an incident in the life of every independent nation. It can not be avoided. It makes no difference whether you are going to do right or not. It does not take two wrong people to make a quarrel. One of them may be right and the other wrong. And as war is a necessary incident, according to all probabilities, then I say let us have a navy that will make people respect us and keep their hands off. I was for building the Navy up commensurate with the needs of this country, to look after its commerce, although that use for a navy is not so important now.

A great navy is not so much needed for the protection of commerce now. That time has passed away. There is no more privateering in time of war. All the nations of the earth signed the convention of Paris of 1856, except the United States and Spain. Privateering went out when sails were superseded by steam. So that nothing can disturb the commerce of the world.

This nation especially has taken the lead in demanding that all nations shall recognize an international law; that you must respect private property at sea as well as private property on land. It has been over two hundred years since private property has been seized by any European nation or any civilized nation anywhere on the globe. As a necessity of war it has been seized for the use of an army, but it has been paid for.

Up to that date European nations had been continually capturing property on the sea, and the United States was unwilling to consent to that distinction, and that was the reason they did not sign the convention of Paris in 1856. The United States said, "If you will go further, if you will include property at sea as well as property on land, we will sign; but so long as we have a large commerce and a small navy, we can not sign." That was in the day of sailing ships. It was not because she hung back, but because she wanted to go forward faster than the other nations that were the signatories to that convention.

Mr. President, about the capacity of the Philippines for a better government: You can put upon those people a facsimile of the United States Government in all its particulars, and you may train a few of their men to perform the functions that are differentiated in the general administration and economy of government, but you are never going to make them able to understand it or maintain it. It is not in the blood. Other people do not have it.

We do not exact of Great Britain and Germany and France and Russia that they shall have a better government. We do not concern ourselves about it. We wisely leave them alone, because those people always had what they want and what is necessary for them. It is just as unreasonable to believe that a man will hold to a scheme that does not pay as to believe a country will live under a government that does not suit its people. They are going to have just what suits them. There will be likewise different kinds of government as long as there is diversity among the races of men. What is good for one is not always good for another.

I do not believe there is a publicist who writes to-day who believes that a Latin race can maintain such a government as we maintain here to-day. I do not know why, unless it is in the blood. They must have something else than this. It may be the lack of individualism. Whenever a country gets in a type—in other words, whenever a country becomes conventional—that means that progress is ended and that the silence and calmness which precede death and decay have begun. The process may last a long time. It lasted four or five thousand years in Egypt, and it lasted six or seven thousand years, if we can believe their chronicles, in China. They went just as far as they could go, and they could not go any further. They have gone to the utmost of their capacity, and they stand still until something touches them and turns them into a new line, when they set up a new political philosophy. What suits them does not suit anybody else. If it did they would all have it.

The best approval is imitation. The sincerest flattery, they say, is imitation. If our Government was the best, and so considered, the other people of the world would have it; but they do not consider it so.

I want to strip all subjects like this one of building up the Navy from all ideas about wanting to do any philanthropic work anywhere, and wanting to go somewhere and give anybody better government, better religion, or better anything else. What we want is something to defend ourselves with in time of war. That is what we want, that is all we have need of a navy for, and that is all we want an army for.

I suppose, Mr. President, that at the present time, on the whole, we seem to be having, and are very likely to continue to have, a pretty big navy. If we are going to have it, it ought to be the best in the world so far as it goes. I do not think we have any such need of a navy as Great Britain has, because, as the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] said a while ago, you can not go anywhere but you find British colonies, British outposts, British gar-

risons, like Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, all down along the Mediterranean to Aden, at the end of the Red Sea, along down to Cape Town; then across the Arabian Sea, until you get to those great cities of India on that side, going around through the Straits of Ceylon to Colombo, going around that island and across to the Straits of Malacca and Singapore to the great British capital there, and then beyond that south to the great Australasian continent and islands. That is an enormous country.

Besides, there are Great Britain's American possessions. She has on three continents larger possessions than we have, not counting Australia, so she must have an enormous navy. The British policy has been carefully to defend her authority. Every policy that she has lately put in operation has been to get a navy larger than any two navies in the world.

They do not do as we do here, but I think they do much more wisely. Parliament votes a lump sum for a programme of construction for five years, and that is disposed of by the Admiralty as they think the necessities of the navy demand.

If they want torpedo boats, they build them; if they want torpedo-boat destroyers, they build them; if they want cruisers or battle ships, they build them, and the gentlemen in the House of Commons and the House of Lords do not undertake to say what is needed in the British navy? It, however, increases continually. If you will examine the Naval Manual you will find their programme exceeds that of any other two countries in the world. That is constantly going on, and that is their policy. We can not enter the race merely of competitive building. We want simply what we need. We do not want anything else.

Even if some people should desire it, it is not necessary, at least, that we should have the second largest navy in the world or the third largest navy in the world. It is just as our circumstances demand that we should have a navy at all. It might be that we would not need any. Mexico has no navy, and she gets along without any trouble at all. So far as that is concerned, I know of but few South American States that have a navy.

I do not know what is in this bill about torpedo boats. I agree very much with the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] about their utility. However, I do not recall—and I hope, if he can, some Senator here will mention it—but I do not recall a single ship of war elsewhere, or otherwise, that has ever been injured by torpedo boats unless that ship was in still water, in harbor, and at anchor. I do not know of a single one.

I know the *Niteheroy*, a Brazilian cruiser that belonged to the Emperor, was sunk while at anchor by a torpedo. The ironclad *Blanco Eucalod* was destroyed by a torpedo while at anchor in Caldera Bay, and under the same circumstances the flagship *Aquidaban* was destroyed—all at anchor in quiet water. At Weihaiwei the ships were not only at anchor but they were in the darkness of night when torpedo boats destroyed them. Torpedo boats did not cut any figure in the battle of the Yalu River. On the contrary, the cruisers threw their torpedoes over as fast as they could, and torpedo boats could not do anything anyway in a seaway. They have to attack in still water to be effective anywhere. As was instanced by the Senator from Massachusetts, torpedo boats did not do a thing at Santiago. They may be useful for defense, and they may accompany a fleet to attack another fleet in a harbor, but so far as an ocean battle is concerned it is the battle ship and the cruiser that determine that fight, and principally the battle ship.

The torpedo-boat destroyer, however, adds to the ingenious things that have been invented by men of genius for a certain particular purpose; but that purpose is effective only under certain conditions, and those conditions are not often maintained.

It is said that military genius consists almost entirely in devising something new. It is said that Alexander demonstrated his genius because he increased the spear of the Macedonians to 24 feet and made a phalanx sixteen files deep, and that phalanx, by its momentum pushing forward its sixteen lines of spears, proved irresistible to any formation or weapon known in that day.

Claudius Nero was called a genius because of his celebrated flying march of 400 miles through the whole length of the Italian peninsula to the river Metaurus, where he joined his colleague and destroyed Hasdrubal and his army.

Miltiades, at the battle of Marathon, developed a military genius because, contrary to the rules of fighting that prevailed among the Greeks, he very much weakened his center and allowed the Persians to drive it before them, then closing in on them with the two wings, which had been strengthened, he defeated them with great slaughter.

All those things are what they call genius. Napoleon thought the best thing was to divide his enemy in the fighting and get the most men at a given place at a certain time. So we have these manifestations of genius among every people in the world, and these people are continually suggesting to inventors the uses of implements which are destructive in war. We can peculiarly, I think, depend upon the genius of Americans to give us the best thing that there is in naval warfare, the best ships, the best tor-

pedo boats, and so on. Of course there can be mechanical skill as great elsewhere as it is here, but up to date we have never lost anything particularly by any lack or deficiency of American inventions.

Mr. President, I am told that the sum total of this bill is \$97,000,000. I do not think it is too much; that is, if the present foreign policy is to be persisted in. If we are to return, however, to our old way of living, respecting the rights of everybody and repudiating the burdens which have no compensating advantages, attending strictly to our own business, we shall not need as large a fleet as that. We are not likely ever to be attacked at home, unless it may be in the case that I instanced a while ago, when we are compelled to mass our available squadrons in order to meet the attack of the enemy in some vulnerable part.

An Answer to a Series of Criticisms.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, March 28, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 14416) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. GROSVENOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Some days ago the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, the leader of the Democratic minority [Mr. WILLIAMS], in the due performance of duty as he understood it, and which I do not criticise, placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a newspaper article contributed to the Brooklyn Daily Eagle by Mr. Frederick Boyd Stevenson, an able and eloquent writer of political articles.

Coming from the Brooklyn Eagle the article necessarily received very considerable attention, as that paper is known to be conservative in politics, although strongly Democratic, and fair and just under all circumstances in its criticisms of public men and public affairs. The article was aimed to show not only gross extravagance in the administration of the Government through Congress, but bitterly criticised the Administration for many other things.

I hold in my hand and will place in the RECORD, pursuant to the leave given by the House, an editorial article which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle in reply to the publication to which I have referred, made by their own special correspondent. The article bears the earmarks suggestive of the pen of St. Clair McKelway, the publisher and distinguished editor of that newspaper. He is a Democrat of Democrats; a Democrat who believes in Democracy as taught by Democrats; but he will not consent that his newspaper shall be used under any circumstances to do injustice to public men for partisan purposes, nor will he permit injurious publications against the honor and integrity of his country to go unchallenged, even though inadvertently appearing in his own newspaper.

I take great pleasure in commending to the Members of the House of Representatives and to the country at large the explanation and series of statements made in this very valuable and comprehensive article, and I especially call the attention of the gentlemen on this floor, who have seen fit to criticise President Roosevelt because of some supposed use he has made of the minor vessels of the Navy, to the statement in regard to the long-time custom which has prevailed in this behalf.

These matters, Mr. Chairman, that seem so trivial to us and which are constantly injected into political campaigns are not injurious as affecting the opinions of Members of Congress, but they are injurious when they reach into the country and teach the people of the country to believe that the administration of this great Government is in the hands of bad men and unworthy men.

I commend a careful reading of this editorial to our friends and enemies alike:

THIS IS NEITHER A MEAN GOVERNMENT NOR A MEAN PEOPLE.

Frederick Boyd Stevenson, an occasional contributor to the Eagle, wrote on Sunday a special article which appeared in this paper. It was to the effect that expenses for the conduct of the Government are greatly increasing. The details to set that forth were picturesquely supplied and competently, to say the least, illustrated. The discrimination required was not invariably exercised by the writer, nor is that a quality to which special correspondents are invariably addicted, or even frequently prone. Several of the declarations advanced were made upon the authority of Representative J. A. HEMSWAY, of Indiana, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, who has lately had an unhappy experience with the House on the policy he pursued of lumping, without editing or revising, the reports of the Post-Office Department, in which he succeeded in inculcating about 150 of his colleagues, whose

reputation for integrity equals his own, and whose reputation for justice and for carefulness exceeds his.

It may be well to go into the letter referred to with some particularity. Of course the expenditures of the United States are not small. This is a government of nearly 90,000,000 people. Population increases every year and the quantity of government increases in at least a like ratio. This is neither a prodigal nor a parsimonious government. Many of its servants are unjustly underpaid, none can be said to be overpaid, and few are adequately compensated, compared with what men of equal capacity receive in private employment. We are free to say that our officials, including our Congressmen, should, as a rule, be paid more. They say they should be paid more. They know they should. Yet they are afraid to appropriate more for fear that if they did the people, through a rush of parsimony to the pocket and of meanness to the head, would defeat them and displace them by demagogues or tramps, who would make of niggardliness a duty and of parsimony a boast. For our own part we do not believe that this is a mean government or a mean people, or that its representatives should think that meanness and parsimony represent either the spirit of the people or their wishes with regard to their servants.

Now that the letter referred to has passed to the category of review, let these facts be borne in mind: All Congressmen clamor for economy for others. We have heard of none of them who has voted to reduce the allowances which the Government makes for him. They all know they ought to be paid more, but they are afraid to vote to themselves more, for reasons already sufficiently noticed. They are quite critical of the Executive Departments, but they are careful not to reduce their own allowances. Take their \$5,000 a year salary and their \$1,200 a year allowance per Member for a private secretary. There is not an American who does not know that their salaries ought to be more, and that a Member's allowance for a secretary is, to say the least, moderate. They resent, and rightly, criticisms on themselves on account of such figures; but they are very sure that Executive Departments are prodigal, until some of their numbers are appointed to be the heads of such Departments. Then their point of view changes and they see things differently. When self the wavering balance holds, 'tis rarely well adjusted.

We notice in the letter published last Sunday that Representative GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, a Democratic Congressman and an editor from Nebraska, discovered that Department officials are absolutely riding in Government "coaches." "Coaches" is grandiloquence for "carriages," and "coaches" may even only signify buggies or wagons writ large. The word "coaches" is almost invariably used for what may be called "histrionic" effect. We presume that some of the Cabinet officers and some of their assistants, in rushing around from one part of Washington to another, have used some of these "coaches" or wagons, and perhaps they would as well use the trolley roads or walk. But that the thing amounts to an abuse or that anyone is injured by it, except the officials themselves, when those whom Carlyle called "the great unwashed" hear about it through the medium of large types or larger mouths, can well be doubted. The members of the Cabinet and the heads of Departments under them are known to be honest men. They are known to be underpaid and overworked. It is known they should receive not less but more than they do. We confess to small patience with the spirit which criticises them for "extravagance."

Our same friend, Congressman HITCHCOCK, has been "exposing" Government experiments with flying machines. Some day there will be flying machines. Some day they may be as common and as commonplace as railways or steamships. But like railways and steamships, they will be obtained by experimentation. Government will have to make its proportion of those experiments as well as private individuals. There is no pretense that the experiments the Government is making are made for any other than scientific purposes and for the public benefit, so that the principles of navigation, the conditions necessary for it can be ascertained. Experiments preceded the introduction of steam navigation, electric transportation, telegraphy, anesthetics, and other great gains for humanity. If necessity is the mother of invention, experiment may be said to be its father, and experimentation may be expected to go on. Our Government scientists will compare favorably for capacity and for integrity with our Federal legislators, to say the least.

Let us now get at one or two other details. The letter on Sunday said that there are "\$3,000,000 of unnecessary expenditure for armor for the Navy." We regard that as error. The expenditure, whatever it is, should be more rather than less. The thing desired is the discovery of the best armor and the ordering of whatever of that best is needed. The correspondent's further criticism of "\$17,000,000 of unnecessary expenditure in the Army and Navy for machinery and fortification" may be his opinion, but is not that held here. Our Army is censurably small. Our Navy should be progressively enlarged. Navy machinery and national fortifications should be progressively augmented. The policy of one Administration on this head, under public opinion and national necessity, will have to be the policy of the next and of the next, with a steady proportion of increase.

As to the unnecessary "transportation expenditure for the Army being \$5,000,000," this: The Government sends its soldiers where they are needed and ordered at the lowest feasible rates. They would otherwise have to walk or swim. They are not expected to do that. They are sent without luxury, but with expedition and with ordinary comforts and precautions. The contrary proposition may do for stump speeches, but an undemagogical newspaper can not indorse it.

We come now to a more interesting portion of the letter referred to, the one referring to the restoration of the White House to its original design and purposes, and the building of business offices near by it. The White House restoration is said to have cost "\$475,000." It was done under the plans of McKim, Mead & White, whose accuracy and honesty, whose genius and integrity as architects are well known. It was done on the initiative and the provision of Congress, and not at the instigation of the President at all. The result is a gratification to the nation, will be a valuable asset for at least a century to the Government, and secured an immense saving from the necessity which had otherwise followed for a wholly new White House.

Traversing the letter referred to, we reach a more personal item. It is that concerning the little steamers *Mayflower* and *Sylph*, which are frequently mis-called "the President's yachts." They belong to the Navy. The President has been on board of them a very few times, and had as much right to be on board of them as Admiral Dewey, Admiral Barker, and other admirals who have made long voyages in them and who are officers of the Navy inferior to the President, as its commander in chief. The President, as the Eagle's columns of report from Washington, from Brooklyn, and from Oyster Bay show, has never been on board both these vessels, put together, as many times as he has fingers on his hands, and never, except with strict regard to his duties as the head of the Navy, such as to review the fleet, to be present at target practices in order to secure good marksmanship, and to attend the encampment of the National Guard at Long Branch, and the like. He would have been censurable had he not performed those duties and had he not taken the vessels for that purpose or for like ones. So much for that.

Admiral Dewey has just returned from a voyage of some months on the *Mayflower*, in connection with the duties of his office. The vessel had been properly used for similar purposes, not only by the Admiral but by the chief of the Bureau of Navigation and by the Secretary of the Navy. Part of last winter she was employed as a portion of the blockading squadron at Panama and took part in the cruises of the Atlantic Squadron. The "fittings,"

to which so much reference is made, were in her before President McKinley and Secretary Long purchased her for the Government, in the Spanish war. Any repairs made to her are the same as those made to every ship, and none of them had the slightest reference to the two or three occasions on which the President was ever on board of her at all. The same is the case with the *Sylph*, on board of which, or on a Government tug, the Eagle's columns of report show that the President was about four times, and always on official business in and around the harbor of New York. The one instance possibly to the contrary was when he went from Jersey City to Oyster Bay, where he lived, on board of the *Sylph*, instead of going through New York City with the expensive, showy, but salutary adjunct of elaborate "police protection."

While we are on this matter we will refer to the trips of other Presidents and other citizens on tugs, carrying provisions and the like to light-houses, along the coast. Presidents Grant, Hayes, Arthur, Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley made such trips. President Roosevelt, we believe, has made none. By law, the commander of such tugs is permitted to take outsiders, not over two or three in number. The outsiders must pay for their own "keep" all the time they are on board, and the expense to the Government is nothing. Demagogues have made, or did make, much of these trips, but were very careful only to condemn the Presidents that did not represent their "party." Their allusions without exception have been contemptibly ignorant, miserably unfair, and nauseously demagogical. These trips really began way back under James Buchanan. He went down into his own pocket for all his personal expenses, and made all his civilian companions go down into theirs, for a like purpose, when they steamed down the Potomac. Men then laughed at a carelessness which they now respect. It was reserved for meaner days and meaner men to lie about later and like occasions. We feel absolutely ashamed of the necessity to have to grade press intelligence and public intelligence so low as to presume it is necessary to explain these things.

There is one more statement in the letter referred to calling for notice. It is the one in which Henry L. West, a Commissioner of the District of Columbia, is represented as saying that "the President has taken \$80,000,000 of personal patronage out of the Treasury and that in every Department there is the grossest laxity." We learn that Mr. West claims to have been absolutely misunderstood or misrepresented by that statement; that he never named or alluded to the Executive in any way whatever. We hardly see how he could have done so. Nobody questions Mr. Roosevelt's honesty. No one knows the necessity of securing the official scrutiny and the official approval of about a score of officers for any official to get a dollar out of the Treasury could believe the assertion that was made. Moreover, the District Commissioners are directly subordinate to and appointed by and by law under the control of the President himself. We can not account for the misrepresentation. We sincerely deplore and regret it.

This should do for to-day and for a long while. Ours is neither a dishonest President nor in the main a dishonest government. Neither is it an extravagant one. The "outs" are always accusing the "ins," and the "ins" are often wrongly aspersing the "outs." That friction secures vigilance, and that vigilance tends to honesty and toward economy. It is well the friction prevails. It is ill that injustice, because of such friction, at times occurs. It is right, when it occurs, for a clean and fair newspaper to correct it. Our Government will never be so "good" as it ought to be. One may be sure that it is never so "bad" as it is painted. Between overcoloring and untruth there is a difference, and the difference should be remarked and reprobated every time it is not respected.

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. DAVID E. FINLEY,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 16, 1904.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. FINLEY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I shall in my remarks, as nearly as may be, confine what I have to say to a discussion of some of the items in the bill under consideration.

The bill carries appropriations amounting to \$169,996,588.75. The amount carried by the last post-office appropriation bill was \$153,511,549.75, an increase of nearly sixteen and one-half millions of dollars, a very large increase and one for which the members of the committee should be able to give a good reason. I for one have no hesitation in saying that they can not entirely do so as to each and every item for which appropriation is provided. In a great appropriation bill like this it is impossible that the committee, or any one of its members, can be fully informed, and it follows that the bill represents the combined views and best judgment of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads as to what is necessary to give the country an efficient postal service for the ensuing fiscal year. As a member of that committee I know something of its labors in the preparation of the bill.

The postal service is the great business Department of the Government, extending to every citizen, ministering to his convenience, and promoting his interests. During the past fiscal year the financial transactions of the service aggregated over \$1,000,000,000. At all times the Department should be conducted with a view to efficiency and economy. At one time it was held that the postal service should be self-sustaining, and from 1837 until 1852, comparatively speaking, the Department was self-sustaining. In 1882, 1883, and 1884 the same state of facts existed. The sources from which the postal revenues were derived during the past fiscal year are shown in the report of the Auditor for the Post-Office Department, as follows.

APPENDIX TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Statement exhibiting quarterly the receipts of the Post-Office Department, under their several heads, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903.

Accounts.	Quarter ended—				Aggregate.
	Sept. 30, 1902.	Dec. 31, 1902.	Mar. 31, 1903.	June 30, 1903.	
Letter postage	\$59,098.28	\$12,275.46	\$16,905.94	\$68,747.15	\$186,426.83
Second-class postage	1,132,341.82	1,309,928.27	1,323,332.33	1,329,777.20	5,095,379.62
Box rents and branch offices	756,035.33	761,091.45	770,444.10	778,104.18	3,055,675.06
Fines and penalties	9,371.62	12,364.78	11,284.57	13,455.07	46,476.04
Postage stamps, stamped envelopes, wrappers, and postal cards	27,769,419.84	32,497,165.30	32,736,809.37	30,508,155.19	123,511,549.70
Dead letters	3,201.71	6,080.51	7,297.95	4,341.64	20,921.81
Revenue from money-order business	491,970.38	620,844.47	563,924.27	563,169.12	2,239,908.24
Miscellaneous	14,075.39	13,344.47	14,463.89	16,222.19	58,105.94
Total	30,235,514.37	35,233,094.71	35,443,862.42	33,311,971.74	134,224,443.24

Table 2 of the Auditor's report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903, shows the following expenditures for the postal service:
Statement exhibiting the expenditures of the Post-Office Department, under their several heads, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903.

Appropriation.	Quarter ended—				Expended on account of 1903.	Expended on account of previous years.	Aggregate expenditures.
	Sept. 30, 1902.	Dec. 31, 1902.	Mar. 31, 1903.	June 30, 1903.			
<i>Office of the Postmaster-General.</i>							
Advertising	\$1,688.57	\$356.23	\$604.84	\$620.77	\$3,170.41	\$302.44	\$3,562.85
Miscellaneous items	23.27	112.95	38.78	156.96	331.96	764.15	1,096.11
Postal laws and regulations	51,826.48				51,826.48		51,826.48
New territory and military postal service						142.56	142.56
<i>Office of the First Assistant Postmaster-General.</i>							
Compensation to postmasters	5,267,773.65	5,440,474.03	5,525,834.78	5,397,641.58	21,631,724.04	27.42	21,631,751.46
Compensation to assistant postmasters—first and second class offices	405,861.02	405,507.10	405,423.51	405,938.49	1,622,730.12		1,622,730.12
Compensation to clerks in post-offices	4,235,343.30	4,262,241.25	4,305,806.21	4,307,260.35	17,140,651.11	3,465.85	17,144,117.03
Rent, light, and fuel for first, second, and third class offices	558,983.63	578,081.86	594,051.61	629,851.81	2,360,968.91	3,111.83	2,364,080.74
Miscellaneous items at first and second class offices	102,498.95	61,908.97	59,425.91	41,787.15	256,620.98	4,279.91	260,900.89
Advertising at first and second class offices	6,015.53	6,492.46	6,116.06	6,008.11	24,632.16	30.27	24,662.43
Canceling machines	47,886.24	51,134.52	49,409.70	47,373.00	195,803.46	4,111.15	199,914.61
Compensation to assistant superintendents, salary and allowance division	3,500.00	3,500.00	3,664.84	3,335.16	14,000.00		14,000.00
Per diem of assistant superintendents, salary and allowance division	1,713.05	1,961.02	2,086.03	1,863.36	7,623.46		7,623.46
City free-delivery service	4,914,556.88	4,836,858.12	4,752,071.26	4,834,609.74	19,337,986.00	4,922.70	19,342,908.70
Rural free-delivery service	1,724,964.72	1,871,386.74	2,079,366.65	2,335,917.37	8,011,635.48	90,293.37	8,101,928.85
Stationery for postal service	19,344.20	15,386.95	27,446.57	6,572.94	68,760.66	40.35	68,801.01
Wrapping twine	34,475.92	31,638.81	35,039.28	31,421.45	132,635.47		132,635.47
Wrapping paper	21,119.94	8,407.00	10,308.10		39,835.04		39,835.04
Letter balances, scales, and test weights	3,282.93	2,850.19	6,632.88	438.80	13,254.80		13,254.80
Postmarking and rating stamps	14,370.62	70,056.54	12,297.34	5,848.45	42,572.95		42,572.95
Rubber stamps and type	1,027.92	933.67	1,287.43	763.44	4,012.46	1.00	4,013.46
Packing boxes, sawdust, etc	474.78	316.70	470.80	220.32	1,482.60		1,482.60
Printing facing slips, slide labels, etc.	8,303.96	17,901.34	16,359.34	4,297.83	46,862.47	2,799.30	49,661.77
Blanks, etc., for money-order service	32,980.94	34,914.34	39,967.72	4,316.20	112,179.20		112,179.20
Rubber and metal stamps for money-order service	1,320.03	2,278.84	2,442.92	1,558.68	7,600.47		7,600.47
Copying presses and typewriters for money-order service	15,216.16	1,286.30	2,663.23	586.07	19,751.76	184.85	19,936.61
Exchange, stationery, and miscellaneous for money-order service	1,869.50	3,020.72	3,041.38	1,388.86	9,270.46	390.37	9,660.83
Miscellaneous items	5.00	116.60	67.50	125.10	314.20		314.20
Payment of money orders more than 1 year old	31,316.27	44,969.30	32,275.51	32,829.60	141,390.68		141,390.68
<i>Office of the Second Assistant Postmaster-General.</i>							
Inland mail transportation—star	1,650,312.58	1,616,524.90	1,623,468.84	1,662,513.03	6,561,819.35	63,580.46	6,625,399.81
Inland mail transportation—steamboat	187,844.74	141,136.73	139,582.41	166,393.20	634,957.08	35,002.48	670,959.56
Mail messenger service	29,547.84	271,054.54	273,388.87	277,288.73	1,081,259.98	1,545.50	1,082,805.48
Pneumatic-tube service	7,660.35	40,793.82	44,604.08	49,822.78	142,867.04		142,867.04
Wagon service	208,573.52	201,619.40	205,776.95	212,738.06	828,707.93	793.30	829,501.23
Mail bags	98,373.58	79,088.74	10,229.97	45,022.57	274,219.71		274,219.71
Mail locks and keys	13,132.89	9,204.53	10,229.97	9,893.94	42,534.33	.69	42,535.02
Mail bag repair shop	2,015.19	1,550.35	2,022.18	2,562.51	8,460.23		8,460.23
Inland mail transportation—railroad	8,933,505.69	8,979,834.61	9,085,825.09	9,195,903.79	36,195,116.18	15,864.06	36,210,980.24
Railway post-office car service	1,222,398.39	1,240,438.73	1,263,870.75	1,333,708.35	5,063,424.22	10,230.30	5,073,654.52
Railway mail service	2,713,280.77	2,730,906.74	2,832,924.83	2,871,731.41	11,228,845.75	3,534.38	11,232,380.13
Inland mail transportation—electric and cablecars	106,229.52	109,015.50	113,371.66	111,803.73	440,420.41	112.09	440,532.50
Inland mail transportation—special facilities on trunk lines	32,843.97	34,080.61	30,389.39	25,024.21	122,347.18	161.65	122,508.83
Miscellaneous items	74.85	132.07	291.29	588.25	955.46		955.46
Transportation of foreign mails	532,686.09	644,323.28	577,413.87	612,720.45	2,427,160.33	14,694.29	2,441,854.65
Balance due foreign countries	48.81	112,371.76	40,505.30	613.95	153,534.82		153,534.82
<i>Office of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General.</i>							
Manufacture of postage stamps	73,996.11	85,203.02	88,797.99	88,336.98	336,437.10		336,437.10
Distribution of postage stamps	3,063.90	2,863.68	3,028.57	3,028.90	11,945.05		11,945.05
Manufacture of stamped envelopes and newspaper wrappers	161,818.80	181,793.87	198,075.68	183,068.93	724,787.37		724,787.37
Distribution of stamped envelopes and newspaper wrappers	4,593.04	4,768.05	5,142.00	5,322.63	19,825.72		19,825.72
Manufacture of postal cards	46,990.13	46,645.56	54,527.46	40,702.83	188,865.98		188,865.98
Distribution of postal cards	2,512.18	2,188.48	2,871.56	3,310.88	10,883.10	1.63	10,884.73
Registered package, tag, official, and dead-letter envelopes	35,830.92	41,063.18	38,979.81	34,880.91	150,754.82		150,754.82
Ship, steamboat, and way letters	87.34	60.70	69.40	86.92	304.36		304.36
Indemnities for losses by registered mail		78.76	237.80	632.26	948.82	3,217.15	4,165.97
Blanks, etc., for registry system	2,368.12	810.00	10,204.08	5.00	13,467.20	2,675.50	16,142.70
Special-delivery service						13.52	13.52
Special counsel—suits, second-class mailing privilege					682.49	682.49	682.49
Miscellaneous items	112.10	36.25	30.24	456.30	634.89		634.89
<i>Office of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General.</i>							
Mail deprecations and post-office inspectors	131,597.06	33,341.43	136,667.32	142,370.74	543,976.55	261.13	544,237.68
Payment of rewards	700.00		60.00	850.00	1,550.00	13,750.00	15,300.00
Miscellaneous items					60.00		60.00
Total	34,018,768.61	34,495,397.99	34,825,444.34	35,151,855.33	138,491,466.27	293,021.70	138,784,487.97

A comparative statement of the receipts and expenditures of the Post-Office Department from 1837 to 1903 shows that the Government received \$2,201,749,188.08 in the way of revenue and expended \$2,436,694,797.35, so that in sixty-six years the Government has conducted its postal service at a net cost of a little less than \$235,000,000.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that when we consider the benefits derived by all the people throughout the country from the postal service, the money has been spent for a wise purpose.

Mr. MURDOCK. May I ask the gentleman a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman if he has ever totaled those Treasury grants?

Mr. FINLEY. Mr. Chairman, I will say in all frankness that I have not, and I do not believe that any member of the Post-Office Committee or anybody else has accurately done so. I made an attempt, and after considerable effort gave it up in despair. Why, I can only say that it is because of the system of bookkeeping heretofore in practice in the Post-Office Department. I have good company in believing that there should be a reform in the matter of bookkeeping and the work simplified. I hope that I have answered the gentleman.

Mr. MURDOCK. The gentleman has.

Mr. FINLEY. We find that in twenty years the postal receipts have increased about 350 per cent, and expenditures have increased little more than this.

The report of the Auditor for the Post-Office Department, beginning with the year 1837, up to the present, in the matter of revenues and expenditures, shows the following:

Comparative statement of receipts and expenditures of the Post-Office Department from July 1, 1836, to June 30, 1904.

Fiscal year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1837	\$4,945,668.21	\$3,288,319.03
1838	4,238,733.46	4,430,662.21
1839	4,484,657.70	4,636,536.31
1840	4,543,521.92	4,718,235.64
1841	4,407,726.27	4,499,527.61
1842	4,545,849.65	5,674,751.80
1843	4,246,225.43	4,374,753.71
1844	4,237,287.83	4,296,512.70
1845	4,289,841.80	4,320,731.99
1846	3,487,199.75	4,076,036.91
1847	3,880,509.23	3,979,542.10
1848	4,555,211.10	4,326,839.27
1849	4,705,176.28	4,479,049.13
1850	5,439,984.86	5,212,953.13
1851	6,410,605.93	6,278,491.08
1852	5,184,528.84	7,108,450.04
1853	5,240,724.70	7,982,755.59
1854	6,255,586.22	8,577,424.12
1855	6,642,136.13	9,968,342.23
1856	6,920,821.66	10,405,286.36
1857	7,353,951.76	11,568,057.93
1858	7,486,792.86	12,722,470.01
1859	7,968,484.07	11,458,083.63
1860	8,518,067.40	19,170,609.89
1861	8,349,296.40	13,606,759.11
1862	8,299,820.90	11,125,394.13
1863	11,163,789.59	11,314,207.84
1864	12,438,253.78	12,644,786.20
1865	14,559,158.70	13,694,728.28
1866	14,436,986.21	15,352,079.30
1867	15,297,026.87	19,235,483.46
1868	16,292,600.80	22,730,592.65
1869	18,344,510.72	23,698,131.50
1870	19,772,220.65	23,998,857.63
1871	20,037,045.42	24,300,104.08
1872	21,915,426.37	26,658,192.31
1873	22,996,741.57	29,084,915.67
1874	26,471,071.82	32,126,444.58
1875	26,791,360.59	33,611,306.45
1876	28,644,197.50	33,263,487.58
1877	27,531,585.26	34,486,322.44
1878	29,277,516.95	34,165,084.49
1879	30,041,982.86	33,449,809.45
1880	33,315,479.34	36,542,803.68
1881	36,785,397.97	39,592,566.22
1882	41,876,410.15	40,482,021.23
1883	45,503,692.61	43,282,944.43
1884	43,325,958.81	47,224,590.27
1885	42,590,843.83	50,046,235.21
1886	43,948,422.95	51,004,743.80
1887	48,837,609.39	53,006,194.39
1888	52,695,176.79	56,468,315.20
1889	56,175,611.18	62,317,119.36
1890	60,882,097.92	66,259,547.84
1891	65,931,785.72	73,059,519.49
1892	70,930,475.98	76,980,846.16
1893	75,896,993.16	81,581,681.33
1894	75,080,479.04	84,994,111.62
1895	76,983,128.19	87,179,551.28
1896	82,499,208.40	90,932,669.50
1897	82,665,462.73	94,077,242.38
1898	89,012,618.55	98,033,523.61
1899	95,021,384.17	101,632,160.92
1900	102,354,573.29	107,740,267.99
1901	111,631,193.39	115,554,930.87
1902	121,848,047.26	124,785,697.07
1903	134,224,443.24	138,784,487.97
1904 (estimated)	146,304,642.87	153,511,549.75

We find that since the year 1884 the revenue has increased from \$42,500,843.83 to \$146,304,642.87 (estimated) for the current year, and the expenditures from \$50,046,235.21 to \$153,511,549.75. The increased cost of the service has a little more than kept pace with the revenues. A great many people believe that the expenditures for the postal service have not been kept down to the lowest possible limit consistent with an efficient administration of the service. Later on in my remarks I hope to show some of the reasons for this belief. The reports of the chiefs of bureaus in the Post-Office Department call for increased appropriations for the purpose of promotions, and an increase in the number of employees. The latter is to be expected to some extent on account of the growth of the postal service.

I believe, however, that if there are abuses in the matter of promotions and in increasing the number of employees, the abuses do not extend to the Railway Mail Service. These abuses might exist in first and second class offices, for the reason that these offices are not bound by stringent law and the rules and regulations of the Department in the same way and to the same effectiveness as are the third and fourth class post-offices. For purposes of comparison the compensation of postmasters or the salary paid to them, to some extent, may be taken as an index to the growth of the postal service. I shall not argue that it is complete, but to some extent it is a showing, and when the compensation paid to assistant postmasters and clerks in post-offices is considered the comparison is strengthened.

We find that the compensation paid to postmasters in 1888 amounted to \$17,457,315. In the last appropriation bill it amounted to \$21,631,724.04, an increase in six years of nearly 24 per cent. The bill under consideration carries \$23,250,000. This is an appropriation that can not well be criticised, for the reason that the salaries are fixed by law. The expense for salaries and allowances for assistant postmasters in first and second class offices has increased from \$1,339,000 to \$2,037,000 in the present bill, an increase of over 34 per cent. In the present bill there is provision for three new grades of salaries to assistant postmasters of \$700, \$800, and \$900 each, and I may add that the item here carries an appropriation, as I remember, of \$37,500 more than the estimate. It was found by the committee upon examination that this was necessary.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Does not the creation of those three new grades operate practically as an increase of salary?

Mr. FINLEY. I shall explain to the satisfaction of my friend from Mississippi, I hope, that this provision creating these three new grades will result in decreasing the allowance to assistant postmasters in newly created second-class offices. At least I can see no other result.

Under the present law, as soon as a post-office reaches the second class, with a salary of \$2,000 to the postmaster, as construed by the Department and according to the rules and regulations practiced, an allowance equal to 50 per cent of the postmaster's salary is given to the assistant, making his salary in the newly made second-class office \$1,000 to begin with; in my opinion, none too much.

Mr. STAFFORD. The law says it shall not exceed 50 per cent.

Mr. FINLEY. The law, as my colleague on the committee [Mr. STAFFORD] says, simply provides that the allowance to the assistant postmaster shall not exceed 50 per cent. There is no law to-day that requires an assistant postmaster to be paid a salary amounting to 50 per cent of the postmaster's salary, but, as I have just stated, the practice at the Department is, as soon as there is an assistant postmaster, to give him an allowance amounting to 50 per cent. The provision in the bill creating three new grades amounts to placing in the law a limitation which will to some extent curtail the discretion of the Department.

The compensation to clerks in first and second class post-offices has increased from \$11,508,108.98 in 1900 to \$19,995,700 in the present bill, an increase of over 73 per cent—an increase that may be proper and just; I do not know. If there are abuses in the expenditure of money in the matter of clerks in post-offices throughout this country, those abuses are confined largely to first-class offices. We all know that in the post-offices in great metropolitan cities like New York, Chicago, or St. Louis it is impossible that there should not be abuses. We know that there will creep into those offices abuses in violation of the law and of the rules and regulations of the Department. Promotions will be made, persons will be employed and paid, where according to a strict construction of the law and a faithful performance of duty on the part of those in authority such would not be the case. Particularly is the law violated in the employment of persons doing clerical work without being classified.

It would be interesting to the public to know the number of persons in the Government service in these offices who do clerical work and who are unclassified. On the whole, I think liberal provision has been made for clerk hire in first and second class post-offices.

Mr. Chairman, there is an item in the bill immediately following this which I wish to discuss. It is the item for separating the mails at third and fourth class offices. The increase in this item has been from \$750,000 in 1898 to \$1,000,000 in the present bill. And I may add that this is \$300,000 less than was carried in the last appropriation bill. In discussing this item of the bill I wish to make some remarks in reference to third-class post-offices and to give my views as to what is proper in the way of granting these offices a reasonable and just allowance for clerk hire. The only provision in the bill carrying an appropriation from which an allowance may be made to third and fourth class post-offices for any and all purposes in the way of securing clerical help is that of \$1,000,000 for separating purposes. With this fund properly administered and confined strictly to this purpose the sum is probably sufficient.

But, Mr. Chairman, I give it as my opinion that there is hardly a third-class post-office in the United States where the postmaster can perform the duties of the office without clerical assistance. Under the law the only allowance that can be made to these offices for this purpose is for unusual business, and heretofore the appropriation for separating purposes and unusual business has been used to a limited extent for the latter purpose. For many years third-class postmasters have been insistent that Congress grant them an allowance for clerk hire as such, and the Post-Office Department in the last report so recommends, particularly as to offices where the salary is from \$1,500 to \$1,900. The reasons for this are obvious.

Under current law third-class postmasters, with their salaries ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,900, must pay for clerical assistance out of their own pockets. So it is a third-class postmaster, drawing a salary of \$1,900 this year, must pay the expense of the office for clerical assistance, when next year, if the office is raised to second class, under the law the salary is \$2,000 and an allowance of \$1,000 is given for an assistant postmaster, and the Department may, and in its discretion often does, give additional allowances for clerk hire. As I have stated, the committee reduced the item for separating from \$1,300,000 under current law to \$1,000,000 in the present bill. Under a strict construction of sections 309 and 310 of the postal laws adequate relief to third-class postmasters can not be granted. The Department recommended that the law be changed and an allowance be made at third-class offices, and that an appropriation of about \$1,129,000 be made for this purpose.

There were two propositions before the Post-Office Committee in reference to clerk hire for third-class post-offices. One was a recommendation for an allowance not to exceed \$300 where the salary is \$1,600; not to exceed \$400 where the salary is \$1,700; not to exceed \$500 where the salary is \$1,800, and not to exceed \$600 where the salary of the postmaster is \$1,900, as appears in the Postmaster-General's report for 1903, page 91. The other proposition was \$100 where the salary of the postmaster was \$1,000 and \$1,100; \$200 where the salary is \$1,200 and \$1,300; \$300 where the salary is \$1,400 and \$1,500; \$400 where the salary is \$1,600 and \$1,700, and \$500 where the salary is \$1,800 and \$1,900.

Under the last proposition the estimate is that it will require an appropriation of \$1,129,825 to provide clerk hire for third-class offices. This amount I think reasonable and necessary in order to give some relief to third-class post-offices. When the comparison is made as to allowances for clerk hire and for assistant postmasters in second-class offices, I am satisfied that my statement will not be disputed. Mr. Chairman, the bill under consideration carries nearly \$20,000,000 for clerks in first and second class offices. For third and fourth class offices only \$1,000,000 is provided. At third and fourth class offices a majority of the people of this country receive their mail; the figures, as I recollect, being a little over 51 per cent. Is this discrimination proper? Is it just?

The allowance for third and fourth class post-offices is only 5 per cent of that for first and second class offices. Is it an amount that can be reasonably expected to give to the people an efficient postal service, and to pay to the servants of the Government a salary compensatory for the services rendered? I know that it will be said that there have been abuses in the Post-Office Department in the matter of making allowances for separating the mails and for unusual business at third and fourth class offices. This, however, has no connection with the proposition that I am discussing.

Mr. Chairman, we all know that one of the most notorious abuses uncovered in the recent Post-Office investigation was that where the Department made allowances for separating the mails and for unusual business at third and fourth class offices. We have here in the so-called "report" of the Post-Office purporting to give an account of these abuses where an improper allowance was made for separating service and for unusual business, a list of some 900 cases.

In that number, as I recollect, there are eighty-four cases put down where it is alleged that excessive allowances have been granted. I wish to say that I do not criticize any Member of Congress for recommending to the Post-Office Department the consid-

eration of all cases where the postmaster requests an additional allowance for separating service, for the reason that, as I stated some days ago in this House, no Member of Congress knows the scale or rule governing the Department. That scale or rule is a secret of the Department. I do not know it; you do not know it; and it is left to the discretion of the Department when a proposition is made to obtain such an allowance. But while I say this, Mr. Chairman, I want to state, with all the emphasis of which I am capable, that while Members of Congress are not to blame, the Department itself has been at fault. I have to some extent dissected this statement or this showing made of these 900 cases, and of these, excesses are shown in eighty-four cases, as I recollect.

In summing up roughly, I find that nearly \$17,000, according to the report of the Department, was improperly and illegally allowed for this service. And right here I will state something that perhaps is not a matter of general knowledge—that in going through this list of eighty-four cases where excesses are shown I only recognize the names of three Democrats. To these gentlemen are credited eight out of the eighty-four cases, with a total allowance of something like \$1,200, and as to these cases I am satisfied that the Department unwittingly made a mistake in granting an excess of allowance, for the reason that the other cases, some seventy-six, all told, amounting in the aggregate to nearly \$16,000, are credited to Republicans. I do not think that it will be disputed that the salary and allowance division of the Post-Office Department used and abused its discretion in the matter of granting allowances for the separating service and for unusual business at third and fourth class post-offices for political purposes. Can I prove it? Yes.

So that there have been abuses in the Department in the matter of disbursing the appropriation for the separating service, and I believe that the exposure made of these abuses has had something to do with the action of the Post-Office Committee in not granting the reasonable and just demands of third-class postmasters. I think that only the conclusion can be drawn that while this Government has been liberal with first and second class post-offices and the Post-Office Department, yet in the case of third-class post-offices it has not performed its duty in that a proper allowance has not been made for clerical assistance at these offices. I might say a great deal more along this line, Mr. Chairman. Will you give me the time I have consumed?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina has consumed seventeen minutes.

Mr. FINLEY. The items mentioned by way of comparison show approximately the cost of the service and the inequalities of this increased cost.

The expenditures for inland transportation by railroad routes amounted to \$30,464,464 in 1898, and the appropriation for this service of \$39,698,000 in the bill under consideration is an increase of about 30 per cent. The item for railway-car service has increased from \$3,753,420 in 1898 to \$5,736,000 in the bill. As has been stated in the course of the debate, no one can approximate the reasonableness of these two items. I believe that some years ago a commission was appointed to investigate and report upon this and other related subjects for the benefit of Congress in dealing with postal matters. If I am not mistaken, the committee reported that more light was needed on the question of railway transportation of the mails, and they could not even offer a suggestion. At any rate, nothing was done, and the question is an open one. It has been estimated that on the basis of ordinary freight rates the cost to the Government would be something like five to six millions of dollars. This, of course, is too low, and whether or not the \$45,000,000 and over that we now pay for this service is too much or too little I am unable to say.

The largest increase of any item in the bill is that for rural free-delivery service. That service is now on a permanent basis. It is not, as has been the case heretofore, for experimental service. Not at all. Until recently this was the case. The convenience and benefits of daily mail service to people living in the country is so well known and has been so frequently discussed on this floor and elsewhere that I shall not attempt to discuss it. What I shall have to say in this respect will be in reference to the workings of that service. The demand is universal that the service be extended to all available territory. From the best information obtainable we are to believe that about one-third of the available territory has been covered. That would leave two-thirds yet to be covered. There are many sections and localities where this service can not now and may never be extended to.

The expenditures, or rather the appropriations, have increased from \$10,000, the first appropriation ever made, to \$20,180,000 in the bill under consideration. On June 30, 1904, about 24,000 routes will be in operation. Provision is made in the bill for a liberal increase. So that we have here a very large increase in this one item; and while the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, in dealing with the estimates for other items in the bill, were able to make a reduction amounting to more than \$3,000,000, yet in dealing with this one item and in bringing in this provision,

believing them necessary, increase the appropriation in the bill to an amount somewhat in excess of the estimates submitted.

This increase is due to the extension of the service largely, and also to increased pay given the carriers. When all available territory is covered, the rural free-delivery service will cost about \$60,000,000.

I wish along this line to give what, in my opinion, is the right and proper thing to do. As I have already stated, I believe that this service should be extended as rapidly as may be to all available territory; and while I am on this branch of the subject I may state that those people who are for extending what is known as the "county service" the ensuing fiscal year will be somewhat disappointed, because where the estimate was for thirty-six additional rural agents, the committee granted ten of the thirty-six asked for. My understanding is that the result of this will be to postpone the inauguration of the "county service" for some time to come. So that I wish the Members of the House to understand what will be the result of giving only an increase of ten rural agents where thirty-six were asked for. I believe that where it is a matter as to which shall be extended, the "county service" or the "rural route," as petitioned for generally throughout the country, that "route service" should take precedence over "county service."

It is right, and I believe that the Post-Office Department will carry out the proposition, and that county services will not be inaugurated during the next fiscal year to the extent at least that some people believe that it will be. Now, as to the pay of the carriers. It is true that the Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General in his report recommended that salaries be fixed at \$750. The committee considered this matter; they went over it; listened to the views of the officials from the Department; they gathered information from every source obtainable, and the provision as it is here in the bill, providing for a salary of \$720, is what a majority of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads believed was best to put in the bill. Personally I think that the carriers should receive \$750.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from South Carolina yield?

Mr. FINLEY. Certainly.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I ask my colleague a question?

Mr. FINLEY. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would like to ask my colleague if the question of paying these carriers upon a mileage basis was discussed in the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads—\$30 a mile or \$35 a mile or whatever rate you might fix upon—so that all would be upon the same basis?

Mr. FINLEY. I will say, practically speaking, that it was not. Now, I do not mean to convey the impression that the matter was never mentioned at any time, but that there was any serious discussion over that proposition I have no recollection, and I think that the reason is obvious. It would not do to say that one carrier should receive a salary of \$400 when so much of his time was taken up he would not be able in a practical way to engage in other business, and that another carrier, doing perhaps one hour or an hour and a half more service in a day, should receive \$600 or \$700; so that the committee believed, and I think correctly believed, that there should be uniformity of salary as nearly as is practical in the matter of rural carriers' pay.

Whenever you proceed to discriminate, Mr. Chairman, then various abuses will creep in and dissatisfaction will follow and trouble will ensue. As I stated, the salary was fixed at \$720. Now, is this enough? I am not prepared to say that in each and every instance it is, but I do say that in the majority of cases it is a fair salary to be paid the rural free-delivery carriers. There are cases, as I know, where \$720 is not enough, but we can not take those isolated cases and fix the salaries upon that basis. We must take conditions as they are throughout the country and what would give a fair and efficient postal service to these rural communities, and at the same time give to the carriers a fair salary is what the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads thought was right and proper to do, and I believe that this House will indorse the action of that committee.

Now, along this line I wish to call attention to something that the committee had to face, and that is if it was the purpose of the committee or if it is the purpose of this House to greatly increase the salaries of these rural free-delivery carriers that increase would certainly be at the expense of the extension of the service, so that there was a choice between the extension of the service and paying large salaries to the carriers. I had no hesitation in taking my position. I have none now in stating it that as a choice I would take the extension of this service, and I hope the time will soon be when every part of the available territory in all these United States will be covered with this service. The salaries of carriers can be increased, and I have no doubt but that they will be in time, as the service is extended and the business grows.

But, Mr. Chairman, I stated a moment ago that a great many

people believe that the postal service of the country has not been conducted in as economical and efficient a manner as it might be. Some people believe that. I believe that there is need for a commission, yes, another commission similar to the one you had some years ago to investigate the Railway Mail Service, etc.—a commission which will overhaul the entire Department and which will go into its workings in a practical way and find out whether or not that Department in any of its bureaus is conducted and run upon an antiquated and expensive basis, and whether changes can not be made in the administration of that Department and laws amended so that we may have the same service and perhaps a better service at a much reduced cost to the Government.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this should be done. From the report of the Post-Office Committee, and I think it is approximately correct, the deficit for the ensuing year will be practically \$10,524,527.75; in round numbers a deficit of ten and one-half million dollars. I state here, and I believe it to be true, that there are divisions in the Post-Office Department carrying out practices to-day in administration that are antiquated and expensive. A saving of less than 6 per cent would wipe out this deficit. Not only this, but there are other abuses, in my judgment. I believe that one abuse, which is seldom, if ever, mentioned here, is that of the franking privilege. I have no way of estimating what the franking privilege costs the United States Government annually, but when I state that it costs at least one-half of this estimated deficit, or more than \$5,000,000 annually, I think that I am within the limits of discretion.

I believe that this privilege costs nearer twice that amount, because railroads are paid for carrying the mail by pound rates, and documents entitled to the franking privilege have to be paid for by the Government at the same rate per pound as a letter bearing a 2-cent stamp. So that I believe that a commission such as I have mentioned would investigate this, and if they found abuses, a recommendation would come from that commission that the law regulating the franking privilege should be amended. Then, perhaps, we should not have rumors or reports going around over the country and through the press that persons entitled to the franking privilege had abused that privilege.

Mr. MURDOCK. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. FINLEY. Very well.

Mr. MURDOCK. Would you restrict the franking privilege to public documents and letters?

Mr. FINLEY. I will say, in answer to my friend, that when I am asked as to what restriction I would make, I do not know. I think that the law should be enforced to the letter.

Mr. SIBLEY. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. FINLEY. Certainly.

Mr. SIBLEY. I think we are all in substantial agreement, but if there have grown up such abuses, or if there is an individual instance of it, if a Member of Congress or an official of the Department has been guilty of such a flagrant abuse, is it not your duty or mine, knowing that, to call specific attention to the individual? I will also ask my friend if he has personal knowledge of the fact that there have been such abuses? If so, there has been a breach of privilege, and punishment should follow.

Mr. FINLEY. I will say to my friend that I have not said there were abuses of that kind. I said there were charges in the newspapers. I did not assert that they were true. I said if they were true, that when this commission made its investigation, if it found such things to be true, recommendations would be made to correct the abuses.

Now, as to the gentleman's first question, if it were not the duty of a Member of Congress, or myself, where an instance is known to me personally, to become—what? A prosecutor; a detective? I do not think he intended to ask that question. I say that as high as his character is for personal honor and integrity, no consideration, I believe, would induce him to go to a United States commissioner's office and swear out a warrant, even if he knew of a hundred cases of such violation of the law. Now, as true as that is of him, it is equally true of the other Members of this House. The people to find out and ascertain where there are violations of the law are in the Government service. They are the ones whose business it is to see that the laws are enforced. I hope I have answered my friend.

Mr. SIBLEY. I want to say to my friend that if I knew of such abuses, my impression is that I should call the attention of the head of the Department, who is charged with looking into these abuses, to the fact. I do not believe I would be doing a wrong to any man in this body, and I do not believe a man is worthy of consideration who would so transgress the law. If there is rebuke for that, he ought to be willing to receive it.

Mr. FINLEY. The gentleman from Pennsylvania knows as well as I do that this franking privilege is not confined to Members of Congress. Many other officials and many institutions of this country have the franking privilege. When I say that it is charged that the franking privilege is to-day a subject of abuse and has been abused, I only state what is within the common

knowledge of all who read the newspapers. My friend from Pennsylvania agrees with me in this. I am not here making charges against Members of Congress, but I call attention to the deficit and to what, in my judgment, might, if carried out, wipe out that deficit and give to the country a great and effective postal system within the bounds and limits of the revenues of that Department.

Now, I am not one of those who believe that the Department should be kept within those limits necessarily; not at all. While I am on this branch of the subject, I will state that, in my opinion, if there were a thorough and searching investigation of the Post-Office Department, at least a small percentage of this deficit could be wiped out.

I believe that the time has come when that Department, having been run and conducted and managed for years as it has been, should be thoroughly investigated, and whatever there is in the Department that is wrong, which is in violation of law, if there are grafters there, should be uncovered and made to face the light of publicity. I say that nothing short of this will satisfy the American people.

For one I think it a disgrace to the Government which is ours that that great Department has been charged with wrongdoing—not by Democratic Members of Congress alone, but by the people generally throughout the country; and when newspapers of all shades of influence and politics have demanded that the light be turned on, it is an insult to our people, when we have had as much evidence as we have of wrongdoing there, that the House stands—where? Ready to help on this proper and right and just demand for investigation? No; it stands in the way, blocking an investigation. If this investigation were made and we could find where money had been wrongfully spent or stolen, that would redound to the interest of the taxpayers—not only that, but the rascals and the grafters would be enmeshed in the toils of the law and made to suffer for their wrongdoings. Is this not right? I think I can answer for some of my Republican friends that if it were left to their own consciences and dictation, they would vote with myself and others on this side upon that proposition.

If there is no wrong there, an investigation can do no harm; and if there is wrongdoing, an investigation is not only right and proper, but is necessary from every point of consideration. Yes, the House stands in the way of an investigation; but that investigation is going to come, gentlemen. The Post-Office Department will be investigated, and it will be investigated at the instance of the American people if years and years are required for the purpose. The public mind is saturated with the thought that there is corruption there.

I myself do not know anything about it, but there have been grave charges made, commencing with Mr. Tulloch and emphasized by Mr. Bristow, coming down to this time. Those charges have been reiterated by the American people, by the American press, and I say that the only thing to do is to investigate this Department and let the people see for themselves. Will it be done? Yes, I will say to my friends on the other side of the aisle. And if it is not done now, I believe that it will be done certainly in the year 1905, because while the Democratic party, of which I am an humble member, has been out in the cold for 10, these many years, I believe, and I have reason to believe, that the good time is coming when the political party in power in this country will be turned out, and next November the American people will register their will that the Democratic party be given the reins of government, and then you may rest assured there will be an investigation. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

Rural Free Delivery.

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. H. HINSHAW,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 25, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes.

Mr. HINSHAW said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: While that part of the post-office appropriation bill fixing the salaries and privileges of rural mail carriers is under consideration, I desire to present some facts which, in my judgment, clearly show that the carriers are entitled to more consideration and fairer treatment than they have heretofore received.

We all recognize the fact that the rural mail delivery system

has been so recently inaugurated and its growth so rapid that it has been practically impossible as yet to put the carriers on a salary sufficient to compensate them for their labor and expenses. A few years ago anyone who had advocated the delivery of mail to the millions of farmers of this country would have been considered visionary, but at this time there are about 21,000 rural-route carriers, who deliver mail to more than 10,000,000 people, and the system is rapidly extending. It is, in fact, a great success.

From present indications I firmly believe that the system will, before many years, be self-sustaining. The increase in the amount of mail caused by the installation of routes augments the revenues to such an extent that it is safe to say the service will eventually become self-sustaining.

But suppose it does not. The vast rural population of our country is the very foundation of our republican institutions, and too little has been done by legislation in this country for the benefit of the farming communities. To be sure, the farmers profit indirectly by laws protecting other industries, but this nation can well afford to expend a few millions of dollars, even if not directly reimbursed, for the advantage and for the comfort and education of the farming communities of this great agricultural nation.

I think it is universally conceded that rural mail carriers do not at present receive adequate compensation. In my district there are 200 rural mail carriers, who are as competent, worthy, and industrious a set of men as are employed by the Government in any capacity. These men furnish a wagon costing about \$100, upon which, in the course of a year, they must expend many dollars for repairs. They furnish generally three horses, and many times four, for this arduous service.

It is a rare circumstance that it is possible to get along with two horses. Their expense for feed, shoeing, repairs of harness, and other expenses amount in the year to \$250 or \$300. At the present salary of \$600 it will be readily seen that a very small amount is left for wages, and most of these deserving men have families to support.

The National Rural Letter Carriers' Association has recommended a graded scale of salaries. I have introduced a bill at this session of Congress which is nearly in accord with the recommendation of that association. My bill provides for the payment of \$720 for the first year of service, \$840 for the second year, and \$900 per annum thereafter. It is apparent from the conditions existing in this House at the present time that it is hardly possible to pass so liberal a bill, although it is evidently the intention of this Congress to do justice by these carriers.

I have received the following letter from a rural carrier of Saunders County, Nebr., in my district, which I think fairly expresses the judgment of the carriers generally:

CERESCO, NEBR., March 21, 1904.

HON. E. H. HINSHAW, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I and my brother carriers (rural free delivery) look on your bill, introduced by you for our relief, as being the best, all things considered, of the numerous measures before the House and heartily approve of your action in pushing same.

My route is 24 miles long. (The Government report says 27, but it is wrong.) I use three horses, the keep and shoeing expense of which will be between \$225 and \$250 per annum, possibly a little greater than the last figure.

Another thing in favor of your measure is, it carries with it the incentive in increased salary to the carrier to stick to the service. I have been on my route more than two years, and I find that the more experience, the better service I can give my patrons, and the longer a carrier is on a route the better the patrons like it.

The rural mail service is the greatest innovation ever introduced in the country and, with a law passed as introduced by you, will in a few years become perfect.

Respectfully, yours,

W. T. MARCH.

P. S.—Two hundred and twenty daily papers leave the Cerescos office every morning on the three routes out of Cerescos.

This letter also shows the enormous increase in the circulation of daily papers caused by the rural mail service.

At Waco, in York County, Nebr., the postmaster told me last fall that prior to the installation of rural free-delivery service from that office there were but three daily papers taken in the country, but that at that time there were taken on the four rural routes out of the little town of Waco 250 daily papers. These are fair samples, in my judgment, of the conditions existing upon all the rural routes in my district.

This nation spends enormous millions every year for education. In my opinion there can be no wiser expenditure for educational purposes than the rural free-delivery mail service, because it not only increases the comfort and convenience of the people by giving them early and frequent opportunity of exchanging social and business letters, but it directly tends to the education of all the people by affording them daily newspapers, quickly delivered, which I believe to be the greatest educational factor known to this country.

The isolation of farm life is disappearing. The telephones covering the land, putting the people into instant communication with the towns and cities, with the news centers and the markets, and the daily mail at every door, will render the country home

the ideal place of residence, and the intense desire which the young people reared on the farm have heretofore shown to leave the country for the cities will in large measure disappear.

Rural mail delivery tends to bring about better roads, a direct benefit to the whole community. The privileges heretofore accorded the carrier to deliver merchandise and packages of various kinds to the farmers should not be restricted. It is a feature of accommodation highly prized and is not injurious to anyone, where the carrier simply follows the directions of the farmer patron.

To make the mail service perfect the Congress should give to the mail carrier an incentive, by an increase of salary, to remain on his route for a number of years. The judgment of the American people will commend this course. The American people will never condemn a wise expenditure of public money in a good cause and when it is clearly intended for the upbuilding of society, the elevation of morals, the dissemination of learning, and the increased happiness of the race.

Leases of Post-Office Premises, etc.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN J. GARDNER,

OF NEW JERSEY.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 11, and Friday, March 25, 1904.

The House having under consideration the following resolution:
"Resolved, That the Speaker of this House appoint a committee, consisting of five Members of this House, to investigate said charges; that said committee have power to send for persons and papers, to enforce the production of the same, to examine witnesses under oath, to have the assistance of a stenographer, and to have power to sit during the sessions of the House, and to exercise all functions necessary to a complete investigation of said charges, and to report the result of said investigation as soon as practicable"—

Mr. GARDNER of New Jersey said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It seems to me that this discussion has got into a position where it is scarcely justifiable in me to take any time at all. I intended at this point to go into a defense of this committee and of this report. I have not now the time. As for myself I feel deeply grieved that it has taken the scope it has and yet ended in such paucity. It should have stopped sooner or gone further; yet I am doubtful if this is the time for me to complain before the House of its merely skeleton character.

Why, Mr. Speaker, for, lo, these ten years I have tried here to fill a dual office—that of a Member of the lower House of Congress and the Representative of my district at the seat of Government. The latter office, at least, I imagined that I had filled fairly well. Up to this time I believe my constituents have thought so, too. I have not sought to deceive them. I do not believe they were deceived. But here comes a document which some gentlemen are disposed to accept as a record of our actions and achievements.

Why, sir, with all the emphasis that I am capable of commanding I denounce any attempt to take this document as the measure of my activities as the representative of my district at the seat of government. [Applause.] And, sir, when I look back into those ten years, when I think of the trips I have made by night to Washington in stuffy sleepers in the hot months of vacation, when I think of the hurry calls I have made at the Department when I knew some committee wanted me, when I think of the sacrifice of my half holidays during the adjournments here, and of the successes that I thought I had achieved, of the acknowledgment that I have accepted, of the letters of thanks over which I have congratulated myself; when I think of the smiles that have greeted me as I have passed through the towns that I thought I had benefited; when I remember all these things and scan this report and find a record of but two paltry efforts—

Mr. CLAYTON. I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. GARDNER of New Jersey. I have no time now. When I anticipate my return to a grateful people at home and find there some one shaking this report before them and saying: "We have got him now; he did not do it. Why did he come here strutting with his wing over his leg? Why did he have his name coupled with the improvements in postal facilities at Mount Holly and at Beverly and at Burlington and at Bordentown and at Riverton and numerous other places? He did not do it, because it is not in this record."

Mr. CLAYTON. And you did not do it.

Mr. GARDNER of New Jersey. I do not know whether we can get any investigation that is going to put into a report what I want; but if anybody is going by any record, I want something

or other that shall take away from consideration as a measure of my action and success anything like this.

Mr. CLAYTON. You will get your whitewashing resolution passed all right.

Mr. GARDNER of New Jersey. When I think of it all my fibers thrill with indignation. I feel smitten by the hand of wrong, as though justice were taken away by the irresponsible hand of power. Some there be who talk about this document as an indictment. That I can not comprehend. It was Butler, I think, who said that "some there be who have seen ghosts and specters, saucer-eyed, with horns; and some there be who have heard the devil beat a drum." [Laughter.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Lands on Flathead Indian Reservation, Mont.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. BURKE,

OF SOUTH DAKOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 2, 1904.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12231) for the survey and allotment of lands now embraced within the limits of the Flathead Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, and the sale and disposal of all surplus lands after allotment—

Mr. BURKE said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am opposed to the passage of this bill in its present form. I am not opposed to some legislation by which the Indians upon the Flathead Reservation may be required to take allotments and the surplus land be opened to homestead settlement.

I am opposed to this particular bill, first, because it recognizes that the land in this reservation is the property of the Indians, and that they own it to the same extent as they would own it if they possessed the absolute fee title. I am also opposed to this bill because it provides for the creation of a commission to appraise and classify the lands, said commission to consist of two Indians belonging to the tribe, two residents of the State of Montana; and an agent of the Interior Department.

The general result of a commission such as is created by this bill has been expensive and unsatisfactory, and there has invariably been more or less scandal connected with the workings of such a commission.

I am further opposed to the bill because it provides that one-half of the moneys received from the sale of the lands shall be paid out to the Indians. If land within Indian reservations is to be treated as the property of the Indians, and is to be disposed of for their benefit, then the proceeds received from the sale should be deposited in the Treasury and expended only as the needs of the Indians may require, and for their civilization and education, and not paid out to them in cash, to be recklessly squandered, as is usually the case when money is paid to an Indian.

The report from the Committee on Indian Affairs in support of this bill is misleading, as it states that by the treaty made with the Flathead Indians there is an express provision that after the Indians have taken their allotments the surplus land should be sold and the proceeds paid to the Indians. There is no such provision in the treaty, and the same is not even contemplated by said treaty.

It appears that in 1855, about fifty years ago, certain confederated tribes of Indians, comprising the Flatheads, Kutenai, and Upper Pend d'Oreille, entered into a treaty with the Government by which they ceded all their right, title, and interest in and to certain territory described in Article I of said treaty. Article II of said treaty reserved from the lands ceded the reservation that is now proposed to be opened for settlement by the terms of this bill, and I believe it is commonly known as the "Jocko Reservation;" and it was expressly provided that the Indians should have the exclusive use of the same as a reservation, but no conveyance or grant of the same was made to the Indians, and simply the general language used in creating reservations where treaties were made.

In Article XI of said treaty it was provided that the Bitter Root Valley, above the Lolo Fork, should be surveyed and examined; and if in the judgment of the President he considered it better adapted to the wants of the Indians than the Jocko Reservation, it was within his power to set it aside as a reservation for said tribe. It appears that about one-fourth of the Indians preferred to occupy the Bitter Root Valley and refused to move; but in 1873 Congress provided that said Indians would be required to remove to the reservation, and an appropriation of \$50,000 was made for the purpose of moving them, and they were obliged to go to the reservation, as defined in this bill.

Article VI of the treaty is quoted correctly in the report of the committee, but the same only refers to allotments, and provides that the President may allot lands to the Indians, as provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omaha Indians, and makes no reference whatever to a disposition of the surplus lands.

Article VI of the treaty made with the Omahas, March 16, 1854, provides for an allotment as follows: To a single person over 21 years of age, one-eighth of a section; to each family of two, one-fourth of a section; to each family of three, and not exceeding five, one-half of a section; to each family of six, and not exceeding ten, one section, and to each family over ten in number, one-quarter section for every additional five members.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, that this was what was contemplated by the sixth article of the treaty with the Flathead Indians, and that it did not, in any manner, intend to make provision for the disposition of the surplus lands within the Flathead Reservation; and I submit further that, in view of all that has been done for these Indians, when they are permitted to take allotments, as provided by the Omaha treaty, they have been treated reasonably fair, and they should not be given more than what their right of use may be in the surplus lands, and it is unfair and unjust to exact of settlers, who will be induced to go upon said lands, occupy, cultivate, and make them valuable, the payment of a price for the same, as appraised by a commission consisting of two Indians and three others, to be appointed as provided by this bill.

There are about 1,400,000 acres of land within the Flathead Reservation, and after allotments have been made there will be left about 1,300,000 acres to be disposed of. There are only 1,270 Indians comprising the Flathead and confederated tribes upon this reservation, and I again submit that there is no reason or justice, after all that has been done for these Indians, that this great portion of what should be public domain and reserved to be disposed of to homeseekers should be sold to speculators, and for the most that can be gotten therefor, and distributing the money among these Indians.

By reason of the aid extended to them by the Government and having the use of this great reservation for so many years the Indians have become thrifty and have made advances in agriculture and other mechanical pursuits, and it appears in a report made by a commission appointed in 1883, more than twenty years ago, that many of them possessed farms under good cultivation, well fenced, and their pastures were covered by herds of cattle and good horses, and it was then predicted that within a few years their condition would be as useful and they would be as prosperous as any community in the far West. What they have ever done or what they have contributed toward the maintenance and development of the country to warrant their now receiving, in addition to generous allotments, the proceeds to be derived from the sale of more than 1,000,000 acres of land for as much as can be gotten for it, is beyond my comprehension.

We have until recently, almost since the foundation of our Government, been led to believe that the Indians, at the most, had a mere right of occupancy only of lands which they occupied and which had been set aside as reservations, and that when civilization demanded and there was no longer any use for the maintenance of great reservations as hunting and fishing grounds, that the reservations should be diminished, and the surplus lands made a part of the public domain, to furnish homes for the homeless and lands for the landless, and the criticism that we occasionally hear of the manner in which the Indians have been treated by the Government is prompted by mere sentiment and usually comes from a source remote and far distant from the Indian country, and I would like to quote one sentence from our distinguished President, in his life of Thomas H. Benton, in which he says, referring to the criticisms that have been made as aforesaid, as follows:

Much maudlin nonsense has been written about the governmental treatment of the Indians, especially as regards taking their land, for the simple truth is that they had no possible title to most of the lands we took, not even that of occupancy, and at the most were in possession merely by virtue of having butchered the previous inhabitants.

There is much of truth in this statement, and I wish to enter my protest against the new policy that we seem to now be adopting by the legislation proposed in this bill of considering that it is only a question of getting as much as possible for the Indians without any consideration whatever of those who may assume the responsibilities of developing and building up homes upon the frontier and making valuable and productive that which to-day is practically useless and without value.

For the purpose of showing to what extent the Government has assisted these Indians, and to show their present condition and the number of the same, I wish to submit herewith a letter from the honorable Acting Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of March 28, 1904. [See letter attached hereto.]

It will be noticed that, since we were obliged to make any appropriations by reason of any treaty obligation with these Indians, we have appropriated for their benefit over \$200,000, and

yet there is no suggestion in the bill now being considered that the Government be reimbursed for any portion of this amount.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that I do not think we ought to adopt the policy proposed by this and other bills which have recently passed this House, and we should legislate in relation to the opening of Indian reservations with regard to what would be for the best interests of the Indians, and not to see how much money can be realized from the sale of lands which they do not own, in order that they may have a large sum of money to squander, and that we should endeavor to treat them entirely fair and just under all the circumstances, and should only require of settlers who may go upon the lands, to make their homes, improve and cultivate the same, such a price as they will reasonably be able to pay, and what will be a fair price for whatever right the Indians may have in the lands by reason of any right of use which they may possess.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, March 28, 1904.

HON. CHARLES H. BURKE,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Your communication of the 13th instant received, requesting the following information:

The number of Indians comprising the confederated tribes of Flatheads, Kootenai, and Upper Pend d'Oreille upon the Flathead Reservation in Montana; and the amount of money paid these Indians since the treaty of 1858, and a statement as to the condition of said Indians, their progress, and civilization.

In reply, I have the honor to inform you that there are about 1,270 Indians comprising the Flatheads and confederated tribes of Indians in Montana.

Under the fourth and fifth articles of the treaty of July 16, 1855, Congress appropriated, from 1860 to 1880, the sum of \$438,550, of which amount \$431,001.08 was actually expended for them, and \$7,548.92 returned to the surplus in the Treasury. There was also appropriated for transportation of goods and supplies for these Indians \$56,761.26, of which amount \$16,236.71 was expended.

After the termination of their treaty in 1880, gratuitous appropriations were made, and are now being made, and up to June 30, 1902, amounted to \$223,667.86, of which there has been expended for them for subsistence, etc., \$198,917.48. There was appropriated for their removal from Bitter Root Valley to Jocko Reservation, in Montana (17 Stats., 188), \$5,000, all expended. There was also appropriated for those who actually removed to the Jocko Reservation, from 1873 to 1883, \$50,000 (18 Stats., 173), which was to be paid them in ten annual installments of \$5,000 each. Of this amount \$45,000 was expended for the purpose appropriated.

These Indians are very far advanced in civilization and education. They have large herds of cattle, horses, and good, productive farms, raising great quantities of hay and wheat. Last year they raised over 1,000 tons of hay and 3,000,000 pounds of wheat. They have few criminals, and claim to have no paupers among them.

Very respectfully,

A. C. TONNER,
Acting Commissioner.

General Deficiency Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. REEDER,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 15, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 15054) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, for prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. REEDER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I desire to submit some remarks on the question of our public-land laws, and regret that I have not the ability to discuss the subject in a manner comporting with the overshadowing importance of the question to the nation. Our public-land laws have engaged the attention of our Presidents, Secretaries of the Interior, Commissioners of the General Land Office, and many of the great national organizations of manufacturers, commerce, agriculture, and labor for many years past, and they constitute an all-important subject to those who desire to see our remaining public domain occupied and cultivated by the owners of their own homes.

The gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH], in opening his remarks on this same subject before this body, printed in the RECORD of April 9 last, said:

I wish to speak upon a subject that is not primarily of importance to the nation at large.

Mr. Chairman, for myself I would change his statement thus: "A subject primarily of the utmost importance to the nation at large."

President Roosevelt in his messages to Congress has urged the great importance of the public-land question, and he has discoursed upon its far-reaching possibilities at various times and at various places, both before and since he has been President, in his own inimitably forceful style; but I recall no statement that more

clearly expresses the truth than in his speech at Stanford University May 12, 1903. In this he said:

To establish a family permanently upon a quarter section of land or, of course, upon a less quantity, if it is irrigated land, is the best use to which it can be put.

The first need of any nation is intelligent and honest citizens. Such can come only from honest and intelligent homes, and to get the good citizenship we must get the good homes.

It is absolutely necessary that the remainder of our public land should be reserved for the home maker.

And again:

It is time for us to see that our remaining public lands are saved for the home maker to the utmost limit of his possible use. We want to see the free farmer own his own home.

The best of the public lands are already in private hands, and yet the rate of their disposal is steadily increasing. More than 6,000,000 acres were patented during the first three months of the present year.

Mr. Chairman, more than 6,000,000 acres of our public domain in three months—2,000,000 acres in one month—500,000 acres each week. How many hundreds of possible homes for poor families gone each week—and gone where? Largely into the hands of the land grabber and the syndicate; and thus will our nation's lands become a menace to our institutions, while if reserved for and made into homes for the people they would become a bulwark to the Government.

Is it to be wondered that those who hope to see the public domain made a rich garden by our beneficent irrigation law and given to the people for homes to the building up of the nation and the betterment of humanity, should feel discouraged when they are assured that there is no hope of legislation this year and that millions of acres of our best public lands will, during another year, pass into the hands of speculators and great land interests? Do you, gentlemen, who prophesied failure for the national irrigation law, not realize that if we do not heed the demands of the President, the Secretary of the Interior, and many of the great organizations of commerce, labor, and agriculture, as well as many of the great newspapers of the land, and stop this disposal of the best of our public land at the rate of several million acres each year, we practically force upon ourselves failure in making homes of the public domain by means of the irrigation law?

Let me quote, Mr. Chairman, from that nerviest, brainiest Democrat of modern times—Grover Cleveland—who made some history in the Venezuela and Chicago cases, to which you on the other side of this Chamber should have ever since "pointed with pride" but for your long-established habit of "viewing with alarm," and who took a stand for sound money, which, if your party had been clear-headed enough to follow, would, in my judgment, have placed you in the lead and have forced the Republicans to do what you have been doing for forty years, i. e., first, observe what the other party has concluded is right as to any matter of governmental policy, and then insist that you believe the opposite. Here is what Cleveland said on the land question:

The vast area of land which but a short time ago constituted the public domain is rapidly falling into private hands. It is certain that in the transfer the beneficent intentions of the Government to supply from its domain homes to the industrious and worthy homeseekers is often frustrated. The speculator who stands with extortionate purpose between the landowners and those who with their families are invited by the Government to settle on the public lands is a despicable character who ought not to be tolerated, yet it is difficult to thwart his schemes.

And here is what President Grant said in one of his messages:

I renew my recommendation that the public lands be regarded as the heritage of our children, to be disposed of only as required for occupation and for actual settlers.

And now see what President Roosevelt says:

So far as they are available for agriculture, and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder, the settler who lives on his land, and for no one else. In their actual use the desert-land law, the timber and stone law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law have been so perverted from the intention with which they were enacted as to permit the acquisition of large areas of the public domain for other than actual settlers and the consequent prevention of settlement.

It is difficult to thwart the schemes of the land speculator. Cleveland was right. I have been trying myself for the past year or two, in my poor way, to have these laws by which this deplorable result is being reached stricken off our statute books, and I have just lately gotten some little of the experience referred to by Mr. Cleveland myself. With everybody avowedly in favor of the actual home makers having the public domain, yet every man on this floor who has been trying to stop this land stealing and substitute therefor a home-building policy will admit at once that it can't be stopped this session.

I purposed including in these remarks quite an array of quotations from Presidents, Secretaries of the Interior, and Commissioners of the General Land Office, from the days of Jackson to those of Roosevelt, showing the importance to the nation of a public-land home-making policy, and further that our lands are and have been rapidly passing into the hands of large owners, and further that all regard it as very bad public policy, and in many cases specify as a remedy the repeal of the timber and stone act, the

desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act. I will here insert a few statements from high officials on this subject.

In the report of the Public Lands Commission, organized under the acts of Congress of March 3, 1879, and June 16, 1880, and composed of Hon. James A. Williams, Commissioner of the General Land Office; Clarence King, United States geologist; Alexander T. Britton, an eminent land lawyer; Hon. J. W. Powell, for many years the Director of the Geological Survey; Thomas Donaldson, and Clarence E. Dutton, the following is found in regard to the desert-land law:

It has been represented that desert-land entries have largely been made for speculative purposes, in violation of the restrictions of the act, and in many instances upon land naturally productive, and the lands are held fraudulently under the entry without attempt or intention of reclamation, but are occupied or leased for grazing and other purposes. Investigations so far made of the alleged illegal entry under the desert-land act tend to confirm these allegations.

The theory of the desert-land law is that the encouragement of irrigation required the disposal of land in larger quantities than 160 acres. This theory has not been sustained, as general systems of irrigation are adopted for general distribution of water, which are equally available to the owners of small tracts as of large ones. The practical operation of the desert-land law has heretofore been to enable land to be purchased without settlement and in quantities in excess of the limit established by the settlement laws, but resulting in the encouragement of monopoly rather than the encouragement of reclamation.

There has been great abuse in entries under the act of March 3, 1877, to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories. Many of the entries are for lands which are not "desert" within the meaning of the law, and which have been shown upon examination to be susceptible of cultivation without the necessity of irrigation. Again, lands which possibly can not be reclaimed, but which are valuable for timber, are frequently embraced in such entries.

Entries are also made for the benefit of others than the entryman in evasion of the restriction of the quantity which any one person is permitted to enter under the act.

The commission in summing up says in reference to the desert-land law:

The desert-land act has become an aid to land grabbing. It should be repealed. * * * The desert-land act of March 3, 1877, has been of but little practical use and is now most useful in aid of fraud.

In the preliminary report of the Public Lands Commission appointed October 22, 1903, to report upon the condition, operation, and effect of the present land laws, and to recommend such changes as are needed, they say:

The commission believes that Congress did not intend that this law should be used for the acquisition of large tracts of valuable timber land by individuals or corporations, but it has been used for such purposes. Carefulness and vigilance in its administration can not prevent its being so used. A great number of such entries were recently suspended, but the most rigid investigation failed to show that any considerable proportion of them had been made in violation of the law, and the suspensions were removed. The fact remains, however, that many of these entries were made by non-residents of the State in which the land is situated, who could not use the land nor the timber upon it themselves, and it is apparent that they were made for speculative purposes and will eventually follow the course taken by many previous similar entries and become part of some large timber holding.

While this law is adapted to and chiefly used for the acquisition of timber land, many entries have been made under it where it was alleged that the land is chiefly valuable for stone. There is no doubt that the land in a very large proportion of such entries was not desired on account of the stone which it contained, but for the purpose of obtaining control of water or to add to other holdings. There are, moreover, other laws under which land containing stone may be entered.

President Hayes, December 6, 1880, in his message to Congress referred to the depredations upon our timber lands, as follows:

The attention of Congress is again asked to the wasteful depredations committed upon our timber lands and the rapid and indiscriminate destruction of our forests. The urgent necessity for legislation to this end is now generally recognized. In view of the lawless character of the depredations committed and the disastrous consequences which will inevitably follow their continuance, legislation has again and again been recommended to arrest this evil and to preserve for the people of our Western States the timber needed for domestic and other essential uses.

The experience of other nations teaches us that a country can not be stripped of its forests with impunity, and we shall expose ourselves to the gravest consequences unless the wasteful and improvident manner in which the forests in the United States are being destroyed be effectually checked.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his report of 1901, states as follows:

Immense tracts of the most valuable timber land, which every consideration of public interest demanded should be preserved for public use, have become the property of a few individuals and corporations. In many instances whole townships have been entered under this law in the interest of one person or firm, to whom the lands have been conveyed as soon as receipts for the purchase price were issued.

Secretary Wilson, in his annual report for 1901, makes the following declaration:

While all the land laws were doubtless intended to benefit settlers, they have in practice in the arid region too often benefited speculators. Hundreds of filings made under the desert, preemption, homestead, and timber-culture acts have been made by people who never were farmers and never expected to become farmers. It is to such filings that scores of meritorious irrigation enterprises owe their failure. The repeal of the preemption and timber-culture acts and cutting down desert-land entries from 640 to 320 acres have improved the situation, but it can be still further improved by an entire repeal of the desert-land act and by requiring settlers on homesteads to cultivate as well as to live on their farms. The desert act was an economic mistake.

The following is also an extract from Secretary Teller, from his report for 1884-85:

The public lands ought to be reserved for actual settlers and should be conveyed only when the settler has shown his good faith by a residence on the land for the period provided for by the homestead law. No commutation of homesteads should be allowed.

It is my opinion that the time has fully arrived when the wastefulness in the disposal of public lands should cease, and that the portion still remaining should be economized for the use of actual settlers only. An act reserving the public lands, except mineral lands and timber reserves, for entry exclusively under the homestead laws, and amending the homestead laws so as to prevent the present easy evasion of wise restrictions and essential requirements would be a measure meeting this end and answering a pronounced public demand.

If this was true when only comparatively small amounts were going into the hands of speculators and much public land remained in the Government's possession, how much more true now when little arable land remains, and this is so rapidly passing into large holdings.

Secretary Teller, in his annual report for 1883, referred to the public domain as follows:

Public lands suitable for agriculture should be disposed of only to the actual settlers under the homestead law. A strict compliance with the law should be required in all cases. No greater calamity can befall a country than to have the land owned by a few and thus compel the masses of the people to become the tenants of such landowners.

We could fill pages of the RECORD with such statements from men who have given the land laws special consideration; but I see that my good friend Senator GIBSON, of Montana, has, in his speech on this subject, covered this ground quite thoroughly, and I would refer you to his able discourse printed in the RECORD of March 25, and will largely content myself with discussing other phases of the subject and especially citing what the great commercial and labor organizations have said from time to time in relation to this matter.

First, I wish to call attention to the specific resolutions of the National Business League, a great commercial organization, as follows:

HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS, LANDS FOR THE LANDLESS—RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE, RECOMMENDING AN EARLY REPEAL OF THE DESERT-LAND LAW, THE COMMUTATION CLAUSE OF THE HOMESTEAD LAW, AND THE TIMBER AND STONE ACT.

Whereas for the reclamation, through irrigation, of the arid regions of the West by the United States Government for the purpose of providing small tillable farms for settlers and home builders only and for the consequent enlargement of the agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests of the country, the national irrigation law was enacted June 17, 1902; and

Whereas through the provisions of certain preexisting national laws the spirit and purpose of the aforesaid national irrigation law can not be properly fulfilled, as indicated in President Roosevelt's second message to the Congress of the United States, December 2, 1902, as follows:

"So far as they are available for agriculture, and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder, the settler who lives on his land, and for no one else. In their actual use the desert-land law, the timber and stone law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law have been so perverted from the intention with which they were enacted as to permit the acquisition of large areas of the public domain for other than actual settlers and the consequent prevention of settlement." Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Business League, through its standing committees, hereby respectfully requests the early repeal of the desert-land law, the commutation clause of the homestead law, and the timber and stone law, for the purpose of removing all legislation in conflict with or perversion of the best interests of the home seeker and for forest preservation in connection with the aforesaid public lands. And be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to each member of the Senate and House of Representatives at Washington, to all manufacturers, commercial organizations, and prominent business firms throughout the country.

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE,
ERSKINE M. PHEPS, *President*.
ALEXANDER H. REVELL,
Chairman Executive Committee.
EUGENE J. BUFFINGTON,
Chairman Finance Committee.
LA VERNE W. NOYES,
Chairman Committee on Manufactures.
ELLIOTT DURAND,
Chairman Committee on Commerce.

Attest:

AUSTIN A. BURNHAM, *General Secretary*.
CHICAGO, ILL., February 24, 1905.

Next I wish to quote the resolutions of the National Board of Trade, adopted at its thirty-fifth annual meeting, at Washington, D. C., January 21, 1904:

Whereas the ultimate object to be accomplished in the disposition of the public domain is to secure the actual settlement and cultivation of the largest possible area of such lands to agricultural crops, by a class of settlers who will actually live on said lands and till them in comparatively small farms, thus enlarging to the utmost the agricultural production, and consequent general prosperity of the country; and

Whereas the rapid absorption of these public lands into large holdings, under the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act, unaccompanied in the majority of cases by permanent settlement and cultivation, threatens to seriously retard the development of the West, and the abuses and frauds which have been committed under these laws and under the timber and stone act can only be prevented by a repeal of these laws; be it

Resolved, That the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act should be forthwith repealed, and in future all agricultural and irrigable land reserved exclusively for actual settlers under the homestead act, and that in future the Government should reserve the title to forest lands, selling only the stumpage of matured timber;

and also that the forest work of the Government should be consolidated in the Bureau of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture.

Resolved further, That the great irrigation works necessary to save from waste and utilize for irrigation the waters of our large western rivers should be built as rapidly as the lands will be taken and utilized by farmers in farms of 160 acres or less in area, and the entire cost of construction repaid to the Government through a charge imposed on the land reclaimed, as provided in the national irrigation act.

Resolved further, That we indorse and approve the selection of the United States Reclamation Service and the Secretary of the Interior, for construction under the national irrigation act, of the Tonto Basin reservoir in Arizona, the Truckee-Carson River system in Nevada, and the St. Mary-Milk River Valley system in Montana, and urge that the actual work of construction on all these projects should be pushed to completion without delay.

Resolved further, That we indorse and urge the immediate passage of H. R. 8460, being the bill embodied in the House of Representatives Report No. 48, Fifty-eighth Congress, second session, the said bill as shown in said report having been approved by the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Secretary of the Interior, and recommended for passage by the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives.

Resolved further, That we indorse the Quarles bill as recommended for passage in the report of the Senate Committee on Public Lands at the last session of Congress, and reintroduced in this session, being Senate bill 932, Fifty-eighth Congress, first session, and urge the immediate passage of said bill in this session of Congress, in order that the monstrous abuses and frauds which have been and are now being committed under the acts therein mentioned shall be forthwith stopped; and that we call the attention of Congress and of the country to the facts set forth in said Senate report, which show the urgent need for the immediate repeal of said laws, said report being known as part 1 of report 3176, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session.

Resolved further, That no laws should at any time or under any circumstances be enacted by Congress which would permit anyone to acquire title to public lands except an actual settler, who had lived five years on the land, as required by the original homestead act, and that no grant of public lands should ever be made to any State or Territory for any purpose whatsoever, and that there should be no extension of the provisions of the Carey Act.

Resolved further, That we urge upon Congress the prompt enactment of a measure which will compel the immediate location or retirement of all land scrip of every description, and that no more such scrip shall ever be issued.

Also the resolutions of the American Hardware Manufacturers' Association and National Hardware Association, adopted in joint session November 21, 1903:

Resolved, That the reclamation of the arid land of this country and the maintenance of irrigated communities already created demand the preservation of the forests as sources of water supplies.

Resolved, That we commend the recommendations of President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on the subject of forestry and irrigation and urge the enactment at the coming session of Congress of a law which will fully carry into effect his recommendations as to forestry and bring together the various branches of the forestry work of the National Government under the Forestry Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, with appropriations adequate to enable the National Government, in cooperation with States, to effectively safeguard our forests from destruction.

Resolved, That we congratulate the country on the passage of the national irrigation act and express our profound appreciation of the aid and cooperation of President Roosevelt and all friends of that measure in the Senate and House of Representatives in securing the passage of that act. We believe this action by Congress marked the inception of one of the greatest projects ever undertaken by any government, and that it inaugurates a new era in the progress of this nation and the development of its internal trade and commerce and the enlargement of the home market for all manufacturers.

That the irrigable arid lands, which are estimated to comprise an area of over 100,000,000 acres, can and should be reclaimed just as rapidly as settlers will take them and repay the Government the cost of the irrigation works built for their reclamation.

That we especially commend that feature of the act which reserves the reclaimed land for actual settlers and home makers only and urge that in the future administration of the public domain this policy should be extended to include all public lands, and to this end that the desert-land act and commutation clause of the homestead act should be repealed.

And likewise the resolutions of the National Association of Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturers, adopted at its tenth annual convention, Cleveland, Ohio, October 21-23, 1903:

Resolved, That we commend the recommendations of President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on the subject of forestry and irrigation and urge the enactment at the coming session of Congress of a law which will fully carry into effect his recommendations as to forestry and bring together the various branches of the forestry work of the National Government under the Forestry Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, with appropriations adequate to enable the National Government, in cooperation with States, to effectively safeguard our forests from destruction, and that the timber and stone act should be repealed.

Resolved, That we congratulate the country on the passage of the national irrigation act and the satisfactory progress made in carrying its provisions into practical operation by the reclamation service of the United States Geological Survey, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and express our profound appreciation of the aid and cooperation of President Roosevelt and all friends of that measure in the Senate and House of Representatives in securing the passage of that act. We believe this action by Congress marked the inception of one of the greatest projects ever undertaken by any government, and that it inaugurates a new era in the progress of this nation and the development of its internal trade and commerce and the enlargement of the home market for all our manufacturers.

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That we especially commend that feature of the act which reserves the reclaimed land for actual settlers and home makers only and urge that in the future administration of the public domain this policy should be extended to include all public lands, and to this end that the desert-land act and commutation clause of the homestead act should be repealed.

Also the resolutions of the Merchants' Association of New York on this subject:

Resolutions and report of board of directors. By special committee, Mr. W. A. Marble, chairman. Adopted January 11, 1904.

Whereas the waters which now run to waste in such great rivers as the Columbia, the Sacramento, the Colorado, the Rio Grande, and the Missouri and their tributaries would, if utilized, irrigate and make fertile and pro-

ductive many millions of acres of land that are now an uninhabitable waste, and the reclamation by irrigation and close settlement of these lands would enormously expand the home markets for merchants and manufacturers, and greatly enlarge our internal commerce through every channel of trade and promote our national prosperity; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, First. That the great irrigation works contemplated in the national irrigation act should be built by the National Government as rapidly as the actual settlers will take the land in small tracts, and repay to the Government the cost of the irrigation works.

Second. That the rapid absorption into large private holdings of the public lands which should be so reclaimed and settled should be stopped by the immediate repeal of the desert-land act, the commutation clause of the homestead act, and the timber and stone act, and no one be allowed to obtain Government land except the settler who lives on it for the full term of five years required by the homestead act.

Also the expression of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, as follows:

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION HELD AT SEATTLE, WASH., AUGUST 12 TO 21, 1903, DECLARES THAT THE PUBLIC LANDS MUST BE HELD AS A SACRED TRUST FOR THOSE WHO WILL BUILD HOMES UPON THEM—THE DESERT-LAND ACT, THE COMMUTATION CLAUSE OF THE HOMESTEAD ACT, AND THE TIMBER AND STONE ACT SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY REPEALED.

The unparalleled era of prosperity through which we are now passing results from the rapid development of the material resources of our country, and we must preserve those resources if we are to maintain that prosperity. We are drawing from nature's treasure vaults the wealth that has been accumulating through the ages. That wealth is in our forests, our mines, and our farms. Their products are the basis of both our internal and our foreign trade and commerce and the original source of all employment for labor.

This mighty resource of natural wealth must not be wasted or destroyed. Not only should the natural resources of the trans-Mississippi region be systematically preserved, but the home markets for its products should be protected. We have a higher destiny as a nation than the mere creation or accumulation of capital. We must preserve and bequeath to future generations the natural resources which will be necessary to their material welfare, and without which, in the years to come, the masses of our people will inevitably be reduced to poverty and suffer privation and distress.

WHAT MUST BE DONE.

We may use and enjoy these vast natural resources without destroying them, and by a wise governmental policy they may be enormously developed and enlarged. But if this is to be done—

1. The appalling ravages from forest fires must be stopped.
2. The reckless destruction of our timber resources by careless and wasteful methods of lumbering must cease.
3. The forests must be preserved by right use, not only as a permanent source of supply for wood and timber, but as sources of water supply and great natural reservoirs to hold back the flood waters and lessen the destructive volume of floods.
4. The waters that now run to waste must be stored both for flood protection and for use in irrigation, and to create electric power and for the improvement of navigation.
5. Reservoirs should be built throughout the mountain regions, and wherever practicable in the natural depressions and basins of the great plains in the valleys of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and their tributaries.
6. The building of a multitude of small reservoirs and ponds by damming the draws and coulees should be brought about.
7. The river channels should be, wherever necessary, deepened, straightened, and improved and the banks protected by revetments.
8. Levees should be built along the rivers for flood protection and to improve the channels for navigation.
9. The public lands should be held as a sacred trust for those who will build homes upon them, and their rapid absorption into private ownership by speculators and to create great ranges for live stock should be immediately stopped.
10. The National Government should build the great irrigation systems necessary for the reclamation and settlement of the arid region by actual settlers and home makers, and the lands reclaimed should repay to the Government the cost of the construction of the works.

GREAT ENGINEERING WORKS.

The great engineering works necessary for the utilization of the waters of such large rivers as the Columbia, the Missouri, the Colorado, the Snake, the Milk, the Salt, and Gila, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers in California, should proceed as rapidly as the lands reclaimed will be utilized, and will repay to the Government the cost of the works; and in the great interior central valley of California the problem of the control of the floods of the Sacramento River, which would furnish water enough to irrigate 10,000,000 acres of land, if conserved and utilized, should be treated as a single problem involving arid-land reclamation, flood control, navigation, and drainage, and while the improvements of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers should be continued and extended by the National Government to fully develop the navigability of those rivers, the necessity of coping with the problem in its broadest aspects should be recognized and a complete and comprehensive plan for its entire solution should be prepared without delay by the engineers of the reclamation service and of the War Department of the United States.

REPEAL OF TIMBER AND STONE ACT.

The timber and stone act should be forthwith repealed, and thereafter a system should be immediately adopted under which the fullest utilization of the matured timber may be made and the prosperity of lumbering communities assured and the forests at the same time preserved from destruction by fire and careless or wasteful lumbering.

REPEAL OF DESERT-LAND ACT AND OF COMMUTATION CLAUSE OF HOMESTEAD ACT.

The desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act should be immediately and absolutely repealed, and five years' residence in all cases should be required from a settler before the Government parts with its title to any of the public land under the homestead act.

And also the resolutions of the National Grange, adopted November 20, 1903, at their thirty-seventh annual session, at Rochester, N. Y., as follows:

Whereas the annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the year ending June 30, 1903, shows that 22,650,928 acres of Government lands have been disposed of during that year; and

Whereas it is an obvious fact that these lands are the choice of the remaining Government lands, which should be reserved for homes for actual settlers, the great proportion of the public lands consisting of nonagricultural mountain chains and gulches; and

Whereas it is possible for monopolies and corporations to acquire large tracts of land under the timber and stone law, the commutation clause of the homestead law and the desert-land law, for speculative purposes: Be it

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the repeal of these three laws to the end that the public lands may remain in the hands of the Government until such time as they are needed for homes for American farmers; and be it further

Resolved, That the Government should not allow individuals to acquire the public lands in large tracts, but should limit the amount to 160 acres, as provided in the homestead act.

Mr. Chairman, in addition to this I could name organization after organization, such as the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, the Omaha Commercial Club, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, composed of business men who, viewing the matter from a commercial standpoint and realizing that actual settlers upon land build up home markets, are insistent upon the repeal of these laws under which the effect is the contrary.

I wish also to call attention to pages 4 and 5 of the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the year ending June 30, 1903, as follows, which will serve the double purpose of putting before you the land disposed of during that year and also the forest land disposed of at the munificent sum of \$2.50 per acre under our present timber and stone law:

The following is a statement of the acreage disposed of during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903:

CASH SALES.	
	Acres.
Private entries.....	28,890.40
Public auction.....	59,058.54
Preemption entries.....	14,300.57
Timber and stone entries.....	1,765,222.43
Mineral-land entries.....	97,046.64
Desert-land entries (original).....	1,025,825.77
Excesses on homestead and other entries.....	22,676.71
Coal-land entries.....	38,077.88
Town sites.....	1,111.02
Supplemental payments.....	5.34
Abandoned military reservations (act August 23, 1894).....	1,031.28
Under sundry special acts.....	20,800.41
Total.....	3,073,890.99

MISCELLANEOUS.	
	Acres.
Homestead entries (original).....	11,193,120.25
Timber-culture entries (original).....	316.18
Entries with—	
Military-bounty land warrants.....	26,821.08
Agricultural college scrip.....	1,438.28
Private land scrip.....	9,954.13
Valentine scrip.....	162.86
Wyandotte scrip.....	80.00
Porterfield scrip.....	40.00
State selections.....	1,515,201.23
Railroad selections.....	3,864,182.24
Wagon-road selections.....	41,183.51
Indian allotments.....	6,578.20
Small holdings.....	7,357.67
Donation act.....	757.59
Swamp lands patented.....	2,900,747.88
Total.....	19,577,031.10
Total area of public-land entries and selections.....	22,650,928.09

INDIAN LANDS.	
	Acres.
Cherokee.....	519.14
Klamath Indian Reserve.....	723.61
Southern Ute.....	16,487.38
Ute.....	48,630.27
Osage trust and diminished reserve.....	14,082.07
Kansas trust and diminished reserve.....	301.68
Chippewa.....	2,383.98
Flathead.....	160.00
Omaha.....	1,120.17
Umatilla.....	80,543.07
Sioux.....	81.40
Uinta and White River Ute lands.....	176.65
Colville Indian Reserve.....	8,162.14
Total.....	173,371.56
Grand total.....	22,824,299.65

RECAPITULATION.	
	Acres.
Area sold for cash.....	3,073,890.99
Area miscellaneous entries.....	19,577,031.10
Area Indian lands.....	173,371.56
Aggregate.....	22,824,299.65

Showing an increase of 3,335,764.35 acres as compared with the aggregate of disposals for the fiscal year 1902.

The foregoing statement does not include the following entries, the areas of which have been previously reported in the original entries of the respective classes:

	Acres.
Final desert-land entries.....	264,531.62
Homesteads commuted to cash.....	2,194,991.69
Timber-culture entries commuted under act March 3, 1891.....	1,321.01
Supplemental payments.....	121.00
Cash substitutions.....	1,398.23
Abandoned military reservations.....	4,642.10
Act March 3, 1887.....	160.00
Final homestead entries.....	3,576,934.14
Final timber-culture entries.....	176,203.23
Military bounty land warrants.....	1,075.90
Private land scrip.....	1,085.73
Total.....	6,222,404.14
Commuted homestead entries, Indian lands.....	60,032.26
Final desert entries, Indian lands.....	8,622.11
Total.....	6,300,148.51

The number of filings and fees thereon will be found in the following table:

	Number.	Fees.
Preemption, declaratory statement	371	\$1,082.00
Homestead, soldiers' declaratory statement	948	2,060.00
Coal land, declaratory statement	3,290	9,695.00
Reservoir, declaratory statement	1,377	2,877.00
Valentine scrip applications	5	5.00
Mineral-land applications	1,980	19,800.00
Timber and stone applications	12,334	123,340.00
	20,305	158,859.00
Mineral adverse claims	324	3,240.00
Total	20,629	162,099.00
MISCELLANEOUS FEES.		
For reducing testimony to writing, etc.		114,760.92
For cancellation fees		4,047.00
Aggregate of fees		280,906.92

I also desire to append some editorial expressions from various papers throughout the country showing the apparently almost universal demand for the repeal of these laws.

Mr. Chairman, an examination of these expressions will show apparently an overwhelming demand for the repeal of these laws by Congress.

It occurs to me that we could not make much of a mistake in permitting Uncle Sam to keep his land until we can learn whether these people are right or whether we are, for I will give you my personal guaranty that these land grabbers are not a very particular set of fellows. If we find after five years that we are mistaken, they will take the lands then as well as now; but if we find in five years that our opponents were mistaken and our irrigation efforts largely a failure because Uncle Sam has no good lands left to irrigate, we can not remedy the mistake. If our plan is wrong, it can be readily remedied at any time; if the one being now forced upon us is wrong, it can never be made right.

Mr. Chairman, we know from experience that we can irrigate many million acres of our public domain. We know that a few such acres irrigated will make a home for a family. We know that under the terms offered by the national irrigation law of June 17, 1902, and the certainty of irrigated crops, any poor family the members of which are willing to work can occupy and pay for a home on these lands; but we know just as surely that we can not give these worthy poor the opportunities to which they are entitled if we do not first shut the door in the face of the land speculator.

Mr. Chairman, as a business proposition, if you and I were the owners of 500,000,000 acres of land, of which seventy-five or a hundred million acres could be transformed into highly productive farms by means of irrigation, and of which some million acres were occupied by forests that will cut from 10,000 to 100,000 feet B. M. per acre, what would you consider it worth to turn loose a set of shrewd, grasping men and tell them to take out ten or more million acres of the best land for all purposes and a million and three-quarter acres of the best timber land during the coming year? Yet that is what we did in effect last year and apparently propose to do again this year.

The gentleman from Idaho [Mr. FRENCH] bases his remarks before this body upon the foundation principle that this is a question of little import to the nation at large. I wish that I had the gift of expression sufficient to place before your minds the vastness of the importance to the nation of the difference between large acreages of land in the hands of the rich, who use it simply to get gain out of the rightful owners, the poor who need it for homes, and the beneficent result that would follow if thousands, aye, millions of families could own and occupy these lands in small tracts. Yet, during the coming recess of Congress and while we are at home enjoying the consciousness of "having carefully guarded the people's interest," each week will witness the transferring of the homes of hundreds of poor families to, in the language of Cleveland, "these despicable characters who should not be tolerated."

The distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. NEEDHAM] furnished the Ogden National Irrigation Congress a resolution known then and since as the "Needham resolution," which reads:

Whereas the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act have in many instances been found to result in speculation and in monopoly of the public domain, to the exclusion of actual home building; Therefore, be it
Resolved, That we request the Congress of the United States to make such modifications in said laws as will save the remaining public lands for actual settlers who will found homes and live upon said lands.

This was a compromise for a resolution reported by a majority of the committee on resolutions of that convention urging "the immediate and absolute repeal of the desert-land act, the commu-

tation clause of the homestead act, and the timber and stone act."

I desire here to quote the views of one of our great thinkers, a man of broad ideas, who views this question not as one "of little importance to the nation at large." In his Autobiography of Seventy Years Senator HOAR refers to the lavish manner in which our great public domain has been granted away, and says:

All this at the cost of the labor of the country. The increased tax falls in the end on the consumer. With the waste of our public lands are diminished the resources of the laborer.

Mr. William E. Smythe, in commenting on this, says:

It is solemnly true that every acre taken for speculation and monopoly is at the cost of the country's labor. It means less opportunity in the future for every workingman and every child. This view of the matter is distinctly national and ought to be pressed home in every town and city throughout the United States.

The real friends of honest settlement in the West and the real upbuilding and populating of that section are doing all in their power to protect the forests by repealing the timber and stone act and to save the fertile public lands for home seekers by repealing the desert-land law and the commutation clause of the homestead law. If the merits of the issue were fully understood, there would be a popular uprising in favor of the repeal, voiced by every fair-minded newspaper and every labor organization in the land.

For it would be universally recognized that the matter is not of interest only to those who expect to find homes on the public domain, but also to every workman who wants to protect his standard of living.

"All this is at the cost of the labor of the country." The words of the venerable Senator from Massachusetts are good enough for a campaign slogan, and they ought to be made to ring in the ears of every man who works for a living.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, we permit each week, for another year at least, thousands of acres of what should be the homes of our country's laborers to pass into the hands of speculators.

I desire here to mention an episode which occurred recently in the House only for the purpose of giving a few reasons why these matters should be considered by the Committee on Irrigation.

I introduced a bill wholly, I contend, in the interest of irrigation. It was properly referred to the Committee on Irrigation, of which I am the ranking member. Our committee met, took the bill up, and commenced its consideration. At an opportune time, during my absence from the floor of this House, the chairman of the Public Lands Committee, with the chairman of the Irrigation Committee seated by his side, which gave the impression that the Irrigation Committee concurred, obtained the unanimous consent of this House to change my bill from the Irrigation Committee to the Public Lands Committee.

This, in my opinion, was a discourteous proceeding for one Member to practice upon another, and now, Mr. Chairman, I desire briefly to discuss the question of jurisdiction of these land matters when they clearly assist or retard the work of the irrigation of our arid land. The rule says:

All matters relating to the irrigation of arid lands shall be referred to the Irrigation Committee.

My bill provided, among other things, for the repeal of the timber and stone act and the sale of Government stumpage in lieu, the proceeds to go to the reclamation fund, which is used for irrigation construction. If action upon the timber and stone act could seriously affect the irrigation of arid lands, the matter surely could not fail under the rule to require consideration by the Committee on Arid Lands.

To prove how important the matter is to irrigation I wish to cite you to what the Commissioner of the General Land Office says that the timber and stone law has done toward despoiling the fund provided for irrigation. The Commissioner, in his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, makes the following statement:

Many lands which the Government disposed of a few years ago for \$2.50 per acre are worth \$100 an acre, or even more. * * * Under this law the Government has disposed of more than 5,000,000 acres of valuable timbered lands, and has received therefor about \$13,000,000. The law has been too often violated. Individuals without funds of their own have been employed to make entries for others with large capital, and who paid the expenses, and some wealthy speculators have made enormous fortunes. Had the law been more carefully safeguarded, both as to character of proof and as to price, frauds could have been more successfully prevented and a more adequate price realized for the Government.

Considering the forests simply as property whose only use is to be converted into lumber and other material of commercial value, the Government has disposed of them at an actual loss of considerably more than \$100,000,000. In other words, through the operation of this law public property worth much more than \$130,000,000 has been disposed of for about \$13,000,000.

And yet the mere fact that so large a part of the nation's resources has gone into the control of a few individuals or companies is not the most serious effect of the law. The principal injury consists in the loss of control of millions of acres of timbered lands to which future generations of American citizens must look, not only for their supply of timber and timber products, but for protection to the supply of water upon which will depend the fertility of most of the agricultural lands of the West.

In further proof of the great loss sustained by the reclamation fund by means of this law I wish to cite statements made to me personally by intimate friends who have lived for years in the region of some of this timber land in Oregon and who have gone over it with a view to estimating its value and have invested in it to the extent of their ability. They have repeatedly stated to me that this timber will in many instances cut 50,000 feet board measure to

the acre. I have verified their statements and those of the Commissioner by securing a set of forest-reserve maps, Twenty-first Annual Report Geological Survey, which show that the original Minnesota and Wisconsin timber would cut 2,000 to 5,000 feet board measure per acre, and that these Western lands will cut from 10,000 to 100,000 feet board measure to an acre.

Now, last year the Government sold the timber on some of this Minnesota land for the Chippewa Indians, disposing of 95 per cent of the standing timber for an average of \$15.06 per acre.

The preliminary report of the Public Lands Commission appointed October 22, 1903, to report upon the condition, operation, and effect of the present land laws, and to recommend such changes as are needed, makes the following statement regarding the Chippewa Indian Reservation land:

In December, 1903, there were two sales of timber upon the ceded portion of the Chippewa Indian Reservation in Minnesota. At the first sale, on December 5, the timber upon 103,027 acres sold for \$1,432,771, an average price of \$13.90 per acre. At the second sale, on December 28, 95 per cent of the timber upon 72,856 acres sold for \$1,218,132, an average price of \$16.70 per acre. The amounts to be received from the various purchases are calculated upon the estimated amount of timber upon the land at a stated price per thousand feet board measure, but the payments will be based upon an actual scale of the logs when cut. Logging operations now in progress indicate that more than the estimated amount of timber will be cut from these lands. It will be observed that but 95 per cent of the timber was sold at the last sale, the remaining 5 per cent being reserved for reforestation.

The average price per acre of both sales is \$15.06, and the land is retained for subsequent disposition. Had this land been disposed of under the timber and stone act the price would have been \$2.50 per acre for both land and timber. Under these sales the timber on 175,883 acres sold for \$2,650,903, and the Government still owns the land. If this land had been disposed of under the timber and stone act the Government would have received for both land and timber the sum of \$438,707, a difference of \$2,211,196.

When the western timber, which is of a better quality, is needed, it is safe to say that it will sell for one-half as much per thousand feet, and that an acre will yield three times as much revenue.

As shown on page 4 of the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, heretofore quoted, the Government sold last year under the timber and stone act 1,765,000 acres at above estimate, which, had the timber from it been sold when it is needed would have brought \$45 per acre or \$79,425,000. Now, Mr. Chairman, I submit to you and to the gentlemen of this House and to the country that, leaving out the much more than \$117,000,000 mentioned by the Commissioner as having been lost prior to 1903 through the operations of the timber and stone law, we lost to the irrigation fund last year \$75,000,000 through the operation of this act, and that therefore the matter pertains vitally to the irrigation of arid lands, and if it does so pertain, then according to the rule the question must be considered by the Irrigation Committee.

The preservation of the western watersheds, the great timbered tracts of slope and mountain side in the arid West, is a matter of most vital importance in the scheme for the reclamation of the arid lands. The operations of the timber and stone act are a fearful menace to this water supply. Under it entire slopes, if not ranges, of mountains have been denuded of their timber and burned over, leaving, in place of a great natural reservoir, whence the snows would melt off slowly and furnish a perennial flow to the streams running onto the lowlands, barren tracts down which come torrential floods in the springtime, but which become dry fountain heads later in the year.

These facts, set forth at various times by many western newspapers, constitute to my mind an unanswerable argument that the proper handling of the public timber lands is of vital importance to irrigation, and that under the rules of this House the subject must go to the Committee on Irrigation. In confirmation of this conclusion I again quote a clause, already referred to, from the report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902:

And yet the mere fact that so large a part of the nation's resources has gone into the control of a few individuals or companies is not the most serious effect of the law. The principal injury consists in the loss of control of millions of acres of timbered lands to which future generations of American citizens must look, not only for their supply of timber and timber products, but for protection to the supply of water upon which will depend the fertility of most of the agricultural lands of the West.

I also quote from President Roosevelt in his speech at Stanford University, in which he says, among a multitude of statesman-like remarks:

The forest cover upon the drainage basin of streams used for irrigation is of the utmost importance to the interests of the entire State.

The President says, also, in his first annual message to Congress:

The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States. The forests are natural reservoirs; by restraining the streams in floods and replenishing them in droughts they make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing, and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with silt. Forest conservation is, therefore, an essential condition of water conservation.

Mr. Chairman, by means of our timber and stone act 7,000,000 acres have been turned over to ruthless destroyers of reservoir sites, men who for the most part have gone upon them and denuded them of every stick of timber, when the course of ordinary wisdom

would have been to have sold only the timber, or the stumpage, of matured trees, and under restrictions that would clear up the brush and thus prevent forest fires from destroying the younger growth that would take its place and maintain a forest cover, while at the same time it would furnish another crop of timber for a succeeding generation. This continued destruction of nature's reservoirs permitted under the timber and stone act, furnishes another reason which makes it clear that if these statements are true—and they surely are true—the proper laws for the administration of our timber lands are of great importance to irrigation, and that the consideration of this subject, under the rules of the House, belongs to the Irrigation Committee.

It might be claimed that the desert-land law and the commutation clause of the homestead law—the gateways through which so many of the people's homes will pass into the hands of land-grabbing corporations during the approaching recess of Congress, when we are taking a rest from our strenuous efforts for the preservation of the lands for the real owners—do not quite so clearly come under the rule pertaining to the irrigation of arid lands, because if you permit us to control the watersheds and reservoir sites, we can, under the irrigation law, irrigate the lands, even though they all be in the hands of the speculators, who have gotten ahead of the home makers and filed upon them under these laws.

Suppose we consider a somewhat hypothetical case in the operation of these two speculative land laws. Suppose that under any proposed irrigation project the speculators had entered under these laws a sufficient amount of land possible of irrigation to control the situation, so that if they refused to come in under the Government plan to prorate the cost of the irrigation construction it would make the cost for irrigating the remainder of the land prohibitive. If any additional legislation were needed looking to the condemnation of these lands or to some other method of making the scheme feasible, the matter would clearly come before the Irrigation Committee and could not properly be referred to any other committee.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this reclamation fund, every dollar of it, belongs to the laborers and home makers of this great land of ours, but the money which should swell this fund for home building has gone and is going into the hands of speculators. If the money which the Government has thus lost had been saved for this reclamation fund, it would have provided comfortable homes for a great many and would thus have become a strong support to our institutions.

That grand old Senator from Massachusetts has just introduced a bill for the Salvation Army, calling for \$50,000,000, to aid the worthy poor to own and occupy our public domain as homes. Asked seriously consider such a proposition many Members will stand aghast at fifty millions for such a purpose. Why do you not then stand aghast at the \$75,000,000 to which I have above referred—lost in the disposal of near 2,000,000 acres of our choicest timber land last year; to be repeated I fear this coming year? The Salvation Army scheme is pregnant with beneficent results if it can be worked out, and I wish to ask that the statesmen in this House look into it and into the workings of the established Salvation Army colonies in California, Colorado, and Ohio, as they are practical examples of what can be done by Senator Hoar's bill if it can be properly worked out, and also look into the laws of New Zealand looking to colonizing the poor on the land.

No scheme of philanthropy or charity does for the poor and the nation at the same time what the Salvation Army is doing in a small way in taking worthy poor men and their families, unemployed and destitute, out of an uncongenial and inhospitable environment, where they are a drag upon the community, if not an absolute menace, and placing them upon the land where they are given a chance to earn a home, and thus be converted into good citizens.

Mr. Chairman, the advocates of the do-nothing policy in this body have refused to meet the question of home making versus land grabbing upon its real merits, but where they have given expression to their views and in the testimony they have given before committees have contented themselves principally with attacks upon the railroads, which have been shown to be in active sympathy with the repeal of these laws. They have charged that the great railroad companies of the West are interested in this repeal solely for the purpose of increasing the value of their own land holdings.

It seems to be a fact that the great transcontinental lines have supported the campaign for the repeal of the timber and stone act as well as the commutation clause of the homestead act and the desert-land act, under all of which large bodies of land are continually being acquired by syndicates and corporations whose last desire appears to be that the land shall be used for settlement and home making and consequent population, the very thing which anybody, not entirely devoid of sense, can see is the object most desired by the railroads. I understand that Mr. Hill, of the Great Northern road—and I learn from competent authority that this

road never has owned any land—was an early supporter of the national irrigation and land-repeal policy. I have before me an address by Mr. Hill, delivered on January 14 last, before the Minnesota Agricultural Society, in which he urged the repeal of these three laws, and he also addressed the North Dakota State Irrigation Congress last fall along these same lines.

I can see, Mr. Chairman, why Mr. Hill and why all the great railroads of the West, whether they own any land or not, favor the repeal of these laws and especially the commutation clause of the homestead law and the desert-land law, which operate almost solely to build up great cattle and sheep estates and tend to prevent population of the land. I do not need to be an inspired oracle to assert that what these transcontinental railroads want above all things is settlement and population along their lines or that they will make more money through the traffic they will get from thousands of small farms than from hauling the cattle and sheep which graze over great tracts of arid land. I have heard it said of James J. Hill that it is his delight to get off into a corner with some old farmer along his line and discuss with him, as though time were of no value, the best methods for that farmer and his neighbors to improve their methods of cultivation of their farm land and whether there are not some improved crops they can grow which will bring them in better and larger yields.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to reiterate that the opponents of land-law repeal have not met the issue squarely. They have attempted on the floor of the Senate and in committees, with dramatic effect, to direct the attention of the public to the great gains which will come to the railroads through the supposed advance of their land if these land laws are repealed. They have presented a lurid picture of a corrupt lobby stalking through the halls of Congress and hypnotizing its Members—a clever shift, Mr. Chairman, put forward as a reason why these laws should not be repealed and largely, as they seem to think, obviating the necessity of meeting the issue itself.

I do not desire, Mr. Chairman in these remarks, to defend the course of any railroad; but I submit that the opponents of any proposed land legislation are reckoning without their host if they assume that because the railroads are in favor of any legislation all that it is necessary to do is to exploit that fact and the people will turn against that legislation, whatever it may be.

As a matter of fact, how will the repeal of the desert-land act, for instance, enhance the value of the several million acres of land owned by the various railroads? Railroad land, I understand, can be bought, plenty of it, at \$1.25 an acre. Senator HANSBROUGH the other day made the charge—what the point he intended to make was I have been unable to determine—that a syndicate had bought a large tract of Union Pacific land at 70 cents an acre. The railroads are glad to sell their land at almost any price, providing they can be assured of its settlement.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these strenuous defenders of the desert-land law claim that in order to get title from the Government under this law an expenditure of at least \$4.25 per acre is required, a cash improvement of \$1 per acre a year for three years, and \$1.25 additional paid to the Government. If there is any railroad land desired for agriculture where land is being taken up under the desert-land act, would it not to-day be purchased preferably at \$1.25 per acre from the railroads than at \$4.25 per acre? If, on the other hand, these gentlemen admit that the \$3 per acre for improvements are not expended, and that it does not cost \$4.25 per acre to secure title under the desert-land act, they give away their case.

Much the same may be said of the commutation clause of the homestead act, which is supposed to require a residence of fourteen months and a payment of \$1.25 per acre. If there is any railroad land which is competing with homestead land upon which the commutation privilege is being exercised, would not this railroad land be purchased outright to-day at \$1.25 an acre rather than from the Government at the same price when the Government also requires fourteen months' residence and improvement? If these gentlemen claim that this fourteen months of residence and home building on the land is not required in fact, they likewise give away their case.

And under all conditions, Mr. Chairman, the real settler who wants a home on the land always has the privilege of going upon 160 acres of Government land anywhere and by homesteading it and living upon it getting title to it for absolutely nothing.

But even granting the claim, for the sake of argument, of Senator HANSBROUGH, of North Dakota, in which State I understand the commutation clause has been freely utilized to enable cattlemen to increase their land holdings; and of Senator CLARK of Wyoming and Senator WARREN, of the same State, where it is charged that the desert-land act has resulted in the acquirement of immense landed estates into single or corporate ownership for the purpose of stock ranging; and of Senator DUBOIS, of Idaho, where I am informed by people who have been through that State and

know the conditions thoroughly that the commutation clause has been found most useful to the big timber syndicates and corporations in stealing great tracts of Government forest land through the action of dummies and "sooners," and of various others who have bitterly opposed any of this land legislation—granting, I say, for the sake of argument, their claim that the railroads will greatly benefit their property through the repeal of these land-stealing laws, is that any sufficient reason why they should not be repealed?

Is that a semblance of a reason worthy of statesmen why the best of our remaining public lands—lands which we can later irrigate and make support families upon 20, 40, 80, or at the outside limit 160 acre tracts—should be practically stolen from the Government through a set of land laws so wicked, so loose, and so open to evasion that millions of acres are going through them every year without settlement and without home building—laws so ingeniously constructed and so easy of abuse that since national irrigation became a fixed policy the public-land disposals have increased annually by leaps and bounds—increased from 8,000,000 acres in 1898 to 13,000,000 acres in 1900, to 19,000,000 acres in 1902, to nearly 23,000,000 acres in 1903, and which will further increase, at this rate, to over 25,000,000 acres in 1904?

The railroads appear to be openly in favor of the repeal of these laws, but I should say, Mr. Chairman, that they are showing only common sense and business wisdom in doing what they can to promote such legislation, for they desire to see their lines built up and their freight traffic increased by the shipment of varied agricultural products and by the supplying of the necessities of life to thousands and millions of home owners, and this can only be accomplished by settlement and population and farming and a growing agricultural diversification, rather than by live-stock ranging for the next fifty years.

Mr. Chairman, I agree with what one of the eastern members of the Irrigation Committee said in voting to bring the discussion of the desert-land act out onto the floor of this House, and I regret that more members of that committee did not see fit to pursue a like course. He said that he did not blame the representatives of Western States for opposing any change in these land laws, for the reason that no Western State is devoid of some section in which these laws are being employed for the gain of its citizens, but he stated that he must view the matter from a wider standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, at the very time that western Members and other witnesses were appearing before the Public Lands and Irrigation committees of this House, opposing any repeal of these laws, and stating their reasons why they should not be tampered with, and further stating, from their personal knowledge, that there were no more or greater frauds under them than under any general set of laws, the Federal grand jury of the State of Oregon was unearthing the most tremendous frauds and abuses and bringing in indictments, especially under the timber and stone act. I wish to simply submit herewith a statement of that grand jury, dated April 2, 1904, which I think bears out the contention of the eastern Member of the Irrigation Committee above referred to.

It is addressed to the public-lands commission at Washington, composed of William A. Richards, Gifford Pinchot, and Frederick H. Newell.

THE GRAND JURY'S FINDINGS.

"We, the members of the Federal grand jury for the district of Oregon, now in session in the city of Portland, being chosen by lot from all portions of the State, a number of our members being farmers and stockmen, and all of us having had wide opportunities for observing the operation and effect of existing land laws in Oregon and other Western States, beg leave to present to your honorable body the following recommendations for your consideration while preparing proposed amendments to the public land laws, together with our reasons for these conclusions:

"We believe that all the general public land laws should be unconditionally repealed, and that new laws, framed to suit conditions which were but imperfectly understood when these laws were placed on the statute books, or which have arisen since, should be enacted in their stead.

"The rapid absorption of the remaining public lands by syndicates representing enormous capital, whereby "the heritage of the people," so much vaunted in the Halls of Congress and on the hustings, is passing into the hands of a few landlords, is an evil that imperils the peace of society in all our public-land States.

HOW LAND IS STOLEN.

"This acquisition of large areas under a single ownership is accomplished through the vicious legislation enacted from time to time, ostensibly in the interest of the honest entryman, but really with the effect to make it easy for the dishonest entryman to evade the spirit of the law in the interest of the syndicate by whom he is employed and to whom he assigns the land upon making final proof. We refer particularly to the laws which permit entries and final proofs to be made before officers other than the registers and receivers of the local land offices, which could hardly have been more successful if they had been framed for the express purpose of promoting fraud, and the pernicious effects of which are incalculable.

"Another prolific source of crime whereby perjury and subornation of perjury have become fine arts in the administration of the land laws is the commutation clause of the homestead law. This is another law that masquerades under the thin disguise of a boon to the honest entryman.

A VITAL WEAKNESS.

"Doubtless the time was in the settlement of the States in the humid districts bordering the Mississippi and Missouri rivers when the commutation clause was a benefit to the entryman, who was enabled thereby to obtain title after fourteen months and be in a position to secure a loan for the improvement of his homestead, but the practice has long since disappeared.

"No money lender would place a loan on arid lands for any rate of interest the homesteader could pay, and such a rate of interest as would secure the loan would mean a foreclosure at the date of the first interest payment. It has been our observation as individuals for years that the commutation feature of this law is employed simply for the purpose of enabling the ultimate owner just behind the entryman to come the sooner into possession of the land. Our deliberations as a grand jury have been for the most part in relation to violations of the land laws, and very largely concerning abuses of the commutation clause of the homestead law.

"The desert-land law, excepting the so-called 'Carey Act,' which is still in the experimental stage, is and has been used chiefly for the purpose of securing large tracts for grazing purposes and not for the reclamation of the land for agricultural purposes. It is even more of a burlesque than the late timber-culture law.

"The lieu-land law, whereby worthless lands within forest reserves may be exchanged acre for acre for the most valuable forested lands in the country remaining unappropriated, is such a flagrant violation of the equities as to be indefensible by any rule of justice.

"As a remedy for existing evils and to the end that a more intelligent and profitable disposition may be made of the remaining public lands, we recommend the following legislation:

"First. A public-lands commission to examine and classify all lands, according to their natural resources and value, under designations, for example, as (a) lands chiefly valuable in their natural state for agricultural purposes; (b) lands chiefly valuable for agriculture and capable of being irrigated; (c) lands nonforested and chiefly valuable for grazing purposes, without available or practicable water supply for irrigation; (d) lands chiefly valuable for timber or stone.

"Second. A homestead law granting title to 160 acres of land in designation (a) to the head of a family or single person over the age of 21 years, or 80 acres in like manner to lands in designation (b), the usual restrictions being made as to citizenship and actual residence for five years, without the commutation feature.

"Third. A law providing for the leasing to actual residents of the locality of lands in designation (c) at a nominal rental, in areas not to exceed 640 acres to the head of a family or householder, said leasing to be for a period not to exceed five years, but with a preference right to the leaseholder to renew for a second term of five years.

"Fourth. A law declaring it to be the settled policy of the Government to retain in its possession forever the lands in designation (d) for the benefit of the people, under such laws and regulations as Congress may from time to time enact for the sale and removal of stone and matured timber.

"Fifth. A law for the acquisition by purchase for cash of any and all lands in private ownership within the limits of forest reserves, wherever the same may be for sale, and for the restoration to the homesteader on any unperfected homestead within the limits of any forest reserve, his homestead rights as applicable to any unappropriated lands in designation (b) upon his relinquishment of his claim within the forest reserve; all entries and final proofs to be made before the register and receiver of the district in which the land is located.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

"James Steel, foreman; Thomas Ryrie; W. L. Singleton; Samuel L. Parrett; W. C. Tweedale; John McGee; Albert Feldenheimer; J. K. Fisher; E. L. Dunham; E. W. Porter; J. W. Lady; F. C. Barnes; Henry Kraus; C. W. Allen; L. L. Hawkins; J. N. Hockersmitt; H. E. Edwards; Arthur H. Devers, clerk."

Speaking for myself, Mr. Chairman, I am endeavoring to approach this question as a representative of the whole people of the United States, and in the repeal of these laws I believe that I am urging legislation which, while it may be an immediate detriment to some of the Western States, in that it prevents speculators from exploiting the public lands and the public timber and bringing some immediate money into those States, will be of immense eventual benefit to the nation at large and make possible the ultimate carrying out of a vast scheme of national irrigation of the public domain, the benefits of which will go directly to the millions of the nation. We should retain our public lands until they are needed by home makers, and we should administer our wealth of timber for the benefit of the irrigation fund.

Our great waste of lands and forests should not continue another month; it should never have been, but inasmuch as it has proceeded with reckless prodigality, the least we can do now is to apply a swift and sweeping remedy, and then take time to carefully work out needed legislation for the proper disposition of the remainder of our public domain to actual settlers only.

Speaking of the plans for delay which the opponents of land-law repeal are offering as a substitute for much-needed legislation, the Los Angeles Times says:

The grand-stand play which has been made in both the Senate and the House of reforming the forest-land laws is nothing more than pretense and a cover for preventing the reform of the laws relating to the agricultural lands upon which homes can be made by farmers and which the speculators and stockmen are scheming to get before the settler can get them.

That delays are dangerous was never more true than in this instance. As the Times has shown, if there is a little more delay in reforming the land laws—and radically reforming them—then there will be scarcely anything left worth legislating for. The grand opportunity of providing homes for the congested population of our large cities will be gone forever. The birth-right of the American people will have been sold, without their consent, for a mess of pottage.

Only a few years ago these enemies of the people boldly opposed anything in the shape of reform in land legislation. Since then, owing to educational work by the National Irrigation Association and the independent press, public opinion has been so aroused on the subject that these men no longer dare oppose reform altogether. They have adopted the ingenious plan of confessing the frauds and abuses which have arisen under those laws, and will endeavor to delay their repeal by contending that they should be amended, not repealed. As the journal above quoted says:

"If the demand for the repeal of those laws should be withdrawn, and the issue in Congress should become a controversy over the multitude of schemes that would be advanced for their amendment, this controversy would be prolonged in the committees until it was too late to secure any action in this session of Congress. The result would be that the opponents of repeal would prevail, and another year's delay would be secured, during which the abuses and frauds sought to be stopped would be continued."

It should not be necessary to impress upon any intelligent person the overwhelming importance of this issue. No more important question confronts the American people to-day than this of preserving for actual home makers the vacant lands which are being so rapidly absorbed by speculators and suborners of perjury. Here is an item from the *Talisman*, showing what may be done under the beneficent provisions of the national irrigation act in the way of making homes for the homeless should that act not be rendered abortive by the selfish greed of men who have more than they know what to do with:

"A community of settlers, to illustrate by an actual condition as it exists, can go into the Milk River Valley in Montana the moment it is absolutely certain that the Government is ready to begin construction.

"Say the amount to be paid out for building the lower canals is a million dollars, and the area to be reclaimed 100,000 acres, a thousand settlers, each taking 100 acres, could build the entire canal system in the lower valley, and get paid for their labor from month to month. They could contract under the law to do the work in small sections. The million dollars to be paid out would go into the pockets of the very men who were making homes on the land to be irrigated and reclaimed by the Government works.

"All the money they would eventually have to repay to the Government they would first receive in payment for their labor in constructing a canal system to irrigate their own homesteads."

On the one side, we have congested populations in our great cities, crowded into unhealthy alleys and tenement houses, working out their lusterless lives in dismal sweat shops, and forming a constant menace to the social system, for misery is always ready to lend a willing ear to the temptations of vice. On the other hand, we have, lying out-of-doors, under God's bright sunshine, millions of acres of land that only awaits the application of water to become fit for productive and happy homes that will shelter and support millions of people.

Between the two stands, like a lion in the way, the greedy, grasping land speculator, the man who, without warrant of law, has fenced in thousands of square miles of Government land to furnish pasture for his cattle, and who insolently refuses to obey the Government mandate to move off; the speculator, who bribes Government officials to give him early information and grabs land that the Government intends to reserve, so that he may exchange it for fertile land elsewhere; the timber thief, who commits wholesale bribery by deputy in the persons of thousands of weak-kneed individuals, who are willing to take a false oath for a few dirty dollars. And many others of a similar kind are there—bloated hogs, wallowing in the public trough and crowding out those that have a right to feed there.

Will the people of the United States permit this gross outrage to be continued, now that they have been shown what a crime these land thieves are committing? We hope not. We believe not. It will be a sad thing for the country if they do.

APPENDIX.

THE NATION'S LANDS—NATIONAL EDITORIAL COMMENT.

[From the St. Paul Globe, November 9, 1903.]

The proposed repeal of those Federal land acts which have shown themselves most open to fraudulent abuse will, of course, be opposed. The opposition now bases itself on the assumption that repeal will prevent the accumulation of any future fund for irrigating purposes. If the National Irrigation Association is in favor of repeal, it is not likely that it will greatly damage irrigation prospects. There should be no delay in reforming our land-law system.

[From the Grand Forks (N. Dak.) Herald, October 22.]

There is not a town of any size in Dakota in which there are not persons who have not commuted homesteads and abandoned them, so far as a personal residence is concerned, as soon as their proof is completed—clerks, school teachers, bookkeepers, merchants, mechanics, and others who have always been accustomed to urban life and who have separated themselves from it for only the few months necessary to perfect title to their quarter section. So long as they complied for a short time with the letter of the law, who was able to say that they did not intend to become actual homesteaders in the old-time acceptance of the word? Now that title to the lands has passed, who is there that believes that they ever had such intention?

[From the Review, Greensburg, Ind., November 12.]

The people of the older States do not realize how rapidly the public lands are being absorbed, the most of them by mere speculators and not home makers. Congress should so change the laws as to prevent the irrigable lands passing into the hands of already wealthy stockmen and land dealers.

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, November 3.]

The full protection of the public domain is a matter of great importance.

[From the Midway Manufacturer, St. Paul, November 5.]

Is the reclaiming of the desert to be for the benefit of the home seekers and the home builders in the far West or for the enrichment of land grabbers and speculators? There should be a change made in the land laws.

[From the Sioux City (Iowa) Tribune, October 5.]

It is plainly to the public interest that these land laws should be repealed and something substituted that will prevent the abuses enumerated. The opposition to this programme will come from those who have profited and hope to profit still more after the nation has installed an irrigation system, and such opposition will be powerful. It will have a strong lobby in Washington and make all the appeals that can be devised by selfish interest. But the National Irrigation Association will also have a lobby to take care of the interests of the people, and it ought to win with the support of the public press.

[From the Seattle Times, October 10.]

If the land laws are repealed, the movement will undoubtedly have to start in the East, for the West has other things to think about than to agitate the question. A large proportion of the population is uninformed on the subject, and most of those who are informed have business affiliations that make it imprudent to advocate reformatory legislation. But it is becoming only too evident that the valuable lands of the West will soon be distributed through the business offices of private corporations instead of through the Government land offices.

[From the Los Angeles Times, October 9.]

There will be strong opposition to such repeal by selfishly interested persons in the West, and especially in the Northwest. All patriotic Americans

North, East, South, and West, should further every effort to preserve the public land for the benefit of actual settlers, which can only be done by the repeal of the three laws mentioned and the reestablishment of the old homestead law "straight," which welcomes every man who desires, in good faith, to take up a quarter section of Government land and occupy it.

[From the St. Charles (Mo.) Monitor, October 14.]

Under the desert-land act, which is supposed to contemplate the reclamation of the land, immense areas throughout the Western States and Territories have been patented which are now lying idle in the hands of speculators and live-stock concerns.

[From the Chicago Farmers' Voice, November 7.]

It is a surprising thing, indeed, that in an age when all thinking men realize the essential relation of land to life itself, men with growing sons and daughters can rest while the heritage of their children is being absorbed by a set of designing scoundrels who have no other purpose than to become possessed of the earth, that they may dictate terms to their fellows—as they surely can if they do secure control of large land holdings. The people should rise as one man and demand of Congress as the first and most important legislation the repeal of these evil land laws and the preservation of the remaining public domain for the use of actual settlers and home makers.

[From the Freeport (Ill.) Bulletin, October 8.]

The repeal of the acts referred to will go far toward correcting the abuses to which our land laws are subject. The reclaimed lands should be for the people who are to populate our new West, who will build up new towns, establish new agricultural communities, and add to the wealth of the nation at large.

[From the Rochester Chronicle, October 2.]

It is time for some aggressive and positive legislation in regard to the distribution of the public lands. It would be a sheer waste for the Government to spend millions in making fertile the desert places and then turn over the tillable lands thus procured to speculators and cattle ranchers.

[From the Philadelphia Record, October 18.]

Unfortunately, the provisions of the irrigation law are largely nullified by the older land acts—the desert-land law, the commutation clause of the homestead law, and the timber and stone law. The contention at the recent irrigation congress at Ogden shows that, while a strong body in the West demands the repeal of these laws, the land-stealing syndicates are powerfully entrenched. The land-stealing laws have become mere instrumentalities of fraud, and their abrogation should have been a preliminary to the enactment of the irrigation law.

[The San Leandra (Cal.) Reporter, October 10.]

We have made a mistake—a dreadful mistake—in giving to timber speculators the legal right, not merely to take timber from the land, but in so doing to render the land valueless for all future time.

[From the Minneapolis Times, October 19.]

The desert-land act, the commutation provisions of the homestead act, and the timber and stone act seem to have been cunningly devised for the benefit of land grabbers. The demand that the objectionable acts should be repealed is logical, just, and patriotic. It has been voiced by President Roosevelt, and before his time the basic idea of reserving the public lands for settlers had been emphatically expressed by Presidents Lincoln and Grant, and by Secretary Teller and other statesmen. The people need the land, and Congress should lose no time in protecting their right to it.

[From the Orange Judd Farmer, Chicago, October 31.]

Now, let Congress repeal the timber and stone act, the commutation clause of the homestead act, and the desert-land act, then there will be some chance of preserving for actual settlers the remaining public lands.

[From the Chicago Tribune, October 21.]

The whole subject of the land laws is in great need of investigation and practical reform.

[From the Ann Arbor (Mich.) Times, October 21.]

Unless Congress shall soon make some radical change in the land laws, it will be charged that the millions that the Government is spending for irrigation will be largely for the benefit of speculators and for live-stock interests.

[From the Mound Valley (Kans.) Herald, October 23.]

As a result of the new irrigation law it is possible that 75,000,000 acres of desert will be made available for homes, but this will be a work of years, and in the meantime Congress should so change the laws as to prevent the irrigable land passing into the hands of wealthy ranchmen and land dealers.

[From the Detroit Tribune, October 25.]

President Roosevelt and Mr. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, both recommended to Congress last winter that such remedial legislation be enacted, but the opposition of the cattle and lumber men was sufficient to prevent action.

[From the Racine (Wis.) Journal, October 22.]

Senator QUARLES last winter endeavored to secure the repeal of these laws, but with no success, and in the next session it is hoped that the good work may be recommenced.

[From the Financial Review, November 20.]

A considerable campaign is expected in Congress this winter in an effort to secure the repeal of certain land laws which have been used for years in the interest of cattlemen and speculators in acquiring great tracts of public land. President Roosevelt has taken a very strong position along the lines that the remaining public lands must not be used for speculation, but must be reserved for settlers who will make homes upon them.

[From the Boston Globe, December 1.]

The Government should employ stringent and even harsh measures in the case of these land pirates. * * * This land stealing has been practiced more or less under many Administrations, but appears to have flourished during the past few years more successfully than formerly. * * * The best suggestion comes from Representative STEPHENS of Texas, who says: "I am in favor of having the whole system shaken up and exposed, no matter how big the men who are implicated. After that I would repeal all the public-land laws on the statute books except the homestead law."

[From the Dubuque Herald, November 13.]

The practices resorted to by speculators to get possession of land are notorious and old. Not wanting the land for settlement, they have violated the spirit of the law at every turn, and complied with its letter only when required to do so.

[From the Los Angeles Times, November 14.]

Attention has repeatedly been called to the evils of the existing land laws. It is the imperative duty of Congress to take such action as will remedy these evils. Congress will be palpably derelict in its duty to the people if it fails in the coming session to take up this matter and furnish the relief which the exigencies of the case clearly demand.

[From the New York Mail and Express, November 25.]

If Congress is at all responsive to the public demand, it will stop up all land leaks at the regular session. The timber-culture law has been repealed, the desert-land law should be, too, and the commutation clause of the homestead act.

[From the New York News, November 24.]

There is but little land worth stealing left to the people. Now that the steed has been stolen, a great hullabaloo is made over the locking of the stable door.

[From the Wall Street Journal, November 28.]

If these public lands are to go into the hands of persons or corporations who will hold them for cattle purposes or for the wholesale destruction of the timber which may be upon them, it is needless to say that the ultimate interests of the country would suffer, however much would be the present profit of special interests.

[Review of Reviews, November.]

A vigorous movement is under way in the West to bring about the repeal of certain laws under which the public domain, it is alleged, is being squandered in a way undreamed of by the originators of the homestead legislation of half a century back. The repeal of these laws would be a real boon to the actual settler and home maker.

[From the Newport Herald, December 1.]

It is becoming evident that unless special precaution be observed the irrigated lands will fall into the possession of land interests similar to those which have already gobbled so much of the timber and grazing lands in the North and West.

[From the Dallas News, December 3.]

A recent estimate shows that the United States Government now has left 100,000,000 acres of land on which, with irrigation and other improvements, men might live. Some of it is very good land if it has water. Most of it is poor compared with the 850,000,000 acres of public land that has been sold or given away in forty years. The homestead and preemption laws did not operate swiftly enough in the disposition of this land, therefore the desert-land act, the timber-culture act, the pensioner's widow and commutation provisions were gotten up to make the land go faster.

[From the Chattanooga Times, December 6.]

The trouble grows largely out of the loose land laws. Congress should revise them, but so far those interested in preventing revision have met with success.

[From the Minneapolis Times, December 4.]

The barons of the range and the monarchs of the forest are gobbling up the land rapidly and further postponement of the Government's "plain duty" to preserve the remaining fragment of the public domain for the use of the people will mean a great decrease in the amount to be reserved from the clutches of the grabbers.

Senator NELSON voices the sentiment of ninety-nine western men in one hundred when he says that the desert-land act should be repealed, homesteads on arid lands limited to 80 acres, and the commutation feature eliminated. He speaks a great truth when he says the timber and stone act is an open door to the perpetration of fraud against the public domain.

Congress is sufficiently familiar with the subject to act upon it at once. If the poor remnant of the national domain is to be preserved for the people, to whom it belongs by right, rescue work should be commenced immediately.

[From the St. Paul Globe, December 3.]

It may as well be understood first, last, and all the time that every true friend of irrigation is in favor of getting rid of it quickly and as thoroughly as possible of the laws under which public lands can be and are now being appropriated by private parties for other purposes than those of actual settlement.

There is no reason that can be given for retaining upon our statute books the laws to which exception is taken. The speculators and syndicates are bringing all possible influence to bear upon Congress to prevent it. Department officials, colored by the same interest, are trying the same tactics. The position of Congress on this subject will be a fairly good measure of the fidelity or faithlessness of its members to the public good.

[From the St. Paul Pioneer Press, December 8.]

A revision would take time, and time is just what is wanted by the land companies and speculators. The thing to be done is for the friends of the home maker, as against the speculator, to secure the passage at once of a bill repealing the desert-land act, the stone and timber act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act.

[From the Farm Implement News, December 1.]

The President stands by his colors on the repeal of bad land laws, notwithstanding the influential opposition to such repeal which developed at the recent irrigation convention in Ogden, Utah.

[From the Chicago Evening Post, November 30.]

The repeal of these laws would be a real boon to the actual settler and home maker.

[From the Lancaster, Pa., News, November 28.]

If Congress is at all responsive to the public demand, it will stop up all these land leaks at the regular session. The timber-culture law has been repealed, the desert-land law should be, too, and the commutation clause of the homestead law. A stop should be put absolutely to the obtaining of land by any other than actual and bona fide agricultural settlers.

[From the Fargo Forum, November 16.]

The homestead law has been a great thing for this country. There are other land laws which have been simply a means of fraud. The Forum does not believe that this fraud has come entirely through the maladministration of the laws; but it believes that the statutes themselves are radically wrong. It seems as if the desert-land law had outlived its usefulness, if it ever had any.

[From the Modesto, Cal., News, November 10.]

The iniquitous land laws, through the operation of which millions of acres of the public domain have passed into the possession of speculators and land grabbers, will not be repealed unless there is a strong and united effort made by those who see the urgent need of reform along that line.

[From the Oakland (Cal.) Tribune, November 13.]

The history of timber-land entries in the lumbering regions is one long story of fraud and perjury. It is a record that proves how futile the timber act has been—an act that has defeated its own object and has caused the desolation of immense areas of the public domain.

[From the Home Seeker and Investor, Chicago, Ill., November.]

Unfortunately the provisions of the irrigation law are to a great extent nullified by those of the older land acts—the desert-land act, the commutation clause of the homestead act, and the timber and stone act. These land-stealing laws have become mere instrumentalities of fraud, and their abrogation should have been a preliminary to the enactment of the irrigation law.

[Editorial in the Telegraph, Camden, N. J., January 12, 1904.]

LAND LAWS DEFECTIVE.

The Government Land Office promises to be the theater for the play at Washington of fraud and dishonesty. Recent revelations show that the administration of Uncle Sam's real estate office is such as to invite fraud and perjury.

The inspection instituted by the Secretary of the Interior, independent of the Land Office, has shown that men have gone upon Government land, done certain things or failed to do them, it mattered little, filled out blank forms, and in numerous cases had their statements accepted by the local land officials without question.

In many cases the settler has openly evaded the letter as well as the spirit of the law. The former, by a rigid administration, could be stopped, but even with such enforcement it would be impossible to stop land absorption in large tracts and without settlement, since the laws are inherently defective.

At a low estimate, 30,000,000 acres of Government land have passed within the last two years into private ownership and now lie idle or in grazing tracts, with no attempt at settlement having been made, which should still be Government land, open to entry by actual settlers.

[Editorial in Journal of Agriculture, St. Louis, Mo., February 4, 1904.]

LAND LAWS AMENDMENT.

Two or three dozen bills have already been introduced in Congress thus far providing for various amendments and modifications of the several land laws. They run all the way in their operation from absolute repeal of all the laws except the homestead act down to word-consuming amendments which, if enacted, would be found to place absolutely no check upon the land stealing. While Congress is fooling along on this really great question, the big live-stock corporations of the West, the speculators, and other land grabbers are taking Government land at the rate of something over 2,000,000 acres a month. The bill which would effectively stop this sort of thing, and leave remaining in the hands of the Government all land not entered for actual settlement under the homestead law, is the one introduced by Senator QUARLES, of Wisconsin, calling for the absolute repeal of the timber law, the desert law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law.

[Editorial from the Republican, Middleport, Ohio, February 19, 1904.]

STOCKMEN WANT LAND LAWS LEFT UNDISTURBED.

Dispatches from Wyoming indicate that the cattle and sheep men of that State have combined in opposition to the proposed repeal of the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act. One dispatch states a summary of the views of the convention: "Absolute opposition to the repeal of the land laws, strong feeling that the scope of the laws should be enlarged, and desire that the Government cede all lands but agricultural (irrigable) lands to the State in order that the range may be leased to stockmen."

Here crops out the original Wyoming effort to secure State cession, a policy of turning over the Government lands to the State legislatures, so that the State legislatures can turn them over to the stockmen. The history of the various State grants from the Government, such as Nevada's 2,000,000-acre grant, California's great swamp-land grant, and many others, is surrounded with too much fraud and flagrant public dishonesty to admit of Congress for a moment considering such a course as is suggested by the Wyoming stock interests.

[Editorial from the Times, Adrian, Mich., February 16, 1904.]

ONE IRRIGATED ACRE.

The Sacramento Valley of California is a land of big farms. Private estates run all the way from 1,000 to 100,000 acres. It was once profitable to

farm vast areas in grain. When this speculation began to fail, in consequence of the expansion of the industry in foreign lands which had learned to use American labor-saving machinery, the tendency toward big farms was not checked, but rather accelerated, since many holdings were consolidated in the process of mortgage foreclosures.

Although the Sacramento Valley is blessed with most abundant water supplies, irrigation is not generally employed. There is little rainfall from May to November, yet grain and deciduous fruits are grown without artificial moisture. But the big farms are not prosperous. They are largely cultivated by tenants, and are strangely devoid of features which make the true California farm one of the most delightful home spots in the world. The men on the land sell all they produce and buy nearly all they consume. And so they pay tribute to others "going and coming."

I have been visiting a farm in the Sacramento Valley which consists of one single acre of irrigated land and which makes a better home and larger net income for its owner than many of his neighbors enjoy on places of thousands of acres each. The little farm is at Orland, in Glenn County, and is the property of a man named Samuel Cleeks, who has grown old and gray while tilling it for the past thirty years.

Mr. Cleeks says he has no difficulty whatever in making a comfortable living from this 1 acre of irrigated land. Not only so, but he is able to save an average of \$400 a year besides. He has money to loan, as well as fruit, vegetables, and poultry products to sell to those who are getting poorer every year in carrying on big farms without irrigation.

Here is a list of his products:

Barn and corral space, 75 by 75 feet; rabbit hutch, 25 by 25 feet; house and porches, 30 by 30 feet; two windmill towers, 16 by 16 feet each; garden, 46 by 34 feet; blackberries, 16 by 80 feet; strawberries, 65 by 90 feet; citrus nursery, 90 by 98 feet, in which there are 2,300 trees budded; one row of dewberries, 100 feet long; four apricot trees; two oak trees; three peach trees; six fig trees; ten locust trees; thirty assorted roses; twenty assorted geraniums; twelve lemon trees, bearing, which are 7 years old; lime tree, 9 years old and bearing, from which were sold last year 160 dozen limes; eight bearing orange trees; four breadfruit trees; five pomegranate trees; one patch of bamboo; three calla lilies; four prune trees; three blue gum trees; six cypress trees; four grapevines; one English ivy; two honeysuckles; one seed bed; one violet bed; one sage bed; two tomato vines; thirteen stands of peas.

The story of this prosperous 1-acre farm set in the midst of the large wheat ranches of the Sacramento Valley has a certain bearing on the great popular movement aiming at the repeal of existing laws under which the nation's lands are being recklessly squandered.

In the face of such examples of the productive capacity of irrigated land under intensive cultivation, why should we continue to give away \$30 acres to a single individual or twice as much to a man and his wife? This is what we are doing under the desert-land law. And every time we do it we shut the door of hope in the face of ten or twenty families who might get homes on the public domain if the unit of entry were cut down to a reasonable figure—say, 20, 40, or 60 acres, where the lands are adapted to intensive farming—and the desert-land law and commutation clause of the homestead act repealed.

Save the lands for the real home builder!

[Editorial in Commercial Review, Portland, Oreg., January 12, 1904.]

The land grabbers are working with considerable activity in the West. Realizing that an outraged public will soon rise up and demand of Congress the repeal of all land laws allowing speculative and monopolistic absorption, they are, "while they're gittin', gittin' a plenty," at the rate of 2,000,000 acres a month, or 80,000 acres every working day. If this stealing, occurring principally under the timber law and the desert-land law, could be portrayed in figures representing actual values, it would make the post-office speculations look smaller than the much quoted "thirty cents."

[Editorial from the Sentinel, Hazleton, Pa., January 8, 1904.]

SMALL IRRIGATED FARMS.

Twenty-acre alfalfa farms, supplemented by cows and creameries, which a Chicago man thinks is just the thing for the lands now being irrigated on the Colorado desert in southeastern California, and which he is backing with his money by assisting small settlers to get a start. These 20-acre farms furnish a striking contrast with those of \$20 and \$40 acres which are being acquired in the same section under the desert-land law. But here is the story of another man, one of the richest manufacturers in the Mississippi Valley, who thinks that 20 acres make a farm just four times too big for the average settler who has little to invest except his labor and brains.

This other manufacturer is N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, who conducts a model profit-sharing industrial town at LeClaire, Ill., across the river from the great Missouri metropolis. Mr. Nelson is a genuine philanthropist, though of a practical kind, since his idea is to help people to help themselves and to show them how to become independent instead of dependent. For years he has been casting longing eyes toward the deserts of the West. He was looking for a place where poor people who are out of health, particularly with pulmonary or throat diseases, might go and forget their ills while engaged in profitable outdoor pursuits.

HEALTH IN THE DESERT.

He wanted a very dry place where the air is filled with healing balm and where the sunshine takes the place of drugs and artificial heat. He found this ideal spot on the western edge of the desert, about 120 miles east of Los Angeles. Here he established the Indio Health Camp about eighteen months ago. He bought a tract of land, which is irrigated by artesian wells, and proceeded to erect cheap but comfortable quarters for his colonists, whom he had no difficulty in securing in ample numbers.

Mr. Nelson believes that true prosperity in the land of irrigation is to be had by the intensive cultivation of little farms rather than the wasteful tilling of big ones. And at Indio he believes 5 acres are enough. On these small areas his settlers are raising table grapes, melons, sweet potatoes, and other products which are readily sold in nearby markets at fancy prices. In that favored spot these garden crops mature earlier than elsewhere in California, and are therefore very profitable. The Indio people believe they will achieve independence before many of their land-hungry neighbors who are acquiring from sixty-four to one hundred and twenty-eight times as much land under the desert-land law as they are buying from Mr. Nelson at cost price and paying for with the proceeds of their land and labor.

The truth of the matter is that the people of Indio are making homes and tilling the land, while their more acquisitive neighbors are speculating in the public domain. This speculation will go on as long as the land laws continue to favor human greed rather than human need. The desert act not only enables the acquirement of large tracts of Government land, but it requires no settlement or residence whatever.

[Editorial in the Dayton (Ohio) News, January 16, 1904.]

WESTERN LAND OUTRAGES.

Last winter, owing to the vast tracts of public land that were falling into possession of syndicates, speculators, and those who would in the future own

great landed estates in the West, a bill was under consideration in the United States Senate providing for a correction of these evils and the dispensing of the public domain to actual settlers.

But, though the bill was reported on favorably by the majority of the committee, no action thereon was taken, and the public lands are still preyed upon by the vultures.

Much complaint has been heard from those who have settled on Government lands under the homestead acts, because, owing to the millions of acres of these lands being controlled by these syndicates, who do not improve them, but hold them for speculative purposes, the States are not being settled, and the settlers thereon can never hope to enjoy anything but the isolation to which they are doomed on the lands they have improved. The actual settler thus deprived of the advantages intended for him by the spirit of the law, realizes that the great syndicates monopolizing the land prevents others from settling in the domain and retards the progress of the far western States.

Senator GIBSON of Montana, in calling attention to these facts in the United States Senate, said:

"If our present system of land acts is continued five years longer the entire public domain suitable for settlement will be exhausted and there will be no land left for our people who desire to make homes upon it."

"During the first ninety days of the present fiscal year 6,168,000 acres of Government land were filed upon. Should this increasing ratio be maintained, between 25,000,000 and 30,000,000 acres will be taken from the public domain the present fiscal year."

"The report of the Senate committee touching this says:

"Instead of following the injunctions of Presidents Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, Harrison, and Roosevelt, we are making all possible haste under our present most unfortunate land acts to turn over to wealthy men and corporations this rich heritage of the people. The population of the United States to-day, 80,000,000, will doubtless reach 130,000,000 in the next twenty-five or thirty years."

"Where will this rapidly increasing population find homes upon the land if we permit the public domain to pass into the possession of men seeking to own and control immense landed estates?"

"There should be but one act upon our statute books under which public land can be acquired, and that one act should be a genuine homestead act, which imposes a residence of five years and continuous cultivation of the soil—an act having no commutation provision attached to it."

These facts show that great wrongs are practiced, and the reluctance of the legislative branch of the nation to correct the evil shows that there is a powerful influence at work that is preventing a redress of these grievances.

[From Commercial West, Minneapolis, Minn., March 19, 1904.]

REPEAL OF LAND LAWS.

On Monday of this week the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce forwarded to the Minnesota Congressional delegation at Washington, D. C., certain resolutions urging the repeal of the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act. A certified copy of these resolutions from B. F. Beardsley, secretary, was as follows:

"Whereas the reclamation and settlement with a dense population of the public lands in the States and Territories lying to the west of the city of St. Paul, and comprising a part of its tributary trade territory, are of vital consequences to the growth of this city and the enlargement of its trade and commerce; and

"Whereas through locations made under the desert-land act and the commutation clauses of the homestead act, those lands are rapidly passing into private ownership, largely without settlement, or any corresponding increase of population, and instead of being subdivided into farms, are being absorbed into large stock ranges, to the exclusion of actual settlers, and to the detriment of the commercial and property interests of St. Paul and adjacent cities, and to the injury of the best interests of the people of the entire United States; and

"Whereas the evils which have arisen under said desert-land act and commutation clause of the homestead act, and also under the timber and stone act, and the necessity for their repeal having been clearly set forth in the last two messages of President Roosevelt to the Congress of the United States and in the report of the Senate Committee on the Public Lands in the last session of Congress recommending for passage the bill known as the 'Quarles bill,' providing for the repeal of said laws: Be it

Resolved, That the desert-land act, the commutation clause of the homestead act and the timber and stone act should be forthwith repealed and that in future no one should be permitted to acquire title to any of the agricultural or irrigable public lands except an actual settler who should have established a permanent home on said land and lived thereon for the full term of five years, as required by the original homestead act; further, be it

Resolved, That we, the directors of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, earnestly urge upon Congress the immediate passage, in this session, of the Quarles bill, as recommended for passage in said Senate committee report in the last session of Congress, and reintroduced in this session, being Senate bill 982, Fifty-eighth Congress, first session; further, be it

Resolved, That the secretary of this chamber be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress and request their earnest cooperation to secure the passage of said Quarles bill in this session of Congress."

[Editorial extract from the Commercial West, Minneapolis, March 26, 1904.]

The Commercial West believes that in the end the cause of justice and the economic prosperity of the country would be furthered by the repeal of all the acts or parts of acts in question, provided that only such action should be considered as a means of clearing a way for a thorough revision of the land laws and the enactment of new measures, which should be based upon an exhaustive study of the subjects involved and of the real interests of the people at large, would be settlers, private individuals, and corporations.

The ostensible purposes of all these acts have been thwarted by their manner of enforcement or of nonenforcement. There have been hundreds of loopholes through which escape from their intent was easy. They were ostensibly designed for the benefit of private citizens and to build up the population and productive wealth of the country. But to some extent they have resulted merely in passing title of public lands to corporations or large individual holders, through the devious and questionable byways of evasion and sometimes of fraud. In hundreds and perhaps thousands of cases the individual who files on public lands under either the stone and timber act or the desert-land act has no real intention of becoming a settler at all, but, having acquired a title capable of transfer, promptly sells his rights to some one else. The commutation clause and the land-scrip provisions have resulted in scandals innumerable in the Northwest and on the Pacific coast. People have taken up timber lands on receipt of scrip which enabled them to locate on other timber lands, when the process could be repeated.

[From Opportunity, St. Paul, Minn.]

One of the best things which could possibly happen to the West and to the nation is the bringing to light of the public-land frauds in the West, through the investigations started by Secretary Hitchcock.

The entire subject of the administration of the public domain will receive such publicity as will show the people of the United States the necessity for radical changes in the handling of the public lands. Not only have frauds been perpetrated under the land laws, but in many cases where the letter of the law has really been complied with steals have been perpetrated upon the public-land owners—the people. It is a poor class of citizenship which will say that this is a western subject which the West should handle, and that it has no particular interest for the East. Every citizen of the United States is a landowner. Every one of the 70,000,000 citizens of the United States owns his share of the half billion acres within her borders, exclusive of Alaska and the insular possessions.

[Editorial from the San Diego (Cal.) Sun, March 25, 1904.]

THE PUBLIC LANDS.

Senator GIBSON, of Montana, a member of the Public Lands Committee of the Senate, yesterday made a strong plea for the amendment of the land laws of the country. The substance of his speech will be found elsewhere in today's Sun, and ought to be read by all who would keep informed on the affairs of this country of ours.

The public lands are an asset of the people of the country. Every citizen has a proprietary interest in them. They once constituted an enormous domain, a domain so large that it was popularly described by the expression "Uncle Sam has land enough to give us all a farm." And that expression was cheerfully assuring. It conveyed the idea, to use further homely language, that any man who lost his job or was otherwise pressed by necessity might move West and be sure of living on a piece of Government land. That, in its last analysis, was the assurance expressed.

But Senator GIBSON now shows that the great body of public lands, instead of going to the man out of a job, has gone and is going to speculators, syndicates, and corporations. So fast is the land going to those concerns that he predicts it will all be taken within a few years. He would stop the present process by repealing the present land laws and providing a new homestead act which would require actual and continued residence to secure title.

Although the conditions warrant the remedy proposed, and although the remedy proposed is a rational one, it is not expected Congress will take action in the matter. The influence of those who are most able to exert influence in the right place will be against it. The probability is that the public land will be claimed about as it has been—or possibly with even greater rapidity as the visible area decreases. It is, in fact, highly probable that ten years hence what was a great public domain will all have passed into private ownership.

And when that period is reached, what will happen? Hunger for land, the need of land, will not cease. On the contrary, population will increase the demand for land, and for the highest possible use of the land. A crisis will then be reached and something will have to be done.

[Editorial from the Los Angeles (Cal.) Times.]

Dispatches from Wyoming state that the cattle and sheep men of that State want the land laws undisturbed. Precisely. Enterprising train robbers would also doubtless object should railroad companies propose to carry half a dozen expert shotgun messengers on each train.

[From the Leavenworth (Kans.) Union.]

SHOULD REPEAL BAD LAWS.

There are now \$15,000,000 in the United States Treasury set apart under the national irrigation act for the building of irrigation works by the National Government.

Work will soon begin on such great structures as the Tonto Basin reservoir in Arizona, the Gunnison tunnel in Colorado, and the St. Marys and Milk River system in Montana.

Every dollar of their cost will be paid out for labor, directly or indirectly, and each irrigation system will create a demand for labor on the reclaimed lands under it each year thereafter greater than the entire cost of the system.

There are now over 100,000,000 acres of public lands that can be reclaimed. But it will be gone in a few years at the rate it is now being stolen by the speculators. This wholesale theft of the public domain is enormously prejudicial to the interest of labor and to the workers of the country.

[Editorial from the St. Paul Globe, March 21, 1904.]

LAND LAW REFORM IS SLOW.

At the end of two years of controversy there is a possibility at last that a niggardly measure of land law reform will be dealt out by a repeal of the timber and stone act. No one who lives in the West and has come at all close to the people, knowing where the land laws bear upon their own interests and where these statutes have fathered abuses in the past, can understand the temper of the Congressional mind. Why the good work should be so slow of accomplishment, and why it should be so nearly impossible to tear the roots of evil from the soil, is one of the many mysteries of American public life.

As half a loaf is better than no bread, so the action finally agreed upon by the Senate committee, if it ever does get through both Houses, will be a small concession to honest administration and a slight curtailment of the statutory privileges hitherto extended to land grabbers and speculative syndicates. The abuses growing out of this particular law will at least be cut off, while the amendment of the forestry law relating to the selection of lieu lands where a homestead is included within the forest reserve will perhaps put a stop to the land grafting that has grown up in that direction. The pity of it is that we could not have a real and thorough land-law reform at once.

That anyone should listen to the arguments of the opposition is amazing. Their chief cry seems to be that if the Government were to be honest with the settler and required him to be honest with it in return all new population will pass us by and go into Canada. There are two classes of people going into a new country, one the genuine settler and the other the adventurer of the frontier. The former wants in good faith to get a piece of ground for a home. To live on it for a term of years as a condition of acquiring title is no hardship for him, for it is precisely what he wishes and intends to do. Therefore, no law enforcing this condition would turn him aside. The other fellow, who lives by his wits and is bent on plundering some person or, preferably, the Government, is the man who profits by lax laws relating to the distribution of the public domain. If we could shunt him off on a side track that would carry him over into Canada, we should be doing good business.

The long and the short of it is that none of our laws for conveying public lands to private ownership, except the homestead act and the provisions relating to this subject in the new irrigation act, ought to remain in force.

None other is of the slightest benefit to the settler, while under them millions of acres of public lands have been appropriated by private interests without a dollar of return to the Government or to the farmer. The satisfaction about this little beginning of reform is that public opinion, having accomplished so much, may later on be equal to compelling Congress to complete its work.

[Editorial from the Minneapolis Journal, March 25, 1904.]

THEY MUST BE REPEALED.

The people of the West strongly sympathize with such views of the land laws as Senator GIBSON expressed in the Senate yesterday. It is imperative for national welfare that every remaining acre of the public domain be so administered as to make the greatest possible use of it for homemaking. All of the land that is susceptible of cultivation should be reserved for the actual settler, and the forest lands should be managed for the general good and not be permitted to be made the means of individual enrichment to the injury of the public.

The Senator succeeded well in answering the point often made against the repeal of the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead law, that it would cripple the operation from irrigation works. The irrigation fund will soon amount to \$30,000,000. Such a sum turning over and over can accomplish a vast deal. But at best the present system is only a makeshift. The time is near at hand when Congress will advance large sums from the National Treasury for the building of irrigation works on an immense scale. Some single systems will call for the expenditure of \$50,000,000. When these larger works, that will redeem three or four million acres, are undertaken, direct Federal appropriations are inevitable. But even if it be otherwise, how foolish it is to sell public lands to increase the irrigation fund, when such sales both reduce the area of public land that can be irrigated and, when forest land, diminish the capacity of the natural reservoirs.

The time has come when our Government must do all in its power to make homes for our swarming millions. Last year 40,000 American farmers crossed into Canada because of the free or cheap homes that are still to be found in the Canadian west. This year 75,000 American farmers will make the same change. So great is the rush for lands in Canada that already the homesteads reasonably near existing railway lines have all been taken. Here are our people overflowing into another country, and still we retain on our statute books laws that deal with the public lands in the same old, wasteful way in which the nation dispensed its public domain when its extent seemed unlimited and its capacity for population inexhaustible. The time has come for a change.

[Editorial from the San Francisco Chronicle, March 25, 1904.]

THE LAND-GRABBING CASES.

The trials of persons in this or any other city who are accused of obtaining or conspiring to obtain possession of the public lands by fraudulent methods are usually nothing more than attempts to ascertain whether it can or can not be legally proved to the satisfaction of a jury that the accused persons have unguardedly stepped over the line which divides that which is technically criminal from that which is not, and it will be seldom that the Government can prove its case. As one land dealer was recently reported to have said, "We know what the law is, and are not fools enough to intentionally violate it." As a matter of fact, they seldom need to to accomplish their purpose.

The men who commit the statutory offenses are usually obscure persons living on the outskirts of society. There are, however, some who would be insulted not to be recognized as persons of importance who acquire homestead claims by perjury, and if a few of these could be caught and punished it would be good for the business. Occasionally investigations discover that some land dealer has bribed Department clerks to give him advance information which will enable him to select lands to advantage; but while there may be moral certainty that bribery has been committed, that is a crime quite as difficult to prove in a court as perjury in taking up land. The fact that conviction is so difficult is the reason why prosecutions are so few.

And yet no person who has bought any considerable amount of public land from those who located it will say in private conversation that he believes that one acre in a hundred of his holdings was honestly come by by those from whom he bought. He knows, in fact, that the contrary is the case. He knows that not one timber claim, for example, in a hundred is worth a dollar to the man who paid \$2.50 per acre for it, except for the purpose of selling at a higher price, and that all those who swore that they desired to purchase the land for their own use deliberately perjured themselves, just as cowboys perjure themselves when they swear that they are taking up land for a homestead, when everybody knows that it is impossible to get a living from the land and that no one would file a homestead claim on it except for the purpose of selling out to a cattleman.

From the day when the public land in the humid region of the United States was exhausted four-fifths of the land entries have been made with intent to violate the plain intent of the law, and of these the majority involved perjury in the entries. None know this better than the land sharks who are engaged in the business, who know, in fact, that the business of dealing in these public lands could not be carried on except on a basis of perjury, and bribery when possible. The whole business is rotten, and yet convictions of crime will rarely be possible.

Congressmen perfectly understand the situation, and it is hard to comprehend why they have not long ago made an end of the miserable business by repealing the laws under which it is carried on. They are hesitating even now.

[Editorial from the Minneapolis Tribune, March 18, 1904.]

A BATTLE HALF WON.

The fight to preserve the remnant of public lands for the people is half won. The stoutest resistance to the repeal of the stone and timber act, the desert-land act, and the homestead commutation act has been in the Senate. The Senate is the natural stronghold of the corporate interests that want to get timber on Government lands for a fraction of its value, to seize the sources of water supply for the national immigration scheme, and to monopolize the arid lands in advance of their redemption at the public expense. The Senate has blocked action for two years, while the rape of the public domain by private timber, land, cattle, and water companies has gone on with accelerating impetus. Now the hold of the land-grabbing corporations on the Senate has been broken just enough to permit one of the three reforms the people demand.

Though a majority of the Senate Committee on Public Lands favored the complete repeal bill described above, it has been impossible to get a report or to get the bill before the House. On the half-loaf principle the committee at last consented to report a bill repealing the stone and timber act alone. With this is combined a plan for the sale of timber on public lands to the highest bidder, the land to remain in the hands of the Government for reforestation. The House will add an amendment to prevent the lien land dodge, by which denuded timber land was exchanged for uncut land, and so on ad infinitum.

This is a good bill as far as it goes. It has been strongly supported by the Forestry Bureau. That very worthy scientific office felt unfortunately bound to oppose the general land-reform bill till it could get the special law it wanted for stripping and reforestation of public lands. The passage of this bill will remove from the path of the other land reforms this righteous obstruction as well as the corrupt opposition of the timber grabbers.

The field is now clear for a vigorous campaign for repeal of the desert-land act and the homestead commutation. The campaign is now localized in the arid and grazing regions. The Senatorial attorneys from those States have been successful in defending their clients, by throwing the timber-land grabbers overboard as a sop to the whale of justice. Their own turn should come next. These are the laws under which the vast domain to be fertilized with water at national cost is exposed to seizure by corporate monopolists, that the settlers for whose benefit it is designed may be turned into a rack-rented peasantry.

Lands are being got for a dollar or two an acre through hired perjurers under homestead commutation and without fraud under the desert-land act, which Federal irrigation will convert into smiling farms, capable of supporting millions of families now landless. The question is whether these shall own their land or pay rent to corporations. The issue is a mighty one. The stake is no less than an empire of fertile farms. No wonder resistance to the reform is tenacious. The battle for it should be no less resolute. It is the people's fight. It concerns every landless man, every wage-worker who would rather be a landholder or see his son one, every small farmer who desires for his children the same opportunity he had in a new country.

No time is to be lost. Reform has been stayed off in this Congress. It should be forced in the next. Take the campaign into every district. It is too late to instruct delegates to Chicago, though there may be time to force a resolution in favor of repeal into the Republican platform. It is not too late to instruct every Member of the next House to vote for the repeal. Here is work for the labor unions, for the farmers' organizations, for all who want their rightful inheritance of public land or who believe the safety of the Republic requires the perpetuation of the American farmer class instead of its conversion into an impoverished tenantry.

[Editorial in Signal, Wieser, Idaho, March 26, 1904.]

The big stockmen and timber men of the West who have only forty or fifty thousand acres of land and who are ambitious to increase it to 100,000 acres will have to move lively and rustle some dummies and substitutes to make 100 or 320 acre entries under the timber and stone act or the desert-land act or the commutator's clause of the homestead act, or they will not fulfill their desires. The country and Congress is beginning to wake up to the importance of saving this western public domain, our greatest resource to-day with national irrigation an established Government policy, and converting it into homes for settlers and home makers. It looks as though the days of the speculator and the land grabber were numbered.

[Editorial from the Sacramento (Cal.) Bee, April 2, 1904.]

The bills before Congress for the repeal of the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act should be passed. Gigantic frauds have been perpetrated on the Government under cover of these laws, and the sooner they are stricken from the statute books the better.

The timber and stone act, one of the chief means of enabling timber-land grabbers to acquire great blocks of forest by means of dummy entries, should also be repealed.

[Editorial from the Fairplay, Fort Pierre, N. Dak., April 1, 1904.]

The land-law question has always been a nonpartisan one, but should the House refuse to consider the bill the Democrats would undoubtedly make of it a party issue, taking as their basis not only the unquestioned fraud under these laws, but the vigorous utterances of the President in both of his annual messages and in his public speeches insisting upon the preservation of the public domain for actual settlers and that no more Government land shall be disposed of without residence and improvement by actual farmers who will till and make homes upon it, none of which is practiced under these laws.

[Editorial from the Forum, Fargo, N. Dak., April 5, 1904.]

Without doubting the honesty of action of anyone, the Forum is under the impression that those Senators and Congressmen who are opposing the repeal of the desert-land law are making a great mistake. This law has been the instrument by which speculators and cattlemen have secured large bodies of land and have kept out the small settlers. Such a course does not tend to build up a country. Home builders are wanted, not owners of thousands of acres who may hold the same for speculative purposes. Senator GIBSON is right when he demands that this law shall be wiped from the statute books.

[Editorial from the News, North Liberty, Ind., April 9, 1904.]

The land lobby at Washington, which is endeavoring to prevent the repeal of speculative land laws, is making the unique charge that the repeal of these laws would increase the value of private land. In other words, because the saving of the remaining public lands from speculation would increase private properties the waste by the Government should still be allowed to go on until all the lands have been taken up by the grabbers.

[Editorial from the Grand Forks (N. Dak.) Herald, April 10, 1904.]

PUBLIC LANDS.

It is almost certain that there will be nothing doing at the present session of Congress to remedy the defects of the land laws, defects which are every week placing large quantities of valuable public land in the hands of people who are looking for something for nothing. The conditions which surround the disposal of the public domain differ very greatly now from what they were when the homestead law was passed. At that time the man who settled on a quarter section of Government land was a pioneer indeed. He was obliged to move far from civilization, to go to a country where there were none of the advantages which he had left, and to create a new civilization for himself in what was in actual fact a wilderness.

The land which the Government offered as a free gift was good land, but it had practically no market value. A dollar an acre would have been looked on as a big price for it. Within twenty years the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad offered land within 10 or 12 miles of Grand Forks at \$5 an acre and found slow sale for it at that price. To-day people are permitted to file under the homestead laws on land worth \$10 an acre, and a man is able, by taking advantage of the commutation law, to prove up after eight months' residence, and have \$1,000 worth of property clear of all expenses, as the result of his eight months' residence, a residence which in many cases does not interfere with his following his usual occupation.

This is one phase of the situation. The manner in which the desert and timber claim laws are worked is along the same line. In other words, the Government is giving away valuable property to all who choose to come and take it. When the opportunities are so plentiful, when it is so easy to obey the letter of the law without any intention to observe its spirit, to say that vast quantities of land are not regularly passing into the hands of persons who seek to secure the property for nothing that they may sell it for a good price, and who have no intention of doing anything to aid in settling or developing the country, is to talk simple nonsense.

[Editorial from the Times, Oswego, N. Y., April 4, 1904.]

WESTERN LAND THEIVING.

Senator GIBSON, of Montana, made a speech in the Senate indicating a condition of land frauds and land stealing in the West a hundred times more serious than the post-office steals, and appealed to the Senate to repeal all the land-acquiring laws except the homestead act. This is the first time that the subject has been brought up for consideration on the floor of either House, and it is expected that it will be given a thorough airing before Congress adjourns. Senator PATTERSON, of Colorado, supported Senator GIBSON's contention and stated that the absorption of great tracts of land of hundreds of thousands of acres into single ownership was a menace to the nation.

[Editorial from the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer, April 6, 1904.]

LAND-LAW REPEAL.

In his speech in the Senate on Saturday Senator WARREN, of Wyoming, took the sound position when he argued that the sooner the public domain passed into the possession of actual settlers the better. It does not follow, however, that his position was equally sound when he opposed the repeal of all of the land laws save the homestead law. Few people seriously oppose the passing of the public land into the hands of actual settlers, to be held in tracts of 160 acres each. There is a sound public sentiment against the passage of the public lands, in large tracts, into the hands of individual speculators and syndicates.

There is no real question that large tracts of public lands have passed into the possession of single holders, individuals, and companies by reason of the workings of the present land laws, not necessarily through fraud, but often strictly within the law. The number of actual settlers and home makers on tracts held in first hands from the Government who acquired title under any of the land laws save the homestead law alone is relatively small. The amount of land patented to homestead claimants who acquired title after completion of the full term of living on the land which have subsequently been sold and thus incorporated into large tracts held by single individuals is also very small.

Everyone in the West, save those who have direct interests to the contrary, desires to see the public land in the possession of actual settlers and home builders. Land-grant railroads have arrived at the conclusion that it is more to their pecuniary interest to dispose of their lands, even very cheaply, to men who will settle upon them and put them in cultivation than to hold the same lands for the certain and very large increase in value which will come. The freight charge for hauling the product of an acre of wheat land to market is often more than the selling price of the land. The land once in cultivation is thereafter a source of permanent income to the railroad company. It is equally true that putting each quarter section in cultivation adds generally to the business of a community. It is the equivalent, from the standpoint of dollars and cents, to the establishment of a new small manufactory.

Senator WARREN believes that the process of passing the public lands into the possession of actual settlers who will reduce them to cultivation will be facilitated by a retention of all of the public land laws. Many observers, with equally good opportunities for judging and who are not interested in grazing pursuits, believe that the homestead law is the only one which, in practical operations, results in passing public lands into the possession of actual settlers, who reduce them to cultivation and thus add to the wealth of the community.

[Editorial from the St. Paul Globe, April 13, 1904.]

THE LOBBY AND THE LAND LAWS.

To an outsider it seems almost incredible that all effort to reform the present land laws of the country should prove once more a failure. There is but one opinion on this subject in the section where those who have the interests of the settler and of the nation at heart reside. Such provisions as the timber and stone act, the desert act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act have not a friend in the West except the lumber kings, the land speculators, and their agents. Yet their representatives are able to defeat remedial legislation every time.

The land sharks have adopted a policy by no means singular with them, but one that should have worn itself out by this time. It is now an invariable rule in certain portions of the West, when you wish to accomplish anything, simply to start a rousing howl that it is opposed by the railroads. It makes no difference what the facts are. The railroad interests may favor the thing proposed, they may be entirely indifferent, or they may be against it. The cry that they oppose it is enough. A few foolish people are at once influenced by prejudice and hold their ignorance dearer than the truth. Crafty demagogues have taken such advantage of this that men without an idea in their empty noddles have been elected to high places, pernicious laws have been passed, and beneficent regulations have been destroyed by the mere allegation that railroad interests desired the opposite.

This plan has been worked at Washington with reference to land-law legislation. The cattle kings, who have inclosed vast tracts of public land and wish no interference; the lumber kings, who have used these laws to amass millions and are still using them; the land grabber and the roving idler, who make a living by taking up land and turning it over to a syndicate, are all against any curtailment of their privileges. The solid interests of the West are naturally against the continuance of these laws. The business man, the farmer, and the enlightened railroad man, who knows that his property will prosper only as the country that it serves is settled and cultivated, want our remaining public lands preserved for actual settlement. Yet all of them are helpless.

Nothing is better established than the fact that the laws, or portions of them which we have mentioned, are now employed almost solely to transfer Government land from public to private ownership without fulfilling the conditions required in good faith. Yet the most earnest campaign for their repeal is beaten by the combined forces of ignorance, prejudice, and graft. The believers in reform, the real friends of the West, may be disheartened, but they will not be discouraged or finally rebuffed. The land laws of the United States must and shall be reformed. In the presence of the honest common people of this country, with an election near at hand, we urge every voter to scan the record of his Representative in Congress and to hold him to a strict accountability for the defeat of legislation intended to save our public lands from further depredations. In few respects has Republican obliquity been more apparent or its hatred of reform holder or more determined than in the stand that it has taken against land-law reform.

[Editorial from St. Paul Pioneer Press, April 16, 1904.]

THE NATION BUNCOED.

When the national irrigation law was under discussion, it was claimed by its opponents that the picture drawn by its friends, of vast expanses of desert converted into small holdings for millions of home builders, and "made to blossom as the rose," would never be realized. It was claimed that the lands would be gobbled up in great tracts by speculators with large capital, and that the most conspicuous result would be the spending of all the millions received by the Government from land sales for the benefit of these few speculators, it being provided in the irrigation act that all such receipts shall be expended in irrigation works. But President Roosevelt thought differently. He had faith enough in Congress to believe that body would promptly follow the passage of the irrigation law with the passage of another for the repeal of the acts under which further land grabbing would be possible. His influence was the most powerful factor in overcoming eastern opposition and securing the passage of the irrigation bill.

But it turns out that the opponents of the measure were right. The land pirates have simply paralyzed the more patriotic instincts of Congress, and by refusing to repeal the desert-land law that body has in effect said to them: "Go ahead and seize the remaining lands available for irrigation. Then all the millions the Government shall hereafter receive from the sale of lands of all kinds shall be expended for your exclusive benefit also."

Was ever a bunco game more cleverly worked upon an intelligent nation? The amount involved is so vast—the injury to the future of the country will be so great if the land pirates are to be made the sole beneficiaries of the irrigation law—that President Roosevelt would be amply justified and would win further applause if he should hold Congress in extra session until the desert-land act and others almost equally pernicious shall be repealed.

[Editorial from the Sioux City (Iowa) Tribune, April 9, 1904.]

THE FIGHT OVER LAND LAWS.

It is doubtful if the country as a whole fully realizes the magnitude or meaning of the effort to repeal the obnoxious land laws and insure the occupancy of the public domain by actual settlers. It is a fight that should interest every honest man in the country and arouse him to using whatever influence he has on the side of the little band of courageous individuals who are opposing a rich and unscrupulous lobby of grafters.

The idea that public lands should be sold under conditions that would give the speculator and land hog an advantage over the actual settler is not entirely a new one in this country, for on September 4, 1841, the preemption law was passed, which included a provision of purchase at \$1.25 an acre. This idea was not concurred in by some of the best patriots in Congress, and finally in 1862 the homestead act became a law. Senator GIBSON, of Montana, in a speech delivered the other day, made out a convincing argument for repeal. Commencing with the law of 1841, the Senator traced the history of the land acts as follows:

"But following the passage of this act there were men in Congress of national reputation who contended that the object of the Government in the disposal of the agricultural public lands should not be to derive revenue, but to furnish free homes for its people. The most notable among the advocates of this policy was Mr. BENTON, who said: 'I do not know how old I was, or rather how young I was, when I first took up the notion that sales of lands by the Government to its own citizens and to the highest bidder was false policy, and that gratuitous grants to actual settlers was the true policy and their labor the true way of extracting national wealth from the soil.'

"As a result of this contention, which rapidly gained ground not only in Congress but throughout the land, the homestead bill became a law May 20, 1862, and was based upon the well-known declaration that 'the public lands belong to the people and should not be sold to individuals nor be granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.' Under this act the settler was required to live upon the land and cultivate it for five years, at the end of which time he could make final proof and obtain title.

"Thomas Donaldson, in his History of the Public Domain, said: 'The homestead act stands as the concentrated wisdom of legislation for the settlement of the public lands. It protects the Government, it fills the State with homes, it builds up communities, and lessens the chances of social and civil disorder by giving ownership of the soil, in small tracts, to the occupants thereof. It was copied from no other nation's system. It was originally and distinctively American, and remains a monument to its originators.'

"But, unfortunately, as time has fully shown, a provision taken from the preemption act, and known as the 'commutation clause,' was incorporated into the homestead act, which enabled the entrymen to acquire title to his claim at the expiration of six months by the payment of \$1.25 an acre, and although the time when the claimant could commute his homestead was, by act of March 3, 1891, extended to fourteen months, this clause has ever been a fruitful and widespread source of fraud and perjury, in that it has enabled the speculator and the land monopolist to acquire large bodies of public land by employing men to file upon them, under the homestead act, who, at the expiration of six months or fourteen months, could commute to cash and deed the lands over to their principals. But notwithstanding a citizen of the United States could, for three years prior to 1876, obtain title to or file upon 480 acres of public land under the preemption, homestead, and timber-culture acts, a demand for more land and increased facilities for obtaining it was insisted upon.

"This resulted in the passage of the desert-land act March 3, 1877, which was soon made applicable to all arid and semiarid States and Territories and entitled the locator to acquire under it 640 acres of land. On June 3, 1878, fifteen months later, the timber and stone act was passed by Congress. It will thus be seen that we had upon the statute books from June 3, 1878, to March 3, 1891, a period of thirteen years, the preemption act, the homestead act, the timber-culture act, the desert-land act, and the timber and stone act."

Senator GIBSON gave many particulars and details of land frauds that have come under his personal observation, showing how little chance the actual settler has under the present laws. The following is only a small part of his remarks in this direction:

"It is well to note at this point that under the law of March 3, 1877, desert-land entries, before final proof, were not assignable.

"Another lot of fifty-five desert-land entries were reported at that time. These entries covered 35,000 acres, and the final proofs were made alleging the reclamation of the tracts, which was found not to be true. These entrymen all lived in Eastern States, and were never in Wyoming, and had no interest in the lands, and took no part in making the entries except to sign their names to the entry papers.

"In Montana a large number of desert-land entries were discovered to have been made on good agricultural lands. Thirty-three entries of the kind, embracing 21,000 acres, were in one locality. In another place ten entries, upon 6,000 acres, were found to have been made in the interest of a land and cattle company.

"Mr. President, the desert-land act should be repealed because it has been the instrument of fraud and perjury on a large scale, and will continue to be such so long as our present system of dealing with the public domain shall continue.

"Poorly paid and much tempted land inspectors will not prevent it, and officers of local land districts can not prevent it so long as their official capacity is measured by party loyalty. As Presidents, Secretaries of the Interior, and Commissioners of the General Land Office during the last twenty-five years have met with feeble success in the curtailment of fraud committed under the desert-land act, what right have we to assume that public officials in the future will prove abler and more efficient?"

[Editorial from the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, April 6, 1904.]

THE BACKERS OF LAND-LAW REPEAL.

It is a common trick of politicians, when they want to defeat a measure in the public interest for the benefit of private interests to which they are devoted, to raise the cry that the railroads want it. The mistaken impression that everything the railroads want is opposed to the public interest is sufficiently general to make this a good card to play. The Congressional attorneys of the land-grabbing corporations that are resisting repeal of the desert-land act and the homestead commutation law can muster only one argument that they venture to bring to the light of day. This argument is that the land-grant railroads want public land withdrawn from entry, so that they can sell their railroad lands.

The fact is that the land-grab railroads have an advantage over the Government in disposing of lands already, because they can sell them in any quantity. If the railroads were willing to sell their lands in large tracts, probably they could close them out in a month to the very corporations that are trying to monopolize the public lands in advance of irrigation. But the railroads are strongly opposed to land monopoly for a purely selfish reason. Their first interest is to divide the lands as much as possible and sell them to the largest number of holders. The money they get for lands sold is trifling in comparison with the annual freight earnings from a well-settled farming community.

The railroads are backing the repeal movement, as they backed the irrigation movement, for the same reason that mercantile and manufacturing associations, individual jobbing houses, and manufacturers all over the country are backing it. They all want the West filled with thriving farmers, who will raise grain and stock and buy goods so as to increase the trade and traffic of the country. Their selfish interest is common with that of the landless people, who want an opportunity to get farms. That common interest is opposed to that of the land-grabbing monopoly corporations, whose attorneys in Congress are denouncing land-law repeal as a railroad job.

This is so plain that we should like to see the railroad companies use for the public interest that large influence with Senators and Representatives they are said to maintain for their own interest.

[From the Philadelphia Record, April 6, 1904.]

LAND-LAW REFORM.

While the Senate has passed the bill to repeal the timber and stone act, the land grabbers are making a stand to prevent further legislation to correct the manifold abuses which have grown out of the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead law. Under the latter provision it would still be possible for speculative settlers to make a homestead entry on land valuable chiefly for timber and obtain a patent for the same after fourteen months on payment of \$2.50 per acre. Inasmuch as timber lands fetch from \$13 to \$17 per acre in the open market, the hirelings of the lumber syndicate would still be able to continue acquiring public lands for their employers, to their great mutual profit.

The conflict in the Senate just now is over the repeal of the desert-land act. After the most bitter opposition from the members of the Public Lands Committees, which are not in favor of any action, the question has been brought on the floor of Congress. It is asserted that there have been no frauds in connection with this act, but the single fact that millions of acres of grazing lands have fallen into the hands of the live-stock syndicate belies the assertion. The Public Lands Commission in its recent report recommended that this act should not be repealed for the present, and much has been made of this recommendation by the interests opposed to a reformation of the land law.

But the commission also reported that the provision permitting the assignment of entries ought to be repealed at once. Since the time when this provision was enacted, in 1891, the fraudulent acquisition of lands in the arid regions has gone on at a stupendous rate, and, as Senator GIBSON, of Montana, remarked, upon all these vast tracts it is impossible now to discover evidence of any attempt at reclamation, such as is required by the act, having been made. The "quitters" erected their windmills and pumps, dug trenches, assigned their entries, and moved on to repeat the operation on pastures new.

The desert-land act can no longer be defended as a necessity. A better method for the reclamation of arid land has been provided in the irrigation law. In fact, the desert-land act is in all its phases at war with the principles embodied in the latter and in the homestead law. It enables individuals to secure control over water, the most precious thing in the arid belt, and to forestall the operations of the Government and the cooperative association of homesteaders, as contemplated by the irrigation law.

[Editorial from the St. Paul Pioneer Press, January 19, 1904.]

THE RAILROADS AND THE REPEAL OF THE LAND LAWS.

Referring to the movement for the repeal of the desert-land act and certain other laws by which title to public lands may now be obtained by private parties, at nominal cost and without benefit to the nation, the Denver Republican says:

"It is clear that the owners of the great railroad land grants are among the chief promoters of this movement. They want to sell their lands, and they know that it would be much easier to do so if it were rendered difficult to secure title to public lands. If the latter were taken out of the market, the railroad lands would be the only large bodies left except a few Mexican and Spanish grants in the Southwest. Home seekers would then be compelled to turn to the railroads, which in all probability would find an excuse for advancing the prices. * * * Unless Congress wants to stimulate the demand for railroad land it should reject all propositions to repeal any of the existing public-land laws."

It happens that the most prominent and active of the railroad men who are promoting the repeal movement is James J. Hill. The Great Northern system, built by him, was never the beneficiary of a land grant. It has no lands to sell. But all along its lines are to be found great bodies of land which have been obtained, honestly or fraudulently, under the laws in question. These lands, held for speculative purposes, are seen to hinder the development of the country, the high prices asked therefor forcing the would-be

settlers to seek a location farther away from the railroad or in some other region.

They afford a perpetual, standing object lesson as to the unwisdom of the present loose methods of disposing of Government lands. That a man of Mr. Hill's acumen, with such an object lesson before his eyes for the whole period of his career, should condemn the faulty land laws and advocate their repeal was a matter of course. But for those laws not only the Great Northern system but every township through which it passes would be infinitely richer to-day. For it is from the multitude of small farms well tilled—not from large estates half occupied or not occupied at all—that the business comes which builds up community and railroad alike.

So far as those few roads are concerned which still have lands to sell—for they are not many—the sale of their own lands is of far less importance to them than the adoption by the Government of changes which will stop the absorption now going on of great areas by ranchmen, lumbermen, and speculators. The building up of traffic is of vastly greater importance to the roads than the early sale of their lands.

The Denver Republican and other papers which are endeavoring to rekindle popular prejudices against the railroads, and to use those prejudices as a means of defeating the repeal movement, by making it appear as a movement in the interest of the railroads, are, in a way not intended by them, doing a public service. They are showing that in this vastly important matter of the disposition of the nation's remaining landed estate the interests of the multitude and those of the railroad corporations are identical. The locomotive and the emigrant's team pull together! That's a sight which should open the eyes of such Congressmen as are disposed to resist the repeal of the present bad laws. It may be more effective with those gentlemen than the pleadings of all our Presidents, from Jackson down to Roosevelt, that the nation's landed wealth be bestowed in small tracts on actual settlers only, to the perpetual exclusion of the speculator, the monopolist, and the land baron.

[Editorial from the Yankton (S. Dak.) Gazette, February 26, 1904.]

THE RAILROADS AND THE REPEAL OF THE LAND LAWS.

Those interests which for their own reasons are opposed to the repeal of the land laws under which the Government is annually disposing of about 25,000,000 acres of its land in the West are endeavoring to distract attention from the real issue by kindling popular prejudice against the railroads, which it is set forth are behind this repeal movement in order that their own lands may become more valuable. But this sort of an argument no longer appeals to thinking men, who now realize that the real prosperity of any railroad system depends upon the settlement of its territory.

Those transcontinental railroads which still own lands, and the acreage is comparatively insignificant alongside of the public domain through which they run, are much more anxious to see farmers settling in great numbers along their lines than they are to dispose of their lands. The building up of their traffic is what will bring them not only immediate but enduring prosperity. A half dozen great irrigation works distributed throughout the West would mean more to the railroads than all the benefit they have ever received from their big grants of land from the Government.

[Editorial from the Paris (Ill.) Beacon, March 2, 1904.]

RAILROADS AND IRRIGATION.

There is considerable talk among interests represented at Washington which do not wish any disturbance of the present land laws to the effect that the campaign favoring this repeal is being promoted by the western railroads with the idea of increasing the value of their own land, and especially their lieu land rights in the forest reserves, the statement being made that the repeal of the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act would shut out the settler from the Government lands and force him to buy railroad lands.

This specious argument will bear analysis from no point of view. In the first place, there is no thought of repealing the homestead law which allows the settler to take up 160 acres of Government land anywhere among the half billion acres of the remaining public domain, even that reserved for Government irrigation purposes. The effect of the repeal of these laws would be not to stop settlement but to stop speculative entry of immense tracts of land, simply for the purpose of "holding it for a rise" or acquiring it as additions to already immense stock ranges. Possibly such a repeal might have the effect of increasing certain railroad lands. If so, it would result in two things, either stimulating the railroads to get more settlers upon it, along their lines, or making it more expensive and difficult for the big stockmen to add to their grazing domains from this source, either of which would be a good thing.

But the entire ownership of the railroads in land is a mere bagatelle as compared with the Government domain. The Government is the great landowner. The railroads, as must be recognized, are more anxious than for anything else that the Government shall improve its own property. Any one of the transcontinental lines would gain more through its traffic from a single great three or four million dollar project, irrigating perhaps a couple of hundred thousand acres of land, than the value of the entire land possessions of all the railroads.

[Editorial in Twentieth Century Home and Farm, Minneapolis, March, 1904.]

COLONIZING MONTANA.

Word comes from Montana that a number of the late Boer commanders, among them Gen. J. D. Joubert and Capt. W. A. O'Donnell, have been looking over various sections of that State with a view to finding an easily irrigated location where a large Boer colony can be established. The Boers desire to homestead upon Government land which can either be irrigated by their own cooperative canal building, or else will come in under the Government irrigation work projected in Montana. They have expressed themselves as amazed at the opportunities afforded by the Milk River Valley for their people, and it is stated that they will recommend this fertile section to their compatriots. The immigration agents of the Great Northern Railway state that two of the Mormon apostles have also been looking into the advantages offered in the Milk River Valley, and there is strong probability of a large Mormon colony, familiar, of course, with irrigation in all its branches, locating in this section of Montana.

The policy of the Great Northern road is the encouragement of settlement throughout the territory it taps into small irrigated farms, and to this end J. J. Hill, its president, has been a steady advocate of the repeal of the desert-land law, under which single ranches have been built up in Montana from Government lands, aggregating 50,000 acres and upward.

With the Great Northern Railroad the repeal of the land laws is a plain business proposition. Such action by Congress would mean the settlement of the territory through which the road runs by thousands of small farmers and a doubling and quadrupling of the road's traffic over that resulting from the cattle and sheep grazing industry on unirrigated land where it requires 15 or 20 acres to keep a steer.

[Editorial from the Sioux City (Iowa) Tribune, April 8, 1904.]

THE RAILROADS AND LAND LAWS.

The influences opposed to the repeal of the present desert-land laws and the enactment of legislation that would insure the settlement of bona fide farmers on the land after irrigation shall be installed are quoting with much satisfaction the testimony of George H. Maxwell before the House Committee on Public Lands the other day, in which it was admitted that the transcontinental railroads had been contributing \$50,000 a year for the past four years to further the cause of repeal. This money has been contributed to the National Irrigation Association, which prints a monthly magazine and carries on a general educational campaign among the people. The opponents of repeal imagine, evidently, that because of the mere fact that railroad money is being used to this end the cause of repeal will be weakened. That should not be the result, and will not be if the public rightly understands the situation.

It is true that the railroads never contribute money to a cause unless it is for their benefit, but in this case, at least, they could not gain without the country gaining many times as much. If the land laws remain as they are now, and irrigation is applied, the tracts will be gobbled up by wealthy speculators, who will use it for cattle ranges, and the ordinary man looking for a homestead would stand no chance. On the other hand, if the laws are repealed and others desired substituted, there will be a great influx of people, actual farmers, each settling on a small tract. This would mean more business for the railroads, just as populous Iowa means more transportation than do the barren tracts. It is a good thing for Iowa and the nation that this State is populous, and it would be a good thing for the irrigated tracts and the nation if they were well populated by actual farmers.

Incidentally it would be a good thing for the railroads, and by trying to help themselves they are really doing great work for the whole country. Viewed in this true light, their contributions of money to the cause is entirely proper. It is put to honest and proper uses. It is not being used to bribe anyone. If there are improper influences being exerted, it is on the other side, the same side that is now crying "Stop thief." Nothing but greed, injustice, and land monopoly are back of the present land laws, and it is needless to say that such influences do not win in Congress without some improper exertion. The badness of their cause is well revealed in the following observations by Senator GIBSON, of Montana, the other day:

"When we object to the desert-land act because it enables wealthy individuals and companies to acquire large bodies of public land and without settlement, we are met with the assertion that after a while these lands will be subdivided and sold to farmers. It is true that some of these large holdings will be subdivided, but they will be sold at prices beyond the reach of immigrant farmers generally, the advantage to be derived from free homes under the homestead act having been appropriated by speculators under the desert-land act. In fact, this act is in all its phases at war with the principles embodied in the homestead act."

[Editorial extract from the St. Paul Pioneer Press, April 8, 1904.]

THE LAND GRABBERS AND THE RAILROADS.

To divert attention from their purposes, they have raised the cry that the railway monopolies are backing the demand for the law's repeal in the hope that thereby land buyers may be driven to the purchase of railroad instead of Government lands.

It is frankly admitted that a number of railroads have contributed liberally to the support of the grand movement for the development of the West, the first victory of which was the passage of the irrigation law. But not all of these roads have lands for sale. One of the most liberal contributors is the Great Northern, which never had a land grant, but whose president has been one of the most efficient workers for the development of the country and one of the most earnest advocates of the repeal of the desert-land act and other pirate land laws.

The reason the railroads support repeal is easily found, without any resort to the circumstance that some of them have lands for sale. A section of irrigated land, 640 acres, will support from twenty to sixty-four families on small holdings of 10 to 40 acres each. Every one of those families will make nearly as much business for a railroad as the whole 640 acres will make if held by a single person. If the latter is a speculator—as is nearly every individual who has taken up desert land since the passage of the irrigation act—he not only makes no business at all for the railroad, but he delays the coming of such business indefinitely as he "waits for a rise." A stretch of country occupied by small farmers is a harvest field for the railroad; occupied by speculators it is a dreary waste, to run cars through which is a vexation of spirit to the railway manager.

No actual settlers are getting any benefit from the desert-land act to-day, despite the efforts to make the contrary appear. Actual settlement on desert lands in advance of irrigation is a practical impossibility. It will be from three to ten years before most of the lands in question can be made available for tillage through the completion of irrigation works. What would the "actual settler" do for a living meanwhile? Only the speculator and would-be land baron wants the land to-day. He wants it to hold until the water comes from the irrigation canals built by the nation. Then he will let the poor settler have it at a price forty or fifty times greater than would have been required but for the aid lent the speculator by the desert-land law.

The men who foisted the desert-land law upon the statute book, under false pretenses, are a long-headed lot, no doubt. They have succeeded in getting into their hands, under its operation, hundreds of vast estates, valued at many millions. If they can defeat its repeal—even force a delay in its repeal until next December—they may add half a billion more to their gains. Suppose we admit everything they claim as to the effect of repeal in advancing the value of railroad lands, it remains that a failure to repeal will put more money into these speculators' hands than the entire present value of the railroad land holdings.

[Editorial in the San Jose (Cal.) Mercury, April 5, 1904.]

LAND LAWS AND IRRIGATION.

The debate in the Senate yesterday on GIBSON's bill to repeal the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act developed the suspicion that a railroad lobby is behind the proposition for the repeal of the general land laws with the view of increasing the value of private holdings.

This suspicion may be very naturally confirmed by some testimony brought out yesterday before the House Committee on Irrigation, in which it was shown that the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, Santa Fe, Union Pacific, and Burlington railroads each contribute \$6,000 a year, and the Rock Island \$3,000 a year, toward a fund to be used by the National Irrigation Association in a campaign of education to procure the passage of the national irrigation act. This money has been collected during the last five years and is still being paid.

The avowed purpose of the repeal of the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act is to prevent further acquisition of public land in large quantities by individuals and corporations.

The national irrigation act is designed to promote settlement of the arid sections of the country by furnishing water supply.

The fact that the railroads mentioned are furnishing funds to promote the passage of the irrigation act does not necessarily imply the presence of a "nigger in the wood pile" in connection with that act, or with the effort to repeal the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act.

Undoubtedly it would be greatly to the interest of the land-grant-owning railroads in the arid regions to have the irrigation law passed. It would make their lands more valuable and promote their purchase by small settlers.

But because they would gain by the measure it does not necessarily follow that the interests of settlers and of the people at large would be jeopardized by the passage of the measure. There is no reason why Government land, or that owned in small tracts by individuals, should remain arid, lest railroad lands should be made susceptible of irrigation. Why should the people cut off their own noses to spoil the faces of the railroad companies?

We may not know all the influences at work under the surface to bring about these several phases of Congressional legislation, but it looks as though such legislation might be beneficial to all interests involved.

The General Deficiency Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES F. COCHRAN,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 14, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1564) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. COCHRAN of Missouri said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: A few days ago we listened to an eloquent discourse by the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCHRAN]. It was in the nature of a lamentation, deploring the decadence of the House of Representatives and appealing to the membership to join in an effort to reestablish its lost dignity and abandoned prerogatives. The close attention given to the remarks of the gentleman from New York bore testimony to the sympathy of the House with his masterful exhortation of our rules of procedure and the encroachment of other branches of the Government upon the domain in which the legislative branch should be supreme.

In recent years this body has been subject to rules of procedure which vest in half a dozen men absolute power over its proceedings.

Such a thing as individuality has become entirely unknown to the Members of the House. We are as pawns on a chessboard, to be moved about at the pleasure of half a dozen gentlemen who monopolize the legislative game. We enter this Chamber, not with the expectation that the membership will direct its course and control legislation, but with full knowledge that the Speaker and those nearest him will decree what shall be done and what omitted. By thus becoming mere puppets we have forfeited the respect of the country. Nobody knows or cares very much about what is done by the House of Representatives. The Senate shapes all important legislation. The House merely echoes its decrees.

Few important House bills have been enacted into laws since 1893 without being remodeled, amended in their most essential parts, or rewritten bodily at the other end of the Capitol.

The Republican majority in this Chamber has deliberately brought the House to this contemptible level and seems determined to keep it there.

Mr. Chairman, in view of this extraordinary situation it was high time that a protest should be entered, and in addition to what was said by the gentleman from New York it seems to me a more searching diagnosis than he gave the case is desirable.

The gentleman from New York pointed out the extraordinary assumption of power involved in the recent edict of the Pension Department, by which existing statutes were virtually repealed and a new statute enacted. He justly characterized this order of the Pension Bureau as a deliberate usurpation of the constitutional powers of Congress by a subaltern in one of the Executive Departments of the Government. He might have gone further and said that this Pension Department legislation was intended as a substitute for the service-pension bill which has been pigeon-holed in a committee room.

Undoubtedly the Republican managers of the House were parties to the arrangement. They took this means of smothering pending pension legislation. If this surmise be correct, we have reached a point where the dictatorship which manipulates this aggregation does not even regard it as necessary to submit its programme to the House for perfunctory approval. A simpler way is to arrange for an Executive order declaring that henceforth the law shall be so and so.

But, Mr. Chairman, my purpose is not to go over the ground

covered by the gentleman from New York. The evils he denounced so eloquently are not of yesterday's growth. They are the legitimate fruits of the policy that hatched a brood of statesmen who were known as "Mr. Cleveland's cuckoos" away back in 1893.

The pusillanimity of the House of Representatives is a survival of Clevelandism, for, while from the beginning there had been complaint of Executive interference with legislation, never until Mr. Cleveland's second term was an effort of the Executive to coerce, browbeat, and bribe the Congress into submission to his will so brazen, flagrant, shameless, and notorious.

There is no attempt to conceal the fact that resistance would be punished and submission rewarded, and from the assemblage of Congress in extraordinary session in 1893 until Mr. Cleveland dropped into abysmal desuetude his course was that of a tyrant and usurper. Without regard to the fame, reputation, or character of the people's representatives, he demanded of them acquiescence in his views and policies, and made open warfare upon all who declined to abdicate. The whole power of the Administration was used to crush such as remained obdurate, while unlimited access to the pie counter was the reward for subserviency.

Some of his predecessors may have gone far in this direction, but not one of them approached Mr. Cleveland, either in the shamelessness with which he abused the appointing power as a bribe for submission to his will or in the brutality with which he trampled upon all who dared to retain their constitutional rights as representatives of the people.

But, Mr. Chairman, the number of Democrats who surrendered was limited. The Democratic majority in the House of the Fifty-fourth Congress was not, as is the Republican majority here today, composed wholly of cuckoos. The cuckoos of 1893, comparatively few in number, were joined by the united Republican membership here and at the other end of the Capitol, and so, in less than a year from the date of his inauguration, Mr. Cleveland's following in this Chamber, in the Senate, and in the country was Republican and not Democratic. This happened because his was a Republican policy, and from that day until Cleveland's pet theory, in the attempted enforcement of which he wrecked his party and his own reputation, has been supported and enforced by Republicans and condemned by Democrats.

In the seven years I have had the honor of membership of the House I have heard many Republican speeches in its defense, but never one that was, not merely a feeble reiteration of the platitudes invented by the cuckoos and Republicans who sustained Mr. Cleveland during the four years of havoc and destruction for which he and his mongrel following are wholly responsible.

Mr. Chairman, I have said repeatedly on this floor that Mr. Cleveland is a Republican, and not a Democrat. How are we to determine one's politics? For eight years Mr. Cleveland has acted with the Republican party in national campaigns. He has denounced the platform of the Democratic party, repudiated its nominee for the Presidency and rejoiced at his defeat. He has praised Republican policies and rejoiced at Republican victories. How long may he remain in the Republican household and yet not acquire membership? How long may he remain outside of the Democratic party, opposing its Presidential platforms and nominees, and yet retain sufficient gall to claim a place in its leadership? Throughout how many Presidential campaigns may he march behind the banners of the Republican party and still remain a Democrat in good standing?

It may be said that, while Mr. Cleveland indorses the financial policies of the Republicans, in other respects he is not in sympathy with that party. The answer to this contention is that intelligent men usually act with the party the announced and accepted principles of which come nearest to meeting their views. There are gentlemen upon this floor who regard the tariff as a local issue. In a mild way they at least tolerate protection, but taking in view the entire field, they prefer the Democratic creed.

There are gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber who abhor the doctrine of the "stand-patters" and think the tariff ought to be very materially reduced; but upon other questions they are not in accord with our views, and on the whole they prefer the Republican to the Democratic household. Mr. Cleveland long ago went over to the enemy, bag and baggage. In heaven's name, why does he not stay there? If eight years of efficient and faithful service counts for anything, he must have fairly good standing in the enemy's camp. The Republicans followed and sustained him during his last Administration. Neither he nor they have experienced a change of heart. He belongs to them—or do they belong to him? He proclaimed for the first time, in 1893, the policy which was written into their creed in 1896. That same year the Democrats, in convention assembled, threw him over the breastworks, bodily.

Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to be misunderstood. I believe there are Democrats by hundreds and thousands who do not sanction and never have sanctioned the Democratic financial platform

of 1896 who nevertheless are entitled to claim rank as stalwarts in the grand organization which, having survived the vicissitudes of forty years of retirement from power, has preserved intact its organization and maintained its stubborn fight for the preservation of the Constitution and the rights of the people. In my own city lives a gentleman who has never approved and does not now approve the financial plank of the Democratic platform of 1896, yet he has been honored repeatedly by election to one of the highest offices within the gift of the Democrats of my county, and at the coming Democratic State convention he will be nominated for a place on the supreme bench of the State.

There is no disposition on the part of the Democrats of the West to ostracise what we call "Gold Democrats." But when a citizen abandons one party, repudiates its platform, denounces and votes against its nominees and rejoices at its defeat, I think it has been usual to regard him as outside the breastworks. Mr. Cleveland helped to elect a Republican to the Presidency in 1896 and again in 1900. The constituent to whom I have referred remained in the Democratic household and loyally supported the nominee of his party. Mr. Cleveland joined the enemy. The Gold Democrat who is about to be called to the highest office within the gift of the people of my State has been loyal to his party and its nominees.

Mr. Chairman, it is not Mr. Cleveland's advocacy of the gold standard that has rendered his name execrable throughout a large part of the country. Western Democrats knew when he was nominated for the Presidency in 1892 that upon this question he was opposed to the sentiment prevalent in his party, yet they assisted in his nomination and elected him to the Presidency. Here and there a voice was raised in protest, and the prediction was made that if nominated and elected he would undertake to force his financial views upon his party and the country. His supporters denounced the insinuation as a slander, and the Democrats in my State and throughout the country were assured that Mr. Cleveland would not undertake to substitute his personal views for what he knew to be the traditional policy of his party. We were told that the money question was not an issue in 1892. It was to be a fight for the reformation of the tariff. Financial legislation was not contemplated or even thought of; therefore Mr. Cleveland's views on the subject were unimportant.

Had Mr. Cleveland boldly avowed his purpose; had the rank and file of the Democratic party entertained a suspicion that he would inaugurate his Administration by declaring war upon what had been accepted as a cardinal Democratic doctrine, he could not have secured a single delegate in all the territory west of the Alleghenies and south of the Potomac. Deceit, hypocrisy, falsehood were the sedatives used by his managers to allay suspicion. He obtained the Democratic nomination by false pretenses—the people believe and will ever believe that his subsequent treachery was prearranged. It is their unalterable belief that his candidacy was part of a conspiracy which had fruition in his election and the betrayal of the voters who made him President. They positively know that, reposing confidence in his honor and loyalty, they elected him only to discover that the victory achieved was more disastrous to the party than would have been a dozen defeats.

Grover Cleveland found the Democratic party a concrete harmonious army, bound together by lofty traditions, proud of its great leaders, undismayed by past defeats; a party which had remained militant and unterrified for a generation without achieving a national victory. He left it a derelict, shattered, broken, and almost destroyed. The rank and file regard this renegade leader as solely responsible for this work of destruction, and the fact that he had twice received at their hands the highest honor attainable by man in their eyes adds to the sin of apostasy the unpardonable crime of ingratitude. This it is that has rendered the name of Grover Cleveland throughout the West the synonym of treason.

And, Mr. Chairman, the indictment does not end here. Who will dare to defend the cold-blooded attitude of this man toward those who were lured to ruin in his service?

If Mr. Cleveland ever had a friend to whom he was grateful for support, the fact has not been made public. Escorted in the White House and invested with the great power of the Presidency, he forgot in a twinkling that he owed any obligations whatever to the voters who placed him there. His attitude toward the leaders of the party was insolent to the point of brutality. No wealth of learning, no personal worth, no luster of virtuous fame commended to his respect or consideration men who for a generation had been prominent in the councils of the national Democracy. Thurman, Vest, BLACKBURN, HARRIS, COCKRELL, MORGAN—statesmen who had earned just fame as lawgivers and leaders of the party which placed him in office—what cared this marplot for their opinions? If the views of the leaders of his party in the House and Senate ran counter to his own, they must quit having views. Was he not President, with patronage to dispense?

Mr. Chairman, had Mr. Cleveland brought to the Presidency culture, learning, experience, or capability so much superior to his fellows as to justify this assumption of primacy, even this would not justify the flagrant, shameless, and uncalled-for use of Federal appointments as bribes, in order to carry out the plans of the Administration. But, sir, no one familiar with his antecedents or public career imagines that he possesses any such superiority. A member of a learned profession, and resident of a great city, with its splendid opportunities, we find him at the age of 40 laying aside studious pursuits and renouncing the practice of the law to become sheriff! Afterwards he was made mayor of Buffalo, and then governor of New York. As sheriff he charged no illegal fees—a very unusual thing—and this resulted in his promotion to the mayoralty. Climbing to the governorship, for the first time he had an opportunity to distinguish himself, and he did so by so demoralizing his party in the State of New York that when he ran for the Presidency in 1884 the majority of 192,000 which he had received as a candidate for governor shrank to a beggarly thousand.

As President he promptly resumed business as a party wrecker. The term of a Republican postmaster of New York expired, and he retained him in office. He appointed a nonresident mugwump collector of the port of New York. He crippled the party in the Senate by appointing three Democratic members to places in his Cabinet. He fairly ostracised gallant Tom Hendricks, of Indiana, who had been elected Vice-President, ignored such men as Allen G. Thurman, and elevated Whitney and Endicott, two brand new discoveries, to Cabinet positions.

In his intercourse with public men he was at his worst, and God knows Cleveland at his best was bad enough. Frequently to receive a favor from him was a greater trial of human patience than would have been a kick or a blow bestowed by a gentleman.

Mr. Cleveland affected the airs of a civil-service reformer. Evidently he regarded all office seekers except himself as of a scurvy sort and was at pains to give out this impression. The man who was to unblushingly use the appointing power to reward the cuckoos in 1893 was in 1885 too conscientious to remove Republicans from office and appoint Democrats in their places!

His first appearance as an economist was the precursor of disaster. He seems not to have known very much about the tariff until he had been in office for nearly three years. Then all at once he became busy. History recites that a number of zealous tariff reformers, notably Mr. Watterson, of Kentucky, had been laboring with Mr. Cleveland. They had undertaken his education, so to speak. Thus he learned that low tariff was an ancient Democratic doctrine, and in December, 1887, he blossoms forth as the original tariff reformer. I assume that had he entertained positive views on the subject prior to the missionary work of Mr. Watterson and others the tariff message he sent to Congress in 1887 would have been written two years earlier. To spring the question at the eleventh hour, just before a Presidential election, was a fatal blunder. Less than a year remained in which to carry on the campaign of education essential to success.

Democratic leaders who had been fighting for tariff revision while Mr. Cleveland was serving State warrants and subpoenas in Buffalo urged postponement of the Cleveland pronouncement until after the approaching fall election. They insisted that the question should have been brought forward earlier; that the time was too short in which to make a successful campaign. But Mr. Cleveland needed no advice. Was he not President? Had he not recently discovered the tariff issue? It was a good thing and must be attended to forthwith. And so the Democratic party was precipitated unpreparedly into the disastrous campaign of 1888.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cleveland's return to power in 1893 brought upon the people greater injury than would have resulted from an invasion by the allied armies and navies of the world. Not war and pestilence combined could have been more ruinous to the prosperity of the country. He entered the White House possessed of a single idea—the betrayal of the party that had placed him there. He had a single purpose to accomplish—the enforcement of a financial policy which thirty years earlier had been formulated by the gentlemen to whose complacency he was indebted for a comfortable fortune, acquired by fortunate and well-guided speculation. He began his crusade by a deliberate assault upon the credit of the Government and prosperity of the people. He declared the currency was unsound; that there was lack of confidence in the solvency of the Government; that everything was going to rack and ruin, and that only one remedy would effect a cure. The country must adopt the financial views of the President or the destruction of every material interest was inevitable.

Think of it, Mr. Chairman! A President of the United States enters upon his great office and forthwith publishes abroad a propaganda of despair! He announces that the finances of the Government are in such a plight that it is no longer entitled to credit or confidence. He pretends to believe that universal bank-

ruptcy is at hand. He hoists the yellow flag everywhere, signifying that the business of the country is sick unto death.

Never before did the world witness such a spectacle as this deliberate denunciation of public and private credit by the Chief Magistrate of a nation and his satellites and coparceners.

Thus was begun the campaign in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, which cost this country almost as much as the civil war. To bring it about a financial panic was fomented by the President of the United States and his followers. All the nation's ills were attributed to the fact that silver dollars had been coined. The exports of gold, which had been going on for four or five years, were attributed to the use of silver as money in the United States. Reduced prices for farm produce and other exportable commodities and the idleness of unemployed laborers were charged to the same account. The people were solemnly told that the only way to arrest the downward tendency of prices was to enact financial legislation prescribed by the millionaire stock jobbers of New York. Is it any wonder we had a financial panic? Sir, the panic of 1893 was brought on by the means I have described.

Mr. Cleveland did not believe this absurd story? He and the conspirators about him knew that we had sent gold abroad in payment of debts that were due. He knew that the failure of the Barings in South America and of the English trust companies in Australia had entailed tremendous losses upon foreign investors, creating a strong demand for money at European capitals, and that our creditors over there, under the compulsion of hard times, were presenting their bills for payment and unloading their holdings of American stocks at our money centers.

He knew that this was the cause of gold exports. And he knew that the deadly assault upon the financial system and business of the country committed by him and his followers was predicated upon falsehood from beginning to end. This feature of the Cleveland Administration is a thing apart from the coinage question. It relates to the methods used to attain their purpose by Mr. Cleveland and his coparceners. In order to acquit him of a deliberate and prolonged crusade against the business and prosperity of the country, carried on as a means of affecting public sentiment and coercing the Congress into surrender, we must attribute to him gross ignorance of facts known to nearly everybody else on earth.

Mr. Chairman, it required the sullen obstinacy of bigoted insolence to lead a sane man into this wretched pathway.

And what wreck of reputations was wrought by this modern Nero! One by one he drew after him men who for decades had been recognized and trusted leaders of his party, and straightway the betrayed constituencies of his victims retired them to oblivion. With their discredited chief these recreants performed the unwholesome work assigned to them by J. P. Morgan and his confederates and then disappeared from the public view. I forbear to mention the names of an illustrious company of statesmen whose names were erased from the scroll of fame by this evil genius of Democratic politics. They are dead. The places that knew them know them no more. Millions of voters who hung upon their words recall their names only to remember their apostasy and lament their demise.

Before dismissing Mr. Cleveland and his Republican Administration from consideration I feel constrained to warn those in charge of Presidential booms against too great intimacy with the sage of Princeton. His reappearance in the capacity of lecturer and adviser is offensive to millions of Democrats. It were well for the cause he seeks to help if he would return to the potter's field and reoccupy the political grave he so recently deserted. The smell of the cerements of the sepulcher are uncanny. The platitudes in which the departed couches his lectures to the party he betrayed are stale and flat and threadbare. The egotism and assurance with which he pours them forth gets on the nerve of the populace. Therefore, in the interest of eastern aspirants for the favor of Democrats, my advice is, muzzle him.

An incident which occurred in my town many years ago points a moral which I commend to the attention of eastern Democratic leaders. A popular gentleman was a candidate for county treasurer. The most unpopular man in town, a Mr. B., concluded to electioneer for him. After B. had been cavorting around for several days, somebody directed the candidate's attention to his goings-on, with the admonition that somebody ought to pull him down. Finally the candidate heard that B. had offended half a dozen men who before had been friendly. Then he sent for the next-door neighbor of B. and said: "Can't you get B. off the street and induce him to let my affairs alone?" "Why," responded the gentleman, "he is electioneering for you with might and main." "Yes, I know that," said the candidate, "but for God's sake get him off the street. Run him out of town. Drown him. Do anything to get him out of sight. He's electioneering for me, but the d—d idiot is making votes for the other fellow."

In my judgment, no man whose name has been mentioned in

connection with the Democratic nomination for the Presidency is more esteemed and respected by the rank and file of the party than Judge Parker of New York. The men who followed the banner of Democracy in two campaigns as champions and defenders of a platform demanding bimetallism know full well that during the next four years that question can not be the theme of political discussion, much less the subject of practical legislation. Therefore, they know that they could lose nothing by supporting a candidate who differs with the western Democracy on this subject. Furthermore, as I have before observed, the mere fact that a man is a gold Democrat has not been regarded by western Democrats as necessarily sufficient cause for the withdrawal of their support.

What we do require of all who aspire to leadership in our national organization is allegiance to the will of the majority as expressed by Democratic conventions and loyal support of the nominees of the party. Thus tested, Mr. Cleveland is lacking. He has forfeited the right to advise the Democracy, and can best serve his political friends by concealing his preferences.

A certificate of good character from such a source will not be a passport to the confidence of over 6,000,000 Democrats who voted for Mr. Bryan. Therefore I regret Mr. Cleveland's espousal of the cause of a distinguished Democrat who may be the nominee of the party. I believe that if nominated Judge Parker will receive the enthusiastic support of the Democracy, because he deserves it. But it will not be the result of Mr. Cleveland's lucubrations, but in spite of them.

Mr. Chairman, I have characterized the degeneracy of the House of Representatives as a survival of Clevelandism, and so it is. I have drawn attention to the flagrant manner in which Mr. Cleveland intermeddled with the proceedings of Congress. The only difference between the methods now in vogue and those used during the Cleveland Administration is a noticeable improvement in the parliamentary machinery, by which the membership of the House is muzzled and handled, and the supine acquiescence of the majority to the dictation of half a dozen legislative bosses, including the President.

Mr. Chairman, let us see how the prevailing system works. When the Congress assembles, the first thing in order is the election of a Speaker. Then the committees are named. The Committee on Rules is selected with great care. Such a thing as individuality in determining matters arising in that committee is not dreamed of. It is said the Speaker must have on that committee only those who are loyal to him. With this serviceable machinery the rest is easy. When occasion arises for the enforcement of some peculiar view of the Chief Executive the Speaker goes up to the White House for instructions. A programme is arranged. Then the Committee on Rules assembles—that is, the Republican members of it—and the Speaker goes through the farce of submitting a rule for consideration of the measure. Rules thus formulated almost invariably limit debate, prohibit amendment, and direct that a vote be taken on the measure at a certain hour. And when this rule comes before this House every Republican in the city is in his seat to vote for it. Mr. Chairman, pusillanimity, cowardice, and subserviency could reach no lower depth.

Mr. Chairman, this invasion of the prerogative of the Members of this body is a disgrace to the men guilty of it and to the party and the Members of the House who are responsible for it. It would be bad enough if mere docility—a desire to be obliging—were at the bottom of the acceptance of such a contemptible position. But we know that the ascendancy of the President on this floor rests upon other considerations. It is because he has favors to bestow, patronage to dispense. It is because Executive audacity has reached a point where there is no hesitation about visiting punishment upon any who may withhold consent. It is the fear of the frown of the Executive that sends the Members of this House into their seats shorn of the prerogatives of their high office—the pliant tools of an intermeddler.

Had he no patronage to bestow, no favors to grant, does anybody believe that a single Congressman here would permit the President to badger him as to how he shall vote?

Mr. Chairman, no Representative who entertains a just estimate of the dignity of his high office will allow the President to trespass upon its prerogatives. If the President may without impropriety attempt to control the opinions and vote of a Congressman, any Member of this body should feel privileged to advise the President as to his duties. And if the President insists upon having his own way, a Congressman should feel privileged to lecture him as to the impropriety of his course. If the President may without impropriety exercise espionage over a lawmaker, then why may not the lawmaker turn intermeddler, too, and seek to substitute his views for the views of the President? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I recall the time when with the utmost publicity President McKinley was an active participant in the proceedings of this body and of the Senate. Of course he did not appear

on the floor, but day after day, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, Members of both Houses were invited to the White House, and, according to newspaper accounts, legislation, the ratification of treaties, and the transactions of the Congress generally were formulated in advance at these conferences.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. McKinley was for a long while a prominent member of this body. William McKinley, a Member of Congress, and William McKinley, President of the United States, was the same individual.

What Member of the House could have been persuaded to allow Mr. McKinley, a Representative, to do either his thinking or his voting for him? When the late President was a Member, did his Republican colleagues go to him one after another to find out what was right and what was wrong? Had he assumed then, as he did in the White House, the rôle of mentor as to important measures, it would have been regarded as impertinence, and yet to assume this rôle as President was less permissible. What, then, gave him warrant to arrogate to himself the right to act as a kind of guardian and adviser after he became President? Had his election to the Presidency added a cubit to his height, an ounce to his weight, or made him so wise that under his hat were brains enough to suffice for both the executive and legislative branches of the Government? Was it to his exalted office that the surrender was made? If so, what becomes of the dignity of the great office to which we have been called as the immediate representatives of the American people? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Sir, if we are to advocate our powers and place our votes at the disposal of the President, then the prophecies of failure made by the critics of the republican form of government when the Republic was established are already fulfilled—the House of Representatives has indeed become a mere agency for registering the will of the Executive. If to be a Congressman is to be a mere courtier, solicitous for the smiles of the President, hungry for the spoils at his disposal, and willing to place one's vote and influence at his disposal, point out, if you can, any difference between a Congressman, content with such subserviency, and the liveried flunkey who goes to the king to learn his royal will. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] seemed to entertain the opinion that the Speaker of the House of Representatives is much concerned for the preservation of its dignity and power. I do not know where he got this impression. I have seen no evidence that the Speaker is in the least bit concerned about it. I think the prevailing code of procedure, and the complacent acceptance of it by the House, suits him precisely. What evidence can be cited to show that he desires a restoration of the prestige and powers of the House? His official conduct points in the other direction.

Since his accession to office has there been any relaxation of the odious rules under which we proceed? What important bill has been laid before the House at this session without a rule severely limiting debate and forbidding the right of amendment? A day or two ago the Philippine government bill was brought in here. It is an important measure. It deals with the destiny of 10,000,000 people. If enacted into law, it will saddle upon them the burden of paying subsidies to railroad companies for thirty years. It contains provisions which consummate the establishment of a government and the imposition of a system in the Philippine Islands precisely like that maintained in India by Great Britain.

Certainly the administration of our vassal dependencies offers a difficult problem. Is this House to have no part in its solution?

This bill was prepared in the War Department. Does the Speaker regard the Secretary of War as wiser than the American House of Representatives? Does he think that when a Cabinet officer has formulated a bill as important as this one that no Member of the House should be allowed to even attempt to point out a defect in it or offer an amendment to it? When the Speaker, through his Committee on Rules, brought this bill in here under a rule prohibiting the right of amendment, prohibiting the right to move to recommit it with instructions, and compelling us to vote for or against its passage without dotting an "i" or crossing a "t," he knew that the result would be the submission of every question involved to the Senate for determination. Is this the way to reestablish the dignity and importance of the House of Representatives?

Mr. Chairman, the Speaker, and nobody else, is responsible for this outrageous invasion of the rights of the House. He controls the Committee on Rules. The Republican members of that committee would never dream of reporting a rule contrary to the views of the Speaker, nor would they dream of refusing indorsement of any rule demanded by him.

In short, the creation of this Committee on Rules was a farce. Its proceedings are perfunctory. It is a mere agency for the execution of the Speaker's determination to set aside, on special occasions, the rules which usually govern the House and substitute a rule reflecting the pleasure of the Chair. What a farce it is—this solemn enactment of these special rules! Why not cut it out

of the performance and substitute a rap of the gavel for a parliamentary hippodrome?

Under such circumstances is it any wonder that the House has sunk to the level of a town council, while the Senate has come to be regarded as the only deliberative body connected with the Government? This Philippine-government bill will go over to the Senate, where it may be amended or entirely rewritten. Like other measures we have sent over there—crude, ill-considered, or not really considered at all in this Chamber—it may be sent back to us so changed that its author can not recognize it. Then, under the rules, again, without debate, without the right of amendment, we will be called upon to vote for or against its passage.

Mr. Chairman, if such outrageous proceedings afford any evidence that the Speaker is concerned about the maintenance of the prerogatives of the House of Representatives, I wish somebody would point it out to me. I know it is contended that all the powers exercised by the Speaker and the Committee on Rules are conferred by the House and that the House may withdraw these powers at pleasure. But, Mr. Chairman, my purpose at this time is to point out the fact that the Speaker has so exercised these powers as to quiet any suspicion that he is in the least concerned about the prestige and dignity of the House of Representatives.

I suppose the gentleman from New York, in his reference to the protest of the Speaker against the undue assumption of authority on the part of the Senate, referred to a protest uttered by the present Speaker, when he was chairman of the Appropriations Committee, against arbitrary changes in the House appropriation bills by the Senate. On that occasion, I think, it was the prerogatives of the House Appropriation Committee and not the prerogatives of the House of Representatives he was defending. It was a conflict between Senate and House committees and conferees, and the Speaker was justly incensed at the arrogant attitude of the Senate and its representatives in the conference. I say I think it was his committee and not the House he was defending, because in these latter days the chairmen of important committees are prone to think that the committee is the whole show, and the Members of the House are generally expected to share this view.

For my part, I think that the committees of the House have greater power over legislation than can be safely given them. Also, I am of the opinion that one of the most potent causes of the decadence of the House is the manipulation of committee assignments in such a way as to permit committees to secretly butcher legislation.

A bill may be voted up or voted down in a committee room and nobody knows who voted for it or who against it. The same bill may be introduced at one session after another for a decade and be stoned to death in a committee room as often as introduced, and nobody can locate the responsibility for the proceeding. The more important the bill the more impenetrable the secrecy with which it is disposed of.

The time is at hand when public sentiment will demand publicity of committee proceedings. Why should an important committee of this House close its doors when a vote is taken on legislation that has been referred to it? If important measures are to be pigeonholed by committees the people have a right to know who is responsible for it. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.] They want the doors of the committee rooms thrown open. They want the window blinds raised. They want the committeemen who are responsible for the defeat of important legislation through the medium of suppression to bear just responsibility for their conduct. They are tired of hearing that this or that measure can not be considered by Congress because the committee has made no report on it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Why is it the House of Representatives tolerates this method of doing business? Is it because, by this policy of suppression, the individuals composing this body escape going on the record on measures concerning which public opinion is divided? A recent victim of this policy was the eight-hour bill. How many Members on this floor are ready to rise in their places and state their position on this measure? A more notable case is the bill amending the interstate-commerce law so as to give the commission plenary powers over freight rates.

This bill has been before Congress at almost every session for a decade. Why has it not been acted upon? The reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission have pointed out to Congress the fact that a decision of the Supreme Court took away from it, just after its formation, powers which were supposed to be vested in it at the time it was created.

The necessity for its amendment has been urged by the newspapers, by commercial bodies in the cities, and by shippers in the country.

Poll this House and ask the individuals who sit here whether they favor its amendment, and an overwhelming majority will say yes. The same is true with the Senate.

Is it not remarkable that a measure so popular on the floor of both Houses should be introduced session after session and yet

not find its way on the statute books? [Applause on the Democratic side.] Who is it that is trifling with the rights of the people in this matter? What potent influence is it that for a decade has prevented this bill from escaping the four walls of the committee room? The people desire its enactment. Therefore, if the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce desire to represent public opinion and perform the will of the people, a favorable report would be forthcoming. The great railroad trusts are opposed to it. Are we to attribute the persistent refusal of the committee to act on this bill to their influence?

Mr. Chairman, what could be more significant of the vassalage of the membership of this body than a mere recital of the history of bills which have been dealt with in this scandalous way?

And now, Mr. Chairman, as to the cause of the lamentable condition of things. Is the fact that certain committees have been so organized as to insure the burial of certain kinds of legislation in the committee rooms to be attributed to mere accident? I propound this question because manifest obvious facts suggest it.

Mr. Chairman, the committees of this House determine the course of legislation. They have the power of life and death over legislation. They can insure the passage of needful and wholesome legislation or they can prevent it. Therefore, when the Speaker appoints the committees of the House and names their chairmen, he then and there settles the fate of legislation, all of which must run the gantlet of the committees before it reaches the Calendar. Therefore, in the last analysis the Speaker must be held accountable.

Mr. Chairman, we owe it not only to our constituents but to ourselves to fasten the responsibility somewhere, and not to rest content until the committees of this House are compelled to consider and report upon measures of importance instead of secretly strangling them. One of the most exasperating features of our parliamentary dictatorship begins by the suppression of the rights of the individual, and in order to bridle the body collectively, makes of the committee rooms so many morgues in which repose session after session measures which could they be brought upon this floor and presented upon their merits would meet with almost unanimous support. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

And, Mr. Chairman, while I am on this subject I desire to call attention to another respect in which the conduct of the Speaker in the appointment of the committees seems to me remarkable.

It is a delicate matter to deal with, but, sir, it is notorious that in the assignment of Democrats to places on House committees a deliberate purpose to cripple the minority in certain committee rooms and on this floor has been shown. Minority Members whose home environment prevents them from being stalwart defenders of particular tenets of the faith of their party have been placed on the committees which deal with the political questions concerning which they are handicapped. The weakest and not the strongest representatives of certain cardinal party doctrines have been chosen to represent the minority on committees to which bills involving party differences must be referred, each being assigned to the particular committee where the handicap tells most severely.

Is it merely accidental that committees are thus organized? Sir, it is notorious that by this course, when important measures involving party questions have been under consideration, frequently the minority has been almost without representation on committees, and when bills have been reported to the House from committees thus constituted, the majority and minority of committees have appeared in solid phalanx supporting cardinal Republican doctrines. Sir, I denounce this abuse of power as derogatory to the dignity of the House, destructive of fair parliamentary proceedings, and disgraceful to the party responsible for it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as it was the discussion of this subject by the gentleman from New York that prompted these remarks, I desire, in conclusion, to direct especial attention to his assertion that the judiciary has largely extended its powers to the great benefit of the country. I think I quote him accurately, or at least give the substance of his remarks on that subject.

Such a statement emanating from such a source is amazing. It would seem to indicate that the gentleman from New York sees nothing that is amiss and everything that is good in the extension of the influence, jurisdiction, and power of the Federal courts. The stealthy and persistent extension of the power of Federal courts is a menace to free government.

The manner in which the appointments of Federal judges and sometimes justices of the Supreme Court is influenced is not calculated to inspire confidence. I believe that latterly the courts, and especially the Federal courts, have felt authorized to substitute their views for the views of legislatures as to the propriety of legislation. I know that the Federal courts are continually enlarging their jurisdiction and taking upon themselves new powers. It is to a Federal judge that we owe the invention of government by injunction. It is to the justices now composing the Supreme Court of the United States that we

owe the discovery that a tax on incomes is unconstitutional. It is to the Federal courts that we are indebted for the emasculation of the interstate-commerce law. Hardly a month goes by without some Federal judge discovering constitutional objection to statutes intended to control corporate wealth and protect the people from wrong.

The regularity with which legislation, State and Federal, of this kind has been invalidated, and the utter failure of the courts to punish offenders against the few statutes that have survived the ordeal of the microscopic search for constitutional defects, has resulted in the general belief that the corporations are law proof—that to control or regulate them is impossible—that the pains and penalties of criminal laws are for the poor and not for the rich lawbreakers, and that courts of justice are ordained, public prosecutors employed, and prisons built for the purpose of preserving order in lowly places, while the captains of finance may snap their fingers at statutes and prisons. Those who toil must obey the law, to the end that the masses may thrive and prosper, because when the peace is disturbed the stock market is affected, but those who reap the lion's share of the harvest by unlawful means are beyond the reach of the lawmakers.

Mr. Chairman, the source from which our judges and justices are drawn is responsible alike for the debasement of the courts and for their usurpations. It accounts for their zeal in the enforcement of statutes helpful to the corporations, their complacency when statutes for the control of corporations are publicly violated by corporation managers. Notoriously, Mr. Chairman, a place on the pay roll of a trust is almost an indispensable step in the direction of a place on the bench.

The President appoints the Federal judges. He may place upon the bench the solicitors and ex-solicitors of corporations, or jurists unbiased and uninfluenced by corporation environment.

When a Federal judge is to be appointed the President receives a great deal of advice. Who are his chief advisers? The plain people do not flock to the White House to impress upon the President the importance of the duty he is about to exercise. The millions who carry on the business of the country have no special representative at the elbow of the appointing power. But the handful of men who have exploited a continent in speculative enterprises have representatives and "a pull." The general solicitors of the great railroads are on hand. The money kings are not silent. The trust magnates and their solicitors and lobbyists are all in evidence.

Mr. Chairman, the situation in all its details is familiar to the President. When the appointment is made he knows that he has placed on the bench either a partisan of the trusts, whose aversion to legislation aiming at the restrictions of the privileges and powers of corporations will color his administration of justice, or a lawyer whose environments have been more wholesome. He may appoint judges and prosecutors from the pay roll of corporations or he may make appointments from circles less subject to influence. He may take the advice of the general solicitors of the great railroad trusts or shun the counsel of corporation managers. He may place on the bench men known to be great lawyers, without the prejudices sure to result from the vicious environments of corporation directors' rooms, or he may yield to the advice of the corporation directors.

Mr. Chairman, which course has been pursued in this matter? Is it not true that corporation talent is being placed in control of the courts? I am informed that in the District of Columbia the judiciary is composed very largely of ex-solicitors of railroad corporations. Who secured their appointment? Who expects that they will be entirely impartial and unprejudiced in administering their offices?

The same end is accomplished in some of the States by the interference of hired managers of politics. I challenge the attention of this House and the people to the fact that in every State in the Union an organized lobby seeks and in a large number of States exercises control over nominating conventions. These lobbyists, for respectability's sake called lawyers, are at work assiduously the year around laying the pipes for the control of primaries, caucuses, and conventions.

The result is the triumph of their favorites everywhere and continually. In Republican States they ally themselves with the Republicans, seek places on the Republican committees, and are the very best of Republicans. In Democratic States they are Democrats. Everywhere they are the enemies of good government. Is it an assault upon the judiciary to say that these men and their employers, in combination with other great corporate interests, control in large degree the appointment of Federal judges, just as the nomination of the judiciary of States is in large measure controlled by corporation influences? If it is, make the most of it.

Mr. Chairman, the decadence of the House of Representatives is only one of a number of evidences that commercialism is destroying the Republic, and no student of parliamentary proceed-

ings in this Capitol during the past decade can entertain the shadow of a hope that better things will come as long as the Republican party holds power. If the House is to be reinstated as the proud forum of a free representative government, reflecting in its deliberations the public sentiment of the country and holding, by virtue of its loyalty to the masses and its good works, primacy in the affairs of the Republic, Democrats, and not Republicans, will achieve its rehabilitation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

President Roosevelt and the Working Classes.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD J. LIVERNASH,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 4, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13860) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. LIVERNASH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: A day has come when perhaps I should bear witness to a conclusion reluctantly reached—that the Federal Government is out of sympathy with the working classes of our country—that as to them, at least, the tendency of our state is from democracy, from liberty.

The want of sympathy engaging my anxiety appears to afflict the three branches of the Republic; and to deal with all of them, even generally, would require more time than the limits of the debate permit. Accordingly, my words this afternoon shall be restrained to consideration of some of the direct operations of the Executive on the millions at the bottom.

To speak of the relations of the Government with men and women of humble station seems in me peculiarly a duty; for my presence in this body is due to professed willingness to observe and report on matters of state importantly concerning the welfare of the toilers, and therefore the welfare of all America. I am as to them and their friends like a warder on a tower, of whom is asked, "Watchman, what of the night?"

It would be pleasant to feel the Executive Department of the United States to be bravely and cordially for the plain people and adverse to such aristocratic tendencies and such distinctions among citizens as are in opposition to the best principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution; but how can one feel so, sir, who does not mistake for Executive drift or influence his own generous desires—who does not largely misunderstand the spirit of the present régime?

Painstaking observation, pursued with kindly motive and a sense of the difficulties surrounding men in great stations, obliges me to regard the President as lacking the clearness of vision to see the true interests of the masses and wanting the depth to know the philosophy of democracy and the large mission of America, or as willing to fall short of perceived duty rather than risk the loss of office. Certainly, his Administration discriminates against the citizenship of some of the lowly; gives much negative and some positive protection to predatory capital in its raids on the industrious members of the nation; casts the weight of its authority, so far as needful to hold the political support of their most powerful foes, against labor unions; and by a variety of usurpations—some original, more accepted as an inheritance from earlier Administrations—promotes the rise of that absolutism which in every age has discouraged the progress of the multitude.

Executive discrimination against the citizenship of some of the lowly may be illustrated by facts serving to show, also, a dangerous form of absolutism.

On the 31st of January, 1902, Mr. Roosevelt, as President, issued an order running as follows:

All officers and employees of the United States, of every description, serving in or under any of the Executive Departments, and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby forbidden either directly or indirectly, individually or through associations, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or attempt to influence in their own interest any other legislation whatever, either before Congress or its committees, or in any way save through the heads of the departments in or under which they serve, on penalty of dismissal from the Government service.

This order assumes that there may be at the pleasure of the President more than one type of citizenship, and it arbitrarily divides our people into two classes—citizens who may directly and indirectly influence legislation in their own interest, and citizens who may not either directly or indirectly do so as individuals or in union; citizens who may of their free will appear before committees of Congress, and citizens who may not appear without permission of the Executive; citizens who may of their unrestricted volition petition Congress for the redress of griev-

ances, and citizens who may petition only when and as the Executive consents.

The point of view of the President in this regard can not fail to arouse regret and some measure of alarm, I think, among reflecting men who value the Constitution as a palladium of democracy. When, sir, did the American people delegate to their President the right to bar an employee of the Government from asking an increase of pay of that branch of the state charged with control of the purse? When did they invest him with authority to stifle expression of will by the subordinate workers for the Republic concerning legislation affecting them apart from pay? When did they empower him to limit the availability of the Legislative Department of the United States to any citizen, whether working for the Government or in private life?

Here is the solemn language of the Constitution:

Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech * * * or the right of the people * * * to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

How, sir, did the President gain the power to abridge that freedom of speech and petition which the nation thus jealously removed beyond the touch of Congress? How did he acquire the prerogative to recast these great provisions of our organic law, and by a few strokes of his pen divest the Army and Navy, the postal employees, the shipyard artisans, the Treasury clerks, and all the other men and women serving under him of rights wrung from tyranny after thousands of years of struggle along a way wet with blood and tears?

This order, Mr. Chairman, has fallen upon the weak. I have been unable to find examples of the application of it to persons of power in the service of the Government; but, unhappily, instances are not wanting in which it has been given despotic swing against dependent classes. The use of it in the case of the letter carriers of the Fifth Congressional district of California will illustrate my meaning.

Mr. Eugene Loud was for long a member of the House of Representatives. He came from the district I have mentioned, and in this assembly held the chairmanship of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads. In that chairmanship he won the favor of the McKinley Administration and the good will of the present President, but ultimately lost the friendship of many of the plain people from whom he had sprung and by whom he had been invested with authority. The might of his great office seemed to sustain a policy of prodigality toward the giant corporations transporting the mails by land and sea, the while he stood stubbornly against all legislation designed to enlarge the niggardly wages of our letter carriers—stood like a frowning crag on which waves break in vain.

In the autumn election of 1902 Mr. Loud was denied a commission longer to hold a seat in Congress. His defeat was crushing, in a district heavily Republican. It produced consternation in Washington, and perhaps anger in the White House. The dismissal of so strong a figure from the public service was promptly attributed to active vengeance of injured letter carriers—vengeance exercised in the use of the right of free speech and the privilege of the elective franchise.

What followed?

On avowal of suspicion that postal employees had violated the Executive order of January 31, 1902, by seeking to influence legislation in their interest through helping to retire from Congress a man regarded by them as hostile to their wishes, the Executive Department of the Government directed that an inquisition be held at San Francisco.

About the middle of February, 1903, Mr. Fred Wanamaker, a civil service examiner, arrived in San Francisco to conduct the inquisition. I quote a statement made there by him the day before he began the taking of testimony:

I am here under instructions from the Civil Service Commission, and at this time I can say no more than that a portion of the official work mapped out for me in this city is an investigation into the charge that, by reason of their activity in the Loud campaign, certain local letter carriers have violated the President's order of January 31, 1902, which forbids any Government employee from seeking to influence legislation in his favor, excepting through the head of his department. I am not vested with judicial authority, and my labor will end when I shall have reported the facts as I find them.

Mr. Wanamaker established himself in a convenient room, and carrier after carrier employed in the Fifth Congressional district of California was called into his presence, placed upon oath to tell the truth, sworn to hold secret the proceedings in the star chamber, and questioned closely about the political campaign resulting in the overthrow of Mr. Loud, the questions and answers being taken down by a stenographer in the service of the Government.

I read some of the questions thus put to carriers:

Are you a member of the local branch of the Letter Carriers' Association?
How long have you been a member?
Are you a regular attendant at the meetings of this association?
Did you meet President Keller of the Letter Carriers' Association during his visit to this city last fall?
How many times were you in his company?

How long did he remain in your city?
During the time that you were in Mr. Keller's company did he discuss Mr. Loud or his campaign?

What was his attitude in reference to Mr. Loud?
Did you approach people on your route while on or off duty—
Mark the words "off duty!"—

while on or off duty, asking them to vote against Mr. Loud?

When people asked you on your route concerning Mr. Loud, what reply did you make?

Do you think the letter carriers' salary question figured materially in the causes which led to the defeat of Mr. Loud?

How much effect did it have?

What discussion took place at meetings of your association in regard to the Congressional fight in the Fifth district?

Were you present at a meeting of your association at which Mr. Hughes made a motion that Mr. Wynn be elected an honorary member?

Mr. Wynn was the candidate running against Mr. Loud.

Who introduced Mr. Wynn at that meeting?

What did Mr. Wynn say?

What two carriers in your opinion were most prominent in the fight against Mr. Loud?

What was your attitude personally or otherwise in regard to the candidacy of Mr. Loud in the Fifth district?

Did you oppose him?

Some of these questions should appeal to all just persons as an invasion of sacred rights of citizenship. Consider such as sought disclosure of exchanges of opinions in peaceable meetings of the letter-carriers' union or San Francisco branch of their National Association; and think of the dangerously extreme claim of authority implied in the last two of the questions. Why, sir, with a citizen who is not basely insincere, to force disclosure of his personal attitude "in regard to the candidacy" of a man is to lay bare his ballot, if he cast one; and surely the President can have no constitutional power to go so far.

Even had these questions been put upon a ground quite apart from the Executive order of January 31, 1902—even had they been asked exclusively in pursuance of civil-service rules against offensive partisanship, some of them would remain clear invasions of primary rights.

I am not insensible of the duty of the Chief Executive to dismiss unworthy subordinates, nor of the propriety of inquiry designed to uncover that sort of unworth which leads many officeholders so to use their official influence as to coerce or to corrupt the citizenship of others; but there is a wide distinction between the duty to dismiss unworthy subordinates and the claim of power to dismiss subordinates for exercising constitutional rights and privileges, and there is nothing in common between the use of office in coercing or debauching citizenship and the exercise while in office of the right of free speech, free assembly, free elective franchise. And doubtless, sir, in the case of the letter carriers nobody supposed that anything of lawlessness had been shown, anything of coercion, anything of corruption, either in the use of official positions or otherwise. The Executive could not for a moment have entertained the shadow of a suspicion in that direction.

It is interesting to recall, in this regard, the temperate words of an order signed by Mr. John R. Procter, as president of the Civil Service Commission, and by official authority given circulation among the letter carriers of the country prior to the elections of 1902. I quote:

Individual interest and activity in political affairs are by no means condemned. Officeholders are neither disfranchised nor forbidden the exercise of political privileges; but their privileges are not enlarged, nor is their duty to party increased to pernicious activity, by officeholding.

I am sorry to have to suspect that the Wanamaker inquisition was intended to rebuke the letter carriers for daring to oppose the reelection of an Administration favorite, and through the rebuke to discourage spread of that sort of civil liberty which the carriers had exercised. At all events, no similar inquisition was attempted in California in the case of civil-service employees of the Government whose activity in the 1902 political campaign had counted for the Administration; and certainly it would be easy to name such employees and to prove some of them guilty of gross neglect of official duty while engaged in political work of distinctly questionable character.

Mr. Chairman, I have said that President Roosevelt's Administration "gives much negative and some positive protection to predatory capital in its raids on the industrious members of the nation."

I like these words from Ruskin's "Crown of Wild Olives:"

Money is now exactly what mountain promontories over public roads were in old times. The barons fought for them fairly; the strongest and cunningest got them; then fortified them, and made every one who passed below pay toll. Well, capital now is exactly what crags were then. Men fight fairly (we will, at least, grant so much, though it is more than we ought) for their money; but, once having got it, the fortified millionaire can make everybody who passes below pay toll to his million, and build another tower of his money castle. And I can tell you, the poor vagrants by the roadside suffer now quite as much from the bag baron as ever they did from the crag baron.

It seems to me, sir, that Mr. Roosevelt is not enough sympathetic with the masses to give that protection against the "bag barons" which the laws of the country, were he vigorous in his enforcement of them, would afford.

Next to the preamble, perhaps the weightiest language of the organic law of our nation is that which thus ordains as to the President: "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Story did not exaggerate when he said of the end for which this provision was made:

The great object of the Executive Department is to accomplish this purpose; and without it, be the form of government what it may, it will be utterly worthless for offense or defense; for the redress of grievances or the protection of rights; for the happiness, or good order, or the safety of the people.

It would not be difficult to find in the Administrations of the last twenty years numerous instances of omission to execute laws of this land intended to protect the poor and the moderately rich from aggressions of the immensely rich; but I shall content myself with the most important example—the failure to enforce the Sherman Anti-trust Act.

For years before the enactment of that law, in 1900, the American people had been conscious of the rise of formidable combinations of predatory capital, dangerous to the common welfare in that they were promotive of inequitable distribution of wealth, tended to corrupt the public service, and sought to destroy that equality of opportunity for which, mainly, the Republic was founded. The act was responsive to the popular will that these combinations be put down.

It is not certain that the statute is sufficient for killing every form of trust abuse constitutionally remediable by the Federal Government (and I am for thorough and cautious investigation before more repressive legislation is attempted, lest in reaching combinations injurious to the public interest we harm combinations advantageous to the nation), but it has large value if enforced.

"If enforced!" Sir, how mortifying to the self-respect of America must be contemplation of the history of the fourteen years since that statute was delivered to the Chief Executive to be applied under the impressive mandate "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed!" Within that period we have had one Democratic and three Republican Presidents; and within that period, while the Sherman Act has been almost wholly unapplied, the most commanding fact in our national life, excepting only the war with Spain, has been the spread of the evil these Presidents were charged to use that law to destroy.

The present President (for it is of him I have undertaken to speak with particularity) can not absolve himself from blame by citing the few actions prosecuted since his accession to office. The most notable proceeding, the "Merger Case," was rooted in the initiative of the governors and attorneys-general of several States, and for the greater part the others are inconsequential when considered relatively with the unmolested Steel Trust, Standard Oil Trust, and similarly gigantic combinations. With what scorn would the world regard a general who, with treason flourishing under his eyes, should point to a score of court-martialed offenders (most of them never possessed of much power to harm) as his excuse for confessed failure to arrest a thousand swaggering traitors intent on grave disaster to a hundred sleeping regiments?

While President Roosevelt has been proceeding against a handful of minor trusts, so secure have robber capitalists believed themselves that they have openly used a self-dishonored Eastern State within easy ride of the White House as a nest in which to breed criminal conspiracies against the welfare of the masses, thence sending forth on missions of pillage and ruin scores of corporations in comparison with which the bandit barons of the dark ages were but *clumsy* spoilsmen.

Let us not be told of immediate anxiety to prosecute the monopoly trusts. I am stung to shame of country by the insincerities wherewith announcements of Administration purposes are sicklied over.

Anxiety to prosecute!

Were we not told a year ago that vigorous execution of the laws against trusts was prevented by want of money for employment of agents for gathering and lawyers for presenting the essential evidence of guilt? And did we not vote half a million dollars for use by President Roosevelt's Attorney-General? And after a year of abundant funds are we not told by Mr. Knox that he has expended scarcely any of them, though the number and daring of American trusts are the amazement of the world? Ah, sir! and worse yet, did not the Attorney-General formally ask of this Congress relief from the liberality with which we had taken it out of his power to blame the Legislative branch of the Republic for Executive neglect? I quote from his latest annual report to this body:

By the appropriation act of February 25, 1903 (32 Stat., 854, 903), Congress appropriated the sum of \$500,000 to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General in the employment of special counsel and agents in the Department of Justice to conduct proceedings and prosecutions under the various trust and interstate-commerce laws.

It has now become highly important that this appropriation should be made available for the enforcement of the laws of the United States generally, and especially those relating to public lands, postal crimes and offenses, and naturalization.

Where, sir, is the present anxiety of which we hear so much? I confess to humiliation as an American at the spectacle presented by the President. He can not be rescued by words. Let him act: let him obey the Constitution.

Even if the failure to enforce the Sherman Act were in itself a venial fault viewed apart from the Constitution, the violation of the constitutional command would invest that failure with solemn seriousness; but it is not trifling in itself. The Sherman Act is on principle the most important statute enacted since the close of the reconstruction period following the Civil War. Its office is to discourage the growth of an aristocracy of wealth tending to despoil the nation of the kernel of liberty while leaving us the shell. Permit the money lords so to combine, so to operate, in conspiracy, as that they shall hold in almost untrammelled control the interstate and foreign trade of the United States, and the growing financial absolutism will steadily diminish the value of our political democracy. That civil liberty which coexists with money despotism can hear eager hammers forging, link on link, the fetters of industrial slavery.

The spirit of favor for powerful combinations of capital which seems a vital quality of Mr. Roosevelt's Administration may be indicated by a narrative of recent events affecting a large body of mechanics.

The Naval Gun Factory, conducted by the Federal Government, is situated in Washington, and gives employment to about 2,500 men. The manufacture of the armament of war ships in this country, apart from such as goes on in the Naval Gun Factory, is virtually confined to two private plants—that of the Bethlehem Steel Company and that of the Midvale Steel Company. In support of the statement I cite Capt. Edwin C. Pendleton, superintendent of the Naval Gun Factory.

Permit me, sir, to read from the last annual report of the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance to the Secretary of the Navy, in order to show the congestion at our Gun Factory:

The most pressing matter before the Bureau at the present time, and one which is a subject of much concern, is the question of completing the armaments for vessels now under construction by the time they will be required. The facilities of the Naval Gun Factory as they exist to-day are entirely inadequate for the purpose, and, so far as the Bureau is aware, there are but few private establishments in this country which are in condition to undertake work of the class required.

The principal tools at the Naval Gun Factory have been in almost constant operation both day and night during the past year, and two, and often three, shifts of men have been employed on all the most important work. Notwithstanding this fact, no work has yet been begun on the batteries of 12 important vessels, all but two of which are now in process of construction, the contracts for several of them having been let for several months, the vessels ranging from 2 to 46 per cent toward completion. It requires as much time to manufacture the armament of a battle ship as to build the ship herself, and, therefore, work on the armament should be commenced when the ship is begun. Unfortunately, existing conditions at the Naval Gun Factory have not permitted such a course to be followed for a number of years past.

With the extensive naval programme on which the United States has happily entered, the President has been brought face to face with this question: "Shall I favor enlargement of the Government's Naval Gun Factory or growth of the Bethlehem and Midvale plants?"

Let us inquire, sir, how he should have answered the question, and then let us see how he has answered it.

Leaving out of consideration for the moment the financial side of the matter, these words of the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance are entitled to careful thought:

When the Government gives out a number of guns and mounts to be made by contract it loses control of the situation so far as their completion is concerned. Private establishments can not give exclusive preference to Government work, whereas at the Government shops, if the armament of any particular vessel is behind, the whole resources of the establishment can be turned upon it. Again, business reverses may overtake the best and soundest private establishment through no fault of its own, especially in this day of mergers and trusts, and they are more liable to suffer from strikes than are Government establishments.

The Bureau is not averse to giving out a portion of its work to private parties, but believes that the major portion of it should be done by the Government in its own shops, in order that it may exercise full control and supervision of the work and because it can do it in a more satisfactory manner than anyone else, and, above all, because it is deemed advisable for the Government to be in a position to control, to a great extent, the manufacture of its naval ordnance.

But the financial side of the matter is equally interesting. "The manufacture of ordnance," we are told by the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance in his last annual report to the Secretary of the Navy, "is a special industry, requiring a very complete and expensive plant which is not useful for other purposes." And he further says:

It may be assumed that no private manufacturer will incur the heavy expense necessary to install a plant for making large and medium caliber guns unless he can recover the amount invested within a moderate period of time, so that if the Government goes outside of its own shops to procure the armament for its new ships it must be prepared to pay the cost of such plant as is necessary for its production.

But, it may be asked, how does the cost of armament manufactured in the Naval Gun Factory compare with the cost of armament manufactured in private establishments? The Chief of the

Bureau of Ordnance supplies in the same report an instructive answer. I quote:

In order to relieve the situation (of congestion), the Bureau recently executed contracts with private establishments for the manufacture of 24 8-inch and 36 7-inch guns and mounts for vessels whose date of completion is the most remote. These contracts aggregated nearly \$2,000,000, and in order to place them the Bureau was obliged to pay 36 per cent, amounting to half a million dollars, more than the work could be performed for at the Naval Gun Factory. It remains to be seen whether these guns and mounts will be completed within the prescribed time, but judging from its past experience with contract work the Bureau fears that they will not be.

The superintendent of the Naval Gun Factory is authority for the statement that to fill present orders for armament for our Navy the full capacity of the Government factory and private American plants, as they now stand, will be required for some years, without hope of completing work with due celerity or of meeting new demands.

It follows that there should be enlargement of the equipment of the Naval Gun Factory if we are to be spared the experience of having the Bethlehem and Midvale plants expand, with the United States paying every dollar of the cost of the enlargement without owning a hammer or a belt, and then paying grotesquely extravagant sums for the products of the privately owned establishments set up at the expense of the nation. "Why," asks Captain Pendleton, "should we pay these private companies to increase their plants, when the Government can do the work 30 or 40 per cent cheaper than contractors exact? Why should we pay the interest, insurance, and depreciation on their plants and then not own or control them?" Why, indeed?

Clearly, sir, the Administration should have answered in favor of enlarging the Naval Gun Factory. But has it?

Here is the summary way in which Mr. Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy has overruled subordinates and thrown Administration favor toward Bethlehem and Midvale, the quotation being from Mr. Moody's latest annual report to the Chief Executive:

It requires practically as much time to manufacture the armament of a battle ship as to build the vessel; but work upon the batteries of 12 important vessels authorized, contracted for, or under construction has not yet been begun. The Naval Gun Factory has been working to its full capacity, employing two and occasionally three successive shifts of men and keeping its principal tools in almost constant operation day and night during the past year. Notwithstanding this fact, the output of guns falls short of the requirements of the service. In January, 1907, the last of the ships authorized by Congress will be due. It is computed that at that time, with the present capacity of the gun factory, the delivery of the last 8-inch guns for these vessels will be about eight years behind the date of completion of the last vessel.

The Department, in April last, appointed a board to investigate and report upon this matter. The board, after a careful inquiry, recommended an enlargement of the gun factory sufficient to meet current demands. The Department, however, concurs with the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance in the conclusion that the judicious course to pursue is to get as much work as practicable out of the gun factory as it is, with such additions and improvements as are absolutely necessary to maintain its maximum efficiency; to seek such aid as can be given by the United States Army gun factories at Watervliet; and, as a last resort, to contract, as far as it may be found prudent so to do, with private establishments capable of doing work of this character. It is believed that by the latter expedient the gun factory may be relieved of a considerable amount of work upon accessories, such as gun mounts, and the like, which can be built, in whole or in part, at private establishments, and that by resorting to all three measures of relief the necessary armament for the new vessels can be provided as it will be required, without costly enlargement of the plant at the Washington Navy-Yard.

By contracting, "as far as it may be found prudent so to do, with private establishments," namely, the great non-union plants at Bethlehem and Midvale, the Administration feels it can avoid enlargement of the admirably conducted, money-saving Government factory, whose existence is our only protection against the private concerns now trading shamelessly on the necessities of the country.

I ask you, sir, is not this confession of servility to the Wealth controlling Bethlehem and Midvale sorrowful to contemplate? And who in this House, familiar with the efforts of the Naval Gun Factory mechanics to have Congress enlarge the Government plant, as we all know it ought to be enlarged, is not aware that the failure of those efforts has been due to the influence of the knowledge that the Administration frowns them down?

Mr. Chairman, the artisans employed in the Naval Gun Factory could, if they would, add an important chapter to the story of Administration favor for non-union Bethlehem and Midvale. I shall tell so much of it as is now within the knowledge of many members of this assembly.

The Gun Factory mechanics are among the most skilled workmen in the world. My colleague from California (Mr. Wynn), himself an expert machinist, testifying before a committee considering these men, declared them to be masters of their trades, possessing skill of a higher order than he had observed in any other body of American metal-workers; and his conclusion in this matter is supported by the expressed opinions of numerous experts familiar with the facts.

But these valuable mechanics are not adequately paid for their labor, and they have been seeking a moderate increase of wage.

It is disappointing to find that before they could, without risk of dismissal from the Government service, present to a committee of this House their reasons for wishing the law so changed as to permit the desired increase, they were obliged to obtain from the Executive an expression of consent, releasing them from the remarkable order of January 31, 1902. It is further disappointing to find that, having obtained written permission to exercise their constitutional right to freedom of speech and petition, and having obtained a hearing before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, they encountered an insurmountable barrier raised by the Administration—a letter of the Secretary of the Navy recommending that the bill proposed in the interest of the mechanics be not passed by Congress.

The workmen asked that Congress pass a bill providing as follows:

That the per diem mechanical employees of the Naval Gun Factory, Ordnance Department, Washington, D. C., shall receive the same rate of pay per diem as is paid per diem mechanics in the other Departments of the Government in Washington, D. C.

On February 19, 1904, a committee of the Gun Factory employees received Executive permission to appear before committees of Congress in support of this change of law. On March 14, 1904, the Secretary of the Navy signed a letter quoting the workmen's bill and commenting thus:

I deem it proper to state that the standard of wages proposed would, in my opinion, be a detriment to the public interests and would operate unfairly in favor of mechanics employed in Washington compared with those employed at other navy-yards on the Atlantic coast.

The existing law as to wages of mechanics in the service of the Government requires that pay shall be fixed by comparison with the compensation given persons doing like work in private establishments in the immediate vicinity; but Washington being without manufacturing establishments, under private ownership, permitting the contemplated comparison, the wages of the Gun Factory artisans have been leveled down to the average obtaining in five near-by cities, without any regard to relative cost of living or relative skill.

It is indisputable that the cost of living in Washington is considerably higher than the cost of living in any of the cities with which comparison is made by the Executive officers now determining wages, and it is generally admitted that a higher degree of skill is required in the Naval Gun Factory than in the private establishments of the five cities taken as the basis of the present wage scale, or in any of the navy-yards outside of Washington, or in the average employments of a mechanical character in the Government service in the District of Columbia to whose wage level the Gun Factory mechanics seek to be lifted.

It is not comforting to find the Secretary of the Navy turning his authority against that elementary principle of trades-unionism which holds that wages should be in proportion to standards of living, and therefore should be measured by purchasing power of money rather than by averaging per diems of great districts without consideration of standards of living and cost of conformance thereto.

It is not satisfying to find him justifying his hostility to a moderate wage advance for a body of faithful Government workmen by the suggestion that to advantage them would be to discriminate against like workmen serving in navy-yards outside of Washington, the truth being that in no navy-yard outside of Washington is there a like body of workmen, the Naval Gun Factory being the only establishment of its kind owned by the United States. It is painful to be obliged to suspect that the Administration hostility to a reasonable wage in the Naval Gun Factory is due to a disposition to protect the Bethlehem Steel Company and the Midvale Steel Company, employing artisans of the same class as those engaged in our Gun Factory, from the danger of a movement for higher wages consequent on advance in Washington.

Mr. Chairman, Executive favor for wealth and neglect of the rights of workers may be further illustrated by the experience of our seamen in their struggle to obtain enforcement of the laws habitually violated by the great American steamship corporations engaged in trans-Pacific trade with the Orient.

The Chinese-exclusion statutes of the United States prohibit the coming into and the residing within the United States of all Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent except "officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure," subject to the proviso that laborers lawfully within our jurisdiction may come and go under certain regulations and that laborers may cross our territory in the course of journeys to or from other countries.

That only these expressly exempted classes are free from the prohibition of immigration to our territory has been clearly announced by the American Judiciary. I refer inquirers to the case of Ah Fawn, 57 Federal Reporter, page 591, and the case of Lee Ah

Yin v. The United States, 116 Federal Reporter, page 614. The situation was tersely stated thus by the Attorney-General, in 1898:

The true theory of the Federal law is not that all Chinese persons may enter this country who are not forbidden, but that only those may enter who are expressly allowed.

Now, sir, seamen are not among the exempted classes—are not of those "who are expressly allowed" by treaty or by statute to come within our dominions. I know of no one who has ever claimed that they are. And yet, sir, the Executive treats them as though expressly exempted, as though "expressly allowed," being urged to this course by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and, in pursuing it, heedless of the appeal of the Seamen's Union of the Pacific, that the President "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The steamship corporations whose vessels, being of American register, ply between our Pacific seaboard and ports of the Far East, carry Chinese seamen exclusively—in stokeholds, in galleys, in saloons, on deck. They do this because the Chinese work for about one-half the pay asked by American seamen.

But, Mr. Chairman, in the words of Bluntschli, "Ships are to be regarded as floating sections of the land to which they nationally belong, and whose flag they are entitled to carry," and no Chinese person can have a right of residence aboard an American ship who has not or can not gain such right on American soil.

"A vessel at sea," rules the United States Supreme Court, in *Wilson v. McNamee* (102 U. S., 234), "is considered as a part of the territory to which it belongs when at home," thus affirming the principle announced and applied in *Crapo v. Kelly* (83 U. S., 430), from the report whereof I quote this interesting reference:

In the celebrated Trent case, occurring in 1862, Messrs. Mason and Slidell were removed from a British private vessel by Commodore Wilkes of the San Jacinto, a public vessel of the United States. Great Britain insisted that the rights of a neutral vessel not only had been violated, for which she demanded apology, but she insisted that these persons should be replaced and returned on board a British ship. This was done, and they were actually placed on board a British vessel in or near the harbor of Boston. They were not British subjects, and their return could only have been demanded for the reason that they had been torn from British soil, and the sanctity of British soil as represented by a British ship violated. Citizenship or residence had no influence upon the question.

When the Secretary of State suffers an American consul in an Asiatic port to ship Chinese persons as seamen aboard a vessel carrying our flag, he is countenancing a violation of law, unless the persons signing as seamen are of the exempted classes permitted by treaty and statutes to come within our dominions; and when such seamen are aboard an American ship they are as much subject to arrest under our exclusion laws as though they were in the city of Washington.

They are not aboard the ship as passengers claiming a right to be there as persons privileged by treaty and statutes to be within our jurisdiction. *The vessel's documents frankly place them outside such claim.* They are aboard, not as exempted immigrants, but as non-immigrant laborers, as seamen plying their calling under our flag.

Any other view would drive us to the position that Chinese when seamen are not within the prohibitions of the exclusion laws while pursuing their calling; and if they are not it follows that they have the rights of seamen under our navigation laws. Among the rights of seamen under the maritime laws as they stand to-day is the right to come ashore in our ports and to quit work there—a right exercised by seamen in changing from oversea to coastwise trade, at pleasure, in shifting from salt water to lakes and rivers, in moving from San Francisco to Boston, and from Seattle to the Great Lakes.

Consciousness that to indulge Chinese seamen in the rights of seamen would make our exclusion system of little value must, I think, be taken as the mitigating explanation of the course of those two District Judges who, having held the exclusion statutes inapplicable to Chinese seamen, and yet feeling the need of treating them as not entitled to exemption from the prohibitory policy of those statutes, blandly usurped the functions of Congress and the Executive by making a law to fit the danger, finding none at hand quite to their liking. I refer to the case of *Jam*, 101 Federal Reporter, page 989, and the case of *Ah Kee*, 22 Federal Reporter, page 519—cases whose ruling principle has happily been discountenanced by the Circuit Court of Appeals, ninth circuit, in the case of *Lee Ah Yin*, already cited.

If the Chinese-exclusion statutes were enforced, the employment now held by Chinamen aboard our trans-Pacific liners would be given to Caucasians; and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific—an organization of practically all seafaring men of America toiling on the greatest of oceans—has resolutely sought to obtain such Executive action as would help to rescue the Pacific from the yellow race. But the influence of the powerful steamship corporations governs: the laws are not enforced.

Indeed, far from obtaining Executive action against the direct

shipping of Chinese seamen in ports of Asia, our own seamen have been denied the aid of the President in preventing transshipment in San Francisco of a crew of Chinamen brought thither from Hongkong by the Pacific Mail Company to man its great steamship *Korea* on her maiden voyage across the Pacific—an abuse so palpably contrary to law that I fancy the eminent attorney to whom was delegated the task of writing the Department of Justice opinion in support of the Pacific Mail Company's procedure must feel painful consciousness of the worth of independence whenever he reflects on that opinion—an opinion resting on minor authorities announcing an unsound principle and setting up judge-made law as a guard against it, and ignoring earlier and sound decisions and a later and higher authority.

I am one of those, sir, who despair that the law will be enforced by the President so long as the Department of Justice may find in disputation a weapon for use against that poor and humble class of Americans—our neglected seamen; and so I have sought, and shall go on seeking, to obtain such amendment of our statutory law as that nonexecution can no more take refuge in sophistry. Meanwhile, however, these great words solemnly accuse: "*He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.*"

Mr. Chairman, it is with very deep regret that, yielding to observation, I have abandoned an early impression ranking Mr. Roosevelt among the friends of labor unions. However it may have been with him before he became a subject on whom the forces of wealth and privilege found it important steadily to play, and whatever may be the sympathies at the core of his nature, I must conclude that his influence to-day counts against the unions.

Let me now, sir, submit some facts illustrative of the unfriendliness of influence I believe I see and feel in general.

Dissatisfied with a readjustment of their wages and with the refusal of their superior to receive a committee of their number commissioned to petition for relief, the machinists employed in the United States Arsenal at Rock Island sent a representative to Washington early in 1898 to plead with President McKinley and the Secretary of War for justice. Nearly all of the machinists—and the representative sent to the capital was of them—were members of a labor union.

Partial relief was granted the men, but soon after the completion of his mission their representative was dismissed from the Government service without opportunity to show cause why he should not be discharged. This union machinist had been long a workman in the arsenal, and had never received a reprimand.

Against this intolerant treatment of their fellow-craftsman the machinists employed in the arsenal made protest, and a petition for his reinstatement was by them forwarded to the War Department, where it accomplished nothing.

After Mr. Roosevelt had become President, the injustice visited upon the agent of the union machinists, believed by them to have been in rebuke of their unionism, was brought to his attention by Mr. James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, and Mr. E. C. Berry, representing the machinists at the Rock Island Arsenal.

President Roosevelt has taken no action in the matter, though many months have elapsed since a written statement of the case was laid before him.

I now quote from a memorial presented to President Roosevelt by Messrs. O'Connell and Baker, as to the sequel of the dismissal of the agent of the union machinists:

From that time forward the commandant never failed to show his hatred to the machinists of our organization. Men who had been long in the service of the Government were reprimanded and had their wages reduced for making slight mistakes, while grievous mistakes of new men passed unnoticed.

Being unable to stand these injustices any longer it was decided to send a committee to the commandant to protest against said conditions.

When said committee appeared at the commandant's office and informed him that they were a committee of machinists, he stated that he had no authority to receive committees and absolutely refused to give them a chance to state their grievances.

The machinists then resorted to what they believed to be the only alternative—a strike.

The machinists were on strike about two months, when the following settlement was made:

Mr. James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, Mr. W. H. Schillinger, representing the machinists of the Rock Island Arsenal, accompanied by Congressmen Prince, of Illinois, and Lane, of Iowa, called upon the Secretary of War, and Assistant Secretary, Mr. Melkjohn, and after hearing the complaints in behalf of the machinists on strike, Secretary Alger issued an order to the effect that in future the commandant at the arsenal should receive committees for the purpose of presenting any grievances on the part of the workmen, and if it was not in the power of the commandant to adjust the grievances complained of, the matter should be referred to the Secretary of War for final adjustment.

Then follows this very significant statement:

It was further agreed that all machinists engaged in the strike should be reinstated without any discrimination because of any part they might have taken in the strike, and if there was not sufficient employment at the time to reinstate all the machinists, those not reinstated should have the first opportunity of returning to work before new machinists were employed.

With this understanding, the strike was declared off.

Union workmen familiar with the practices of union-haters will find the narrative of subsequent happenings a familiar story. It

is told in detail in the memorial presented to the President. Here it is in outline:

Chapter I.—Machinists who had been on strike informed that slackness of work forbids immediate reemployment of the full force. Part of the old force given work, and other men directed to remove their tools from the Arsenal.

Chapter II (time, about a month later).—Half of the reemployed force dismissed "for several months," for dearth of work.

Chapter III (time, the period since that of the preceding chapter).—The union men among the remnant of the reemployed force dismissed one by one.

Chapter IV (time, same as that of Chapter III).—Machinists not engaged in the Arsenal during the strike given employment, the old guard being refused work meanwhile though repeatedly applying.

When the blacklist had made itself felt for a long time and beyond doubt, the union machinists appealed to the President. They sent to Washington Mr. E. G. Berry, editor of the Tri-City Unionist, and their press committee, in a communication addressed to him some months ago, said:

When you, Mr. Editor, as representative of the Tri-City Labor Congress and the blacklisted, went to Washington to lay the grievances of the machinists before President Roosevelt, what was the reply he made when you stated the object of your interview? Why, he dramatically brought his strenuous fist down on his desk, and said: "I will not allow union machinists to be blacklisted or discriminated against at Rock Island Arsenal!"

At the time of Mr. Berry's visit to Washington there was presented to the President the memorial from which I have quoted. It contained this charge, among others:

The commandant was never asked to recognize organized labor, but he has recognized it by discriminating against it.

And its concluding paragraphs were as follows:

We ask, therefore, that the machinists who were employed at the Rock Island Arsenal, and who were involved in the strike, shall be reinstated in accordance with the promise made by the former Secretary of War, Mr. Alger, namely: That all machinists should be reinstated without any discrimination before new machinists were employed.

We request further that an order be issued setting forth that the machinists employed at Rock Island have a perfect right to join the International Association of Machinists if they desire to do so, and that their membership in said association shall not be a barrier to their employment at the arsenal.

We still further request that the names of the machinists who were engaged in the strike and former employees at the Rock Island Arsenal be placed first upon the list of eligible applicants for employment, so that they shall receive the first call when an increase of force is necessary at the arsenal.

Attached to the memorial were numerous affidavits of machinists establishing the averments made in it, and this important paper bore not only the signature of the immediate representative of the Rock Island workmen but that of Mr. O'Connell, one of the most intelligent and responsible labor leaders in the world, and then, as now, president of the International Association of Machinists and third vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

The memorial was submitted to President Roosevelt many months ago, and many months have passed since the "strenuous fist" descended forcefully; but, sir, the blacklist against union machinists is still bitterly applied at the Rock Island Arsenal, and the intolerant union-breaker in command there continues to enjoy Administration favor. Let the working people of this country consider well.

Important, though this Rock Island case no doubt must be regarded as a symptom of coldness (if nothing worse) toward the unions, it is much less significant, I think, than the Miller case, of which we have heard so much uninformed discussion.

It is not my purpose to take up the facts in the Miller case, but only the President's statement of the leading principle he applied to them.

In his letter of July 14, 1903, to Mr. George B. Cortelyou, the President expressed this leading principle. The text of that letter follows:

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., July 14, 1903.

MY DEAR MR. CORTELYOU:

In connection with my letter of yesterday I call attention to this judgment and award by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in its report to me of March 13, last:

"It is adjudged and awarded: That no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization and that there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization."

I heartily approved of this award and judgment by the Commission appointed by me, which itself included a member of a labor union. This Commission was dealing with labor organizations working for private employers. It is, of course, more elementary decency to require that all Government departments shall be handled in accordance with the principle thus clearly and fearlessly announced.

Please furnish a copy of this letter both to Mr. Palmer and to the Civil Service Commission for their guidance.

Yours sincerely,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. GEO. B. CORTELYOU.

In the first place, sir, I wish to have it distinctly understood that I regard the ruling made by the President in the Miller case as legally sound and therefore as a performance of Executive duty, the case of Miller exclusively concerning service in the Government Printing Office. My criticism should be taken as attaching, not to the ruling, but to the spirit of the letter announcing it and the going beyond the Miller case and beyond Executive duty by expression of approval of the "open shop" in private life.

The President's observation that the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission "itself included a member of a labor union" entertains me; for it seems like the holding up of an admonitory forefinger to silence possible complaint from union workmen. Had Mr. Roosevelt's purpose been to choose "a member of a labor union" sufficiently cold in his unionism to be of little or no value to the unions in any critical hour, he could not easily have chosen better than he did when he gave the unions a representative on his Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. It seems to me the President might at least spare us needless references to that appointment.

Indeed, his frequent reminders of his action concerning the great coal strike in general must be more or less wearisome to thoughtful friends of the unions; for, after all, his course in proposing arbitration was only such as any President would have taken in so grave a crisis as confronted the nation in 1902; and it is by no means certain that his Commission, while granting the striking miners a moderate raise of pay, did not by its attitude toward unionism as unionism inflict grave and long-lasting injury to Organized Labor as a whole. It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Carroll D. Wright, astute and effective foe of the working people, does not in his heart believe the influence of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, of which he was the most active member, to be counting heavily against labor unions day after day and destined to go on counting against them long after Mr. Roosevelt shall have ceased to be President.

I have said that the spirit of the letter to Mr. Cortelyou deserves criticism. It recalls to me Matthew Arnold's comment on some of Frederic Harrison's strictures on "culture." Of what use is culture? Mr. Harrison had asked. "Why," said Arnold, "it is of use because, in presence of the fierce exasperation which breathes, or, rather, I may say, hisses through the whole production in which Mr. Frederic Harrison asks the question, it reminds us that the perfection of human nature is sweetness and light." The letter lacks the tone that one might reasonably expect from a person deeply, or even superficially, considerate of the welfare of labor unions. It has somewhat of "fierce exasperation." It does not "hiss," perhaps, but surely it has in it nothing of calming gentleness. Its announcement of the "open shop" rule as to public employ seems to spring from a mood of intolerance of all who disfavor that rule as to private employ. The impatience snapping in the words "*mere elementary decency*" strikingly resembles the impatience of a mind not amiably disposed toward unionism in general and not shrinking from a chance to lay the lash upon it. I find it easy to imagine Mr. George Baer writing just such words; I can not imagine any heart beating with anxious friendship for Organized Labor approving them.

But my criticism is not confined to the spirit of the letter. The paragraph quoted by the President from the report of the Commission, and his comment upon that paragraph as it relates to private employment, can not well escape the censure of friends of the unions.

The quoted paragraph is a clear-cut declaration for the "open shop" in private life. Being binding on the coal barons, by providing that "no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of * * * nonmembership in any labor organization" it enables the employers to silence protest from employees against the "open shop;" and being binding on the union miners it prevents them, as individuals or collectively, from moving against nonunionism, by strike or boycott, for it requires "that there shall be no discrimination against * * * any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization."

Mr. Chairman, in the light of this analysis I ask the union workmen of our country to consider the President's clear understanding that the quoted paragraph dealt with private industry. "This Commission," he wrote, "was dealing with labor organizations working for private employers." And I ask them, further, to reflect on these far-reaching words: "*I heartily approved of this award and judgment by the Commission.*"

Mr. Roosevelt's Commission, sir, declares "clearly and fearlessly" for the "open shop" in a private industry wherein plutocrats have been struggling for years to prevent improvement of the standard of living among their workmen, and this by importing non-union pauper labor from the Old World and frowning upon unionism; and then, sir, the President seizes his ready pen and writes across this dangerous declaration for the "open shop," "*I heartily approved of this award and judgment!*"

Verily, "It is not the great that are wise."

Before speaking of the injury done to Organized Labor by the President's endorsement of the "open shop" principle as applied to private employment, I shall explain my reasons for regarding that principle as strongly contrary to the welfare of the nation.

Individual discontent, sympathetic contact of misery with misery, and consequent combination of the downtrodden in resistance of oppression, together with friction stimulated development of

ethical conceptions of duty among the upper classes, have so amended life that the absolute slavery long prevalent in every land has almost vanished from the earth and varying degrees of religious, political, and industrial liberty are possessed by the lowly of all nations. Everywhere there remains, however, a tendency of the rich, the privileged, to take more than their share of the fruits of labor, to shirk burden-bearing, to treat the poor as serfs.

But, sir, resistance of that tendency must not flag. As it gains power the world goes backward; as it declines we approach the ideal. Human progress in its true sense, its fine sense, requires steadfast rebellion against movements reducing man to be as a machine "content with the fuel that keeps him in motion;" movements ignoring that "the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light;" movements which isolate great classes from wholesome food, good raiment, comfortable shelter, sunshine and leisure, the best thought, the best art, the soundest independence.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the labor unions give organized resistance of such inequity of burden-bearing, of distribution of wealth and leisure, as tends to industrial servitude of the workers, as tends to deprive the workers as a class of rest, property, enlightenment.

For a hundred workmen to form a union to bargain collectively with a powerful employer is much the same as for a hundred wagtails to flock together in protection against a sparrowhawk. A single wagtail is quite at the mercy of a hawk: a flock of them can oblige to abstention from invasion of their interests. And in these days of tremendous corporations, for one workman to bargain alone with his powerful employer would be to show a fondness for getting into industrial slavery.

The wiser course is for him to combine with his fellows and for the group to bargain with the employer as in ancient times villagers bargained with the representative of a king seeking to govern their territory: the peasants were wont to receive the vege with flowers in one hand and arms in the other, and if he meant fairly, they gave him the flowers, and if did not, they fought.

Justification of the organized resistance now advocated is not killed by the reminder that we have civil government ordained to "establish justice, * * * promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." No civil government can adequately protect the weak against the strong in every relation of life or in many relations of life.

Civil government can do much, and with us it was intended to do a great deal more than its present administrators are permitting it to do: but even at the best many things important to the progress of the people, important to the protection of the lowly, important to the promotion of freedom, must be done without direct action of the state, though under cover of government. Besides, there is matter for reflection in this observation on the people of Florence in the decline of their once noble example of vigorous municipal life: "*By too much trusting to government they have ceased to trust to themselves.*"

I am aware, sir, that many persons of respectable ability and benevolent disposition continue to believe in the unchecked law of supply and demand as in the law of gravitation, and to believe that government should as much conform to the one as to the other: but my study of their arguments, while leaving me respect for their motive, drives me to dissent from their conclusions.

As Ricardo says, "In the natural advance of society the wages of labor will have a tendency to fall, as far as they are regulated by supply and demand," and no argument seems needed to establish that concern for civilization requires earnest and intelligent opposition to tendencies toward poverty among the masses—tendencies making from sweetness and light. "When the top decays, as it always does in the lapse of time," James Lane Allen reminds us, "whence shall come regeneration if not from below? It is the plain people who are the eternal breeding-grounds of high destinies."

and not only must they be safeguarded for the sake of race progress in its largest sense, but they must be given equitable participation in wealth as matter of stability of government and industry. "The best security of the industrial fabric," observes Lecky, "is to be found in the wide division and diffusion of property, which softens the lines of class demarcation and gives the great masses of the people a close and evident interest in the security of property, the maintenance of contracts, the credit and well-being of the State."

Thus trades unionism—a world movement for betterment of the toilers—has set its face against the unchecked operation of that law of supply and demand whose normal effect is to drive downward the wages of labor. In the last analysis the labor union exists as a check upon that law, as an institution designed to bring into play a higher law—essential justice between employer and workman.

And that that really is for human welfare that the labor union

shall limit the law of supply and demand in its relation to wages Mill has made clear, and he rejoices at the influence of Collective Bargaining in bringing about "A commencement of that regular participation of the laborers in the profits derived from their labor, every tendency to which * * * it is so important to encourage, since to it we have chiefly to look for any radical improvement in the social and economical relations between labor and capital."

How labor unions affect the law of supply and demand is sufficiently suggested in this paragraph from Ely's Labor Movement in America:

The labor organizations enable the laborer to withhold his commodity temporarily from the market and to wait for more satisfactory conditions of service than it is possible for him to secure when he is obliged to offer it unconditionally. They further enable him to gain the advantages of an increased demand for his commodity, to bring about a more satisfactory relation than would otherwise be possible between the supply and the demand for labor, and also to exercise an influence upon the supply in the future market.

Trades-unionism, Mr. Chairman, believes with Ruskin when he says:

The lawful basis of wealth is that a man who works should be paid the fair value of his work, and that if he does not choose to spend it to-day, he should have free leave to keep it and spend it to-morrow. Thus an industrious man working daily and laying by daily attains at last the possession of an accumulated sum of wealth to which he has absolute right.

The idle person who will not work and the wasteful person who lays nothing by at the end of the same time will be doubly poor—poor in possession and dissolute in moral habit—and he will then naturally covet the money which the other has saved. And if he is then allowed to attack the other and rob him of his well-earned wealth, there is no more any motive for saving or any reward for good conduct, and all society is thereupon dissolved or exists only in systems of rapine. Therefore the first necessity of social life is the clearness of national conscience in enforcing the law—that he should keep who has justly earned.

But it also believes with him when he adds:

Work must always be, and captains of work must always be; * * * but I beg you to observe that there is a wide difference between being captains or governors of work and taking the profits of it. It does not follow, because you are a general of an army that you are to take all the treasure or land it wins (if it fight for treasure or land); neither because you are king of a nation, that you are to consume all the profits of the nation's work.

But, say the friends of the law of supply and demand, the unions place themselves outside the sympathy of Government, notwithstanding these professions, for their war weapons for enforcing their opinions of what is equitable in industry violate rights of property and personal liberty which the State is bound by its organic law to guard. They point to the strike, the boycott, the practices of pickets.

I have considered this matter of constitutional law. Mr. Chairman, in a memorandum recently submitted to the House Committee on the Judiciary in support of the so-called "anti-injunction bill." I quote from that memorandum:

I.

In America since the Civil War no man can be obliged to work against his will for any other man. Seamen seem, by the Arago decision, to be outside the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, but other persons are within its scope.

II.

A man who can not be obliged to work against his will for another is at liberty to quit working for that other whenever he pleases. The law of contracts may in certain cases make him liable in damages, but equity can not compel specific performance calling for involuntary servitude.

III.

An employer finding his workman unwilling to serve on what such employer regards as reasonable terms is at liberty to dismiss him unconditionally, though dismissal may mean to the workman and his family complete ruin; and two employers may act together to the end of obliging their workmen to accept a diminished wage as the condition of continued employment; and all the employers in an industry may by agreement cease employing as a means of persuading workmen to accept terms agreeable to such employers. The principles of this statement are of common application throughout the United States. They have never been questioned.

IV.

Employers have no higher rights than their workmen. Therefore a workman, finding his employer unwilling to hire on what such workman regards as reasonable terms, is at liberty to quit unconditionally, though consequences to the employer may be ruinous; and two workmen may act together to the end of obliging their employer to refrain from a threatened cut of wages or to grant a desired increase as the condition of continued service; and all the workmen in an industry may by agreement cease working as a means of persuading employers to accept terms agreeable to such workmen.

V.

As incidental to the right of free speech, an employer, believing it to his interest to have wages of workmen in an industry reduced or not increased, may plead with another employer to take the same view if that other employer be willing to listen; and all the employers in an industry may, in exercise of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, meet occasionally or regularly and informally or as a society in promotion of their will as to wages of workmen, even to the point of becoming a political party seeking to alter the Constitution of the United States.

VI.

With equality before the law, it follows from the foregoing statement that a workman, believing it to his interest to have wages in an industry maintained or increased, may plead with another workman to take the same view if that other workman be willing to listen; and that all the workmen in an industry may, in exercise of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, meet occasionally or regularly and informally or as a society in promotion of their will as to wages, even to the point of becoming a political party ultimately changing the fundamental principles of the Federal Government.

VII.

No man who has not contracted so to do can be obliged to sell his property to any other man, nor to buy property of any other man, nor to continue selling property to any other man, nor to continue buying property of any other man.

VIII.

Farmers who have wheat to sell may, in resistance of what they conceive to be unfair methods of a grain buyer, agree not to sell to him; and, on the same principle, buyers who are dissatisfied with the goods or the opinions or the practices of a seller may agree to refrain from trading with him. The right of the farmer is not limited by the possible ruin of the grain buyer, nor the right of the buyer in the second case by the possible losses of the seller.

IX.

That which a man has a right to do he has a right to announce to one or two or all the world that he contemplates doing.

Thus the lockout, the blacklist, and the announcement of the conditions on which either may come into existence or be avoided are within the primary constitutional rights of employers, as well as persuasion to engage in lockout or to use the blacklist; and thus the corresponding strike, boycott, and announcement of the conditions on which either may come into existence or be avoided are within the primary constitutional rights of workmen, as well as picketing—all of these things, of course, subject to the duty resting on every member of society to refrain from violence except in self-defense.

Regarding labor unions as essential in this age to the preservation of political democracy and development of industrial democracy, Mr. Chairman, and believing them to be (except in occasional excesses, the consequence of misinformation, certain to disappear in the flux of experience) strictly within the spirit and the letter of our constitutions, both State and Federal, it can not be wondered, sir, that I view with much anxiety every weakening of them, whether by their own mistakes or by the hostility (conscious or otherwise) of men or Government.

Thus, sir, while I am disposed to wreathe the rod of criticism with roses, I can not in justice to my deep convictions refrain from saying that in casting the weight of his great office—and quite needlessly—in favor of the "open shop" in private employment, the President has done a grave harm to human society—a harm he should hasten to mitigate.

If all American workmen were non-unionists, the masses would be sunk "in shallows and in miseries;" if enough of them were non-unionists to enable oppressors of the poor to impose in certain industries slavish conditions on workmen, *pro tanto* our national life would be intolerable; if none of them were non-unionists, Collective Bargaining would lift all toilers to higher levels in proportion as they perceived—and they are perceiving—with Lecky that "In the long run all who are engaged upon an industry must be supported out of its profits," and that the working classes should "abstain from seeking proximate benefits at the cost of ultimate disaster."

So, sir, an aim of the workers should be to make all toilers members of labor unions, and an aim of our nation should be to make the unions increasingly enlightened; and as an aim of the workers should be to make all toilers members of labor unions, they should exercise all peaceful means to discourage employers from promoting non-unionism and to bring non-union men to feel that perseverance in non-unionism should and will operate to their disadvantage financially and socially.

Society opposes acts and tendencies of which it disapproves by pursuing the persons responsible for them. Some offenders it deprives of life, some of liberty, some of property, some of reputation, some of employment, some of common sympathy. In certain fields it operates exclusively through its government; in others it operates exclusively outside of its government. In the matter I am discussing, sir, workmen are but exercising a law essential to human progress and underlying the government of every nation when they proceed upon this policy: *That all who endanger unionism, whether hirers or the hired, should be peaceably discriminated against by those whom they endanger.*

The "union shop" is the end toward which workingmen should struggle. The "open shop," save where it may justly be regarded as an entering wedge for unionism, should be fought by persuasion where persuasion is enough, by the strike and the boycott where persuasion is not enough. Every inch gained by the "open shop" is that much lost to unionism. Every blow struck for the "open shop" leaves a dent in unionism.

Mr. Chairman, the President's strong indorsement of the "open-shop" policy imposed upon a host of miners by his Anthracite Coal Strike Commission is being used from sea to sea by the foes of the labor unions in an "open-shop" crusade against unionism. *It has made him, whether he meant them weal or woe, the most harmful of Americans so far as labor unions are concerned.*

Sir, of the numerous grave usurpations characterizing the present Administration—Cuba, the Philippines, Panama, pensions, and the like—I shall not speak in detail, though they fill me with alarm. They should be made the subject of extended discussion in this House and throughout the country.

It is as Washington has said:

It is important * * * that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism.

If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. *But let there be no change by usurpation, for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.*

Executive usurpation, in that it impairs the democratic qualities of the Republic, counts heavily against the masses, and I am convinced, by painstaking investigation, that Mr. Roosevelt has much more ignored the restraints of the Federal Constitution than did any of his predecessors in the Presidency, though, sir, I do not charge, for I do not believe, that in this respect or in any respect whatever he has been conscious of a purpose to imperil the liberties or to undermine the happiness of the nation over whose Government he presides.

And though, sir, as a nation we are fallen into tolerance of Federal Government beyond the letter and in violation of the spirit of that safeguard of democracy, the Constitution of our country, I do not fear the tolerance will so long continue that the democratic character of America will be permanently impaired. If I did, it must be because of distrust of our theory and form of government; and though conscious of that slowness of natures to perceive, to understand, to act with enlightenment, in some conditions, which is its inherent weakness, I have an unflinching faith in democracy as an eternal current, here clearly sweeping forward, there doubling on itself, yet always—like the stream which after a thousand windings pours its flood into the sea—bearing humanity toward the ideal by a law impressed imperishably on the universe.

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE W. CROMER,

OF INDIANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 15, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. CROMER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: It is not my purpose to criticize the members of the Post-Office Committee, nor is it my purpose to condemn the Department and the Postmaster-General by charging them with fraud and corruption. On the other hand, I desire to compliment the members of the Post-Office Committee for the splendid bill and the excellent report which they have brought into this House. It shows much thought and study; it is more concise than any bill that has been presented to the House by the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads since I have been a Member of Congress. I desire also to compliment the distinguished chairman of this committee for his lucid presentation of the provisions of this bill in the able speech he made when it was called up for consideration, in which he displayed a broad knowledge of postal affairs, which emphasized the wisdom of the Speaker in selecting him as chairman of this great committee. [Applause.]

I desire to compliment the Postmaster-General and his able assistants for the thorough and effective investigation which they have made of the Post-Office Department, resulting in bringing to justice and punishing those who were guilty of fraud and crime. This investigation was brought about, not by a popular clamor nor by the demands of the people, but by the Postmaster-General, in the interest of an honest administration of this great Department of our Government. He voluntarily made this investigation as soon as he was convinced that fraud and corruption existed in the Department. Is he now to be condemned and doubted because, believing in honest government, he voluntarily exposed fraud and corruption? Is he to be doubted because of his honesty? I congratulate him also upon the splendid and businesslike administration he has given us of the affairs of this great Department of our Government.

It has not been my disposition since I have been a Member of Congress to find fault with or to oppose the reports and actions of

committees. I have, with few exceptions, given credit to the committees for wisdom and good judgment in the reports and in the bills which they have presented to the House for consideration.

Two years ago, when the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads presented to this House a measure which provided for the payment of the rural letter carriers under a contract system, I, as a member of that committee, united with the ranking member of that committee as then constituted [Mr. SWANSON] in a minority report against this proposed change and opposed the proposition upon the floor of the House. That was the most dangerous period, in my judgment, in the life of rural free delivery. If this recommendation of the Post-Office Committee had prevailed two years ago, rural free delivery, in my opinion, would have been paralyzed so long as that method of employment of rural carriers prevailed.

This danger was averted by such a nearly unanimous expression of adverse opinion that a roll call was not even asked on the proposition. Nevertheless the effort to subordinate the efficient rural free-delivery service to the frequently inefficient and unsatisfactory star-route contract service does not seem to have been altogether abandoned. I can not entirely favor the bill as now presented to this House in so far as it provides for the payment of rural free-delivery carriers. I do not think that the committee has been sufficiently generous in its provision for the rural carriers. Seven hundred and twenty dollars a year is not sufficient to reward them for their service and is not ample to enable them to defray the expenses of the business in which they are engaged and provide comforts and necessaries for their families.

I believe the suggestions that have been made by the National Letter Carriers' Association, in providing a graded scale for the salaries of rural letter carriers, is more just and equitable than the provisions which have been proposed by the Post-Office Committee. The National Letter Carriers' Association have suggested that their salaries be upon a graded scale—that for the first year the carrier shall receive \$600, for the second year \$720, and for the third and succeeding years \$850. This method of employment of carriers has been in existence so far as city delivery is concerned since 1879, when for the first time the city carriers were classified and their salaries graded according to the experience which they had had. It is also in harmony with the practice and policy of our Departments in the promotion of clerks and officers by reason of experience and faithfulness in office. It is evident from the report of the Postmaster-General that the salaries of the rural letter carriers are not sufficient to retain good men in the service. According to his report 2,879 rural letter carriers resigned during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Out of how many?

Mr. CROMER. It was 19 per cent of the whole number of carriers employed. So far as resignations are concerned, in the city delivery service less than 1 per cent of the carriers resigned in a given fiscal year. The most of these rural carriers, in presenting their resignations to the Postmaster-General, have set forth the fact that it was impossible for them to defray the expenses of their business and to provide comforts and necessaries for their families and homes upon the meager salary which the Government provided for them. The Postmaster-General also gave us the information, in a letter addressed to a Member of the House, that during the eight months that have passed in this fiscal year 3,283 rural carriers have either resigned or declined appointments. Will you tell me, gentlemen, that these men are sufficiently rewarded for their services when so many of them voluntarily retire from the service and assign as the reason for doing so the insufficiency of salary?

I am also in favor of allowing the rural letter carriers to retain the right to act as agents for newspapers. This right the committee have denied them by the provisions of this bill. One of the greatest incentives, one of the greatest reasons, why rural free delivery was established was the fact that it would be the means of giving to the farmers of the country the daily papers, so that each day they could read what had transpired in the world during the previous twenty-four hours. In no other way can the daily papers be so promptly or so successfully distributed to the farmers of this country as by these rural carriers acting as agents. If you require these daily newspapers to be wrapped in separate wrappers and addressed to the patrons on the rural routes before they reach the rural letter carriers' desks, the carriers will have gone on their journey for the day and the newspapers will not reach the farmers until the following day. When the rural carriers are permitted to act as agents they receive these papers in bulk. They pay the postage at the pound rate and then carry them out to the patrons along the route, giving them their news fresh each day.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. CROMER. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Will the gentleman tell us why the committee objects to letting the law remain as it is, and why they have reported this provision in the bill; and I would also ask the gentleman if this amendment as it now reads is not subject to the point of order? I would like to have the gentleman answer these three propositions, as I know he is competent to do so.

Mr. CROMER. Well, sir, the question that you have asked concerning the committee perhaps had better be directed to a member of the committee.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. I directed it to the distinguished chairman reporting this bill, whom you have complimented so highly, and he said it was nebulous, starry. Now, you are, I know, fair, and I want to agree with you. I believe I am with you on that point, and I seek information from you. Can you give the reasons why the committee wants to change this law? I have tried to get this information from other sources.

Mr. CROMER. I can not give you a reason, nor the members of this committee a reason why they desire to cut off this right of rural carriers to act as agents for daily newspapers. If this right is denied them the carriers in the district which I have the honor to represent will not be benefited much by this proposed increase of salary. The carriers in my district easily make from seventy-five to one hundred dollars each per year in delivering papers to their patrons. This provision of \$120 increase of salary and denying them the right to act as agents for newspapers will bring little relief to the rural carriers in my district.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman allow—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana yield to the gentleman from Mississippi?

Mr. CROMER. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Has the gentleman ever looked into the question as to whether it would not be better to put the rural free-delivery carriers under the contract system?

Mr. CROMER. I think the Members of this House looked into that question two years ago.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Now, of course it may be a matter of such exceeding insignificance as to justify the smile upon the gentleman's countenance when it is mentioned, but it seems to me that it is absolutely ridiculous to be paying the same salary to a man in the new and growing State of Washington, you may say, where the roads are new and hardly built, where the scarcity of labor and increase in population causes large wages to be paid and large remuneration to be expended for the use of a horse, as in some other parts of the Union where the old and settled conditions would enable people to do the same work with an equal degree of profit and half the gross expenditure.

Mr. CROMER. Well, is the gentleman through making his speech?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Yes; I would not have made the speech except that the gentleman, instead of answering my question, laughed at me.

Mr. CROMER. I am very much obliged to the gentleman for taking up a portion of my time.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Indiana yield?

Mr. CROMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. Would it help to retain existing provisions and make also an increase of salary to \$720?

Mr. CROMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. Then, let's do that.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the gentleman a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROMER. Yes; I will yield.

Mr. MANN. What is the theory of cutting off the right of the carrier to act as agent for daily papers?

Mr. CROMER. I must confess I do not know.

Mr. MANN. Whose suggestion was this, does the gentleman know?

Mr. CROMER. Why, it is, I think, the suggestion of General Bristow.

Mr. MANN. That ought to commend it to the House.

Mr. CROMER. And then it was the suggestion of the Post Office Committee in reporting this bill.

Mr. MANN. The fact that it was the suggestion of General Bristow ought to commend it to the House.

Mr. CROMER. Well, I have no criticism, gentlemen, to offer against General Bristow.

Mr. MANN. Well, I am very sure I have not. I say it ought to commend it to the House.

Mr. CROMER. I think he has been honest in the administration of post-office affairs, and I am so well satisfied with the investigation that he has made in the Post-Office Department that I believe no fraud or corruption yet remains there to be exposed

to the people. [Applause.] But, whether this suggestion came from him or not, I am not in favor of it at this time. At least until you can fix the official status of these rural letter carriers and pay them sufficient salaries, you ought to permit them to have the right to act as agents for newspapers.

Mr. CHARLES B. LANDIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. CROMER. Yes.

Mr. CHARLES B. LANDIS. What do you think of the proposition that comes from the so-called "letter-carriers' association" of fixing their compensation on a graded basis, giving them \$600 the first year, \$720 the second year, and \$850 the third year and thereafter, with fifteen days' leave of absence every year, and coupled with that depriving them of the privilege of acting as agent or in any capacity independent of the Government as carriers?

Mr. CROMER. I had only a few moments ago explained that I was in favor of this graded scale, and in favor of enacting into law the suggestions that have come from the rural letter carriers themselves, but they have not suggested that the \$850 for the third and succeeding years is a sufficient salary to justify Congress in cutting off their right to act as agents for newspapers. Can anyone tell me why they should be denied this right when the patrons of rural free delivery are in favor of their having it?

Mr. CHARLES B. LANDIS. I can answer the gentleman's question. As far as the rural carriers in my own district are concerned, they have written me letter after letter, stating that it is the sentiment almost unanimously that they be deprived of that right in consideration of the increase of salary. There is not a carrier in my district who does not want to be deprived of it.

Mr. CROMER. How much salary do they want?

Mr. CHARLES B. LANDIS. They desire a graded scale of \$850, and I do not think it is an exorbitant demand.

Mr. CROMER. The carriers in the gentleman's district may be willing to have themselves denied the right of acting as agents, but in the district which I represent the carriers and people are unanimous in their opinion that the carriers should be permitted to retain the right to distribute these daily papers.

Mr. MANN. That shows that in the district represented by the gentleman from Indiana they read the daily papers and in the district represented by the other gentleman from Indiana they are satisfied with weekly papers. [Laughter.]

Mr. CROMER. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Now, will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. CROMER. Yes.

Mr. MANN. How much time during the day does the carrier of rural free delivery take for his duties?

Mr. CROMER. About seven hours.

Mr. MANN. I understand the provision in the bill is not limited at all to his acting as agent for a daily paper, but prohibits the carrier from accepting service of any kind.

Mr. CROMER. No, sir; the provision in the bill permits the carrier to act as the agent of the patrons of the route. The provision in this bill gives the carrier the right to be the agent of the patron to whom he delivers the mail, but the carriers insist on having the right to act as agents of the publishers of newspapers. I can not understand why the Post-Office Committee, or the Members of this House, should deny them this right when the publishers desire it, when the farmers want it, and when the rural carriers are asking for it, and when the business men do not object to it, because the advertisements that are carried in the daily papers are promptly placed in the hands of the people. It was the purpose of rural free delivery in its establishment to circulate the daily newspapers. The people in the country do not correspond so much either about business or about social affairs, but they all like to read the news, and they like to get their daily papers on the same day that they are published.

Will you, then, gentlemen, make it more difficult and cause delay in the delivery of these papers to the people? In many instances if you cut off the right of the carriers to act as agents the daily newspapers will not reach the patrons until the following day.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman another question.

Mr. CROMER. All right.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Is not the gentleman of the opinion that if the carriers are allowed to carry newspapers they ought to be compelled by law to carry all newspapers that are given them to carry? Is the service of the Government to be put in such an attitude that the carrier shall determine what papers shall circulate in a given neighborhood?

Mr. CROMER. My opinion is that the carriers will carry the papers that the people want.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Ought there not to be a pro-

vision of law compelling them to carry any newspaper, so that it will be an impartial service?

Mr. CROMER. Well, Mr. Chairman, these are matters of detail that I have not studied out.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Is it a matter of detail or is it a matter of principle? Suppose we were publishing rival newspapers from which a rural free-delivery route started and returned, and suppose the gentleman from Indiana could afford to pay and did pay the rural free-delivery man upon the condition that he was not to carry my papers; would not he think that would be a bit unjust, and then would not the gentleman think, if we are going to that extent, that we ought to go further and by law provide that he should carry any paper that was offered him?

Mr. CROMER. Well, there is some force in the suggestion made by the gentleman from Mississippi, but in our part of the country the carriers act as the agents of all papers and are ready and willing to deliver any paper that any patron of the route demands. I believe that is a matter which will regulate itself. I think the carriers will be reasonable upon that proposition and will deliver to the people the papers that the people read and want to read.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. Does not my friend think that the carrier should be rather a receiver of subscriptions than an agent? I think I can see where the carrier could turn into a partisan agent for one paper and refuse to serve two or more. He can say: "I will be an agent for this paper, but I will not work for the other." Now, if he is made a receiver of subscriptions for all of the papers and carries all, then he serves everybody; serves them all alike, and will serve them well.

Mr. CROMER. If that is the notion of the gentleman, he is in harmony with this bill.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. No, I am not.

Mr. CROMER. Yes, you are. If the carrier is only to receive the subscriptions that are tendered him by the patrons, he has a right to do that under this bill.

Mr. GAINES of Tennessee. I would pay him for that. I do not want these carriers bothered with these outside matters and not be paid for their trouble. I do not want a rural carrier to "strike a lick" for anybody unless he is paid for it, and paid well, too.

Mr. CROMER. I understand. But, Mr. Chairman, my time is almost consumed. I desire to make some further suggestions concerning this bill. I think the time has come in the history of this service when the official status of substitute carriers should be established by law.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CROMER] has expired.

Mr. OVERSTREET. I yield my colleague five minutes more.

Mr. CROMER. Mr. Chairman, the present method of appointing substitute carriers is unsatisfactory. Under this method each and every carrier appoints a substitute. These substitutes are not qualified by reason of experience for their duties, and if they should be called upon to deliver mail one or two days they could not do it satisfactorily. And so the service is very much embarrassed and crippled thereby. I believe that this bill should provide for the appointment of substitutes from the eligible list, as the carriers are appointed—one for every town out of which rural free delivery emanates—and if there be more than four or five carriers, then additional substitutes as the exigency of the case may demand.

I am not one of those who are ready and willing to criticize Government employees because they have associated themselves together for mutual benefit. Some Members of Congress take delight in criticizing letter carriers and postal clerks because perchance they are ambitious and desire to better their condition in life and are not satisfied with the salaries paid them by the Government. I believe that when a man is satisfied with his condition—has no desire to better it—he then ceases to grow and ceases to be ambitious. Because a man accepts employment from his Government is no reason why he should lose his political power and cease to be a political unit in the Government.

So that the criticism that is urged by Members of Congress against these organizations of carriers and clerks for their own protection and their mutual benefit is not, in my opinion, just.

In the minds of members of this committee, the only reason why the salaries of rural carriers should not be increased is because we are facing a large deficit with the ending of the fiscal year on June 30, 1905. Is it just and right that we should begin to economize in a service that is conferring great comfort and great benefit upon the farmers of the country? Would it not be better to economize in some other department of the Government or in some other branch of this service for that matter?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Equal Rights to all American Citizens, Abroad and at Home,
Regardless of Creed.

SPEECH
OF
HON. MARTIN EMERICH,
OF ILLINOIS,
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, April 4, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13460) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. EMERICH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: From time immemorial the relations of this country with a great European power have been distinguished by mutual friendship.

True, there has seldom or ever arisen the occasion either for difference or for the ostentatious display of such friendship. Nevertheless, the amity existing between this nation and the Russian Empire is traditional.

It is with no purpose to utter words tending to disturb this proverbial friendship that I am impelled to make these remarks; but rather to establish our friendship upon a more firm, more just, and more enduring basis, and at the same time to scan the present character of our relations, to see whether the professions of friendship for us which Russia makes are entirely consistent with her actions toward us, for when a power professes unalterable affection for us, it is meet that we examine these professions, and if we find that acts do not conform with words, then it is our undeniable right to insist upon a similarity of act and word before we give credence to word alone. It is in this spirit, then, that I am impelled to support the resolution of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GOLDFOGLE] which declares it to be the spirit of the people of this country that every citizen of it, no matter what his creed, be accorded equal passport recognition in Russia; and the desire that our dignity as a nation be vindicated; that a large, influential, and desirable class of our people be relieved of undeserved odium and unmerited stigma, and that our international friendships be based upon firm and equitable grounds and be marked with mutuality of concession.

This question has a far deeper significance than is apparent at first blush. America boldly pronounces that creedal differences have no weight in her national polity. The genius of the country consists of all its elemental parts, and a good American, a faithful, liberty-loving citizen, is under no ban because of religious observance.

What unheard-of humiliation is it, then, that our passport, our letter of credence of citizenship given to our citizens traveling abroad, must be met with contemptuous restrictions upon the part of a supposedly friendly power.

Russia undertakes to limit our rights in this respect, while herself enjoying unlimited rights for her own subjects when they are sojourning in our domain. Is this evidence of enthusiastic and unchangeable friendship for us? Does this corroborate her professions of esteem for us? Does this comport with our dignity as a nation when we permit so odious a distinction?

We vaunt our might as a world power. Does our course in this instance bear out our boast?

While I am speaking in no partisan sense, nor am I trying to procure mere partisan advantage, and while I am not trying to cast odium upon the administration of our Department of State, I can not refrain from suggesting that some of the vigor which we exert in our dealings with other nations, where mere matters of international economics or material questions are involved, applied in this instance would probably go far toward the solution of the question.

Russia is our friend because Russia recognizes the value of our friendship.

Nations, like individuals, are largely selfish, and for selfish considerations alone, apart from any sentimental ones, our friendship is a most valuable asset to the Empire of the Czar, especially at the present juncture.

Is not the present, then, the time to take such action that our friendship, besides serving the political purposes of Russia, may be of some significance to ourselves? Is not the present, then, the time for Russia to demonstrate that her friendship for us has some other significance than her apparent one of using us to prevent interference in her schemes of territorial aggrandizement?

Sir, I have no purpose to criticize the internal administration of the Russian Empire. As long as she keeps within the bounds of humanity demanded by present-day, enlightened civilization, that is her own affair and not that of the rest of the world. But does

she always keep within such bounds? Alas, the horrible and revolting details of the massacre at Kishinef are too fresh in our minds to permit us to answer affirmatively.

Had these villainous outrages occurred in Turkey or in some even less powerful country, the world would have been loud in its denunciations and its demand for a guaranty of the cessation of such brutalities. But they happened in Russia, in that land with the great navy, with the powerful army, with the swarming multitudes of people, steeped in ignorance and under the absolute rulership of one man, who could call forth all this latent power to resent interference, and the nations of the world, awed by an imposing exterior, had no word of protest to utter.

Does Russia desire our friendship? Then let her earn it. Let her open her borders to the uninterrupted access of such of our citizens as our Government is willing to vouch for. When she limits the use of our passports in any way she denies the right of our Government to issue such passports to all citizens, and in this consists an attempt upon her part to interpret the documents issued by the United States. Is not this an unwarranted affront? Is this the act of a friendly power? Does this comport with the esteem which Russia professes for us?

Are we a nation of strong men, insisting upon our rights and the equal exchange of international courtesies, or are we a set of supine weaklings, grateful for every sop of concession contemptuously thrown to us by our so-called "Russian friends?"

The reason, of course, for Russia's policy in this respect is perfectly clear. Her action involves the Jewish question within her domains. Conscious as she is of the fact that her Jewish subjects are treated with less forbearance than any class of people in any other land she knows that if uninterrupted access to her dominions were allowed free Americans of the Jewish faith, that they would, being naturally more deeply interested in the matter than those of other faiths, be so shocked by the indignities and inhumanities practiced upon their Russian brethren that their account of them would horrify the world to a degree that even Russia's immense power—her embattled hosts—would no longer act as a deterrent to the enlightened nations of the world in insisting upon at least human treatment for so considerable a number of fellow creatures, since the Jews in Russia number about 6,000,000.

But Russia is our friend. The Russian statesmen—the mouthpieces of the Russian Empire—are always loud in asserting their admiration for our people and our institutions.

Russia wishes our moral encouragement, at least our neutrality, so that other nations shall not interfere with her policies and so that, in time of national disturbances or famine, she may be sustained and fed from the boundless resources and teeming harvests of vast and fertile America.

Very good; but shall America tamely submit to Russian interpretation of American credentials? Shall America, out of deference to Russian "friendship," cease to proclaim that all men are created free and equal, that all American citizens shall enjoy equal rights, and that the United States shall insist that all of its citizens be treated with equal deference by every nation with which we are at peace and friendly, and instead disgracefully promulgate the doctrine that these things shall be so, provided that Russia or any other nation does not object?

There is no use of waiting for Russia to take the initiative in correcting this abuse. As the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. HARRISON] said earlier in the session, in the course of a speech upon this subject, such a thing, contrary as it is to Russia's internal policy, will never happen.

Russia proclaims herself our friend, and now needs our friendship much more acutely than ever before in our history.

Well, then, let us make it a condition precedent upon our friendship that Russia treat us and all of our citizens fairly. Let us insist that there be an element of mutuality in our relations with each other.

Sir, I believe that at the present time, if this country, speaking through its representatives in Congress, were to make this fact firmly manifest to the Government of the Czar, that, under the present conditions, his Government would, in its desire and need for the moral support growing out of our friendship, hearken to our protest and grant our demand.

Such a policy, too, would inevitably, I think, redound to the advantage of Russia itself, although her present practices are based upon a different theory.

However, with that I am not now concerned. My present desire is to see that there shall be no segregation of any class of American citizens, for the purpose of denying it equal rights and privileges with any other class, either in this country or anywhere where American credentials should entitle American citizens to fair treatment.

Our right to interpret our own documents is fundamental, and we should insist upon it. Not to do so is servile, cowardly, and un-American.

If we have a mission in the world, it is to assert the equality of man, it is to exemplify the glorious precepts which brought us into being as a nation, and any retrogression, any bartering with our national ideals from motives of policy, any attempt to pervert the genius of America, or to lower the standard of Americanism is fraught with keen national danger and bodes ill for our future liberties.

Let there be no paltering, no trafficking with American ideals, no debasing of nor differentiating between our citizens. Let us, in a word, carry forward unflinchingly and unfinchingly the principles bequeathed to us from our fathers, and let us insist that all the nations of the earth, republican or monarchical, free or despotic, weak or powerful, shall, while at peace with us and professing friendship for us, respect every American citizen who deserves well of his country and whom his country vouches for, no matter his standing, no matter his race, no matter his creed.

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES H. DAVIDSON,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, March 24, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. DAVIDSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: In the limited time at my command I can not discuss the merits of this proposition as fully as I would like to do. The subject of rural free-delivery service is one of commanding interest and importance—interest, because it is a comparatively new proposition, and important because of the very great benefit it confers on a most worthy class of people.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker in 1892 first recommended the establishment of this service. In the three or four years following small appropriations were made, but not expended, and the system was never given a thorough trial until under President McKinley's first Administration, when a number of routes were established and a thorough test made. Since then each annual report submitted by the head of the Post-Office Department has made special reference to this service, to its development, and to the benefits accruing to the people through its establishment.

Postmaster-General Gary, in his first annual report, in speaking of rural free delivery, used the following language:

It would be difficult to point to any like expenditure of public money which has been more generously appreciated by the people or which has conferred greater benefits in proportion to the amount expended. In every instance the introduction of the service has resulted in an increase in the amount of mail matter handled. There is no doubt of the desire, wherever the system has been tried, that it should be made permanent.

Postmaster-General Smith, in referring to this service, said:

The benefits accruing from the extension of postal facilities to the rural communities may be summarized as follows:

Increased postal receipts, making many of the new deliveries almost immediately self-supporting. In Great Britain, where an extension of rural free delivery on a broader scale has been in progress since 1897, the number of additional letters mailed because of additional facilities afforded is estimated at 50,000,000 for the present year.

Enhancement of the value of farm lands reached by this service and better prices obtained for farm products through more direct communication with the markets and prompter information of their state.

Improved means of travel, some hundreds of miles of country roads, especially in the Western States, having been graded specifically in order to obtain rural free delivery.

Higher educational influences, broader circulation of the means of public intelligence, and closer daily contact with the great world of activity extended to the homes of heretofore isolated rural communities.

In 1900 the Postmaster-General spoke of rural free delivery as follows:

The extraordinary extension of rural free delivery during the past two years has proved to be the most salient, significant, and far-reaching feature of postal development in recent times.

Free delivery in rural communities has been regarded as too costly and burdensome to be admissible. On these grounds the movement encountered great opposition when first proposed, and even when Congress authorized the experiment there was reluctance in trying it. It took time and experience to develop and enforce the more just view, first, that the great body of people who live outside cities and towns are entitled to share in advanced mail facilities even if the cost exceeds the returns; and second, that the barrier of unbalanced expense is not as formidable as was apprehended.

With all these results clearly indicated by the experiment as thus far tried, rural free delivery is plainly here to stay.

In 1901 the Postmaster-General, in speaking of the service, said:

The policy of rural free delivery is no longer a subject of serious dispute. It has unmistakably vindicated itself by its fruits.

In 1902 he said:

Rural-delivery service has become an established fact. It is no longer in the experimental stage, and undoubtedly Congress will continue to increase the appropriation for this service until all the people of the country are reached where it is thickly enough settled to warrant it.

Five years of experiment in this service, added to several months' experience under permanent organization controlled by the civil-service regulations governing other branches of the postal service, have demonstrated that all the claims heretofore advanced in advocacy of the extension of rural free delivery and its adoption as a permanent feature of postal administration have been sustained.

In 1900 President McKinley in his message to Congress, in speaking of the postal service, used language as follows:

Its most striking new development is the extension of rural free delivery. This service ameliorates the isolation of farm life, conduces to good roads, and quickens and extends the dissemination of general information.

Experience thus far has tended to allay the apprehension that it would be so expensive as to forbid its general adoption or make it a serious burden. Its actual application has shown that it increases postal receipts and can be accompanied by reduction in other branches of the service, so that the augmented revenues and accomplished savings together materially reduce the net cost.

In his first message to Congress President Roosevelt said:

Among recent postal advances the success of rural free delivery wherever established has been so marked and actual experience has made its benefits so plain that the demand for its extension is general and urgent. It is just that the great agricultural population should share in the improvement of this service.

Again, in his last annual message, the President says:

The rural free-delivery service has been steadily extended. The attention of the Congress is asked to the question of the compensation of the letter carriers and clerks engaged in the postal service, especially on the new rural free-delivery routes. More routes have been installed since the 1st of July last than in any like period in the Department's history. While a due regard to economy must be kept in mind in the establishment of new routes, yet the extension of the rural free-delivery system must be continued for reasons of sound public policy. No governmental movement of recent years has resulted in greater immediate benefit to the people of the country districts.

Rural free delivery, taken in connection with the telephone, the bicycle, and the trolley, accomplishes much toward lessening the isolation of farm life and making it brighter and more attractive. In the immediate past the lack of just such facilities as these has driven many of the more active and restless young men and women from the farms to the cities, for they rebelled at loneliness and lack of mental companionship. It is unhealthy and undesirable for the cities to grow at the expense of the country; and rural free delivery is not only a good thing in itself, but is good because it is one of the causes which check this unwholesome tendency toward the urban concentration of our population at the expense of the country districts.

These indorsements demonstrate beyond the possibility of question that under Republican rule this service, fraught with so much good to the people of the rural communities, has been nurtured and cared for until it has become one of our permanent institutions, against which no political party will ever dare raise a voice.

This service under the present Administration is being rapidly extended. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, 8,339 routes were inspected and 6,653 established.

The total number of routes in operation at that time was 15,119, and on March 1, 1904, the total number had increased to 22,000.

During the six months ending June 30, 1903, 309,428,128 pieces of mail were delivered and 48,954,390 pieces of mail collected by rural carriers. The value of stamps canceled on mail collected by rural carriers during that time amounted to \$949,084.87, and the pay of the carriers aggregated \$4,518,185.

During the last year 2,879 carriers in the rural mail service resigned, many of them for the reason that it was unprofitable to continue in the service at the salary paid by the Government. This brings us directly to the question, "Shall the salary of rural mail carriers be increased?" Under the present law the highest salary is \$600 per year. The committee recommends an increase to \$720 per year.

The committee, however, couples with this proposed increase of salary the condition that the concessions heretofore allowed to carriers, except that of doing errands for patrons, shall be prohibited. While agreeing to increase the salary at the rate of \$10 per month, they propose to forbid the carriers to earn anything by acting as agents or distributors for publishers or other business concerns.

I am not fully advised as to the earnings of carriers through these concessions. I believe, however, that the practice is injurious and that the privilege is subject to great abuse. The salary of the carrier is paid by the General Government, and his service should be rendered in the interest of the general public. Any provision, therefore, which permits him to become the special representative of some particular industry and thereby use his position for the advancement of the interests of one as against others engaged in the same business is not right. Cases have been cited where carriers would only solicit subscriptions for some one particular newspaper, thereby giving that paper a monopoly of his service. Others have acted as the agents of outside concerns and solicited orders to be filled by concerns not engaged in business in the city or town from whence the route starts, and which is in a measure entitled to the patronage of that locality.

The exception, that of permitting carriers to do errands at the request of and for the patrons, is entirely proper. Very often

a farmer busily engaged in seeding or in harvesting, and having a number of men in his employ, finds that some piece of machinery needs replacing or some small article must be purchased in order to carry on the work in which he is engaged. It is much more convenient and less expensive for him to pay the carrier for bringing this article than to send a man with a horse or team to town for it, and this service can be rendered without interfering with the other and regular duties of the carrier.

These carriers, however, are entitled to receive a fair and reasonable compensation for their services. We have been urged to favor the plan of classification and a gradual increase of salary. I do not believe the time has come when such a plan should be inaugurated. While this service has attained a wondrous growth in a brief space of time, yet it is still in its infancy. It is still largely experimental. Those who are at the head of the Department and charged with the responsibility of carrying out this work will find through experience that many changes are necessary for the benefit of the service. The carriers, therefore, in my judgment, can well afford to wait a more propitious season for the perfection of their plan.

I had the honor to introduce at this session a bill fixing the salary of carriers at \$750 per year. This is as low an amount as a carrier ought to be asked to accept. Even then I did not have in mind the cutting off of any concessions which heretofore have enabled carriers to increase their earnings. Under these circumstances I am not certain but what the salary ought to be made at least \$800 per year.

Let me call your attention to some figures compiled from reports made by carriers with whom I am acquainted and whose statements I know are correct. I hold in my hand a statement which shows the annual expenditure of three carriers.

The first one paid out in one year for horse feed, horseshoeing, repairs, and other necessary articles of expense, \$245.50. For the same purpose the second carrier paid \$229.20, and the third carrier, \$185.40. The average annual expenditure of each was \$220.03.

This does not include the original investment or the deterioration of the same. In my State a carrier can not equip himself for this service for less than about \$400. He must have two horses, at \$125 each, making \$250; a wagon, at \$65; a sleigh, at \$35; harness, at \$30; robes, blankets, whips, etc., easily \$30.

Actual experience has demonstrated that this outfit deteriorates at least 25 per cent each year and that the carrier is obliged to practically renew the outfit at the end of each four years. Including, therefore, this deterioration, it appears that the average annual expenditure of the carrier is \$320.03, which, deducted from his salary of \$600 per year, leaves him but \$280, or about 90 cents per day, for the support of himself and family. This is a ridiculously small amount for the service rendered.

The carrier, to successfully perform his duty, must live in the city or village and near the post-office from whence his route starts, otherwise the additional travel each day is too great a strain upon his horse. He is required to reach the post-office early in order to sort the mail, and after returning from his route he certainly has no time to give to any other revenue-producing business. Any person who rides over the average country roads each day of the year, Sundays excepted, a distance of 25 miles certainly ought not to be required to perform any other work during that day.

In addition, these carriers should be given at least fifteen days' vacation with pay. I know of no other class of employees of the Government who do not enjoy this vacation with pay, and the most of them are given thirty days annually. Certainly the rural carrier is as much entitled to a vacation as the city carrier or the employee in the Departments, who is not exposed to storms or subject to exposure, as are these carriers.

By way of friendly criticism, I want to offer one or two suggestions which may not properly be incorporated in legislation, but which, I think, may well be considered by the Department.

In his annual report the Postmaster-General says that—

In the establishment of rural free delivery it is required that the roads be in good condition, with no unbridged streams not fordable at all seasons of the year, and that each route upon which the carrier receives the maximum salary shall serve 100 families.

I assume that this regulation is based upon the proposition that a route, to justify the expenditure necessary to maintain it, should give the service to at least 100 families. I do not believe that any hard and fast regulation of this kind ought to be enforced.

I believe the agent sent out to make the inspection ought to have authority to determine what should be done in each particular case. Let him exercise his judgment and be governed by conditions as he finds them upon a personal investigation. He is in a better position to determine whether the establishment of a proposed route is warranted than is the department officer to whom the report of the agent is referred. He can judge from the general condition of things whether the locality is one in which the service can be operated successfully.

In certain localities there may reside a class of people who are

naturally extensive patrons of the mail, and if given this service this patronage would largely increase. In other localities there may be those who do not take the same interest in this service and do not patronize the mails as liberally, and therefore not as much benefit would be derived from its establishment there as in the other locality. Let me illustrate by a case of which I have personal knowledge. A petition was presented from one section of the district which I have the honor to represent. Upon investigation it was found that but 92 families would be patrons of the route, if established as petitioned for. Adverse action, therefore, was necessary. Yet from my knowledge of the people of that locality I am certain those 92 families would have received and dispatched more pieces of mail annually than would 150 families in some other localities.

In that particular case a reexamination was made and the route was finally established, after making additions so that over 100 families would be served. If, however, it had not been possible to make those additions 92 families would have been deprived of the service because of an ironclad regulation of the Post-Office Department, regardless of the fact that they are very liberal patrons of the mail.

This leads me to another criticism, and that is that under present regulations the petition must be signed by at least 100 persons. How are these petitions gotten up? They are not prepared by the postmaster or by the member of Congress or any one else whose duty is to serve all the people. Some enterprising farmer, having learned that this service could be had if petitioned for, writes to the Department and secures a blank. The circular of instructions accompanying it directs him how to map out a route. He knows he must get at least 100 signers and the route must not be over 25 miles in length.

Having had no experience in this service and no definite knowledge as to other routes, he can not be expected to so map this route as to give the service to all the people of that locality. He does the best he can, but in so doing he does not forget to do just what you and I would do if in his place—so map the route that it will not only serve himself but "his uncles, and his cousins, and his aunts."

Finally an agent comes to inspect it. Being a stranger in the locality, he knows nothing of the territory and may not know of other rural routes starting from other points which extend somewhat into this territory. Under his instructions, he must report on the route as petitioned for, or, if changes are made, he must make a detailed explanation of the reasons for such changes, together with a map showing the route as petitioned for and as changed by him. Now, what does he do? He does just what you or I would do—goes over the route as mapped, inspects the roads and bridges, counts the houses, and if the conditions meet with the requirements, he favorably recommends the petition.

Later it is discovered that perhaps a dozen families have been left in a pocket between this route and another. They can not be served by either, and there is not territory enough for an additional route. Then our troubles begin. We are expected to overcome the difficulties. We are asked by some to get the route established at once, by others to get it changed, and by still others to get a route for them; and then, if we dare so much as to present any suggestions to the Department upon the subject, some mugwump newspaper will charge us with having unduly influenced some official.

I believe it would be much better if the people who desire the service could file their request with the postmaster, he to communicate with the Department, and it in turn to send an agent with full authority to study the locality, find out what other routes, if any, touch that territory, and then map out as many routes as may be necessary to serve all the people of that section.

This system would give the service to all the people of a given locality and not to a favored few who may have been instrumental in getting up the petition, and not only deprive others equally deserving, but leave them where the service can not reach them from any direction.

I understand, of course, that the more thickly settled localities may properly be first served, but those localities are now fairly well provided for, and I sincerely hope that the Department, with the large appropriation which this Congress will make, will be able to readjust and perfect single routes and, as far as possible, work to the completion of the service by counties.

The county service does not mean the establishment of many new routes. It simply provides for a readjustment of the present routes and the addition of such new routes as may be necessary to give all the people the benefit of the service.

One other criticism, and that is in reference to substitutes. Under the present regulations each carrier is compelled to furnish his own substitute. In some instances a carrier may have some member of his family who can occupy that position, but in many cases some other person must be selected. He does not know when he may be called upon. He can not depend upon that position for a livelihood. He must seek other employment; and

having secured it, he may not be at liberty to perform the service of a carrier, especially in case of sudden emergency.

In the city delivery service the substitute receives a fixed compensation and in addition is assured a position whenever a vacancy occurs. Even this assurance is not given to the substitute of the rural carrier. In those localities where several routes are in operation it would seem as if one substitute might properly be selected for all of the routes, with the assurance that with the first vacancy he should be promoted to the position of carrier. This or some other plan must be adopted or serious difficulty will be found in securing necessary substitutes.

I have only words of highest commendation for the officials of the Department for the manner in which this service has been developed and extended. Splendid work has been done in this new field, and under the official having it now in charge splendid progress is being made. The criticisms I have offered have been prompted solely for the benefit of the service and only in the most friendly spirit. I want this service extended and perfected until all the people of the rural sections enjoy its benefit.

Mr. Chairman, just a word in closing, as I know my time is limited. Coming from the State in which the Postmaster-General has his residence, I want to say here that I hope this debate may be extended long enough to enable those Members who, a few days ago, under the heat of passion, saw fit to unjustly criticize him and to use language toward him that no gentleman ought to use toward another, to rise in their places and acknowledge that their cruel criticism of him and his Fourth Assistant was not warranted by the facts. Henry C. Payne never intentionally wounded the feelings or stained the honor of any man. He never betrayed a trust nor to a friend proved untrue. I know that he would not gratuitously insult any Member of this House. There is not a Member here who does not know that there is not a door of any office in any department of this Government which swings as often and as easily to the Members of this House as the door to the office of the Postmaster-General. [Applause on the Republican side.]

There is not a man in official life who ever greets the Members of this House more courteously and kindly than does the Postmaster-General.

It has been my pleasure and honor to know him for a number of years. In the State where he resides he is known as one of the most reliable and successful business men of that State.

I know him to be a man of character, of integrity, of honesty. His great executive ability has been fully demonstrated in the magnificent manner in which he has discharged the duties of his position. Without noise or excitement he came here and procured funds with which to conduct an investigation of his own Department. Without fear or favor he directed that investigation to be made. He bore in silence the jibes of those who complained because he would not publish from the house tops each successive step taken or contemplated by those making the investigation.

When the proofs were complete he turned them over to the Department of Justice. The indictments and convictions are now matters of public knowledge.

Not for an instant during that whole trying period did the Postmaster-General waver in his purpose. Regardless of his own physical condition he remained at his post of duty through the heated season of last year, until the work undertaken was thoroughly completed.

That it was an unpleasant duty will readily be conceded. That no matter how unpleasant, it was performed conscientiously and with the firm determination to convict the guilty, there can be no question.

Results confirm it, every fair-minded citizen admits it, and the President in his frank and honest manner put it beyond question when he wrote the Postmaster-General as follows:

WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, February 27, 1901.

MY DEAR POSTMASTER-GENERAL: While all the work of the Post-Office Department and the Department of Justice in connection with the postal frauds is not yet over, there is already to the credit of the Departments, and therefore primarily to your credit, such an amount of substantive achievement that I take this opportunity to congratulate you personally upon it. It is impossible to expect that corruption will not occasionally occur in any government. The vital point is the energy, the fearlessness, and the efficiency with which such corruption is cut out and the corruptionists punished.

The success of the prosecutions in this case as compared with previous experiences in prosecuting Government officials who have been guilty of malfeasance or misfeasance is as noteworthy as it is gratifying, and must be a source of encouragement to all men who believe in decency and honesty in public life. What has been accomplished by you, by those who have worked under you in your Department, and by the Department of Justice, redounds to the credit of our whole people and it is a signal triumph for the cause of popular government. If corruption goes unpunished in popular government, then government by the people will ultimately fail; and they are the best friends of the people who make it evident that whoever in public office, or in connection with public office, sin against the fundamental laws of civic and social well-being will be punished with unsparing vigor.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. H. C. PAYNE,
Postmaster-General.

Knowing his kindly nature, his honesty of purpose, his fairness in everything, it was with extreme sorrow that I heard upon this floor expressions used toward him which were not true.

I therefore make this statement because I admire and respect the man, and I resent the insinuations coming from either side of this House which were made against him. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The report which caused so much discussion is now before a select committee for investigation, and it would be idle for me to speculate as to its origin or the purpose for which it was prepared.

The reference in that report to Members of this House is not discreditable when understood, although it may be embarrassing to have one's name used in the same document with persons under indictment for criminal offense.

My name is in that report in connection with two cases. In neither of these did I do anything that I have not done in other cases and will continue to do as long as I remain here.

In one case, that of New London, the postmaster asked for additional clerk hire. I referred his request to the Department and it ordered a report upon the "transit" mail handled. This report showed that the postmaster was entitled to an increase of \$40 per year, and the increase was made.

The report itself exonerates me, because it says that the allowance was not in excess of what the postmaster was entitled to under the regulations.

The other case was of leasing premises for a post-office at Manitowoc. The memoranda of the case, as prepared by the Department, is as follows:

MANITOWOC, WIS.

At Manitowoc, Wis., where the salary of the postmaster was \$2,400, the allowances for rent, fuel, and light, up to January 1, 1900, were \$500 per annum.

On January 6, 1899, the postmaster advised the Department that the owner of the premises in which the post-office was located regarded the allowance for rent, fuel, and light inadequate, and requested that arrangements be made to lease the room for a term of years.

June 9, 1899, the Department requested the postmaster to report as to the suitability of the quarters occupied by the post-office, and whether there were other premises that might be secured at a rental not exceeding the sum then allowed, in case an inspector was sent to make an investigation.

June 11, 1899, the postmaster reported that the building then occupied was the best adapted for post-office purposes in the central part of the city, and that there was no other building not occupied that could be secured for the rental then paid.

August 11, 1899, Inspector Ralph Bird reported that the location was central, could not be improved, and recommended that the Department lease the building then occupied by the post-office for a term of five years at an annual rental of \$700, including heat, light, vault, fireproof safe, and all necessary furniture.

August 18, 1899, the postmaster was advised that the inspector's report had been reviewed, and that the Department would make new lease for five years at \$500 per annum, instead of \$700, as recommended by the inspector, if lessors would place the office in satisfactory condition.

August 23, 1899, the postmaster submitted a letter from O. Torrison & Co., that they could not consent to rent the building at \$500 per annum.

August 29, 1899, the postmaster was advised that, in view of the exhausted condition of the appropriation, increase for rent could not be made at that time, and that if the owners refused to permit the post-office to continue in the building then occupied to advise further in the matter. The brief of the case in the division of salaries and allowances bears an undated memorandum as follows: "Hold; will accept from July 1; will report after the holidays. Congressman Davidson."

The following letter is on file in the division of salaries and allowances:

[Post-office premises, Manitowoc, Wis. Rent allowance.]

FEBRUARY 3, 1900.

Hon. JAMES H. DAVIDSON, *House of Representatives.*

SIR: Referring to your visit to-day relative to the above subject, I beg to state that it has been decided to fix the allowance for rent, fuel, and light at the post-office at Manitowoc, Wis., at \$700 per annum from January 1, 1900, and the postmaster has been instructed to notify the O. Torrison Company that the proposition made by them last August at the above rental is accepted, to take effect January 1, 1900.

Very respectfully,

First Assistant Postmaster-General.

This shows that the lease had expired; that the owner was demanding an increase of rent; that the postmaster and inspector had both recommended the increase; that there was no other building available, and that the patrons and business men would object most seriously to any removal of location.

I called at the Department in December, 1899, and urged the execution of a lease upon the terms recommended by the inspector.

I was advised that a lease would be made to date from July 1, 1900, and was requested to present that proposition to the owner while at home during the holidays and obtain his consent thereto. This explains the memoranda referred to in the brief. I presented the proposition to the owner as requested. He declined it and insisted that the lease should date from January 1, 1900, or that the premises should be vacated at once.

Upon my return here after the holidays, I reported those facts to the Department and afterwards I was advised that the lease would be made as recommended by the inspector, and to date from January 1, 1900.

What I did in these cases was done in behalf of my constituents and for their benefit. They expected me to protect their interests, and I hope I may never so far forget the duty I owe them as to fail to serve them in any way I can.

A custom which because of its age now practically has the force of law requires members of Congress to intercede in the various Departments in behalf of their constituents.

There is nothing wrong or objectionable in this custom. We come here as the representatives of our people. They know us. It is reasonable to expect that they have some confidence in us, or we would not be here. From their acquaintance they feel at greater liberty to write to us than to a stranger in some Department.

They present in a personal interview or in a letter the circumstances in connection with the matter in which they are interested, leaving it for us to aid them as we may be able.

Since I have had the honor to represent 200,000 of the population of Wisconsin, I have considered it not only a duty, but a pleasure, to render service to any one of that constituency, regardless of his political belief.

During my service here I have filed hundreds of requests in writing in the various Departments and have made repeated visits in person in the interests of my constituents. I have given attention to over 2,000 claims of old soldiers and their widows for pensions. I have many constituents interested in matters before the Indian Office, the General Land Office, the Agricultural Department, and, in fact, all the Executive Departments. Their interests have received my best attention.

In the Post-Office Department I have not only presented the requests of postmasters for additional clerk hire, but have endeavored to see that they were allowed such sums as they were entitled to.

If I believed a particular location was best suited for a post-office, I have not hesitated to so recommend.

In fact, the Department itself expects us to do this. Every fourth-class post-office established is so established only after we have made a recommendation in the case. No post-office is discontinued until our judgment regarding such proposed action has been requested, and upon the blank forms furnished by the Department for petitions for rural mail routes there is contained a printed statement to the effect that this petition must be referred to a Senator or Member of Congress for his recommendation before action will be taken thereon.

Believing that it is my duty to serve the people whose commission I hold, I intend to continue in the future the same course I have pursued in the past, block type headlines in "saffronized" newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding.

As a matter of fact this "tempest in a teapot" resulted from an extravagant use of display type in newspapers which seek only the sensational. Almost without exception the correspondents of the legitimate newspapers looked beyond the headlines of the report, and presented to their readers a fair and honest review of the case.

To this no one could object, and such presentation did no harm to any Member of this House.

As an illustration of this class of journalism, and because it fairly represents the custom to which I have referred, I shall submit as part of my remarks a portion of an article written by Mr. A. J. Dodge, of this city, to the Milwaukee Sentinel, and published in that paper on March 14, 1904:

As a result of the hysteria which has prevailed around Congress since the publication of the report, and the excited complaints directed against the Department and the committee which opened up the whole subject, it is difficult for the average newspaper reader to sift out from the mass of stuff a clear idea of just what has happened and just who is to blame if blame should rest upon anybody. There is a disposition in some quarters to censure the whole system, and to charge that the Members of Congress are open to blame for participation in such matters as recommendations to the Department relating to post-office locations, rentals, clerk hire, fuel and light, and matters of the kind. It is well, therefore, to get a clear idea of just what the system is, just what has been done, and just what the report which caused all the trouble has shown.

Since the foundation of the Government there has been a close connection between Senators and Representatives and the Executive Departments. On account of the peculiar nature of the business of the Post-Office Department and its close relation to the business interests of the people in every town and hamlet in the country, it has always been the custom for the Department to rely upon Senators and Representatives for recommendations touching such matters. An illustration of this situation may be afforded by a statement of the fact that the Post-Office Department has a series of blank printed forms, relating to such matters as the establishment of postal routes, locations of post-offices, the establishment or discontinuance of post-offices, the appointment or removal of postmasters, all made for the sole purpose of communicating with the Senators and Representatives and securing from them their endorsements or recommendations of what should be done.

ASK REPRESENTATIVE FOR INFORMATION.

If a post-office is to be established in a given community; if a post-office location is to be changed, or a post-office discontinued—in all of these cases there may be filed in the Department petitions from the residents of the community to be affected, but the Department does not act without sending a request to the Representative from the district for his recommendation or advice in the premises. This procedure is based upon the assumption that the Member of Congress is the one man in Washington, or probably in the country, who would be familiar with all the facts of the situation. His opinion is, therefore, regarded by the Department as valuable.

He acts upon the advice of his constituents, and his recommendations are almost invariably followed by the Department. There may be better ways of getting at the precise situation in a given case; but this is the system that

has prevailed from the beginning, and until a better system has been devised it will probably continue to be employed.

Out of this connection of Representatives with matters in the Post-Office Department affecting post-offices in their districts grows all the details of the complaints and charges, countercharges, etc., which came out in the reports to Congress by the Department.

WOULD NOT AROUSE ORDINARILY.

In a time of ordinary discharge of Congressional duty the publication of such facts would not have provoked the slightest comment or interest. But in the face of the general post-office investigation, which was conducted for many months, being followed by absolute proof of wrongdoing on the part of certain Department officials and outsiders, such as contractors, to bring forward a departmental report connecting the names of members of Congress with the matter, even if there is absolutely no proof, as the fact really is in a vast majority of cases mentioned in the report, of any wrongdoing by those mentioned, is well calculated to provoke comment, and subject innocent men to unjust criticism.

It would seem that it might have been easy for the Committee on Post-Offices of the House of Representatives to have taken from the Department report which was sent in just what was required to show what had been done and to have omitted mention of every name of a Senator or Representative who had done nothing more than indorse the recommendations of postmasters or carry out the wishes of citizens of a given community in respect to post-office matters in their districts.

FIRST REPORT SHOWED BEAVERS'S ACT.

The general post-office investigation showed what was claimed by the investigators, headed by General Bristow, to be wrongdoing on the part of the former chief of the division of salaries and allowances in the Department, George W. Beavers. Beavers is now under indictment for those alleged wrongful acts. In making his report on all matters connected with the investigation, General Bristow, on three pages of his report, referred to several cases in different States where rental allowances for post-offices had been unduly raised, or buildings had been rented from members of Congress which, stated broadly and without any explanatory details, would be a violation of the statute. No names were mentioned in the report, but the offices were designated, and it was easy to see what Members of Congress were implicated if any wrong had been done.

When the report came out a Democratic Representative from Virginia [Mr. HAY] arose one day and called attention to this reflection upon Members, and introduced a resolution calling for a full investigation of such cases, and demanding that the House call on General Bristow for all the facts connected with such cases. That was the beginning of the whole trouble. It is known around Congress that Mr. HAY was personally unfriendly to another Democratic Member from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] who had long served on the Committee on Post-Offices of the House, and it is asserted that HAY believed if the facts could be brought out they would disclose that SWANSON and other Members of the former Post-Office Committee had made improper recommendations, or had been too zealous in looking after the wants of their constituents.

The truth is there is evidence enough in the supplemental Bristow report to warrant some of the suspicions entertained by Mr. HAY, although the published facts do not point to any illegal acts by any Members. Out of all this grows the publication of the mass of details, which is accepted as reflecting upon Members of Congress whose names are mentioned in the report.

BRING IN WHOLE BUDGET.

Now comes the question as to how the report from the Department was handled by the committee. It was a delicate matter. The Department had furnished the names of Members of Congress who had filed letters of recommendations touching post-office matters.

It would seem that the committee should have either suppressed the whole departmental report, and merely brought in a resolution laying the Hay resolution on the table, and saying that the investigation of the subject did not show any wrongdoing on the part of any Members; or, another course would have been to sift out the names of those for whom departmental regulations had been exceeded in an improper manner by Beavers. Instead of doing either of these things the committee brought in the whole budget of information, recommended that the Hay resolution be tabled, and accompanying this with a statement that the matter was unworthy of further consideration because the committee believed that no wrong could be imputed to any Members whose names were mentioned in the Department report.

This would have been all right had it not been for the disclosures in the general post-office investigation. That investigation showed that crime had been committed and frauds perpetrated. Members who are shown by the supplemental report to have done nothing wrong resented the idea of having their names paraded in a report headed "Charges concerning Members of Congress." There is warrant for this resentment on the part of the innocent members, in view of the treatment which the supplemental report received at the hands of careless, and in some instances malicious, newspaper writers. In some quarters the whole report was treated by newspapers as "an exposé of Members of Congress," and in others as "evidences of Congressional grafting," etc. This was not only unfair to members, but wholly unwarranted.

NINETY-FIVE PER CENT SHOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED.

Now, it is easy to show from an analysis of the supplemental report just what is disclosed by it, and just what a close and unbiased investigation of the whole subject will demonstrate. And this can be done without attempting to shield anybody who appears even on the face of the findings to be technically guilty of participation in wrongdoing by indicted department officials. And it may be said that such unbiased analysis of the report will show that 95 per cent of it should not have been made public at all, and explanations can probably be made of the few cases in which it appears that overzeal was at fault on the part of a few members, say in Illinois and Virginia, and in the cases where it appeared that certain members had leased buildings for post-offices.

In the Illinois and Virginia cases, in which figure the names of former members of the Post-Office Committee, it would appear that on their recommendations, based no doubt upon requests from their local postmasters, the regulations of the Department respecting the amount of clerk hire allowances for separate mails at such offices were exceeded by Beavers. But that is a violation of departmental regulations by Beavers, not a violation by the postmasters or the Members who recommended action. In the cases of the leases of post-offices, explanations have been made by the Members, three in number, from Connecticut and Kansas, showing that the Department declined to cancel leases after the owners of the buildings had been elected to Congress, and had permitted the leases to be transferred to others.

NO REASON FOR NAMING BADGERS.

But in the Wisconsin cases, for example, it is difficult to see upon what hypothesis the names of the Members of the Wisconsin delegation were included in the report. An analysis of the tables in the Department report show these facts: In the letters of Postmaster-General Payne and General

Bristow, accompanying the report, it is explained that additional clerk hire is granted postmasters in places where separation of mails for star routes is required. The amount of pay is based upon the number of pieces of mail separated.

Now, in the Wisconsin list appears forty-five post-offices in the State where such separation mail pay was granted. In forty-three of these cases, recommended by the different members from the State, no excess of pay was granted by Beavers above what the departmental regulations warranted. Hence there was no reason whatever for incorporating the names of Representatives BABCOCK, COOPER, ESCH, JENKINS, DAVIDSON, and BROWN in this table, nor the names of former Representatives STEWART and DAHLE. Three tables of changes in payment of separation mail clerk hire are included. One shows the former rate; one shows the present rate, the decreases being due to the abandonment of star routes and the introduction of rural free-delivery routes, which causes a cessation of the separation mail pay.

MENTION ONLY ONE CASE OF EXCESS.

Only one case of excess pay is mentioned, that at Cedarburg. This was made upon the recommendation of Mr. Barney, then a member from the State, and in whose district Cedarburg was located. The postmaster asked an increase. Beavers granted an increase, which was \$110 in excess of the regulations, but upon the report made by the postmaster eight months later the pay was reduced, and that ended the matter.

Another Wisconsin increase was at Evansville. It was recommended by A. W. Machen, then superintendent of the free-delivery system, presumably upon request of the postmaster, who was probably corresponding with Mr. Machen upon other matters and mentioned his need of additional clerk hire. In this case the Department admits inability to show that any excess was paid above departmental regulations, but includes the case because there is doubt about it. Yet, in the face of these facts, shown on the record of the departmental report itself, the names of all the Wisconsin members and former members quoted above, are included in the list.

SMALL BASIS FOR ACTION.

There was absolutely no reason for so doing, except the mere fact that on the files of the salary and allowance division were found letters from these members either indorsing requests from postmasters for increased clerk hire, or letters making formal recommendations for such increases. If any wrong was done even in the two cases mentioned, it was the fault of the Department in exceeding its own regulations, not the fault of the members who could not have known what the regulations required should be paid in a given case.

SAME WAY AS TO RENTALS.

Precisely the same explanation would cover the cases of increases in rentals for buildings in twelve cities and towns in Wisconsin. All the correspondence in each case shows that the Members who interested themselves in these matters did so at the request of the postmaster or citizens of the communities where the post-offices were located. In all the cases post-office inspectors were detailed to investigate the facts, and the increases were made by the Department upon the showing made in respect to the needs of the respective offices.

"WHITE HOUSE IS CREDITED."

And here should be noted an interesting fact, explanatory of the system which prevails in the Department. One case is shown in the record where an increase in separation mail clerk hire pay was made by the Department credited to the "White House." That is easily explained. Doubtless the postmaster in the town of Stratford, Conn., wrote to the President of the United States about the matter, and the letter was forwarded to the Department with a request that it be looked into. The interesting feature of the matter is that while no excess is charged to have been made in this clerk-hire payment, the report expresses doubt whether or not an excess was really granted. And one case was recommended by General Bristow himself for a post-office in his home State of Kansas.

It appears that the postmaster wrote Mr. Bristow, claiming increased clerk hire. Bristow sent the letter to the Salary and Allowance Division with a request that the case be considered, and Bristow added that "he would be glad if the postmaster could be given the allowance requested by him." The chief of the Salary and Allowance Division wrote Mr. Bristow that "it has been decided, in view of your wishes, and the figures submitted by the postmaster, to increase the allowance for clerk hire at Erie, Kans., from \$120 to \$130." It is now shown by the Departmental report that this increase was in excess of the Departmental regulations by \$10.

COMMITTEE REPORT RAISES TROUBLE.

Out of this kind of information furnished by the Department report, dumped upon Congress and upon the country by the post-office committee, wholly undigested and unexplained, and with the simple statement that no wrong had been done, and recommending that the whole matter be laid upon the table, the furor was raised. It is not surprising, in view of the facts, that the Members of Congress whose names were included in the report, although not even the slightest evidence of wrong-doing could be imputed to them, should be incensed.

Another illustration will show how it is that even up to the present day such difficulties are experienced by Representatives and the postmasters in the different States. It is true that too much is expected of Members in the matter of errand-running in the various Departments here. It would seem that in many cases the Department might arrange to transact its business without the intercession of Members of Congress.

A case in point might be given. Within ten days a prominent Northwestern Member received a letter from the postmaster in his district saying that on account of the large amount of mail separation at his office he should have some allowance for additional clerk hire. The Member took the letter and went to the salary and allowance division of the Post-Office Department. The case was called up and examined by the successor to Beavers.

"Yes," said the official, "the postmaster at that place is entitled upon the records to \$140 additional clerk hire for mail separation."

CONGRESSMEN HAVE TO "RUN ERRANDS."

"Then I would like to ask," said the Member, "why it is that the postmaster has not been allowed this clerk hire without my being obliged to call to see about it? Why is it that your system does not work automatically to grant what is necessary without anybody being obliged to call to see about it?"

But the official could not answer the question. He was doing things according to the established routine of the office.

The fact is, possibly, that the difficulty arises from too many different bureaus and divisions having charge of intricate problems, which might, perhaps, better be managed under one head. The salary and allowance division is under the first assistant, whereas the star-route system is under the second assistant. Whether there is anything in this point or not, it would seem that something might be done to decrease the draft upon legislators in the matter of running to the departments, or writing letters on behalf of regular officials in the postal or other Government service.

Russia's Abuse of American Passports.

The badge of citizenship should confer the right on every law-abiding American, in times of peace, to travel anywhere on God's green footstool. Let us uphold the dignity of American citizenship and safeguard the prerogatives to which every man owing allegiance to the Stars and Stripes is equally entitled, whether at home or abroad.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 4, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13860) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. GOLDFOGLE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Availing myself of the latitude afforded by this general debate, I rise for the purpose of calling the attention of Congress, as well as of the people of the United States, to a resolution introduced by me in the House of Representatives on the 4th day of January last, which I send to the Clerk's desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the people of the United States that uniform treatment and protection should be accorded to every American citizen, regardless of race or creed, when traveling or sojourning abroad, and that every earnest effort should be made by the executive department of this Government to secure from the Imperial Government of Russia such uniformity of treatment and protection, especially in the recognition and honoring of the passports held by our citizens, to the end that there be no discrimination made by the Government of Russia between American citizens on the ground of their religious belief or faith; and the President of the United States is hereby respectfully requested to take such steps and cause such diplomatic negotiations to be set on foot as may tend to secure, through means of treaty or otherwise, the honoring and the uniform recognition by the Russian Government and its authorities of American passports, irrespective of the religious faith or denomination of their holders, to the end that every law-abiding citizen provided with a passport duly issued by this Government shall, regardless of what may be his race, creed, or religious faith, have freedom in traveling and sojourn in the territory of Russia, subject to such provisions in any treaty between the United States and Russia as are not inconsistent with the spirit and intent of this resolution.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. You will observe, sir, that this resolution does not deal with the proscriptive policy pursued by Russia with regard to any of her subjects. Indeed, it is not my purpose to-day to discuss the harsh and intolerant treatment of the Russian Jew in the land of his birth, for I shall rather refrain from dwelling, except in an incidental way, upon the cruel and inhuman conduct to which the Jew has unfortunately been subjected in that Empire. We still recall with feelings of deepest horror the frightful accounts, as they reached us on this side of the Atlantic, of the shocking brutalities, the shameful outrages, the diabolical massacres at Kisheneff. They awakened our tenderest sympathies and called forth the righteous indignation of all America.

We stood aghast at the reports, amazed that in this twentieth century such deeds of barbarity could be committed in a spirit of religious hatred. We marveled that in this age of professed civilization men, women, and children were still attacked and savagely butchered for no reason other than that they worshiped in a faith differing from that professed by their oppressors. We shuddered at the very thought that the fires of fanatical hate were yet kept aflame in distant lands. From every part of this Union, and from the hearts and tongues of our fellow-citizens of every nationality and creed, and in that spirit of tolerance which is the pride of our nation, came expressions of hope that the day would soon dawn when the persecution of the downtrodden in the land where oppression still reigned would cease. [Applause.]

Nor need one, to ask favorable consideration of the request the resolution embodies, call to mind the fact that for centuries past in Russia the Jew has been, and unfortunately still is, the victim of a severe proscriptive policy, subjecting him to untold misery. Upon him heavy and unequal burdens, not imposed on other subjects, have been laid by the Russian Government. Against him the finger of scorn has been directed in the multitude of restrictive laws and edicts of the Empire, the effect of which enkindled and kept alive the bitterness of the bigot and the malignity of the fanatic. Denied the equal protection of the laws, and groaning under oppressive exactions, his property became prey to Russian rapacity.

Intolerant laws and decrees specially applying to him caused the ignorant and the zealot to regard him frequently as an outcast, whose person might be assailed with impunity and whose home might be ruthlessly invaded.

It was my privilege in April, 1902, in this House, when the

matter of the abuse of the American passport was under discussion, to call attention more fully than I have done to-day to the woeful and wretched condition to which the greater number of Israelites in Russia were subjected—a condition, I am sure, deplored by every fair-minded American. Yet, grievous as that condition was or still may be, however deplorable the harsh, illiberal proscription may be, these are matters beyond our power to relieve.

But, sir, I do insist that this Government of the United States, in the exercise of its right and duty to extend protection to its citizens as well abroad as at home, shall demand of Russia that the American passport held by a law-abiding citizen shall be honored and respected irrespective of the religious faith or creed of its holder.

Such a recognition is owing to America as a matter of treaty obligation. It is due as a matter of reciprocal obligation, as a matter of honorable international comity, and this country should not hesitate in demanding from Russia that she abrogate those restrictions which serve to deny to American citizens of Jewish faith equal treatment with all others of the citizens of this land.

In 1832 a treaty was concluded between the United States and the Empire of Russia, and under that treaty there was guaranteed the right to our citizens to have unmolested travel and sojourn in Russia as fully and completely as we afforded the right to unmolested travel and sojourn to a Russian subject in our territory. That treaty is the only one concluded between these two nations treating on the subject of travel or sojourn of the citizens of our country and the subjects of the other, and from that treaty I shall now read.

The first article of that treaty provides as follows:

There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation. The inhabitants of their respective states shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places, and rivers of the territories of each party, whenever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy to that effect the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce.

Such is the language of the treaty, so far as it affects the right of enjoyment to travel or sojourn in the territories of the several contracting nations, and my distinguished and able colleague from New York [Mr. HARRISON], when speaking to this resolution on the 3d day of February last, was right when he said that those who represented us in Russia when this treaty was made little understood the conditions that obtained in that land at that time respecting the Jewish people, and that at that time there were none, understanding those conditions, to safeguard the rights of American citizens of the Jewish faith.

It is indeed awful to contemplate that Russia, despite her protestation of friendship for our country, and her repeated, yet as often broken, promises made in years long past to extend better treatment, wickedly continues in her outrageous course of discrimination against a people she proscribes, and turns her back contemptuously on the American passport they may present at her doors, for no reason other than that they are loyal to the faith of their fathers, true to their consciences, and faithful to their God. [Applause.]

Some of the Members of this House may not be aware of the true conditions concerning which we so grievously complain. In the relentless pursuit of her proscriptive policy Russia abuses and treats with disdain the American passport when presented at her gates or to her consuls by an American citizen of Jewish faith. Whether the citizen be native or naturalized the restriction equally applies. If the citizen be a Jew, it matters not to Russia where he was born, he can not have his passport viséed.

You may ask whether there are not exceptions to this rule. If the holder of the passport be a banker or head of some commercial house traveling exclusively on commercial business and satisfy the Russian consul of that fact, he may have the passport conditionally viséed, allowing him in such case to enter certain limits of Russia and for only a limited time. If he be not in that category, then in rare and exceptional cases he may sometimes be accorded a mere permit to enter restricted territory for a very brief period. The rule is to exclude Jews, and the American passport finds, when carried by one of our citizens of that faith, no honor, no virtue, no respect in the eyes of the Russian Government.

What says this Government to our citizens on the subject when applied to? I will read to you from a printed circular issued by our State Department, and in the name of American manhood and American honor ask you how long are we to tolerate a treatment which dishonors our passports and humiliates our citizens? Let me read:

The laws of Russia also exclude from Russian territory, except by special permission, all people of the Jewish faith, and while this Government has been endeavoring for some time to secure a relaxation of this restriction, it is only proper to warn those who are in the category to which they refer

it has not been able to secure from the Russian Government uniform treatment for all American travelers in Russia without regard to their religious belief or place of birth.

Think of that, gentlemen! An official warning from the Department of State to an American citizen, warning—mark you, warning—him that this country can not guarantee him the treatment or protection to which his passport should entitle him when traveling in foreign lands. A diplomatic caution, forsooth, to an American citizen that if he be of Jewish faith, the passport emblazoned with the seal of our Government may be but worthless paper, to be insultingly ignored by Russian authority.

Gentlemen of the House, in the name of American manhood, in the name of American honor, I ask how long shall we supinely continue to tolerate a condition inducing the State Department to "warn" a citizen of the Republic that we are powerless—

to guarantee uniformity of treatment to all our citizens without regard to religious belief or place of birth.

Mr. Chairman, the circular speaks of efforts made to remedy the grievance. Why, sir, those efforts were made in a way long, long ago. They were made before we became a world power. They were made before we obtained the great prestige which we now enjoy among the nations of the earth. To-day our favor is courted by all the civilized countries on the face of the globe.

It is high time, then, that instead of holding out warnings to peaceful citizens proceeding abroad and sending out carefully worded cautions, such as the circular contains, we took earnest, active, sincere steps to uphold the dignity of American citizenship and safeguard the prerogatives to which every man owing allegiance to the Stars and Stripes is equally entitled, whether at home or abroad. [Applause.]

Were it asked in virtue of what right the class of citizens now discriminated against look to this Congress and to the President of the Republic for such action as the resolution offered by me contemplates, I would answer in the words of that distinguished jurist and statesman the late William M. Evarts, who, when Secretary of State, in 1881, said in his letter to Mr. Foster, then our minister at St. Petersburg:

In your presentation of the facts you should be careful to impress that we ask treaty treatment for our aggrieved citizens, not because they are Jews, but because they are Americans.

[Loud applause.]

In that spirit let the Government of the United States act. Under our beneficent Constitution and the broad and enlightened policy of the Republic all citizens of this land stand equal before the law. In the conferring of civil and political rights we question no man's religion, and in the exercise of his citizenship we afford him that liberty and freedom which are the proud boast of our country. We reserve to him, and to him alone, the right to worship in whatsoever faith he will and at whatsoever altar he may choose. [Applause.] Intensely appreciative of this civil and religious liberty, which constitutes the chief corner stone of the Republic, and deeply mindful that the denial of the sacred rights of one citizen should be the concern of all, I would, sir, were any other class of American citizens discriminated against by any foreign power, rise in my place as a representative of the people in defense of their rights, and, esteeming it a solemn duty as well as a proud privilege, I would as earnestly demand protection of their privileges and as vigorously utter my indignant protest against the injustice as I am to-day protesting against the oppressive and bigoted conduct of Russia toward a class of our citizens because of their creed. [Applause.]

Sir, the subject to which the resolution relates is not altogether new to this House, nor, indeed, is it new to the executive department of the Government. As far back as in the fifties the Republic of Switzerland maintained an unfriendly attitude to the Jews and attempted to exclude American citizens of that faith from her borders. Read, gentlemen, the interesting correspondence on the subject conveyed to Congress in a message of President Buchanan in 1860 to Congress, and you will find that in those days there was an outspoken diplomacy in a firm insistence on an abrogation of the unjust restrictions, although our country was then comparatively young. Writing to Secretary Cass, our minister at Berne, Thomas S. Fay, said:

Should I be honored with instructions, I shall earnestly undertake what I consider a just cause, as every oppression exercised against that people is as contrary to the spirit and letter of the Holy Scriptures as to the principles of civilization and to the dignity of the United States and other free governments.

Now, let me read again from a letter of our Minister Fay to the High Federal Council, laying the contention of our Government before them. I would commend this especially to the perusal of all those who would hesitate in this hour to demand that Russia alter her course toward our citizens. He says:

Our effort in favor of the Israelites has in it nothing disrespectful, but arises from the natural and proper desire of the American Government that its citizens should be received abroad without insult and should be received in Switzerland upon the same footing as in other countries and as the Swiss are received in the United States, unless some good reason can be proved to the contrary.

This controversy also arose out of our claim that the Swiss treaty provided for reciprocal obligations to permit unmolested travel and sojourn to the citizens of each country in the territory of the other.

It was then claimed, just as it is at this day often suggested, even by our present Secretary of State in his communication to the Fifty-seventh Congress, to which I shall hereafter allude, that Russia treats the American Jew no differently than she treats the Jews of other nations. Mr. Chairman, that is no answer to the proposition nor a reason why efforts to secure uniformity of treatment should be in any degree relaxed. It is our duty to look to the welfare and protection of our own citizens, however weak or negligent or indifferent or powerless for any reason any other government may be to protect any class of its own citizens or subjects. But I shall dwell on that branch of the case later on. Just now I would use the words of Mr. Minister Fay, when writing his famous letter to the President of the High Federal Council at Berne, he said:

The law of the United States confers upon its citizens equality without distinction of religious profession, and by the Constitution Congress is prohibited from making laws respecting the establishment of religion. American citizens have a right to require of their Government equal protection in foreign countries. Their Government has a right to promise that protection. The name Israelites and Christians do not appear in the treaty and are equally unknown to the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

Happily the Swiss controversy ended. The firmness of the French ruler in the threat to expel from Paris the Swiss residents unless the Swiss removed their restrictions against the French Jew in Switzerland had its effect. The restrictions were eventually and effectually removed.

But Russia continues on her course with a bigotry and religious hatred that shames the civilization of the age; with a narrowness of spirit that stains the pages of her history; with a soulless disregard of human brotherhood and a bitterness against an unoffending people unparalleled in the history of the present nations of the earth she continues on her course and bids defiance to you and tells you that your passport is, whenever she chooses to disregard it, a meaningless and impotent instrument in the hands of our citizens when they approach her gates. For, sir, in the last analysis of the problem, this is the essence of it all.

Were you to ask for details, I should refer you not only to the Department circular I have read, but to the cases to which I called the attention of Congress in my remarks, as they appear in the RECORD of April 30, 1902. I shall not repeat them now. My time is limited. I must hasten on. Nor shall I weary your patience or trespass on your indulgence at this time. The cases are legion. The State Department will admit that the letter of Secretary Hay to this House in response to my resolution of inquiry concedes Russia's attitude and her abuse of our passport. Nor does it matter to Russia what his standing may be. Rich or poor, high or low, merchant or mechanic, doctor, minister, or layman—whatever or whoever he be, he is rigorously excluded.

Oh, yes; there are exceptions. If the holder of the passport happens to be a banker or head of a commercial house traveling on commercial business exclusively, he may, in exceptional cases, obtain a visé of his passport conditionally, and then only for a limited time to be used in limited territory. In some other cases, too, occasionally, when the Russian consul sees fit to grant it, the holder of the passport may, after the consul has cabled to his Government at the applicant's expense, as is sometimes the case, obtain a permit for a limited and brief stay in Russia within restricted territory and under severe penalties to depart promptly on the expiration of the permit.

Two years ago I called at the Russian embassy to secure, if possible, the visé of a passport of a highly respectable American woman, who, knowing of the restrictions, asked me to intercede. It was her desire, in a spirit of filial love, to visit her dying parent residing in Russia. My request was politely yet firmly declined, the ambassador basing the refusal on the fact that our citizen was a Jewess, but advised an application to some Russian consul, who, he said, would investigate the circumstances, cable, if necessary, to Russia, at the applicant's expense, and then, probably, grant a special permit. Still more aggravated cases may be cited, where citizens, native born of non-Russian parentage were also denied a visé of their passports because of their creed.

I began by saying that Russia was violating her treaty obligation, if not in its letter, at least in its spirit. On that subject that eminent authority on international law, the late James G. Blaine, writing to our minister at St. Petersburg, said:

I need hardly enlarge on the point that the Government of the United States concludes its treaties with foreign powers for the equal protection of all classes of American citizens. It can make absolutely no discrimination between them, whatever be their religion or creed. So that they abide by the laws at home and abroad, it must give them due protection and expect like protection from them. Any unfriendly or discriminatory act against them by any foreign power with which we are at peace would call for our earnest remonstrance, whether a treaty existed or not.

And farther on:

We have been moved to enter into such international compacts [referring to our treaty with Russia] by the considerations of mutual benefit of reciprocity, by the same considerations, in short, which have animated Russia from the time of the noble declarations of the Empress Catherine in 1784 to those of the ukase of 1860.

We have looked to the spirit rather than to the letter of those engagements and believe they should be interpreted in the broadest way. It is therefore a source of unfeigned regret to us when a government to which we are allied by so many historical ties as to that of Russia shows a disposition in its dealings with us to take advantage of technicalities, to appeal to the rigid letter and not the reciprocal motive of its international engagements in justification of the expulsion from its territories of peaceable American citizens resorting thither under the good faith of treaties and accused of no wrongdoing or of no violation of the commercial code of the land, but of simple adherence to the faith of their fathers.

And further on Mr. Blaine continued:

He conceives that the intention of the United States in negotiating and concluding the treaty of December 18, 1832, and the distinct and enlightened reciprocal engagements then entered into with the Government of Russia gave us a moral ground to expect careful attention to our opinions as to its rational interpretation in the broadest and most impartial sense; that he would deeply regret, in view of the gratifying friendliness of the relations of the two countries which he is so desirous to maintain, to find that this large national sentiment fails to control the present issue, or that a narrow or rigid limitation of the construction possible to the treaty stipulations between the two countries is likely to be adhered to; that is, after a frank comparison of the views of the two Governments in the most amicable spirit and with a most earnest desire to reach a mutually agreeable conclusion the treaty stipulations between the United States and Russia are found insufficient to determine questions of nationality and tolerance of individual faith, or to secure to American citizens in Russia the treatment which Russians receive in the United States, it is simply due to the good relations of the two countries that these stipulations should be made sufficient in these regards.

This construction of the treaty is logical and rational, and I shall ask to append part of the correspondence, in which it is more fully stated, to my remarks in the RECORD.

If Russia will continue to resort to cunning evasion of the treaty—if professing friendship for America on the one hand, she persists in dishonoring her passports on the other—then let the Government give her to understand in a way that can not be misunderstood that America will no longer tolerate the commission of her gross injustice to a great body of our citizens. Let us negotiate, if need be, for a treaty in plain, unmistakable terms, granting to our countrymen uniformity of treatment without regard to race, religious faith, or creed.

In asking this I by no means concede that Russia has any legal or moral right to discriminate between our citizens on racial or religious grounds. Yet, if we can not obtain the much-desired uniformity otherwise, the President ought not delay opening negotiations to secure a supplemental treaty under which no possible contention could arise when our passport, held by an American citizen, lawfully disposed, is presented at the Russian gate.

This will follow the doctrine of Americanism that teaches the equality of the citizen without regard to creed, the equality of the citizen without regard to his religious belief. No Government on the face of the earth holding with us diplomatic or commercial relations should have it in its powers to so discriminate between our citizens as to be able to say:

We shall honor your passport whenever we see fit, and discredit it whenever we find that the holder of it professes a religion we dislike and proscribe.

Mr. SHEPPARD. May I ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Certainly.

Mr. SHEPPARD. What steps have been taken by the present Administration to correct this outrage?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I know of none. In 1902 I offered a resolution in this House calling upon the Secretary of State to inform this House whether American citizens holding our passports are barred or excluded from entering Russia and whether that Empire had made discrimination between our citizens of different religious persuasions, and if so to report the facts to this House. To this Secretary Hay replied in part:

This Department has no information remotely indicating that American Jews stand on a footing different than that occupied by the Jews of other countries in the administration of the Russian law.

Sir, I do not know, and what is more, for the purposes of this argument, it is immaterial, what Russia's attitude may be toward Jews of other countries. Each nation is charged with the duty, and upon each rests the responsibility, of protecting its own citizens or subjects as best it can.

Standing here as an American citizen, loyally devoted to my country and her flag, recognizing no division or distinction between our citizens who happen to differ in creed, I insist upon the maintenance of those rights that make for that equality guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution of the Republic and the broad, liberal, tolerant policy of this God-blessed land. [Applause.]

Mr. SHEPPARD. Does it not seem that the Administration has evaded its duty in this matter?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. While over and over again the Department of State has declared that it has endeavored to secure uniformity of treatment to all American citizens, it has failed to accomplish any result. If the Administration could not get

Russia to recede from the position, it certainly should have made some effort to negotiate a treaty or obtain some treaty stipulation between these two Governments to accomplish the result sought. That does not appear to have been done.

In July, 1902, after the reply of the State Department to my resolution of inquiry, my colleagues, Messrs. SULZER, WILSON, and RYAN, the president of the board of delegates on civil and religious rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Mr. Wolf, and I called on the President to lay the matter before him. We then suggested—in fact, requested—Executive action.

I now submit with due deference that such action ought to be taken. It should no longer be deferred. In support of our own principles of human equality and in justice to that large body of American citizens affected by the restrictions Russia so insultingly imposes, something positive, something tangible ought to be done.

In asking, then, the favorable consideration of the resolution I indulge in the hope that its adoption, aside from what it may lead to at home, will have a strong moral effect abroad.

While the Administration has been generous in expressing kind words, I want to see action, for action will determine its policy. Efforts of an earnest character actively pursued on the part of the United States ought to be made to bring about on the other side of the Atlantic the desired result and accomplish the purpose which we as Americans seek.

I referred to the resolution of inquiry of April 30, 1902, and the Department's answer thereto. I know of nothing done or attempted by our Government since that time in the direction of securing an abrogation by Russia of the present discrimination between our citizens traveling abroad or of obtaining uniformity of treatment through means of new treaty stipulations.

It is time something was done in the direction pointed out in the resolution in support of which I am speaking and now before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which I hope will be reported favorably to the House.

Referring again to the reply of the State Department in 1902 that "the American Jew does not stand on a footing in Russia different from that occupied by the Jews of other countries in the administration of the Russian law," I would call attention to what Mr. Blaine, when Secretary of State, said on that subject. I will read it:

I leave out of consideration in the present instruction the question whether the citizens or subjects of other nations are more or less favored than our own in this regard. I have not, however, failed to notice the statement made to you by M. de Giers, in one of your reported conversations with him, that German and Austrian Jews are subjected to the proscription in question, and the implication therefrom that if the Governments of Germany and Austria do not complain there is no reason why we should.

It is not for me to examine or conjecture the reciprocal motives of policy or of international convention which may govern in these instances. * * * I am perfectly willing to rest my argument on the moral weight of our treaty of 1852, although of course not averse to availing myself of any support which may come from any other quarter to fortify what we conceive to have been our clear purpose in executing that instrument. And under no circumstances would I in the name of this Government be willing to accept a less measure of impartial privilege for a citizen of the United States visiting or sojourning in Russian territory than is assured to aliens in the like cases by any stipulations with or usage toward any other nation on the part of Russia.

Surely this furnishes a complete reply to those who at this day would intimate, if they do not expressly state, that we are powerless because Russia in disregarding our passports held by American-Jewish citizens equally proscribes the Jews of other countries.

At the risk of repeating myself, I want to again utter my belief, expressed here two years ago, that the badge of citizenship should confer the right on every law-abiding American in times of peace to travel anywhere on God's green footstool. [Applause.]

When the resolution of inquiry came before the Fifty-seventh Congress my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. SULZER] called attention to the fact that this country, being a world power, may obtain from foreign nations concessions which, before we became such, were denied us. In seconding my efforts on that occasion my able colleague [Mr. SULZER] took the right view of the situation, believing, as I believe, the hour is at hand when uncompromisingly we may demand at Russia's hands proper treatment for all citizens alike resorting to her domain under an American passport.

Ever engaged in promoting, by precept and example, the sacred cause of human freedom, at all times extending sympathy to any people suffering under the yoke of tyranny and oppression, foremost amongst all the nations of the world in exemplifying by deed and act our love of human brotherhood, our history is replete with instances when we came to the aid of the weak, the downtrodden, and oppressed.

At this moment I recall one of many. When Turkey, in her spirit of bitter prejudice, undertook to discriminate against our Protestant missionaries over there, our Government, through the commendable efforts of our efficient minister at Constantinople, an able and talented diplomat, Mr. Oscar S. Straus, successfully opposed that effort and prevented further commission of the outrage.

Shall we now hesitate?

For this, all place a temple,
And all seasons summer.

I desire to thank the Committee on Foreign Affairs and their able and distinguished chairman for their courtesy in affording thus far hearings on the resolution. The sentiments favoring it, expressed ably and eloquently before that committee by my friend and distinguished colleague, Mr. HARRISON, and by that distinguished Washingtonian, Hon. Simon Wolf, whose vast familiarity on the subject and whose representative character well qualify him to speak, will, I hope, be shared by the committee. In the words of one of our diplomats of days long past and gone—

No nation is so independent with respect to other nations as to have a right to object when a friendly government, not with arrogance, but with respect, points out injuries inflicted, and solicits, if possible, redress.

In the line of this truism, the Department of State and our diplomatic service abroad should act.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I ask for three minutes more.

Mr. SULZER. I yield three minutes more to the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for three minutes.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I only wish to add that it is not enough for the Government here to say that Russia's policy of discrimination is wrong and unjust. The thing to do is to act. If that be done, and there be secured that equal recognition which is due from one government to the citizens of another properly accredited by passport, we shall have taken a long step in the direction of breaking down the barriers that unfortunately and sadly still exist in distant Russia between class and class, creed and creed, brought about through narrow bigotry, frightful intolerance, and base persecution. Be not discouraged by failures in the long past; continue on. Remember—

Freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.

[Applause.]

APPENDIX.

Letter of Mr. Evarts to Mr. Foster.

No. 55.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 3, 1881.

SIR: Your several dispatches numbered 73, 74, and 75, of the 30th and 31st of December, ultimo, in relation to the treatment of American Jews in Russia, have been received, and I have pleasure in commending your zealous presentation of the cases of Pinkos and Wilczynski, and of the general questions involved. The assurances you have received as to the liberal treatment hereafter to be accorded, as an act of comity and courtesy by the military authorities, to American citizens visiting Russia are fully appreciated.

I have observed, however, that in some of your conversations and writings with the foreign office you give prominence to the natural American sympathy with oppressed Jews elsewhere as a motive for our solicitude as to the treatment of Jews in Russia.

Such solicitude might very properly exist; but in your presentation of the facts you should be careful to impress that we ask treaty treatment for our aggrieved citizens, not because they are Jews, but because they are Americans. Russia's treatment of her own Jews, or of other foreign Jews resorting thither, may, in determinate cases, attract the sympathy of the American people, but the aim of the Government of the United States is the specific one of protecting its own citizens. If the hardships to which Russian and foreign Jews are subjected involves our citizens, we think we have just ground for remonstrance and expectancy of better treatment.

This Government does not know, or inquire, the religion of the American citizens it protects. It can not take cognizance of the methods by which the Russian authorities may arrive at the conclusion or conjecture that any given American citizen professes the Israelitish faith. The discussion of the recent cases has not as yet developed any judicial procedure whereby an American citizen, otherwise unoffending against the laws, is to be convicted of Judaism, if that be an offense under Russian law; and we are indisposed to regard it as a maintainable point that a religious belief is, or can be, a military offense, to be dealt with under the arbitrary methods incident to the existence of a "state of siege."

This Government is not unmindful of the difficulties under which, as is alleged, that of Russia labors in dealing with those of her subjects whom she may deem disaffected; but the reasons adduced and methods adopted against them should have no application to American citizens sojourning peaceably, for business or pleasure, in Russia, for they are not to be charged with abstract political disaffection to a government to which they owe no allegiance; and, if charged with the commission of unlawful acts, they should have guilt explicitly imputed and proven. In the latter case, the religion of the accused can not be admitted as proof or presumption, either of guilt or innocence.

It is not the desire of this Government to embarrass that of Russia by insistence upon these points with any degree of harshness, when the disposition reported in your dispatches is so conciliatory, and when the treatment offered may operate effectively to remove or prevent future causes of complaint based on the ill treatment of American citizens alleged to be Jews. It is most desirable, however, that you should not permit your efforts to bring the matter to such a stage as will insure for peaceable and law-abiding Americans in Russia like treaty rights and personal freedom of creeds as Russians enjoy in the United States.

I am, etc.,

WM. M. EVARTS.

Letter of Mr. Foster to Mr. Blaine.

No. 100.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
St. Petersburg, March 25, 1881. (Received April 11.)

SIR: In acknowledging the receipt of Department No. 55, of the 3d instant, I desire to express my thanks for the kindly commendation of my presentation of the cases of Pinkos and Wilczynski, and of the general question of the treatment of Jews in Russia.

I make careful note of the desire manifested by the late honorable Secretary of State to appeal strongly to the treaty guaranty of personal freedom to American citizens sojourning peaceably, for business or pleasure, in Russia, without regard to their religious belief. I have constantly made this appeal in my conversations with and communications to the Russian authorities. But it will be noted in my No. 73, of December 20, that I called attention to the fact that the Russian Government denies that the treaty of 1832 secures to American citizens of the Jewish faith sojourning in Russia any other or greater privileges than those enjoyed in this Empire by Russian subjects of the same faith. From the concluding sentence of Department No. 55 it would seem that the late Secretary's construction of the treaty was that American citizens in Russia were entitled to the same rights and personal freedom as are extended to Russian subjects sojourning in the United States. This interpretation has never as yet been presented to the Russian Government, nor has the treaty been so considered by my predecessors. If that view is to be insisted upon, I will thank you for specific instructions regarding this point. As stated in my No. 73, the laws imposing disabilities upon Jews, both foreign and native, antedate the treaty of 1832, and the minister of foreign affairs claims that said treaty does not exempt American Jews coming here from their operation.

I have strongly insisted that the passport of his Government should protect every peaceable American citizen coming to Russia, and that it is not proper to institute an inquiry as to the religious belief of such citizen. The Department is correct in the supposition indicated, that no American citizen has been convicted of Judaism by "judicial procedure." But it is to be borne in mind that in Russia it is not necessary that a judicial procedure should take place, or even the "military state of siege" exist, before a person undergoes the sentence of the law. The laws and regulations in question are usually intrusted to the police authorities, and it is sufficient for them to be satisfied in their own minds that the individual comes within the prohibitions to have them enforced.

I shall not fail to continue to press the subject upon the Russian Government at every proper opportunity.

I am, etc.,

JOHN W. FOSTER.

Letter of Mr. Blaine to Mr. Foster.

[Extract.]

No. 87.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 29, 1881.

SIR * * * From a careful examination of the cases of grievance heretofore reported by your legation, it appears that the action of the Russian authorities toward American citizens, alleged to be Israelites, and visiting Russia, has been of two kinds.

First. Absolute prohibition of residence in St. Petersburg and in other cities of the Empire, on the ground that the Russian law permits no native Jews to reside there, and that the treaty between Russia and the United States gives to our citizens in Russian jurisdiction no other rights or privileges than those accorded to native Russians. The case of Henry Pinkos may be taken as a type of this class.

Second. Permission of residence and commerce, conditionally on belonging to the first guild of Russian merchants and taking out a license. The case of Rosenstraus is in point.

The apparent contradiction between these two classes of actions becomes more and more evident as the question is traced backward. The Department has rarely had presented to it any subject of inquiry in which a connected understanding of the facts has proved more difficult. For every allegation, on the one hand, that native laws in force at the time the treaty of 1832 was signed prohibited or limited the sojourn of foreign Jews in the cities of Russia, I find, on the other hand, specific invitation to alien Hebrews of good repute to domicile themselves in Russia, to pursue their business calling under appropriate license, to establish factories there, and to purchase or lease real estate. Moreover, going back beyond 1832, the date of our treaty, I observe that the imperial ukases concerning the admission of foreigners into Russia are silent on all questions of faith, proper passports, duly vised, being the essential requisite; and, further back still, in the time of the Empress Catherine, I discover explicit tolerance of all foreign religions laid down as a fundamental policy of the Empire.

Before examining the issues directly before us, it may not be out of place to give a brief review of these historical data.

The ukase of the Empress Catherine, of 22d February, 1784, although concerning only the establishment of commercial relations with the new possessions of Russia on the Black Sea, contains the following notable declaration:

"That Sebastopol, Kharson, and Theodocia be opened to all the nations friendly to our Empire for the advantage of our commerce with our faithful subjects, * * * that the said nations may come to these cities in all safety and freedom. * * * Each individual of such nation, whoever he may be, as long as he shall remain in the said cities by reason of his business, or of his own pleasure, shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion, according to the praiseworthy precepts handed down to us by the sovereigns our predecessors, and which we have again received and confirmed, that all the various nationalities established in Russia shall praise God, the All Powerful, each one after the worship and religion of his ancestors." * * * And we promise, upon our imperial word, to accord to all foreigners in these three cities the same advantages which they already enjoy in our capital and seaport, St. Petersburg, etc."

The full text of this ukase, which breathes a spirit of large and enlightened tolerance in advance of the policy of those days, is well worthy of perusal, and may be consulted in volume 4 of Marten's "Recueil des Traités," first edition, Göttingen, 1795, pages 455-457.

The imperial ordinance of the Czar Alexander I, of 13th August, 1807, decrees a rigid system of passports for foreigners entering Russia, and is applicable to "all foreigners, of whatsoever nationality," but intimates no restriction on travel or sojourn in Russia by reason of race or faith. This ordinance was modified and amplified by the ukase of 25th February, 1817, but still without any manner of religious proscription or restriction.

From this time down to 1860 I can find no trace of the enforcement, especially against American citizens, of the restrictions against Jewish travel and residence which are stated to have existed when our treaty with Russia was signed. It is a significant circumstance that the acknowledged authorities on private international law, writing during this period upon the legislation of all Europe as affecting the persons and rights of aliens, make no reference to such disabilities. Even the painstaking Falx is silent on this point, although devoting much space to the treatment and rights of aliens in Russia. I do not desire to be here understood as arguing that the asserted disabilities did not exist at that time. The domestic history of the Russian Empire shows plainly the restrictions placed upon native Hebrews, and especially those of Polish origin, the efforts to confine them to certain parts of the Empire, and the penalties sought to be imposed to deter them from mingling with the Christian subjects of the Czar. But the same history shows the gradual relaxation of those measures, until, in the capital itself, the native Israelite population is said to number some 30,000 souls with their synagogues and sectarian schools; while a special ukase of the late Czar distinctly recognizes to foreign Hebrews every privilege of residence and trade, in a certain guild, which native Christian subjects possess.

This ukase of the Emperor Alexander II, of 7th of June, 1880, after premising that the need of commercial development and the principles of international reciprocity make it proper to concede "to foreigners dwelling in Russia the same rights as those which our subjects enjoy already in the principal countries of Europe," proceeds to permit all aliens to enter any of the trading guilds on the same footing as natives, and to thereupon enjoy all the commercial privileges which these guilds confer upon native Russian traders, with the following qualification:

"FIRST REMARK.—Foreign Hebrew subjects, known by reason of their social position and the wide extent of their commercial operations, who come from foreign lands, may, after the established formalities, that is to say, upon a special authorization, issued in each case by the ministers of finances, of the interior, and of foreign affairs, trade in the Empire and establish banking houses therein, upon procuring the license of a merchant of the first guild. It is likewise permitted to these same Israelites to establish factories, to acquire and to lease real estate conformably to the prescriptions of the present ukase."

This provision, it will be observed, extends to the whole territory of the Empire. If, as I understand the response of the Russian ministry in the case of Henry Pinkos, native Israelites are forbidden by law from residing or trading in the capital, then this ukase places all foreign Jews (whether belonging to treaty powers or not) on a more favored footing, but if native Hebrews, as a fact, are permitted to reside in St. Petersburg and engage in trade in other guilds than the so-called "first guild," there may then well be question whether such restriction to a particular guild in the case of an American Israelite is consonant with the express provisions of the treaty of 1832, Article I. This point was, in fact, raised in the case of Theodore Rosenstraus at Kharhoff, which is narrated at length, with all the correspondence therein exchanged, in Mr. Jewell's dispatch No. 20, of December 15, 1873, but it does not seem to have been then exhaustively considered whether the complainant received under the treaty the like treatment with the native Hebrews of Kharhoff, or whether he was constrained to obey the ukase of 1860, which, as I have above remarked, is framed for general application to all aliens and irrespective of treaty rights. It is, however, not my present purpose to reargue this old case, but simply to call attention to the fact that Russian law may, and possibly does, modify and restrict treaty rights. The Rosenstraus case was special in its nature, and concerned commercial privileges, under a promulgated license law of the Empire. It may be necessary, at some future time, to discuss the questions it involves; but just now I am concerned with a different class of cases—namely, those of American citizens visiting Russia for private business or for pleasure and travel, and duly provided with the passports of this Government authenticating their national character and their consequent right to all the specific guaranties of our treaty.

This brings me again to the cases of Pinkos and Wilczynski. It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the facts therein, as they are amply presented by the files of your legation and by the correspondence had with the Russian foreign office. It is sufficient to characterize them as instances of the notified expulsion from St. Petersburg, by the police or military authorities, of American citizens, not because of any alleged failure to comply with the ukase of 1860 or with the Russian commercial code, but simply on the allegation, unsupported by proof, that they professed the Israelitic faith, and that the law forbade the sojourn of native Israelites in the imperial capital. On this brief formulation of the case this Government believes that, under its treaty with Russia, and in view of its treatment of Russian subjects resorting under like circumstances to the United States, it has just ground for complaint, and expectancy of better treatment from the Government of Russia.

The provision of our treaty of 1832 with Russia, governing the commercial privileges of the citizens and subjects of the two countries, is as follows:

"ARTICLE I. There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation.

"The inhabitants of their respective States shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places, and rivers of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories in order to attend to their affairs; and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside, on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce."

Article X confers specific personal rights reciprocally. In respect of this article an infringement alike of the letter and the spirit of the treaty is not only possible, but probable, under the rigid interpretation of the Jewish laws upon which Russia seems disposed to insist. Its stipulations concern the right to dispose of personal property in Russia owned by or falling to American citizens, who may receive and dispose of inheritances and have recourse to the courts in settlement of questions arising thereunder. It certainly could not be seriously claimed or justly admitted that an American Hebrew, coming within the provisions of this article, is to be treated as a candidate for commercial privileges, and required to take out a license as a trader of the first guild, subject to the approval of his application by the ministries of finance, interior, and foreign affairs. A personal right, not a mercantile privilege, is conferred. To bar an American citizen whose rights might be so concerned from personal appearance in protection of those rights would be a distinct departure from the engagement of the treaty; while to suppose that his case might come under the discretionary authority of the police or the military power, which might refuse his personal sojourn in any part of the Empire, or allow it under conditions depending on their good will, is to suppose a submission of the guaranties of the treaty to a tribunal never contemplated by its framers.

Upon a case arising, this Government would hold that the treaty conferred specific rights on all American citizens in the matter of the disposition of their personal property, irrespective of any conditions save those which the article itself expressly creates; that their actual presence when necessary to protect or assert their interests is absolutely guaranteed whenever and for whatever time it may be needful; and that this international engagement supersedes any municipal rule or regulation which might interfere with the free action of such individuals.

It would be, in the judgment of this Government, absolutely inadmissible that a domestic law restraining native Hebrews from residence in certain parts of the Empire might operate to hinder an American citizen, whether alleged or known to profess the Hebrew faith, from disposing of his property or taking possession thereof for himself (subject only to the laws of alien inheritance) or being heard in person by the courts which, under Russian law, may be called upon to decide matters to which he is necessarily a party. The case would clearly be one in which the obligation of a treaty is supreme, and where the local law must yield. These questions of the conflict of local law and international treaty stipulations are among the most common which have engaged the attention of publicists, and it is their concurrent judgment that where a treaty creates a privilege for aliens in express terms it can not be limited by the operation of domestic law without a serious breach of good faith which governs the intercourse of nations. So long as such a conventional engagement in favor of the citizens of another state exists, the law governing natives in like cases is manifestly inapplicable.

I need hardly enlarge on the point that the Government of the United States concludes its treaties with foreign states for the equal protection of

all classes of American citizens. It can make absolutely no discrimination between them, whatever be their origin or creed. So that they abide by the laws, at home or abroad, it must give them due protection and expect like protection for them. Any unfriendly or discriminatory act against them on the part of a foreign power with which we are at peace would call for our earnest remonstrance, whether a treaty existed or not. The friendliness of our relations with foreign nations is emphasized by the treaties we have concluded with them. We have been moved to enter into such international compacts by considerations of mutual benefit and reciprocity, by the same considerations, in short, which have animated the Russian Government from the time of the noble and tolerant declarations of the Empress Catherine in 1784 to those of the ukase of 1860. We have looked to the spirit rather than to the letter of those engagements, and believed that they should be interpreted in the broadest way; and it is therefore a source of unfeigned regret to us when a government to which we are allied by so many historical ties as to that of Russia shows a disposition in its dealings with us to take advantage of technicalities, to appeal to the rigid letter and not the reciprocal motive of its international engagements in justification of the expulsion from its territories of peaceable American citizens resorting thither under the good faith of treaties and accused of no wrongdoing or of no violation of the commercial code of the land, but of simple adherence to the faith of their fathers.

That the two American citizens whose unfortunate cases have brought about this discussion were not definitely expelled from St. Petersburg, but were allotted by the military authorities a brief time to arrange their private affairs, said to coincide with the usual time during which any foreigner may remain in the Empire under his original passport, does not alter the matter as it appears to our eyes. The motive alleged remains the same, and the principle involved is one recognized neither by our fundamental laws nor by any of the conventions we have concluded with foreign states.

It must not be forgotten that this issue, of the banishment of our citizens from a friendly territory by reason of their alleged religion, is a new one in our international relations. From the time when the treaty of 1832 was signed down to within a very recent period there had been nothing in our relations with Russia to lead to the supposition that our flag did not carry with it equal protection to every American within the dominions of the Empire. Even in questions of citizenship affecting the interests of naturalized citizens of Russian origin the good disposition of the Imperial Government has been on several occasions shown in the most exemplary manner; and I am sure the actual counselors of His Majesty can not but contemplate with satisfaction the near approach made in 1874 to the arrangement of negotiations for a treaty of naturalization between the two countries. On that occasion, as will be seen by consulting Mr. Jewell's No. 62, of April 22, 1874, the only remaining obstacle lay in the statutes of the Empire touching the conferment and loss of citizenship, of which the examining commission and the consultative council of state recommended the modification in a sense compatible with the modern usage of nations.

I can readily conceive that statutes bristling with difficulties remain unpealed in the volumes of the law of Russia as well as of other nations. Even we ourselves have our obsolete "Blue laws;" and their literal enforcement, if such a thing were possible, might to-day subject a Russian of free-thinking proclivities, in Maryland or Delaware, to the penalty of having his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron for blasphemy. Happily the spirit of progress is of higher authority than the letter of outworn laws; and statutory enactments are not so inelastic but that they relax and change with the general advancement of peoples in the path of tolerance.

The simple fact that thousands of Israelites to-day pursue their callings unmolested in St. Petersburg, under the shadow of ancient proscriptive laws, is in itself an eloquent testimony to the principle of progress. And so, too, in Spain, where the persecution and expulsion of the Jews is one of the most notable and deplorable facts in history, and where the edicts of the earlier sovereigns remain unpealed, we see to-day an offer of protection and assured right of domicile made to the Israelites of every race.

I leave out of consideration in the present instruction the question whether the citizens or subjects of other nations are more or less favored than our own in this regard. I have not, however, failed to notice the statement made to you by Mr. de Giers, in one of your reported conversations with him, that German and Austrian Jews are subjected to the proscriptions in question, and the implication therefrom that if the Governments of Germany and Austria do not complain there is no reason why we should.

It is not for me to examine or conjecture the reciprocal motives of policy or of international convention which may govern in these instances. Neither have I failed to remark the seeming uncertainty with which the British Government has approached the case of the English Israelite, Mr. Lewisohn, who was recently required to quit St. Petersburg, notwithstanding that the personal guaranties of the Anglo-Russian treaty of January 12, 1859, in its eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth articles, are more particular than in our own treaty, and were, presumably, like our own stipulations, framed with the intent of securing impartial rights and protection in Russia. I am perfectly willing to rest my argument on the moral weight of our treaty of 1832, although of course not averse to availing myself of any support which may come from any other quarter to fortify what we conceive to have been our clear purpose in executing that instrument. And under no circumstances would I, in the name of this Government, be willing to accept a less measure of impartial privilege for a citizen of the United States visiting or sojourning in Russian territory than is assured to aliens in the like case by any stipulation with or usage toward any other nation on the part of Russia.

I had the honor in my letter of the 20th ultimo to Mr. Bartholomei to acquaint him with the general views of the President in relation to this matter.

I can not better bring this instruction to a close than by repeating and amplifying those views which the President so firmly holds, and which he so anxiously desires to have recognized and responded to by the Russian Government.

He conceives that the intention of the United States in negotiating and concluding the treaty of December 18, 1832, and the distinct and enlightened reciprocal engagements then entered into with the Government of Russia, give us a moral ground to expect careful attention to our opinions as to its rational interpretation in the broadest and most impartial sense; that he would deeply regret, in view of the gratifying friendliness of the relations of the two countries which he is so desirous to maintain, to find that this large national sentiment fails to control the present issue, or that a narrow and rigid limitation of the construction possible to the treaty stipulations between the two countries is likely to be adhered to; that if, after a frank comparison of the views of the two Governments, in the most amicable spirit and with the most earnest desire to reach a mutually agreeable conclusion, the treaty stipulations between the United States and Russia are found insufficient to determine questions of nationality and tolerance of individual faith, or to secure to American citizens in Russia the treatment which Russians receive in the United States, it is simply due to the good relations of the two countries that these stipulations should be made sufficient in these regards; and that we can look for no clearer evidence of the good will which Russia professes toward us than a frank declaration of her readiness to come to a distinct agreement with us on these points, in an earnest and generous spirit.

I have observed that in your conferences on this subject heretofore with the minister for foreign affairs, as reported in your dispatches, you have on

some occasions given discreet expression to the feelings of sympathy and gratification with which this Government and people regard any steps taken in foreign countries in the direction of a liberal tolerance analogous to that which forms the fundamental principle of our national existence. Such expressions were natural on your part and reflected a sentiment which we all feel. But in making the President's views known to the minister, I desire that you will carefully subordinate such sentiments to the simple consideration of what is conscientiously believed to be due to our citizens in foreign parts. You will distinctly impress upon him that, regardless of the sovereignty of Russia, we do not submit any suggestions touching the laws and customs of the Empire except where those laws and customs conflict with and destroy the rights of American citizens as secured by treaty obligations.

You can further advise him that we can make no new treaty with Russia, nor accept any construction of our existing treaty, which shall discriminate against any class of American citizens on account of their religious faith.

I can not but feel assured that this earnest presentation of the views of this Government will accord with the sense of justice and equity of that of Russia, and that the questions at issue will soon find their natural solution in harmony with the noble spirit of tolerance which pervaded the ukase of the Empress Catherine a century ago, and with the statesmanlike declaration of the principle of reciprocity found in the later decree of the Czar Alexander II in 1860.

You may read this dispatch to the minister for foreign affairs, and should he desire a copy, you will give it to him.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

The Public Land Laws.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. LACEY,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 27, 1904.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13633) to regulate the disposal of public lands released and excluded from public forest reservations, and for other purposes—

Mr. LACEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Except in the original thirteen States and in Texas, where there were no public lands, the United States was the great land owner, and to-day the nation still owns about one-third of the total area of the country. Once there were between one and two thousand million acres of public lands, and there are still about five hundred millions left, not counting Alaska. Since President Lincoln signed the homestead law in 1862, it has been the policy of the Government to give its public lands freely to the men who would make homes. Under that policy other laws were passed to help in the general purpose, and millions of settlers went out and occupied the public domain. The great West was filled with thrifty, industrious families, and new States grew up and added their stars to the flag. But the best of the public lands were all taken up—the lands for which some of these land laws were passed—and new conditions arose, which the makers of the laws had never foreseen.

Uncle Sam had been rich enough to give every man a farm, but now most of the land on which a man could make a living without irrigation was gone. There was more demand for farms than ever, more people coming to settle—most need for good land just when there was less land that could be taken than ever before.

For years there had been talk about national irrigation—about the duty of the nation to reclaim the arid lands of the public domain to make homes for the people—but nothing came of the talk. President Roosevelt's first message to Congress changed all that. After referring to the effect of forests on the water supply, he said:

The forests alone can not, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone.

Far-reaching interstate problems are involved, and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.

The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams, the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow.

The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the Government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build homes upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within their reach.

The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private enterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the National Government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the Government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should so far as possible be repaid by the land reclaimed. The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves in

conformity with State laws and without interference with those laws or with vested rights. The policy of the National Government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in such manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves, and as will stimulate needed reforms in the State laws and regulations governing irrigation.

The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent western competition with eastern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful home making is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

Then the national reclamation act was passed, but not before the President had used his personal influence successfully to improve the law in the interest of the actual settler and against land speculation in every form. He was mainly responsible for the passage of this great law, which will give homes to the West, and therefore home markets for the manufactured products of the East.

President Lincoln signed the homestead act, which gave good homes to our people so long as there was good land to settle on. President Roosevelt signed the reclamation act, which will give good homes to millions more by making the poor lands good.

The passage of the reclamation act made it more important than ever to save the public lands for the home maker; consequently the President gave particular attention to the subject, and in his second message he said:

So far as they are available for agriculture, and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder—the settler who lives on his land—and for no one else. In their actual use the desert-land law, the timber and stone law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law have been so perverted from the intention with which they were enacted as to permit the acquisition of large areas of the public domain for other than actual settlers and the consequent prevention of settlement. Moreover, the approaching exhaustion of the public ranges has of late led to much discussion as to the best manner of using these public lands in the West which are suitable chiefly or only for grazing. The sound and steady development of the West depends upon the building up of homes therein. Much of our prosperity as a nation has been due to the operation of the homestead law.

On the other hand, we should recognize the fact that in the grazing region the man who corresponds to the homesteader may be unable to settle permanently if only allowed to use the same amount of pasture land that his brother, the homesteader, is allowed to use of arable land. One hundred and sixty acres of fairly rich and well-watered soil, or a much smaller amount of irrigated land, may keep a family in plenty, whereas no one could get a living from 100 acres of dry pasture land capable of supporting, at the outside, only one head of cattle to every 10 acres. In the past, great tracts of the public domain have been fenced in by persons having no title thereto, in direct defiance of the law forbidding the maintenance or construction of any such unlawful inclosure of public land. For various reasons there has been little interference with such inclosures in the past, but ample notice has now been given the trespassers, and all the resources at the command of the Government will hereafter be used to put a stop to such trespassing.

In view of the capital importance of these matters I commend them to the earnest consideration of the Congress, and if the Congress finds difficulty in dealing with them from lack of thorough knowledge of the subject, I recommend that provision be made for a commission of experts specially to investigate and report upon the complicated questions involved.

Public interest was greatly aroused by what the President had said. It was still further stimulated by the speeches he made during his western trip in the spring of 1903. At Stanford University he said:

Every phase of the land policy of the United States is, as it by right ought to be, directed to the upbuilding of the home maker. The one sure test of all public-land legislation should be: Does it help to make and to keep prosperous homes? If it does, the legislation is good. If it does not, the legislation is bad. Any legislation which has a tendency to give land in large tracts to people who will lease it out to tenants is undesirable. We do not want ever to let our land policy be shaped so as to create a big class of proprietors who rent to others. We want to make the smaller men, who under such conditions would rent, actual proprietors. We must shape our policy so that these men themselves shall be the landowners, the makers of homes, the keepers of homes.

Certain of our land laws, however beneficent their purposes, have been twisted into an improper use, so that there have grown up abuses under them by which they tend to create a class of men who, under one color and another, obtain large tracts of soil for speculative purposes, or to rent out to others; and there should be now a thorough scrutiny of our land laws, with the object of so amending them as to do away with the possibility of such abuses.

If it was not for the national irrigation act we would be about past the time when Uncle Sam could give every man a farm. Comparatively little of our land is left which is adapted to farming without irrigation. The home maker on the public land must hereafter, in the great majority of cases, have water for irrigation or the making of his home will fail. Let us keep that fact before our minds. Do not misunderstand me when I have spoken of the defects of our land laws. Our land laws have served a noble purpose in the past and have become the models for other governments. The homestead law has been a notable instrument for good. To establish a family permanently upon a quarter section of land, or, of course, upon a less quantity if it is irrigated land, is the best use to which it can be put. The first need of any nation is intelligent and honest citizens. Such can come only from honest and intelligent homes, and to get the good citizenship we must get the good homes. It is absolutely necessary that the remainder of our public lands should be reserved for the home maker, and it is necessary, in my judgment, that there should be a revision of the land laws and a cutting out of such provisions from them as in actual practice under present conditions tend to make possible the acquisition of large tracts for speculative purposes or for the purpose of leasing to others.

Citizenship is the prime test in the welfare of the nation; but we need good laws, and, above all, we need good land laws throughout the West. We want to see the free farmer own his home. The best of the public lands are already in private hands, and yet the rate of their disposal is steadily increasing. More than 6,000,000 acres were patented during the first three months

of the present year. It is time for us to see that our remaining public lands are saved for the home maker to the utmost limit of his possible use.

Public attention was so forcibly drawn to these matters by this and other speeches of the President that at the national irrigation congress at Ogden, held in the summer of 1903, the public-land question was the principal topic of discussion. Great differences of opinion were found to exist among the delegates. The question was debated with unusual vigor between those who advocated the immediate and unconditional repeal of the timber and stone law, the desert-land law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law and those who supported these laws as they were. Finally a compromise resolution was adopted. It was as follows:

Whereas the timber and stone act, the desert-land act, and the commutation clause of the homestead act have in many instances been found to result in speculation and in monopoly of the public domain, to the exclusion of actual home building; Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we request the Congress of the United States to make such modifications in said laws as will save the remaining public lands for actual settlers who will found homes and live upon said lands.

When the President came to prepare his third message for transmission, in December, 1903, he was confronted with these fundamental differences of view. The Ogden resolutions asked for modifications in the land laws, but did not indicate what these modifications should be.

His vigorous message of the year before had not been followed by action in Congress, except as to the passage of the general irrigation law. His own position had not changed, and all parties agreed with him that the lands fit for settlement must be saved for the bona fide settler, but there was no agreement as to how that end might best be accomplished. There was not even an agreement as to the facts.

Obviously the wise course was first to ascertain the facts, then to get the facts interpreted by experts, and finally to take action accordingly. Therefore, in his third message, the President spoke as follows:

Experience has shown that in the Western States themselves, as well as in the rest of the country, there is widespread conviction that certain of the public-land laws and the resulting administrative practice no longer meet the present needs. The character and uses of the remaining public lands differ widely from those of the public lands which Congress had especially in view when these laws were passed. The rapidly increasing rate of disposal of the public lands is not followed by a corresponding increase in home building. There is a tendency to mass in large holdings public lands, especially timber and grazing lands, and thereby to retard settlement. I renew and emphasize my recommendation of last year that, so far as they are available for agriculture in its broadest sense and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder.

The attention of the Congress is especially directed to the timber and stone law, the desert-land law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law, which in their operation have in many respects conflicted with wise public-land policy. The discussions in the Congress and elsewhere have made it evident that there is a wide divergence of opinions between those holding opposite views on these subjects, and that the opposing sides have strong and convinced representatives of weight both within and without the Congress, the differences being not only as to matters of opinion but as to matters of fact. In order that definite information may be available for the use of the Congress, I have appointed a commission composed of W. A. Richards, Commissioner of the General Land Office; Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Bureau of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture, and F. H. Newell, Chief Hydrographer of the Geological Survey, to report at the earliest practicable moment upon the condition, operation, and effect of the present land laws and on the use, condition, disposal, and settlement of the public lands.

The commission will report especially what changes in organization, laws, regulations, and practice affecting the public lands are needed to effect the largest practicable disposition of the public lands to actual settlers who will build permanent homes upon them, and to secure in permanence the fullest and most effective use of the resources of the public lands; and it will make such other reports and recommendations as its study of these questions may suggest. The commission is to report immediately upon these points concerning which its judgment is clear; on any point upon which it has doubt it will take the time necessary to make investigation and reach a final judgment.

In accordance with these instructions, the commission, each member of which was already charged with heavy duties in the public service, made its first partial report with all the speed which the importance and intricacy of the subject would permit. On March 7, the same day on which it reached him, the President transmitted their report to Congress, with the following message:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I submit herewith the preliminary report of the Public Lands Commission appointed by me October 22, 1903, to report upon the condition, operation, and effect of the present land laws, and to recommend such changes as are needed to effect the largest practicable disposition of the public lands to actual settlers who will build permanent homes upon them, and to secure in permanence the fullest and most effective use of the resources of the public lands. The subject is one of such great importance and great intricacy that it is impossible for the commission to report in full thereon at this time. It is now ready, however, to suggest certain changes in the law as set forth in the accompanying report. I commend these suggestions to the favorable consideration of the Congress.

In this report the commission recommended the repeal of the timber and stone act and the passage of laws to open agricultural lands in forest reserves to agricultural use, and to give actual settlers a preference in entering lands released from temporary withdrawal. This last was to prevent land speculators and other holders of scrip from absorbing these lands before the real home makers could get possession, and has just passed the House, and I trust will soon become a law. The House Committee on the

Public Lands has favorably reported the bill permitting the opening of agricultural lands to entry in the forest reserves.

This commission says, as to the commutation clause of the homestead law: "Our investigations respecting the operations of the commutation clause are still in progress, and we are not prepared at this time to recommend its repeal."

As to the desert-land law the commission say that they are "of the opinion that the desert land law should, for the present, at least, be allowed to stand, with a few changes of detail."

The commission, however, recommend the amendment of the law so as to prohibit the assignment of desert entries.

The Committee on the Public Lands of the House of Representatives have, during the present discussion, conducted an extended hearing upon the various questions suggested by the President.

The most important land law since the original homestead law is the national irrigation act, passed in the Fifty-seventh Congress.

A number of bills have passed the House during the present session bearing upon the various features of the land laws. But no bill has been reported or passed repealing the commutation of homesteads or the desert-land law, and the general sentiment among the Members of this House representing the States directly interested seems to be against such repeal.

Upon the question of the repeal of the timber and stone act there has been much controversy in the present Congress in both Houses, and there is a wide difference of opinion as to the necessity or the desirability of repealing this law.

The timber and stone act was passed in 1878 and was applicable to only a portion of the Pacific coast region. In 1891 it was extended to all the public-land States, but has been held not to apply to the Territories.

Prior to 1878 this land could be taken under preemption at \$1.25 an acre. Under the timber and stone act the price was raised to \$2.50 an acre, so the law was an additional restriction upon the entry of such land by raising its price. When the preemption act was repealed, this law still remained in force. In the States of California, Oregon, Nevada, and Washington, where the law

only originally applied, and in the other States to which it was extended, there has been recently considerable complaint and criticism against its operations, and for my part I think it should be repealed or greatly modified.

The practical exhaustion of the supply of heavy timber in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin has attracted the attention of lumbermen to the Pacific coast, and the purchases under this act for the last fiscal year were in Oregon 645,578 acres, in California 287,578 acres, in Washington 297,604 acres, and most of the land so taken in these three States was of the heaviest character of timber.

In the whole United States for the same period the entries were 1,765,222 acres under this law.

The President in his first message called the attention of the Congress to the propriety of considering the increase of the size of homesteads on the public grazing lands where the land is too dry for the successful operation of the law limiting the homestead to 160 acres of land.

The present Congress has passed a bill to try the experiment of an enlarged homestead in the arid region of western Nebraska, and has authorized the entry of homesteads of 640 acres of this land where not susceptible to irrigation.

This act requires actual residence for five years before patent, so as to prevent it from being used in any way to consolidate large holdings. If the act should prove successful in its operation, the experiment may be extended to other parts of the country where similar conditions exist.

A larger homestead in the "short grass country" would, I think, result in dotting these dry plains with the homes of a new class of cattle owners.

I will insert in my remarks a table showing the facts as to homestead commutations, desert-land entries, and timber and stone entries for the last fiscal year.

It is well worthy of study and shows how greatly exaggerated many of the statements have been which have been so widely circulated in the press.

Statement showing the number of entries made and acres embraced thereby of the various classes of land specified below during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903.

State or Territory.	Com-muted the same year.	Original homesteads.		Final homesteads.		Original desert.		Final desert.		Timber and stone.	
		Entries.	Acres.	Entries.	Acres.	Entries.	Acres.	Entries.	Acres.	Entries.	Acres.
Alabama	86	1,187	114,461.89	819	85,583.34						
Alaska		30	1,202.84	30	1,202.84						
Arizona	62	465	66,639.37	171	24,202.89	28	5,159.29	38	5,159.66		
Arkansas	188	3,269	362,456.21	1,852	215,107.50					109	12,699.67
California	105	2,043	300,968.98	837	121,952.36	411	77,570.21	45	6,981.80	1,861	287,578.72
Colorado	175	3,619	542,245.83	806	116,289.97	406	72,074.44	55	8,582.13	300	39,691.18
Florida	64	971	121,239.35	471	55,048.74					2	247.51
Idaho	214	2,550	357,376.30	1,333	189,614.11	520	74,239.83	179	26,767.33	1,293	190,738.36
Illinois		1	89.15	1	120.00						
Indiana		2	13.05	2	49.20						
Iowa	1	9	594.61	8	547.52						
Kansas	58	1,274	191,045.92	291	43,670.29						
Louisiana	300	1,660	148,626.21	961	105,269.53					237	29,481.26
Michigan	82	440	41,309.08	155	16,095.78					214	17,750.00
Minnesota	808	4,575	559,270.16	2,373	291,357.64					1,096	147,765.33
Mississippi	81	1,212	112,954.69	461	47,363.95						
Missouri	2	805	71,740.67	1,021	109,057.22						
Montana	387	2,691	388,554.94	1,097	157,060.64	2,300	416,214.16	835	146,479.27	375	51,067.16
Nebraska	540	3,345	491,706.57	817	119,982.85						
Nevada	6	62	9,347.14	3	480.00	34	6,902.00			1	160.00
New Mexico	124	3,258	516,831.31	465	67,633.21	418	76,541.97	40	6,568.89		
North Dakota	5,180	16,942	2,545,682.46	3,470	530,448.11	128	21,589.75	9	1,599.69	2	150.20
Oklahoma	3,817	10,768	1,534,306.27	4,318	649,761.03						
Oregon	797	5,557	832,473.29	807	118,437.04	381	66,529.28	53	8,301.32	4,209	645,578.72
South Dakota	858	4,831	712,710.56	1,462	216,957.01	119	22,738.18	3	400.00	22	2,147.97
Utah	1	124	37,936.42	249	37,126.42	25	2,800.35	18	2,932.31		
Washington	913	5,479	799,971.61	930	133,626.52	341	56,509.57	10	2,186.95	2,076	297,604.31
Wisconsin	114	1,129	105,176.05	675	65,361.59					108	8,173.25
Wyoming	154	1,790	264,854.83	488	62,916.84	792	126,896.74	267	48,574.27	335	34,891.75
Total	15,112	80,188	11,193,120.25	26,373	3,576,964.14	5,903	1,025,825.77	1,552	264,533.62	12,249	1,765,222.43

Total homestead entries year ending June 30, 1902 698,829
 Total homestead commutations June 30, 1902 6,877
 Total homestead, 1901 to July 30, 68,648.
 Total commutations, 1901 to July 30, 4,538.

*Including Kiowa and Comanche about 13,000 quarter sections, some filed and refiled on two or more times.

In order to ascertain if commutations were being used extensively to consolidate holdings within the Northern Pacific Railway grants, I made inquiry at the Land Office and found that there were only 985 such commutations in the last three years—in North Dakota, 134; Montana, 119; Idaho, 63; Washington, 621; and Oregon, 48. It was surprising that in all these States only 985 such commutations were made within the Northern Pacific Railway grant limits.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
 GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
 Washington, D. C., December 31, 1903.

Hon. JOHN F. LACEY,
 Chairman Committee on Public Lands, House of Representatives.

SIR: In reply to your personal inquiry, I have the honor to state that the number of homestead entries commuted to cash in the following States,

within the primary limits of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, from July 1, 1901, to June 30, 1903, inclusive, were:

North Dakota	134
Montana	119
Idaho	63
Washington	621
Oregon	48
Total	985

Very respectfully,

J. H. FIMPLE, Assistant Commissioner.

As to the commutations for that year, it will be seen that there were 15,112, as compared with 80,188 original entries for the same year. Out of these 15,112 commutations, 3,817 were in Oklahoma, and most of these 3,817 commutations were for Indian land that

had to be paid for whether the homesteader should remain on the land five years or not.

The Kiowa and Comanche land was all taken under the homestead law at a fixed price and might be paid for at the end of fourteen months or five years as the entryman might prefer. Eliminating these entries, it leaves 11,295 homestead commutations, as compared with 80,188 original entries for a single year.

In the State of Utah only one homestead was commuted that year; in Montana only 387 homesteaders commuted their entries; in Kansas there were only 58 of such commutations; in Nevada there were only 6; in Colorado only 175; in Arizona only 62; in California only 105.

This table shows that as to these commutations there is nothing abnormal as compared with the original entries, and the Members of Congress from the States interested would seem to be justified in their claim that existing laws are not being seriously abused so far as commutations are concerned.

There have been frauds under the homestead laws and under other land laws, but it does not follow that laws which have done so much good should be repealed because they have been violated.

As to the desert-land laws, there was much fraud prior to the amendment of 1891. Under the law as amended in 1891 the amount of land that may be entered by one person is limited to 320 acres. The land must be paid for at \$1.25 per acre, and the entryman must spend \$1 an acre on the land each year for three years in constructing the necessary irrigation works and must put it under irrigation.

To get title under the law costs \$4.25 per acre as the law now stands, and this expense has had good effect in diminishing the frauds which were so common under the original law. With the rigorous enforcement of the present law and the exercise of the authority to withdraw land from entry under the national reclamation act, this law is capable of much good.

Many very fertile and prosperous settlements have already been made under its provisions. To repeal it would place the whole burden of desert reclamation on the General Government, and would condemn very many promising fields for private enterprise to continued sterility. The Government is engaged in a number of great irrigation enterprises, but there is abundant opportunity for individual effort, and it would be a serious mistake for Congress to put a stop to all such private improvements.

Of the 500,000,000 acres of public land (not including Alaska) there are probably not 50,000,000 that can be cultivated without irrigation. The 450,000,000 acres of dry land can never be taken for homesteads in the usual way, and the demand to reserve it for ordinary homesteads only ignores the actual situation in the great West. Grazing homesteads of adequate size are as necessary now as the original arable homesteads were when the homestead law was passed, under the leadership of the Hon. Galusha A. Grow, in 1862.

Public Improvements in the Philippines.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY ALLEN COOPER,

OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 13, 1904.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 14023) to amend an act approved July 1, 1902, entitled "An act temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," and to amend an act approved March 8, 1902, entitled "An act temporarily to provide revenue for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," and to amend an act approved March 2, 1903, entitled "An act to establish a standard of value and to provide for a coinage system in the Philippine Islands," and to provide for the more efficient administration of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill is practically the bill of the Philippine Commission. It has the cordial indorsement of the Secretary of War, recently governor of the Philippine Islands, and also that of the Philippine Commission, at the head of which is that distinguished Democrat, Hon. Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee. The bill has the unanimous recommendation here to-day of the Republican majority of the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, before discussing the measure I desire briefly to call the attention of the House to some of the statements in the minority report.

The minority of the committee complain because there is no free representative government in the Philippine Islands to be consulted about this proposed legislation.

Mr. Speaker, there is no free representative government there

because in the very nature of things such a government could not to-day exist in the Philippine Archipelago. That this is true is established by indisputable evidence. Indeed, there is no reliable evidence to the contrary. All of the disinterested, competent witnesses agree that the Filipinos are not now capable of maintaining a free representative government. I might cite much unimpeachable testimony on this point, but shall content myself by reading from the report of the Schurman Commission—President Schurman, of Cornell University; Admiral Dewey; General Otis; Hon. Charles Denby, and Professor Worcester—five men selected by President McKinley to examine and report as to conditions in the Philippines. This commission of distinguished men, after a thorough personal investigation, submitted to President McKinley a voluminous and exceptionally able report, covering every phase of the Philippine problem. In this report they say—I read from page 103:

First, it is impossible, even approximately, to fix a time for the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the archipelago, as no one can foresee when the diverse peoples of the Philippine Islands may be molded together into a nationality capable of exercising all the functions of independent self-government. They are certainly incapable of such a work to-day; whether in one or more generations they can be trained to it only the future can disclose. And, secondly, if American sovereignty over the archipelago should ever be relinquished, if all American authority over the people should ever cease and determine, then the United States should renounce all obligations to foreign nations for the good conduct of the Filipinos. Undoubtedly the raising of the American flag in the Philippine Islands has entailed great responsibilities upon us; but to guarantee external protection while renouncing internal dominion is no way of escaping from them; on the contrary, while you pull down the flag you only pile up difficulties.

Again say this commission, in their report, page 183:

Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn—

Fatality! Fatal to what? Fatal to whom? Not to the great Republic of the United States; not to Russia, who would like to possess these islands; not to Japan, who wants the islands; not to Germany, who wants the islands; not fatal to either of these nations, but fatal, sir—utterly fatal—to the Philippines in their hope of free representative government.

Here is the opinion of Schurman, Otis, Denby, Worcester, and Admiral Dewey:

Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them.

Now follows a sentence pregnant with meaning:

Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable.

The Filipinos can never have a free commonwealth unless we stay there and train them for it.

And the indispensable need, from the Filipino point of view, of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless they recognize the indisputable fact that the Filipinos can not stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We can not, from any point of view, escape the responsibility of government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove a greatest blessing to the people of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. Speaker, I have read these statements of the Schurman Commission in answer to the complaining suggestion of the minority report that the Philippine Islands are now without representative government, and because they voice the united judgment of all of the nonpartisan, intelligent, candid persons who have made a study of conditions in the archipelago.

The minority report contains also the old charge that we are in the islands for purposes of exploitation and intimates that the pending bill is simply in line with our general insular policy. By this I am reminded that in the great debate two years ago on the Philippine civil government bill gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber declared with much vehemence that that legislation was being enacted for the express purpose of exploiting the archipelago. Two years have elapsed, and now, sir, it is in order for any gentleman on that side of the Chamber to point out a single case of exploitation in the Philippine Islands. We were told that men from the United States were going there to seize the timber, mining, and agricultural lands by means of great franchises, and that the wealth of the islands was to be centered in a few greedy monopolists.

Will any gentleman here or elsewhere tell the House and the American people where there has been even one instance of exploitation in the Philippines? Not an instance. On the contrary, the complaint in the islands now is that the Congress of the United States saw fit in its wisdom to enact a franchise law which is too stringent, which too completely hinders the investment of capital, and thereby, to that extent, injures the real interests of the people of the Philippines. Yet to-day, although there is nothing in the pending measure nor in the conduct of the United States to justify the charge, the minority report declares that this bill has for its object the exploitation of the islands.

Mr. Speaker, a cursory reading, a loose, slipshod analysis, an unfair discussion of the bill might make an unthinking man believe that it means exploitation; but a careful study of its provisions, in the light of the facts, demonstrates that it is a carefully guarded, conservative, business proposition, which, if enacted into law, means nothing more nor less than the legitimate development of these islands and the increased producing power, wealth, and comfort of the Filipino people.

The first section of the bill, Mr. Speaker, provides that all bonds to be issued by the Philippine government or under its authority shall be free from taxation by the government of the Philippine Islands, by any municipality in the islands, by the Government of the United States, by any State or by any subdivision of a State, or by the District of Columbia. This section is based upon the idea that the work being done in the Philippine Archipelago is the work of the Government of the United States, and that in carrying it on the Philippine government is merely the agent of the United States.

The bonds issued under this section will be for public purposes—the purposes of the United States—to develop the waste places, to construct necessary public works, and to bring business and prosperity to the archipelago by legitimate, carefully controlled investment of capital. It is proposed, therefore, to have these bonds free from taxation, just as are the bonds of the Government of the United States, in order thereby to secure a lower rate of interest.

That freedom from taxation does lower the rate of interest is demonstrated by the history of the friar-land bonds. These bonds were sold under a provision of the Philippine civil government act of 1902, which, as the House will remember, authorized the Philippine government to issue bonds to buy the lands owned by the Spanish friars, in order to eliminate the vexatious friar-land problem from Philippine politics. These bonds were made free of all taxation in the Philippines or in the United States. The result was that they sold at a rate so that reckoning them as ten-year bonds the interest was only 3.1 per cent.

A similar effect will be produced upon the interest rate of any other bonds of the Philippine government by giving them the same privilege of exemption from taxation. Trust companies, insurance companies, and similar institutions in the United States will purchase them because, under the law, the securities of these great corporations must always be open to public inspection, and being open to public inspection must, of course, be taxed. These companies therefore become active competitors in the purchase of securities exempt from taxation. This competition brings down the rate of interest. The Government of the United States has not only a perfect right to exempt these bonds, but considering the purely national purposes for which they are to be issued, it ought to exempt them from taxation.

The second section of the bill provides that the Philippine government may issue not to exceed \$5,000,000 of bonds for public improvements in the islands. These public improvements are to be port and harbor works, bridges, schoolhouses, court-houses, penal institutions, and other works of a similar character.

The Philippine government has already expended upward of \$5,000,000 in constructing such public improvements out of the surplus revenues of the islands. It has expended \$2,000,000 or a little more in the improvement of the harbor of Manila. Three millions—Governor Taft thinks two millions—more will make that harbor the best in the Orient. It is the harbor which we expect to see help make Manila the Liverpool of the East.

Out of their surplus revenues they have expended \$500,000 to improve other harbors and \$1,000,000, under a single legislative act, for the construction of roads in the islands. They have expended out of their surplus revenues \$600,000 for the taking of a census of the islands, required by a law passed by Congress; \$600,000 to meet the cholera epidemic, and \$700,000 to send a wonderful exhibit to the St. Louis world's fair—an exhibit the greatest and most interesting of its kind that the world has ever seen.

Mr. Speaker, it is not right that permanent improvements like those under construction in the harbor of Manila and in other harbors of the islands, that the court-houses, the schoolhouses, the penal institutions, should all be paid for by the taxpayers of this generation. Therefore it is that under this section the Philippine government is to be allowed to issue not more than \$5,000,000 worth of bonds to carry on these absolutely necessary improvements.

In this connection it is important to know the present indebtedness of the islands, a subject to which I now invite the particular attention of the House. There is an opportunity here for mistake and for appeals to prejudice based on half information.

It is well, therefore, to know the facts. Under Spanish authority the funded debt of the Philippine Islands was \$40,000,000. This was done away with under the treaty of Paris by our paying Spain \$20,000,000, and that country assuming this obligation and ceding the islands to the United States. Such debt as the islands now have has been created by the authority of Congress. What is that debt? Two years ago Congress passed the Philippine civil

government act, one provision of which authorized the government of the Philippine Islands to issue bonds for the purchase of the lands held by the Spanish friars. The Filipinos are almost exclusively a Catholic people, ardently devoted to their faith; yet for generations the ownership of these lands by the Spanish friars has been the cause of discontent, agitation, and bloodshed in the islands. The question involved was not religious, but political; and Congress sought by thus authorizing the purchase of these lands to eliminate at once the troublesome, dangerous problem from Philippine politics.

Negotiations were begun with the Pope, at Rome, by Governor Taft, and continued, at Manila, by the governor with Monsignor Guidi, the Papal representative. After protracted, laborious efforts an agreement was at last reached by which for a little more than \$7,000,000 (the price first asked being, I think, \$13,000,000) the title to these lands—about 412,000 acres of the choicest agricultural lands in the archipelago—was conveyed to the Philippine government. The face of the bonds was slightly in excess of \$7,000,000, but the premium at which they were sold brought the price down to that amount.

Most of these lands are in the provinces near Manila. All are to be sold, when possible, to the tenants who have been occupying them. Secretary Taft testified that it is the policy of the Philippine government, in so far as possible, under most lenient, fair regulations, to afford the tenants the first privilege of buying. Some of the members of the Philippine Commission believe that the lands will ultimately realize the full sum paid for them, while other members think that there will be in the end a loss of one million, or, perhaps, of two millions of dollars. But, Mr. Speaker, if the ultimate loss should be \$2,000,000, the burden thus imposed will be vastly more than offset by the elimination of the whole friar-land controversy, the most vexatious known to Philippine history. This transfer of the title and control of the friar lands, brought about by the patient efforts of Governor Taft and Monsignor Guidi, and the beneficent results certain to flow from it, will cause their names to be long held in honored remembrance by the people of the Philippine Islands.

The premiums received on the friar-land bonds amount to more than \$530,000, which, as I have said, reckoning them as ten-year bonds, brought the interest rate down to only 3.1 per cent. At this point it should be noted that the Philippine government has received within a single year interest amounting to \$58,561.69 on the proceeds of the friar-land bonds on deposit in banks.

The indebtedness of the islands arising out of this friar-land transaction will not in the end exceed \$2,000,000.

Besides these friar-land bonds, the Philippine government was authorized also to issue certificates of indebtedness for the purpose of establishing the gold standard in the islands. A year ago Congress passed an act empowering the government of the islands to issue \$10,000,000 of such certificates for the purpose of securing a gold fund to maintain the Philippine peso at 50 cents in gold. In pursuance of this authority, the Philippine government issued two series of one-year certificates, each for \$3,000,000—an aggregate of six millions. A third series of \$3,000,000 has recently been issued to take the place of the first series, which is about to mature. The last series, therefore, does not really add to the total amount of such certificates, which remains at \$6,000,000.

Under a law passed by the Philippine government the \$6,000,000 in gold realized from the sale of these certificates are placed in the permanent gold-standard fund. There are in this fund also \$1,300,000 received as seigniorage or profit on the coinage of silver into the Philippine peso, thus making an aggregate gold-standard fund of \$7,300,000. These coinage certificates have been sold at a premium which brings the interest rate down to about 1.5 per cent. At the same time the Philippine government has been receiving interest at 3.5 per cent on daily balances from the proceeds of its obligations on deposit in banks. That is, interest is being paid upon these certificates at the rate of approximately 1½ per cent, and interest is being received upon daily balances in banks at the rate of 3½ per cent. In other words, this anomalous situation exists: The Philippine government is now making money upon its own indebtedness. The amount of interest earned in one year by the proceeds of the friar-land bonds and the coinage certificates amounts to a little more than \$101,000.

Mr. LIND. If that is true with regard to the Philippine government—and I know it is—why would it not be a good plan to make our national banks pay interest on the Government deposits which they hold? In every State of the Union that thing is now being done.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I can not stop now to answer the question of the gentleman from Minnesota, because, though interesting, it is not germane.

Mr. LIND. I knew it was not germane. No question, I presume, is germane when one does not wish to answer it.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It has no bearing on the pending bill, and my time will not permit of digressions.

Mr. Speaker, of course we can not expect that all of the bonds

issued by the Philippine government or by any other government will be sold at a rate of interest approximating 1½ per cent, nor that 3½ per cent interest will be received upon daily balances, the government thus making money through its own indebtedness. But, nevertheless, the facts thus suggested are absolutely true with respect to these particular certificates, and therefore it is that, strictly speaking, they do not constitute a burden upon the treasury of the islands in the sense that an ordinary bonded indebtedness is a burden. Therefore the whole debt of the Philippine government to-day, under any ordinary fair interpretation of the word "debt," as meaning a burden upon the treasury, will not exceed \$2,000,000.

Mr. Speaker, in natural order following the statement of the debt comes the question, what are the revenues?

The Philippine government has been receiving approximately \$9,000,000 by way of customs, besides two millions from the city of Manila, and about three millions from the rural provinces, making an aggregate revenue of from fourteen millions to fifteen millions of dollars.

Mr. HENRY of Connecticut. Is that in gold?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes. There has been a considerable surplus each year, which, as I have said, has been used largely for necessary public improvements in the islands. Last summer and fall—that is, from June 30 last up to about the 1st of January—there was a decline in the revenues.

Mr. MARSH. In what?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. In the revenues of the islands.

A suggestion is made in the minority report, which is not altogether fair, that during the last calendar year there was a very serious decline, etc.—that is, from January to January; but the revenues are estimated and reported for fiscal years ending with June 30. This decline Secretary Taft testified would, he believed and hoped, be only temporary. That it is only temporary is evidenced by a letter which I received yesterday from the Bureau of Insular Affairs. I called there to ascertain the condition of the Philippine revenues, and this letter is in response to my inquiry:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS,
Washington, April 12, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. COOPER: I have been somewhat delayed in preparing the necessary data, but I inclose to you herewith a statement showing the customs revenues of the Philippine Islands by calendar years, including 1903. The table on page 50 of the Insular Bureau report herewith shows customs revenues by fiscal years up to June 30, 1903.

I will read only the totals, showing the surplus each year, and then insert the tables in full in the RECORD:

Fiscal year.	Revenues.	Expenditures.	Difference.
1899.....	\$3,503,682.83	\$2,376,008.62	\$1,127,674.21
1900.....	6,763,527.73	4,758,677.75	2,004,849.98
1901.....	10,683,188.97	6,073,766.44	4,610,422.53
1902.....	12,631,419.52	10,045,120.32	2,586,299.20
1903.....	15,326,125.78	14,262,503.47	1,063,622.31

Showing a comfortable working balance each year. The total revenues for the five years 1899 to 1903 are \$48,915,944.78, and the total expenditures for the five years 1899 to 1903 are \$37,516,076.60.

This letter continues:

It will be seen that there has been a slight decrease during the calendar year 1903, as compared with 1902, which is due to the small receipts during the last three months of the calendar year 1903. However, the returns for January, 1904, for customs, amounted to \$58,331.76, which, with the exception of October, 1902, exceeds any month since the American occupation, and is considerably above the average. The high receipts for January almost offset the decreased receipts for the three months preceding, and it may be that there will be no decrease when the returns are made for the fiscal year to end June 30, 1904.

Furthermore, the receipts for internal revenue for the seven months following June 30, 1903 (the dates shown in the comparative table on page 50), show that the revenues from internal revenue and from miscellaneous sources, as well as from the postal service, are steadily increasing, and have been as follows: Postal, \$108,974.91; internal, \$163,476.75; miscellaneous, \$1,049,724.53; an average per month of—postal, \$15,567.84; internal, \$23,353.82, and miscellaneous, \$149,960.64. The average revenue from these sources for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, per month was—postal, \$12,221.62, showing an increase of 27 per cent; internal, \$18,581.70, showing an increase of 25 per cent; and miscellaneous, \$95,739.75, showing an increase of 56 per cent.

Very truly yours,

W. LEON PEPPERMAN.

Hon. H. A. COOPER,
Chairman Committee on Philippines,
House of Representatives, Washington.

From this letter it is clear that there will be a surplus in the revenues of the islands, provided that some of the public improvements now in progress and others which are greatly needed are not carried on. But the Philippine government says that work on these necessary improvements must not cease nor be delayed; that the government must have the money to complete them and also to meet the increase in government expenditure due to the extension of governmental agencies into all parts of the archipelago.

Mr. HERMANN. Will the gentleman permit an inquiry there? Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Certainly.

Mr. HERMANN. It will illumine the subject very much and will be exceedingly interesting if the gentleman can furnish the House with any data as to the expenditures and receipts under the Spanish régime before American occupation, and especially as to exports and imports, in order that there might be a relative comparison of the two administrations.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I doubt whether anything really authentic is obtainable as to expenditures under the Spanish régime. I will, however, procure and insert in the RECORD a table showing receipts under the Spanish administration.

Mr. HERMANN. Is it the opinion of the gentleman on his reading of the subject, which has been extensive, that there has been an increase in the receipts of revenues of the islands under American occupation?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes; and an increase also in expenditures for public improvements. There were very few, practically no schoolhouses when we went there. The islands had comparatively few good bridges, and nothing like a system of roads—one of the improvements now most needed.

Mr. HERMANN. Can the gentleman give something of an estimate, or the exact figures, as to the relative increase or decrease in the matter of the commercial development since the American occupation?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I think that will be introduced before this debate closes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes, sir.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Do I understand the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs to state that the taxes in the Philippine Islands are now larger than they were under the Spanish régime?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I have not said so.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The gentleman said the revenues have increased. How are the revenues made larger except by taxation?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. In that sense, yes. The islands do more business and have greater revenues in the way of customs.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Then the Philippine people are paying more taxes under our present insular government than under the Spanish régime?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yes, sir; if the gentleman calls customs duties taxes; and they are better able to pay them.

Mr. Speaker, in recommending the enactment of this particular section the Committee on Insular Affairs have been guided in a large measure by—

Mr. HITCHCOCK. One moment, before the gentleman leaves that subject. He states that these people are better able to pay. Will he explain why it was necessary for us to send \$3,000,000 of our own Government's money for their relief last year if that was the case?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. That was a very exceptional year. I doubt not that the gentleman from Nebraska remembers that a few years ago there was a grasshopper plague in Kansas; but he would not say that that was a normal year for agriculture in that State, nor would he claim that it afforded a fair criterion as to the average condition of the people of Kansas.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin (continuing). In the Philippines they suffered a loss of their rice crops and they had an epidemic of cholera—

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Would the gentleman say that the people of Kansas were any better able to pay the tax during that year than in previous years?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. This trouble in the Philippines was principally in one year. That was one year out of four, while all the time the revenues have been increasing, all of the time these expenditures for public improvements have been going on, and all of the time, despite that sad year, as the testimony indubitably shows, there has been a betterment in the average condition of the people of the Philippine Archipelago.

Mr. Speaker, this particular section is declared by Secretary Taft to be a very necessary one. He says in his testimony before the Committee on Insular Affairs that the Philippine government do not expect to issue—at least immediately, if they ever do—all of these proposed bonds for \$5,000,000. He says that in his judgment there will be sufficient revenue to enable the government to carry on these improvements without issuing bonds; but he says also that if there should be an unexpected decline in the revenues the Philippine government ought to have money on hand with which to continue work on these public necessities. I know of no one better qualified than is Secretary Taft to judge as to what is necessary over there. He testified for many days before the Committee on Insular Affairs two years ago, and again this year.

I know that I voice the sentiment of every member of the committee, Republican and Democrat alike, when I say that all were

impressed by his mastery of the problem of the Philippines, his statesman-like breadth of view and ability to see all sides of every question, and by his absolute candor. At the conclusion of the hearings two years ago I distinctly recall how a distinguished member of the committee, now the leader of the minority on this floor, the honorable gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], said to me in conversation, "I have all of the time been admiring not only the evident unusual ability of Governor Taft, but even more his perfect fairness."

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, may I interrupt the gentleman? I agree with him about Governor Taft—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Can not the gentleman wait until I conclude?

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I want to ask at this particular point this question: I know of no man who has a more winning personality or a better man than Governor Taft, but has not Governor Taft given as his opinion that we ought to have free trade with the Philippine Islands? But in the committee of which the gentleman is chairman and of which I am a member of minority no bill has been introduced before that committee on that subject nor has the committee made any recommendation for free trade in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I do not recall that during the hearings Governor Taft has ever done more than to recommend a reduction, not an entire elimination, of the tariff on Philippine products; but whether he has or has not, the question of the gentleman from Tennessee, like that of the gentleman from Minnesota, is, at this particular time, not germane.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Well, that is the gentleman's opinion about the question.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Is not that the opinion of the gentleman from Tennessee?

Mr. TAWNEY. And we have no jurisdiction.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. The Committee on Insular Affairs has no jurisdiction of that subject. As the gentleman well knows, that goes, under the rules, to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. TAWNEY. And the Committee on Insular Affairs has no jurisdiction over such legislation.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Illinois. But it is entirely germane to your eulogy on Governor Taft.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. And has not Governor Taft only asked for a reduction of the revenue because he said it was impossible to get free trade for years?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in response to the question put me by the gentleman from Tennessee, I repeat that the Committee on Insular Affairs can not touch a tariff nor report revenue legislation. Everything of that kind goes to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Speaker, does not the gentleman, in this bill which he brings forward here, "touch the tariff?"

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. We do in one slight particular, but only so far as concerns certain material to be imported into the archipelago for only one purpose.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. If the gentleman can do it for one purpose, why not another?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I would like to inquire of the gentleman if he can do it in one instance, why not in another?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, that is a mere incident in this bill separate and apart from its main purpose. Not infrequently a bill contains a paragraph concerning a subject over which a particular committee has no jurisdiction, while the main body of the bill relates to subjects over which the same committee has exclusive jurisdiction. In such a case the paragraph is not strong enough or of weight sufficient to carry the whole bill to the particular committee having jurisdiction of the subject embodied in the paragraph. That is this case exactly.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. I would like to ask the gentleman again if he is in favor of free trade with the Philippine Islands?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, when I have an opportunity to devote to it, I shall show what I think upon that particular proposition. But as the question is now entirely immaterial, and as it tends simply to waste time by confusing issues and taking the attention of the House away from what it ought to be considering, I can not stop to answer it.

Mr. PATTERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent of the House that the gentleman be permitted to answer the question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BRICK). Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Yield for what? [Laughter on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Very well; the gentleman refuses to yield.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. As I have said, this bill is based upon the recommendations of the Philippine Commission and

upon the testimony of Secretary Taft, a witness whom a Democratic member of the Committee on Insular Affairs declared gave his testimony with complete knowledge of the facts and with perfect fairness.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I must decline to yield further.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I object. The gentleman has no right to refer to what took place in a committee.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It was not in committee. It was in a private conversation after the hearings had adjourned.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER] will permit me—I do not want to interrupt his speech—I do not like to have it go by unchallenged that we may not refer to what a witness states before a committee in the committee. What are those hearings for? I know of no rule, and I challenge the gentlemen on the other side to find any trace of any parliamentary rule, that prevents reference to the testimony of witnesses taken before any committee of this House.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. This was a statement of one of the members of the committee, a distinguished Democrat, I desire to say to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], during a conversation, after the hearings were ended.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. Just on that point, Mr. Speaker, in reply to what the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] has said, he probably was not in the House when the Speaker called my attention to the fact that I could not refer to what took place before a committee. This gentleman was not a witness at all. This is a conversation between the chairman of the committee and one of the members of the committee that he is relating.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Oh, that is a different thing altogether.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It was a conversation in the presence of other members of the committee and of several outside listeners in the committee room.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I did not mean that at all.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And I think the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. JONES] was there himself and heard it.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I probably heard it, but the matter that I referred to was the vote of all of the members of the committee, to which I was informed I could not refer.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I must decline to be interrupted further at this time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair desires to state to the gentleman that his hour has terminated.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have control of the time on this side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will recognize the gentleman.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. And the gentleman will recognize himself for time enough to finish what the gentleman from Wisconsin desires to say. [Laughter.] Secretary Taft, while discussing this section before the committee, said:

My own conception of the duty of the commission and the duty of the Government in those islands is to continually improve them by the construction of bridges, roads (which may be termed insular roads, as distinguished from mere local road branches), enlarge schoolhouses and port works. The islands are practically without any improvements at all, and I do not think it possible to carry on works of improvement of that sort without borrowing money. You can create sinking funds, and there ought to be created sinking funds; but, nevertheless, it is necessary to have the money, and it is not fair to impose the burden of all the improvements on the present tax-paying generation.

You hope that you will be able to carry on part of this improvement by current income?

Secretary TAFT. Yes, sir; I do.

And you do not contemplate the issue of bonds for the entire improvement?

Secretary TAFT. No, sir. We have had heretofore a surplus—

The House will remember that I read a letter showing that the surplus is being revived—

but I think that surplus is disappearing now; and what we wish it for is merely—and I am willing to reduce the application to \$5,000,000 if the committee would prefer—to have something to which we can look in case the income fails us.

Mr. Speaker, the next section is merely amendatory of a section of the act of 1892—the Philippine civil-government act—which empowered the municipalities in the archipelago to create bonded indebtedness, but required them first to secure the permission of the President, the Secretary of War, and Congress. This new section eliminates Congress so far as that permission is concerned, but still requires the consent of the President and Secretary of War. In other words, it does not require a municipality (there are 900 municipalities) desiring to sink a driven well for the purpose of securing pure water to come to Congress and wait possibly from session to session to secure its consent. Let me read what Secretary Taft says as to the reason for this amendment:

Now, there are 900 towns, and in many of them the water supply is essential to the health; I mean an improved water supply is essential to the health

of the towns. If we could have driven wells and a small water system we could probably reduce the death rate by 50 or even 75 per cent, and it was with a view to making this workable, because we should hardly like, and it does not seem feasible, to apply to Congress for the right to borrow a thousand dollars nor \$2,000 for one town and \$500 for another town and so on. If we could have the privilege of borrowing money for each of the 500 towns to put them into good hygienic condition it would accomplish wonders for the islands. We might, of course, go to work and make a report to Congress and have Congress authorize the issue of so many bonds for so many towns, and if the committee thinks that that is the wisest course, well and good.

The CHAIRMAN. I infer from what you say that impure water is the great cause for disease.

Secretary TAFT. Yes, sir; it is.

The CHAIRMAN. You think driven wells—

Secretary TAFT. I think driven wells would accomplish wonders. Water is the cause of amoebic dysentery. It is the cause of a great many bowel troubles. During the cholera season it makes life in the country almost inevitably attended with very great danger from the epidemic.

While this amended section does away with the requirement for the consent of Congress, it nevertheless still requires the previous consent of the President or of the Secretary of War acting for the President. Not only does it contain this important requirement, but there is in it a provision also that indebtedness under this section shall never exceed 5 per cent of the assessed valuation of the taxable property in the municipality. In Wisconsin the State constitution prohibits such indebtedness from exceeding 7 per cent of such valuation. In some of the other States the limitation is the same. In several the constitutional restriction is somewhat lower. In Iowa, I believe, it is 5 per cent. The restriction in this section is 5 per cent. So that, with the President required to give his consent and with this 5 per cent limitation, the interests of the Filipino people are completely protected and there is no opportunity for an excessive or improper bonded indebtedness.

Mr. Speaker, the next section is the most important of the bill. It is also the section most apt to be misunderstood and, I fear, to be misrepresented. Its purpose is to enable the Philippine government to induce the investment of capital in the construction, equipment, and operation of railroads in the islands by guaranteeing an income of not more than 5 per cent on the cash capital actually invested in such construction and equipment. The section limits the guaranty strictly to the cash actually invested, thus prohibiting payments on "water" or on any other form of fictitious capitalization.

The act making the guaranty must declare the proper rules for ascertaining clearly the cash capital actually invested and the net income actually received on such capital and must set forth the limit of invested capital to which the guaranty shall apply. The section provides that the Philippine government, through its auditing, engineering, and railroad bureaus, and also by the appointment of two or more government directors, shall have supervision of the conduct of the finances of the railroad and of its location, construction, and maintenance.

The section contains also the very important limitation that the total amount due upon all guaranties shall never in any one year exceed the sum of \$1,500,000. This sum would be the greatest possible annual liability; but as a matter of fact the annual liability will never reach \$1,500,000, because some of the proposed roads—the Secretary of War thinks 30 per cent or more—will very soon become remunerative, thus reducing the amount due under the guaranties.

This limitation fixing the maximum possible liability is most important, because it absolutely prevents the guaranty from ever requiring the Philippine treasury to pay more than \$1,500,000 in any year, a sum which, as the Secretary of War and the commission declare, and as the evidence clearly shows, will be easily provided for.

Thus it will be seen that this section, rightly considered, is a carefully drawn, thoroughly guarded, conservative business proposition, having as its only object and its only effect a legitimate and greatly needed improvement in transportation facilities in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. Speaker, Macaulay, in his History of England, declared that of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions that abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species. It would be equally true, I think, to say that of all inventions which abridge distance the railroad has been the most effective civilizer. It is true also that of all improvements possible for the Philippines, railroads are the most needed. The Secretary of War testified that he knew of nothing else which in importance is to be compared with them.

Mr. Speaker, one of the chief obstacles to an early and a comparatively easy solution of the Philippine problem is the present division of the inhabitants of the archipelago into numerous tribes, each with its own peculiar dialect. For example, there are to-day, in the island of Luzon alone, twenty tribes, some of them containing men of education and marked intelligence; yet it is a fact, reported by many witnesses, that the inhabitants of one province can not converse with those who come from another province only 50 miles away.

In the interest of a satisfactory adjustment of the Philippine problem and in the highest interest of the Filipinos themselves there must be a fusion of these tribes and an elimination of these dialects with their attendant provincialism. To-day there is not, in any proper sense of the words, a Filipino people. Free representative government can never be maintained in the islands until there has been a unification of their inhabitants, and such unification is practically impossible without railroads.

The present variety of tribes and dialects and the consequent embarrassing provincialism are chiefly attributable to the difficulty found in passing from place to place. Railroads will speedily do away with these obstacles to progress by enabling the people easily to travel from province to province (the Filipinos have a great fondness for travel), by facilitating business, familiarizing the people with business methods, and gradually leading them to speak the same language.

The speaking of a common language begets the printing and reading of it; and the speaking, printing, and reading of a common language, under the same laws, unifies a people. Thus railroads in the Philippines will benefit their inhabitants, not alone materially, but morally and intellectually. Mr. Speaker, this is a proposition not to exploit the islands, but legitimately to develop their resources; not to rob their taxpayers, but honestly to enrich them. It is an educational proposition. It is a proposition to unify a people and to promote their moral, intellectual, and material well-being. This being true, then comes the practical question, How can we introduce railroads into the archipelago?

Mr. BONYNGE. Are there any there now?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. In reply to the gentleman from Colorado, I will say there is only one railroad in the islands. It runs from Manila to Dagupan, a distance of about 120 miles. It was built under an 8 per cent guaranty given by the Spanish Government.

The Democratic minority, in their report, admit that it has been impossible to attract private capital to the islands to engage in railroad construction, and that the fact has been demonstrated that capital will not go there, finding other fields more inviting and conditions for investment more favorable.

There are two ways in which the Philippine government might be permitted to aid in the building of railroads: First, by a grant of lands; second, by a guaranty upon investment.

The Secretary of War, the Philippine Commission, and the Committee on Insular Affairs believe that it will be in every way better to have the railroads in the Philippines constructed under a guaranty upon actual investment and to have the lands held for the people. Railroads will greatly increase the value of the lands, and therefore these lands ought to be held for the inhabitants of the islands.

The Philippine government propose to build a complete trunk-line system comprising from 750 to 1,000 miles of railroad. They do not desire, however, to construct all of these roads at one time, but rather to extend the work over a period of from three to five years. The proposed system includes a line in Luzon from Dagupan along the west coast to Loag, and another from Cabanatuan over the mountains and through the valley of the Cagayan to Aparri, on the north coast.

Another line is to extend from Manila down around the south shore of a fresh-water lake to Santa Cruz, with a branch down to Batangas. Still another line is to run through the hemp-growing district of southeastern Luzon.

From beginning to end the entire transaction is to be under the strict supervision of the Philippine government. Not a dollar can be expended nor a rail laid except under conditions and in localities prescribed by that government.

Mr. HERMANN. Will the gentleman consent to an inquiry?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Certainly.

Mr. HERMANN. I will ask him whether before his committee there were any capitalists or railroad builders who expressed their opinion as to their ability to build the railroads without the aid of the Government so far as guaranteeing its income upon the admission of railroad material into the Philippine Islands free of duty?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. No, sir.

Mr. HERMANN (continuing). And while he is upon that, also this further information, as to whether the railroad which was constructed under the Spanish régime, as I understand, either by the Spanish Government or private capital—as to which it was I am not informed—as to whether that railroad has been a success, as to how far it has maintained itself unaided by Government on the resources of the country, and whether there would possibly be an increase of railway traffic in the development to follow from American construction from which we might expect capital to be rewarded and the railroad sufficiently profitable in the course of ten or fifteen years without this recourse being necessary to guarantee the income by the Government.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman from Oregon

know of any capitalist who would be willing to wait for fifteen years before receiving a return on his investment?

Mr. HERMANN. Well, to speak candidly from the evidence which we have, I should think we will necessarily have an increased commerce there that would be sufficient in a short time to guarantee a reasonable return on the investment; but I defer to the superior judgment of the gentleman, the chairman of the committee, who has studied the subject. But I submit to the gentleman whether he can give us some light upon this matter.

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I will say this, that the whole valley of the Cagayan River, through which it is intended to extend one of these lines, is sparsely settled. It will require years to develop a profitable commerce there. It is doubtful whether the line from Dagupan north will be profitable for several years. Secretary Taft says the commission thinks, however, that it ought to be constructed, and that in time it will become profitable.

The commission and the Secretary of War believe that it will be much the wisest policy to have a complete, harmonious trunk-line system mapped out in advance by men disinterested, as are the members of the commission, and who have in mind only the welfare of the Philippine people. As I have said, the Philippine government does not intend to build all of these roads at once, but gradually, from year to year, in pursuance of a complete, carefully considered plan. The Spanish railroad is in the most densely settled portion of the island of Luzon, running up from Manila to Dagupan, and last year it paid about \$320,000. This line can not, however, be taken as a criterion by which to judge of the possibilities of the other proposed lines which I have mentioned. It is desired and intended to include the Manila-Dagupan line in the proposed trunk-line system.

In further response to the gentleman from Oregon I desire to say that, while I have not myself heard capitalists on this subject, I have it from Secretary Taft that they will not invest in such a system except upon some inducement sufficient to warrant the risk. Sir William Van Horne has heard the testimony of the engineers who have examined the islands with a view to railroad construction, and I believe that he has informed the Secretary of War that he would not make such an investment in the Philip-

pinas at this time. The risk comes in part from the constant demand made by certain people in this country that the islands be turned over to a native Filipino government.

Mr. HERMANN. I submit this to the gentleman. He seems to be acting upon the assumption, and this bill seems to be framed largely upon that line, that a railroad must have some guaranty immediately as to a net revenue; that time can not be taken into consideration for forthcoming revenue in the future. Is it not a fact, I will suggest to my friend, that all railroads are built, not upon the immediate expectancy of a profitable revenue, but upon the hope that in the future there will be a paying revenue and continually thereafter increasing, so as to make it a profitable enterprise?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. I know this, that the Democratic minority of the committee unanimously report it to be impossible—that is their language—to induce capital to enter upon the construction of railroads in the Philippine Islands. The Philippine Commission say so and the Republican majority of the Committee on Insular Affairs are of the same opinion.

Mr. HERMANN. Does not the gentleman believe the remission of duties, such as provided in section 5 of this bill, would be a great inducement?

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. It is a small inducement, far from sufficient to induce capital to go into those islands and construct such a railroad system as they need and as the Philippine government wants to have built and in the localities which it may prescribe. This trunk-line system of railroads ought to be built by Filipino or by American capital.

Mr. Speaker, the remaining sections of the bill I must leave for discussion by other gentlemen of the committee. These sections relate to the supreme court of the islands, to tonnage laws and similar subjects, and there is no objection to them. Owing to interruptions, I have already trespassed upon the patience of the House much longer than I intended, and I therefore reserve the balance of the time. [Applause.]

APPENDIX A.

In the following statement, covering revenues and expenditures of the insular government during the last five years, the figures include audited accounts, with the exception of returns for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903, which have been estimated by the auditor:

	Fiscal year ended June 30—					Total.
	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	
REVENUES.						
Customs	\$3,097,864.15	\$5,739,297.40	\$9,105,754.67	\$8,550,758.49	\$9,686,533.29	\$36,180,208.00
Postal	42,954.87	104,282.54	122,816.83	137,811.99	146,659.44	554,525.67
Internal	240,754.00	561,993.18	966,400.47	225,505.09	222,980.40	2,217,633.14
Provincial				1,963,270.97	2,559,001.94	4,522,272.91
City of Manila				1,199,590.01	1,561,473.61	2,761,063.62
Miscellaneous	127,109.81	357,954.61	491,217.00	524,482.97	1,148,877.05	2,649,641.44
Total	3,508,682.83	6,763,527.73	10,686,188.97	12,631,419.52	15,326,125.73	48,915,944.78
EXPENDITURES.						
Customs	28,817.90	100,194.09	267,446.88	490,126.40	587,142.89	1,473,728.16
Postal	30,410.75	89,149.51	155,347.77	175,156.57	226,730.83	676,794.33
Provincial				740,586.80	1,163,585.01	1,904,171.81
Loans and refunds to provinces				324,479.35	1,760,563.87	2,085,043.22
City of Manila				1,744,344.56	1,813,118.10	3,557,462.66
Other expenditures	2,316,779.97	4,569,334.15	5,659,971.79	6,564,426.64	8,711,363.27	27,812,855.82
Total	2,376,008.62	4,758,677.75	6,073,766.44	10,045,120.82	14,262,503.47	37,516,076.60

In the foregoing statement for the fiscal year 1903 the following amounts are included under—

Customs revenues, refundable export duties	\$511,213.00
"Other insular expenditures" for permanent improvements	2,250,000.00
"Other insular expenditures" in connection with the taking of the Philippine census	500,000.00
"City of Manila," for permanent improvements	445,000.00
Amount collected in the United States on exports from the Philippines	73,218.29

The following sums are excluded from the figures submitted:

Advanced to June 30, 1903, on account of the purchase of silver bullion and the proceeds from the sale of certificates of indebtedness as provided for by the several acts of the Philippine Commission	3,000,000.00
Appropriation by Congress for the relief of distress in the Philippine Islands	3,000,000.00

The amount advanced to the insular purchasing agent for the purchase of supplies and material was 1,710,000.00. From which the insular treasury was reimbursed with the proceeds arising from the sales of supplies to approximately 1,504,392.86. In the treasurer's account alone, during the year, there was a direct loss to the treasury due to the changes in ratio between United States currency and Mexican currency of 340,000.00. During the year, refundable export duties returned to exporters were 133,672.91.

These amounts are expressed in United States currency values and under expenditures include reimbursable appropriations, such as payments for supplies purchased by the insular purchasing agent and commissary officer for the Philippine constabulary, which expenditures will be reimbursed to insular revenues by the sales of these supplies.

APPENDIX B.

Customs revenues in the Philippine Archipelago during the periods shown, expressed in United States currency values at the rate of two Mexican dollars for one American.

1890 (Spanish administration)	\$1,570,477.49
1891	1,770,301.71
1892	2,012,750.75
1893	2,119,407.79
1894	2,351,476.32
1895	2,210,838.23
1896	2,520,352.00
1897	2,781,039.56
Aug. 20 to Dec. 31, 1898 (American administration)	462,127.40
Calendar year:	
1899	4,573,332.49
1900	8,221,091.54
1901	8,338,053.51

Included in the above receipts are import duties as follows:

1890 (Spanish administration)	\$720,153.87
1891	1,293,573.72
1892	1,716,828.87
1893	1,739,551.83
1894	1,847,723.43
1895	1,640,236.44
1896	1,631,672.42
1897	1,474,009.47
Aug. 20 to Dec. 31, 1898 (American administration)	731,320.90
Calendar year:	
1899	3,920,470.21
1900	7,299,061.00
1901	7,298,722.85

And export duties:	
1890 (Spanish administration).....	\$177,013.46
1891.....	12,772.75
1892.....	.....
1893.....	157,465.45
1894.....	315,219.53
1895.....	358,235.73
1896.....	547,084.56
1897.....	676,526.08
Aug. 29 to Dec. 31, 1898 (American administration).....	167,687.39
Calendar year:	
1899.....	557,545.60
1900.....	721,824.61
1901.....	769,389.02

General Deficiency Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 16, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 15954) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, and for prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. GILLETT said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: A statement was recently printed in the RECORD specifying sixty individual exceptions to the operation of the civil-service rules which President Roosevelt had made during his Administration, and from this basis the argument has been drawn here and much more elaborately and unfairly in the press that the President has excepted more persons than his three predecessors combined, and that he has in these sixty instances violated both the letter and the spirit of the law.

It is not of much intrinsic importance to the service whether these sixty cases were properly excepted from the 150,000 now covered by the law, but it is of great importance whether the President has, as charged, violated in these cases the spirit of the law which he has always advocated; whether he has, when put to the test of experience, abandoned and discredited the strict principles which he has always professed in theory.

I have examined the subject with some care, and the conclusion is to me clear and irresistible that his conduct as Executive has been governed by the same principles which he professed as a private citizen, that his practice has squared exactly with his preaching, and that none of his predecessors have surpassed him in exact obedience to both the letter and the spirit of the civil-service law. He has, it is true, excepted by special rule sixty persons, but each of his three immediate predecessors excepted a far greater number, not, indeed, often by special rules for each individual, but by rules covering each from 1 person to 8,000 persons.

Under former Administrations any exceptions that were made were in the nature of general amendments to the rules and admitted whole classes, even where the necessity existed only with respect to individuals. Under the present Administration practically all such general exceptions have been abrogated, and the application of the fundamental principles laid down in the civil-service act has been made uniform throughout the service. In doing this it has been recognized that, as contemplated by the law, occasional instances might arise where adherence to the strict letter of the rules would operate against the best interests of the service, and such cases have been treated as exceptional and by direct Executive order removed from the operation of the rules, and the reason for such action has been frankly stated and published. As this course was seldom, if ever, pursued before, a superficial examination of this record will create an entirely erroneous impression, unless at the same time the conditions and practices that actually existed under former Administrations be borne in mind.

It is impossible now to determine accurately how many were excepted under each Administration, but as well as I can ascertain President Cleveland excepted in his first Administration over 600, while he increased the classified service from 15,000 to 27,000. President Harrison excepted over 200, besides the railway mail clerks, and increased the service from 27,000 to 42,000. President Cleveland in his second Administration excepted over 200, and still further increased the service from 42,000 to 86,000. President McKinley excepted by one order over 8,000 and increased the service from 86,000 to 120,000, and President Roosevelt has excepted 60 and made the increase from 120,000 to 150,000, the present number. Certainly the numbers compare favorably.

Under his Administration the number within the classified service was far greater than any predecessor, and nevertheless his

exceptions have been far less. It is true his exceptions were made for individuals and the others mainly for classes, but I fail to see why that is to his discredit or why it justifies the charge that he has made more exceptions than any predecessor. Being temporary and not permanent, it affects the service less. It of course gives the opportunity to designing persons to mislead the public and to make a statement which is technically true but wholly unfair in saying that he suspended the law in more individual cases than any predecessor, although all his exceptions amounted to only 60, while one order of President McKinley excepted over 8,000. By the same kind of truthfulness a person might say that some unknown monk of the eighth century, who had at sixty different times turned sixty heathen to Christianity, had achieved more individual conversions than Charlemagne, whom history tells us on one conspicuous occasion converted them by regiments and baptized them by platoons.

So, while one can construct a statement which will be literally true, conveying the impression that President Roosevelt has relaxed the strictness of the civil-service law more than any of his predecessors, that statement can not be honestly made by anyone who understands the facts and wishes to fairly tell the truth about them.

I do not mean to intimate that anyone in this House has intentionally misrepresented the facts or even been uncandid, but I think some gentlemen have been quite mistaken and some newspapers have been grossly unfair.

But, after all, the real question of importance is not whether President Roosevelt has made more exceptions than any other President, nor does the fact that he has made less than any of the others necessarily vindicate him, for the President who made the most exceptions might be most rigidly enforcing the spirit of the law, and the one making the least might be grossly violating it. And though his critics are mistaken in stating that he has excepted more than any predecessor, it does not follow necessarily that they have no ground for criticism.

The real question is not the number of exceptions, but the need of them, the reasons behind them. Are the exceptions in accord with the spirit of the law, or do they violate it? That is what determines whether the President is fairly subject to criticism; that is what settles whether his practices and his professions have been consistent. To speak of his exceptions as violations of law is absurd, though not uncommon, for the law gives the President unlimited right to make exceptions. Nothing controls him except his personal fidelity to the system, and he may make as many exceptions as his whim or caprice suggests, and still the law will not be violated. But has he observed the spirit as clearly as he has the letter of the law? That is the vital question. I believe that he has. I believe that investigation shows that he has been both consistent and straightforward.

What is the spirit of the law? What is its purpose? It was enacted primarily to prevent filling the subordinate offices of the Government for partisan purposes; to secure a business rather than a political machine with which to do the routine work of the Administration, and it was hoped as a result it would prevent or lessen the appointment of men for favor and not for fitness; the keeping of men in office when found unfit, because to remove them would offend some influential friend; the creating of offices, not because needed by the Government, but because needed by some applicant; the increasing of salaries, not because earned, but because the recipients have influence. It was to remedy these evils and tendencies in the rapidly growing departmental service that the new system was inaugurated, a commission was established to have general oversight, which must always have on it representatives of both parties, and the President was given almost unlimited power to extend or restrict the application of the new system.

Each succeeding President has exercised that discretion by extending the service, until now it covers about 150,000 positions, and there are hardly any more places which can be included, and many think it now covers some which should be exempted. But to remedy that danger there was originally given to the President the power of exception, the exercise of which can always relieve any embarrassment which arises from finding a place restricted to examination which could be filled better by free appointment. And it is in the exercise of this remedial power of exception that President Roosevelt has been criticised.

Examination shows that these were cases where for one reason or another the places could be filled better by appointment than from the regular eligible list. Each case as it occurred has been fully set forth in the annual printed report of the commission. Hardly any of the appointees were known to the President personally. As a rule, the exceptions were first requested by the head of a Department or bureau from the Civil Service Commission. That bipartisan commission examined it and approved it, so there could be no politics in it, and then on their recommendation the President acted, and by a special rule made the exception. Whenever the commission recommended against such action, the

President refused to except. There was no partisan advantage to be gained; there were no personal friendships to be gratified; there was no political "pull" to be encouraged; but they were cases where the best administration demanded that the power given by law to relieve any over-rigidity of the system should be exercised.

It may be that everyone would not agree that each individual case was important enough to warrant its exception by special rule, but that is not important. On matters of discretion opinion is never unanimous. But it seems to me opinion must be unanimous on the vital and fundamental question that the President did not make the exceptions for political or personal favoritism, but for reasons of public policy which would appeal strongly to everyone, and which prove conclusively that there was as little violation of the spirit as of the letter of the civil-service law. And I think careful investigation will satisfy any impartial man that this has been true not only in the sixty cases but in President Roosevelt's whole Administration; that he has extended and administered the civil-service law with vigor, with impartiality, and with sincere consistency; that he has been the first President to put a stop to that fraudulent backdoor method of entering the classified service through the labor roll, and that it has been invariably true, what I am sure the unbiased opinion of the country would expect, that the settled convictions upon the merit system which he never hesitated to announce and advocate as a private citizen he has hesitated as little to abide by, uphold, and enforce as President.

I append a letter on the subject, and also a statement made by the Civil Service Commission relative to the variations in the matter of apportionment.

APRIL 16, 1904.

DEAR SIR: Criticism of President Roosevelt has recently been made in Congress and elsewhere on the ground that he has made a larger number of irregular appointments to the classified service than any of his predecessors. The present members of the Civil Service Commission have only been in office a few months, and as these alleged facts occurred in your administration I take the liberty of asking your opinion of the ground for these assertions.

Very truly yours,

HON. W. D. FOULKE,
Washington, D. C.

FREDERICK H. GILLET.

APRIL 16, 1904.

DEAR SIR: The assertions you speak of are untrue. The fact is exactly the other way. There have been fewer appointments without competitive examination under President Roosevelt than under any other President, and there has been no Administration since the passage of the civil-service act in which the competitive system has advanced with greater rapidity and certainty. It has been necessary for every President to permit certain positions to be filled without examination. The number has been reduced from time to time and the range of the competitive system extended. This process has gone on faster under President Roosevelt than under any other President. Of the sixty cases of suspensions of the rules during his Administration, only thirty-three are of persons who were allowed to enter the service without examination.

In other words, out of over 70,000 appointments to the competitive service since Mr. Roosevelt became President it was deemed unnecessary in these thirty-three cases to require competitive examination. These cases form less than one-twentieth of 1 per cent of the appointments. They comprise, for instance, a steward in the White House, a coachman in the Navy Department, two special agents in the Bureau of Corporations, the Superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane, and other cases where, on account of special reasons, the application of the rule was considered impracticable, unwise, unjust, or unnecessary. These cases are explained in detail in the annual reports of the Civil Service Commission. They were usually made on the recommendation of a Cabinet officer and with the approval of the commission. In all of these cases the person was excepted and not the position. This has been found by experience to be much the better plan. If, for instance, the position of coachman had been excepted generally, and not the particular man, it would be found that the number of coachmen would increase and many exceptions would creep in instead of one.

The statement of Representative HAY that during the Administrations of Presidents Cleveland and Harrison there were no suspensions of the rules, and only three during the Administration of McKinley, while in Roosevelt's Administration there have been sixty, leads to a most erroneous inference. Under previous Administrations exceptions were not usually made by means of suspensions of the rules, but by means of changes in the rules, thus excepting certain classes of positions from competitive examination. From time to time Presidents Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley excepted from competition hundreds of positions which had been competitive. On one occasion alone—May 29, 1896—8,047 such places were excepted. But these exceptions were not, in the main, in the form of "suspensions of the rules," which was the only matter called for by the House resolution. President Roosevelt, however, made them in the form of such suspensions for the express purpose of limiting their number.

Moreover, prior to April 15, 1903, there was a provision allowing appointments without examination where the position to be filled required "such peculiar qualifications in respect to knowledge and ability, or such scientific or special attainments, wholly or in part professional or technical, as are not ordinarily acquired in the executive service of the United States." Under this provision President McKinley made twenty-one appointments and President Roosevelt only five. Instead of making appointments of this kind under a general rule, President Roosevelt preferred to deal with each case separately by a suspension of the rules, and several of the thirty-three appointments referred to are of this character, as, for instance, that of a cable engineer in the Signal Service in the Philippines.

During the last year 4,688 more appointments were made through competitive examination than in the previous year, and 3,007 more appointments were made in that year than in the year before. Under President Roosevelt about 30,000 positions have been added to the classified service.

Heretofore extensions of the classified service have usually taken place near the close of an Administration and the exceptions made soon after the new Administration commenced. But President Roosevelt, at the very beginning of his Administration, began to extend the number of competitive

positions and to strengthen the rules. He also dealt out summary justice to offenders, several of whom held high positions in his own party.

It is gratifying to note that the most acute convulsions of horror at the President's alleged betrayal of civil-service reform come from those who, like Senator BAILEY and Representative HAY (who voted against the appropriation for the Civil Service Commission), proclaim themselves the advocates of the spoils system in all its brutality, while the life-long advocates of the competitive system recognized in President Roosevelt the most consistent and efficient supporter of that system who has ever occupied the Executive chair.

The council of the National Civil Service Reform League, at its last meeting, in December, 1903, with knowledge of these exceptions, congratulated the country on the revision of the civil-service rules approved by the President; on the extension of the labor regulations, and upon other improvements of the system under the present Administration. In 1902 the resolutions of the league congratulated the country on the regulation of the labor service; the closing of "back-door" entrances by wise amendments to the rules; the extension of the classification to the rural free-delivery service; the policy of retaining fourth-class postmasters during good behavior; the better enforcement of the law; the adoption of the merit system in Porto Rico, and the frustration of the attempt to saddle upon other branches of the classified service those clerks in the Census Office who were appointed by patronage.

In 1901 they congratulated the country on the restoration to the classified service of some 1,600 positions in the War Department, and on amendments to the civil-service rules improving the character of the Indian Service, requiring officers of the Government to give testimony in investigations, preventing the abuses of collusive transfers, and prohibiting the payment of salaries to persons illegally appointed. This is the first Administration since the organization of the league where three years have passed without any serious criticism of the President. The league correctly recognized that the present Administration was the first which had given to the country a continuous record of advance in the competitive system, untarnished by a single important backward step. I believe the country will credit the testimony of these friends of the competitive system rather than the testimony of its enemies, and I rejoice that the opponents of the present Administration have chosen such a field as this upon which to make their attacks on the President.

Yours,

W. D. FOULKE.

THE APPORTIONMENT.

Certain remarks were made by Representative CROMER, of Indiana, on April 15, 1904, reflecting on the apportionment of appointments in the classified service among the residents of the several States and the District of Columbia. Among other statements made by him are the following:

(1) That 24 per cent of all positions in the departmental service at Washington are occupied by legal residents of the District of Columbia, and that residents of Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia occupy more than 34 per cent of all such positions.

(2) That fifteen States, with a population of 23,546,000 people, are credited with fewer appointments than is the District of Columbia, with a population of 278,000.

(3) That Indiana, with a population of 2,516,000, had on July 1, 1903, only 543 appointments, while the District of Columbia had 4,982.

Other charges were made by Representative CROMER along the same lines, all to the effect that the law in regard to apportionment of appointments had been violated, neglected, and grossly disregarded, to the advantage of the District and to the disadvantage of outlying States.

Such charges reflect in the most serious manner on the Civil Service Commission, as the bulk of all positions in the Federal service are filled at present by certification through the commission. As such an entire disregard of the rule of apportionment as is charged could only take place by the act or assistance of the Civil Service Commission, it follows that if the statements are well founded and not capable of explanation the commission has been guilty of a willful disregard of the law.

The commission, however, submits that in making certifications for appointment the law has been strictly complied with; that the figures cited by Representative CROMER, while correct in one sense, are not when properly understood of a character to indicate that the law regarding the apportionment of appointments has been disregarded either by the commission or by the Departments.

The law in regard to apportionment is a part of the civil-service act of January 16, 1883. Section 2 of that act reads as follows:

"That it shall be the duty of said Commissioners:
"First, to aid the President, as he may request, in preparing suitable rules for carrying this act into effect, and when said rules shall have been promulgated it shall be the duty of all officers of the United States * * * to aid in all proper ways in carrying said rules * * * into effect.

"Second, and, among other things, said rules shall provide and declare, as nearly as the conditions of good administration will warrant, as follows:

"Appointment to the public service aforesaid in the Departments at Washington shall be apportioned among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia upon the basis of population as ascertained at the last preceding census."

It is evident from the above-quoted passage that only appointments to the classified service are required by the civil-service act to be apportioned. This must be the case, because that act applies to no other positions. It is further evident that the eight fundamental provisions of the law, among which is that relating to apportionment, are to be observed only as nearly as the conditions of good administration will warrant.

Bearing these facts in mind, let us consider the figures cited by Representative CROMER. The mistake which has been made by him, and which when understood is a clear and complete answer to all of the charges against the commission in regard to the apportionment, is that in making his calculations and obtaining his figures he has included a large number of positions which are not required by the law to be apportioned, and as to which no attempt has been made to enforce the rule of apportionment. As a basis of his calculation, he relies on the figures contained on pages 1386-1389 of the Blue Book of 1903, and assumes that the total number of positions required by law to be apportioned is 20,312, being all the positions in Washington mentioned on the pages referred to. But, as a matter of fact, 12,314 of the positions included in the 20,312 are not required by law to be apportioned, and have never been apportioned. They are not required by law to be apportioned either because they are not covered by the civil-service act or because, in the language of that act, the conditions of good administration will not warrant their apportionment.

Among such are unclassified laborers, of whom there are in Washington 2,264. To these the civil-service act does not apply by its terms. They are not in any manner under the jurisdiction of the commission, and the rule of apportionment does not apply to them. Another class of nonapportionable employees are those working in some of the local establishments, whose location at the seat of government is incidental rather than necessary and which

have never been recognized or regarded as subject to the apportionment, among them being the Headquarters of the Army, with 32 employees, and the mail-equipment shops, with 245 employees. Excepted employees who are not appointed by means of examination or certification in the District are 293 in number. Employees of the District of Columbia number 3,445. These are not subject to the operation of the act of January 16, 1883, and therefore not liable by that act to be apportioned.

Four thousand and twenty-one persons work in the Government Printing Office, where it is impracticable to get eligibles from every section of the Union. Apportionment has been tried therein, but it has been found that in any event the bulk of the employees must come from certain sections of the country. For this reason the apportionment has been dropped in the Government Printing Office as not being warranted by the conditions of good administration. In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing 2,014 employees work as printers' assistants, operatives, plate printers, and skilled helpers. The apportionment of the appointment of plate printers is impracticable, because there are opportunities for learning the trade in only a few of the large cities. The positions of printer's assistant and operatives are all filled by women, and are not apportioned because of the low salaries, the undesirable work, and the effect the apportionment would have in inducing young women to accept employment away from home in a strange city.

While certain States and the District of Columbia have received an excessive number of appointments to apportioned positions, it is due largely to appointments made prior to the passage of the civil-service act, or to appointments to certain classes of positions before they came under the operation of the rules. In 1896 there were 6,417 employees in apportioned positions who were appointed prior to the classification of their positions, 3,124 of whom, or more than 48 per cent, were from the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia. On April 20, 1904, there had been charged to the apportionment under the civil-service rules 7,966 appointments, of which 1,233, or about 15 per cent, were from the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia. It thus appears that the tendency to make an excessive number of appointments from the District and near-by States has been greatly restricted by the operation of the civil-service rules.

The apportionment of appointments can not always be strictly maintained in those classes of positions which are not, as above stated, either exempt from the operation of the law or of such a character as to make apportionment entirely impracticable. Technical positions, including stenographers and typewriters, Patent Office examiners, topographers, draftsmen, scientific aids and scientific assistants in the Department of Agriculture, computers in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, architectural draftsmen, and topographic draftsmen can, of course, only be filled by persons having technical qualifications. Many States and Territories which are entitled to appointments do not furnish the requisite eligibles or furnish them only in limited number for such technical positions.

In the States mentioned examinations are regularly advertised and held, but in many cases the eligibles having technical qualifications are not forthcoming, or are forthcoming in too limited numbers. States which furnish a large list of assistant examiners for the Patent Office, for example, have to be preferred in the appointment of assistant examiners before the States that do not furnish any persons having these qualifications, or furnish only a few. The number of such technical positions is constantly increasing, and the work of the Departments is increasing in complexity. The commission is rarely called upon to furnish eligibles from the clerk examination. Most of these positions are filled from registers of persons possessing special qualifications. Several positions, appointments to which can not be made so as to maintain the apportionment, owing to the fact that eligibles can not be obtained from many of the States, are mentioned below, with the number of males who passed and the number who were appointed during the year ended June 30, 1903:

Positions.	Passed.	Appointed.
Stenographers and typewriters	168	163
Assistant examiners, Patent Office	40	49
Assistant topographers	21	19
Architectural draftsmen	10	5
Scientific aids, Department of Agriculture	18	14
Scientific assistants, Department of Agriculture	39	20
Computers, Coast and Geodetic Survey	11	7
Junior architectural draftsmen, Office of Supervising Architect	23	22
Topographic draftsmen	4	5

In the absence of eligibles from the States next entitled to appointments there is no alternative but to fill these positions by appointments from those States and Territories which furnish eligibles. There is naturally a keener interest in Government positions among people living at or near the seat of Government, and greater effort on their part to ascertain the needs of the service and to acquire those qualifications which are most in demand.

The States and Territories which have received an excessive number of appointments since the civil-service act became effective on July 16, 1883, are as follows:

State or Territory.	Entitled to—	Received.	Excess.
District of Columbia	28	674	646
Maryland	119	264	145
Virginia	185	265	80
Ohio	416	479	63
Kansas	147	164	17
Vermont	34	51	17
Indiana	252	265	13
Connecticut	91	100	9
Massachusetts	281	289	8
Delaware	18	26	8
Maine	69	76	7
New York	727	733	6
New Hampshire	41	46	5
Nebraska	107	110	3
Wyoming	9	12	3
Nevada	4	6	2
Total	2,528	3,560	1,032

Seven thousand nine hundred and ninety-five positions have been apportioned, of which 16 States have received 1,032 in excess of their share.

The figures upon which Mr. CROMER's statements are based must be so modified before inferences can be drawn from them to indicate the observ-

ance or nonobservance of the provisions of the civil-service act and rules with regard to the apportionment that they are valueless. As a matter of fact, legal residents of the 15 States named, Alabama, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Montana, on July 1, 1903, occupied 2,364 apportioned positions, while legal residents of the District of Columbia occupied only 563.

Appointments charged to the District of Columbia are in many cases those of persons who are at present residents of the District, but who have up to a recent date lived in other States and whose residence in the District is rather technical than actual. Of the 128 appointments during the fiscal year 1903 charged to the District of Columbia, 61 were born in the District, 15 in Maryland and Virginia, 36 in other States, and 16 were foreign.

As illustrative of the difficulty of procuring eligibles from some of the States at the present time, Porto Rico is entitled to 15 appointments and received 10, and has only 7 eligibles—1 male stenographer and typewriter, 1 female typewriter, 1 male typewriter, 1 male messenger-watchman, 2 male clerk examiners, and 1 female clerk. The Indian Territory is entitled to 30 appointments and has received 11, and has only 7 eligibles—1 male typewriter, 1 female typewriter, 3 male bookkeepers, and 2 clerk-examiners. Hawaii is entitled to 6 appointments and has received 5; no eligibles. Alaska is entitled to 6 appointments and has received 2. There are no eligibles on the Alaska register. Oklahoma is entitled to 40 appointments and has received 28. Oklahoma has the following eligibles: 1 male and 1 female clerk-examiner and 1 male bookkeeper. New Mexico is entitled to 20 appointments, has received 14, and has one eligible—1 male watchman.

When certification is to be made for original appointment to an apportioned position, the State next entitled to an appointment receives first consideration. If there is no eligible for the position upon its register, the State next entitled is considered. The States that have not received their quota of appointments are considered strictly in the order of their deficiency and certification made from the register of the first State that has a register of eligibles for the position. Every effort has been made to maintain the apportionment "as nearly as the conditions of good administration will warrant."

In May, 1902, the commission considered at length the causes of the unevenness in the working of the apportionment in general, and in the case of the District of Columbia in particular. It stated that up to January 1, 1902, 511 appointments had been charged to the District, of which 61 had been credited by reason of separations, leaving 450 appointments still charged to the District. This excess was attributed to four causes:

(1) To 184 positions requiring technical, scientific, or professional qualifications, for which there were no eligibles elsewhere, residents of the District were appointed. To 20 other positions of inferior grade, but still of a special or technical character, such as copperplate map engraver, photographer, etc., for which there were no eligibles elsewhere, residents of the District of Columbia were appointed. These 204 appointments were all made as the result of competitive examinations open to all applicants, and in the absence of eligibles from other States the apportionment could not be observed.

(2) Section 1754, Revised Statutes, requires that veterans honorably discharged for disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointment if they are otherwise qualified, and the civil-service act specifically provides that nothing contained therein shall bar such preference. The apportionment could not, therefore, restrict the right conferred by section 1754, Revised Statutes, and twenty-five legal residents of the District were appointed.

(3) Although reinstatements in the service at Washington are appointments, and therefore chargeable to the apportionment, the right of a Department to reinstate a former employee is not restricted by the fact that the State of his legal residence has at the time an excessive number of appointments. Appointments of ninety-six legal residents of the District of Columbia were made by way of reinstatement.

(4) Transfers from positions outside the District of Columbia are also appointments and are therefore subject to the requirement that appointments in the Departments at Washington shall be apportioned. This requirement is subject to the general limitation which the law places upon apportionment, namely, that it shall be enforced only "as nearly as the conditions of good administration will warrant." Prior to May 29, 1899, before approving a transfer to an apportioned position of a legal resident of a State in excess, the Commission required the head of the Department requesting the transfer to state that the conditions of good administration in his Department demanded the appointment of the particular person named because of certain special qualifications possessed by him to meet the special requirements of the place to be filled, and that such requirements could not be met by the ordinary methods of promotion and appointment. On May 29, 1899, the civil-service rules were so amended, without consultation with the Commission, as to require that in making transfers from the nonapportioned to the apportioned service "the provisions in relation to apportionment shall be waived upon the certificate of the appointing officer that the transfer is required in the interest of good administration."

The effect of this amendment was to give to the heads of Departments the absolute power to waive the apportionment in making transfers. This provision of the rule was changed on November 26, 1901, and the former practice of the Commission substantially reestablished. But while it was in force this provision resulted in many charges under the apportionment to States and Territories, and especially to the District of Columbia, on account of transfers which could not otherwise have been made. From May 29, 1899, to November 26, 1901, 133 legal residents of the District of Columbia were transferred to apportioned positions upon the certificate of the appointing officer that the transfer was required in the interest of good administration. Under the rules as they existed prior to May 29, 1899, there were only twenty persons who were legal residents of the District of Columbia transferred to apportioned positions, all of these transfers being made on account of the fact that the persons possessed special qualifications for the positions, and that other persons with those qualifications could not be obtained by the ordinary methods of promotion and appointment. The total number of transfers of legal residents of the District of Columbia to apportioned positions was thus 153.

It thus appears that 478 appointments, or 56 more than the entire net excess charged to the District on January 1, 1902, were due to the four principles above discussed as necessarily leading to the disparity in the apportionment. The gross number of appointments charged to the District, as above stated, was 511, of which 478 have been already accounted for. Of the remaining 33, 10 were made through promotion examination under the rules, 20 through noncompetitive examination under special rules which are no longer in force, and 3 by selection from the first certification of clerk eligibles which the commission made of residents of the District, the Department appointing all three eligibles instead of only one.

Of the 450 persons whose appointments were still charged to the District in May, 1902, 319 were males and 131 females. Of the 319 males only 157 were born in the District of Columbia, while 120 were born in other parts of the United States, and 45 in foreign countries.

Thus less than 50 per cent of the entire number charged to the District were natives of the District. It is well known that many persons who come to Washington from the States and Territories neglect to maintain their former legal

residence, although entitled by law to do so. Such persons upon appointment are necessarily charged to the District in default of proof of any other legal residence. In this way many appointments have been charged to the District of Columbia which otherwise might doubtless have been properly charged to some State or Territory. If upon this theory the 181 persons charged to the District who were born elsewhere within the United States could have been charged to the States and Territories of their birth, the charge against the District would have been reduced to 239, an excess of 241.

It has been the aim of the commission so to regulate its certifications for appointment as to bring about a just distribution of appointments among the States and Territories as nearly as possible in the proportion contemplated by the law. While such an apportionment is doubtless justified by many considerations of public policy, yet its enforcement frequently keeps out of the public service the best and most competent persons who apply for entrance thereto.

Thus it has constantly happened that the names of eligibles with lower average standing, and with only mediocre attainments have been sent to the appointing officers because the States of which they were legal residents were first in order of preference under the apportionment, while at the same time eligibles with higher average standing and with special qualifications, but residents of States not in order of preference under the apportionment, have been passed over. The complaints made by the appointing officers of the poor qualifications of persons certified for appointment have been almost wholly due to the duty laid upon the commission of making this apportionment.

In thus pointing out the difficulties attending the system, and furnishing an explanation of the excess of appointments necessarily received by certain States, the commission disclaims all intent either to criticize or to advocate the principle of the apportionment of appointments as required by law.

Eulogy on the Late Hon. Marcus A. Hanna.

REMARKS OF HON. ROBERT ADAMS, JR., OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Sunday, April 24, 1904.

On the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for paying tribute to the memory of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Ohio.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of the exercises of this day shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Mr. ADAMS of Pennsylvania said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I have never been thoroughly in harmony with the custom of holding memorial services on deceased Members, for I think the best record a man can have is that of what he has accomplished during his service in Congress. While, however, the custom of paying tributes still continues, there are times when friendship and admiration for a friend compel one to say a few simple words to the memory of the departed.

Others who have had the great privilege of knowing the late Senator HANNA longer than myself have fully testified to the great ability, honesty, and kindness that pervaded all his business relations during his long and successful career. He was one of the few of those citizens who having amassed a competence, instead of continuing to roll up riches, recognized the fact that every citizen owes an obligation to our Republic in return for the great privileges its citizenship has conferred upon him.

Indeed, sir, in my judgment, one of the few dangers that may threaten our form of government in the future lies in the fact that so many of our citizens become so engrossed in their personal affairs that they utterly neglect the obligation that the right of suffrage has imposed upon them. But Senator HANNA was not of that class. Our country would be under everlasting obligations to Senator HANNA if for nothing else than for his great work in bringing about the nomination and election of William McKinley. Surely that is enough of fame to make a man live forever in the history of his country, but MARCUS A. HANNA felt that he owed something to the Republic and that his duty was not completed with that work. At much personal loss and inconvenience he consented to come to Washington to represent the people of the great State of Ohio in the National Senate. I doubt, sir, if any man of whom our histories speak in the short space of seven years ever acquired such great influence in the legislative body in which he had entered or by his work there gained such abiding faith among all classes of society as did Senator HANNA. He entered upon his political career somewhat hampered by the undeserved prejudice growing from ill-founded innuendo that his political methods were founded on a pecuniary basis, and that he would be unduly favorable to trusts and other large business corporations.

In the struggle between capital and labor Senator HANNA took an active but impartial part. His unanimous selection to be the head of the National Civic Federation, designed to promote better relations and peace between capital and labor, showed the estimation in which he was held by both parties to this organization.

Indeed, it is known that he was so wrapped up in the development of this idea that he said he would rather resign from the Senate than to give up his interest in that work.

In the Senate of the United States his influence daily widened. Of whatever subject he advocated he first mastered the facts and details and then presented them without any effort at oratorical effect, but in a plain business-like statement, marshaling his facts and thrusting home his argument in a most powerful and convincing manner. Probably no greater change of sentiment in Congress or in the minds of the people was ever wrought by a single speech than that following the remarks of Senator HANNA on the question of the selection of the route for the isthmian canal. The idea seemed to be accepted as an axiom that the Nicaraguan route was the American route, and that the French selection of Panama had been a mistake and a fallacy. But in spite of these existing prejudices Senator HANNA convinced the Senate of the United States that they were not founded on facts and secured the selection of the Panama route. Nor was his influence limited to that branch of Congress of which he was a member, for, in spite of the fact that the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote had decided in favor of the Nicaraguan route, it promptly reversed its judgment and joined with the Senate in indorsing his views.

But, Mr. Speaker, Senator HANNA's fame will rest more largely upon his intimate friendship with and as the recognized counselor of William McKinley during the trying times and most serious events of his great Administration. The names of these two great and good men will be indelibly linked in the writings of our country's history. They were of the same time, of the same mind. Their dispositions were similar in many respects—calm in judgment, slow of movement, but resolute to the last when decisions had once been taken. I can not close, sir, without paying my personal tribute to the kindly nature and warm heart of the late Senator HANNA. His consideration for men younger than himself was most pronounced, and his heart and his head were always ready to aid when appealed to for advice or sympathy. His was a nature so genial and kind that his memory will ever live in the hearts of his friends, and his fame will ever last in the records of the nation.

Statehood for the Territories.

REMARKS OF HON. BURLEIGH F. SPALDING, OF NORTH DAKOTA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Tuesday, April 19, 1904.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 14749) to enable the people of Oklahoma and of the Indian Territory to form a constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to enable the people of New Mexico and Arizona to form a constitution and State government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—

Mr. SPALDING said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Superficially one might agree very readily with some of the observations of our friends on the other side of the House regarding the short time given for debate on this measure. I agree with them that it is a measure of the highest privilege. The admission of new States to the sisterhood is one of the most important subjects that has received consideration by this House during this session, and a subject of such importance as to merit the most careful thought and the fullest discussion. I am, however, impelled to believe that some of the remarks made and the alarm expressed by gentlemen on the other side because they are not to have a longer debate was more for effect than from any desire to enlighten the House, or the country, or to improve this bill by discussion. Notwithstanding their complaints that the time is so limited they have seen fit to use more than one hour set apart for this bill in discussing irrelevant matters and in a roll-call, all totally ineffective and useless, and taking time which might have been devoted to discussing this measure upon its merits.

I should have preferred to see a bill on a subject as important as the admission of a new State given two or three days' discussion, and every phase of the measure weighed pro and con, and the bill perfected in every detail. The interests have been so varied and the people who have appeared before the Committee on Territories possessed of so many different opinions, that to enable that committee to arrive at a definite conclusion as to what is best in the premises we have held more than forty sessions, at each of which we have heard witnesses and argument regarding the wants and interests of the Territories included in this bill; and these hearings have, at the request of these Territories, been so prolonged that the report of the bill has only now been made

and it is given the earliest consideration possible by the House. This, however, is so late in the session and so many other measures are pressing that it was deemed advisable to limit the debate to one day.

Mr. Speaker, it may be pertinent to briefly explain some of the provisions of this bill, and give some facts and figures regarding the Territories which are to comprise the two new States.

The Territory of Oklahoma was organized in 1890 from a portion of the country then known as Indian Territory. The Indian title was extinguished, and it was opened for settlement in that year. According to the census of 1900 it had a population of 393,331, of whom 367,524 were white, 11,945 Indians, 18,831 negroes, and the illiteracy was 5.5 per cent. There were 10.3 persons to the square mile. Of the 147,000 children of school age there were attending school something over 82,000. The number of farms was 62,495, and the value of their products \$45,440,000. Since 1890 certain portions of the Territory have been opened for settlement under the homestead laws, and it is claimed that at one time, that is in one day, 100,000 people entered the Territory and for the first time made homes there.

So it is now asserted, and with much show of truth, that the population of the Territory is not less than 600,000. It is rich in agricultural resources, having a most fertile soil, and has as equitable a climate as can be found in the temperate zone. It is populated almost exclusively by Americans, coming from the different States of the Union. Its area is 38,830 square miles. It raised in 1903, 36,000,000 bushels of wheat, 65,000,000 bushels of corn, 200,000 bales of cotton, and had large numbers of cattle, horses, and sheep. It sent out of its borders 35,000 carloads of its products and shipped in from the outside 27,000 carloads.

It has 79 national banks and 247 Territorial banks. Their deposits in January last were \$22,500,000. It has 28 daily and 250 weekly papers. The assessed valuation of its property is over \$84,000,000. Its children are being taught in 2,192 district schoolhouses. It has school buildings, State educational institutions, and all the different institutions that go with ordinary statehood. Its people are educated and as cultured and intelligent as the people of the States from which they migrated, and there appears to be no reason why the people of Oklahoma can not govern themselves either as a State comprised within the present borders of Oklahoma, or including also Indian Territory.

Indian Territory was created in 1834. Its boundaries were substantially identical with those of the Territory of Oklahoma and Indian Territory of to-day, except that it did not include Beaver County, Okla. Three million acres were opened to settlement in 1889 at the time the Territory of Oklahoma was created, and various strips were opened to settlement at different times, and when so opened were included in the Territory of Oklahoma, thus making reductions in the area of Indian Territory, until only that portion of the original Indian Territory which is inhabited by the Five Civilized Tribes remained.

We find in the so-called "Indian Territory" a peculiar state of affairs. By the treaties of the United States with the different tribes of Indians their lands were exempt from taxation for different terms, and it is only recently, upon the passage of the so-called "Curtis Act" and the organization of villages, that any of the real property in Indian Territory has become taxable. The town sites only are as yet taxable. Farm lands will become so from time to time in accordance with the terms of the treaties and amendments made. The area of Indian Territory is 31,000 square miles. The census of 1900 showed a population of 392,060, of which 302,680 were whites, 52,500 only Indians, 36,853 negroes. The percentage of illiteracy was 19, and there were 12.6 people per square mile. The white children, outside of the villages, have no school facilities whatever. No roads have been provided and the conditions of existence, particularly for the great mass of the population, the whites, are, so far as our ideas of such things go, wholly primitive and inadequate. This is occasioned by the lack of suitable laws and no system of self-government.

It is claimed that Indian Territory now has a population of nearly 600,000. Of course, these people have gone into that Territory from other States. It has been argued that they are incapable of self-government and that they should be given a probationary term under a Territorial form of government preparatory to full statehood. This sounds well but is lacking in force, for the reason that the white people are immigrants from other States where they have been educated in all the principles and practices of self-governing statehood.

The line running between Oklahoma and Indian Territory is extremely irregular, and of itself constitutes a very strong argument against two States from these two Territories.

When your Committee on Territories first commenced the consideration of this measure as relates to these Territories we found many difficulties to overcome. At first we thought the fact that the lands in Indian Territory are not taxable an insurmountable difficulty; that it would impose a burden upon the people of the

present Territory of Oklahoma to provide schools, State buildings, which they now have, and taxable property from which to raise the revenue to support the State government for the part now in Indian Territory as well as its own, but on further examination it was found that it would only be a short time before the part now included in Indian Territory would furnish its due proportion of the revenues for the support of the new State.

Then, again, the land all belonged to the Indians and none of it to the Government. We are unable to give the new State the customary two sections per township for school purposes from that part now included in Indian Territory, and we have equalized and remedied this to quite an extent by an appropriation for \$5,000,000 in lieu of such lands. The bill provides for giving the new State a suitable quantity of land for school and institutional purposes in Oklahoma. We provide that the capital shall remain at Guthrie, its present location, until 1910, when the people may locate it permanently by a vote. This provision was deemed wise because it will take the question of capital location out of the constitutional convention and enable the people of Indian Territory to adapt themselves to self-government and ascertain what they want, for the people of the whole State to adjust themselves to conditions before permanently locating the capital.

By a union of the two Territories we have a State very regular in outline, containing a little less than 70,000 square miles, and in all respects one which will make a creditable showing in the sisterhood of States, both as to resources and as to character and number of people.

When we consider Arizona and New Mexico we find a problem of a different kind. The Territory of New Mexico was formed in 1850, and Arizona was created from a portion of it in 1863. The area of Arizona is 112,920 square miles, and of New Mexico 122,460. The two combined have an area about 30,000 square miles less than the State of Texas.

When combined their outlines will be regular and the State will be well proportioned notwithstanding its large size. The population of Arizona in 1900 was 122,931, of which 92,903 were whites, 26,480 Indians, 1,848 negroes. Twenty-nine per cent were illiterate, and there were 1.1 people to the square mile. Twenty-seven thousand four hundred and sixty-eight of its people were unable to speak English. The number of farms was 5,899. Aside from the Indians the people largely came from the different States and are well educated, cultured people, and entirely competent to exercise the privilege of self-government. They will compare favorably in all respects with the people of any State in the Union.

But it must be remembered that, notwithstanding the large area of Arizona, practically all its population is confined to three or four localities of small area.

Mr. LIND. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. SPALDING. Certainly.

Mr. LIND. I happened to be a member of this House when the question of the admission of the Dakotas was being considered, and exactly the same argument the gentleman is now making for consolidating New Mexico and Arizona was made against the admission of the Dakotas, just exactly, and I sat here night after night and labored together with the then Delegate from Dakota to secure a division and the admission of that great Territory as two States. Does the gentleman from North Dakota now think we made a mistake when we admitted the Dakotas as two States?

Mr. SPALDING. I have but a few minutes time remaining, but I will say to the gentleman that there is no comparison whatever, and there never has been any comparison, between the conditions in Arizona and New Mexico and the conditions that prevailed in 1889 in the Territory of Dakota, when it was divided and two States were admitted.

Mr. LIND. Does the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SPALDING. I have not the time further; I will explain later on.

Mr. LIND. I will simply suggest that at that time the settlement of North Dakota was confined to the Red River Valley.

Mr. SPALDING. Oh no, Mr. Speaker. As I was saying, there is not anything to—

Mr. EMERICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPALDING. I can not yield further, as I have not the time.

Mr. EMERICH. Just one question?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman declines to yield. Mr. SPALDING. The Territory of Dakota had some semiarid land in it, but about half of the Territory was composed of the most fertile and productive lands on the American continent and capable of supporting as dense a population as any agricultural State in the Union, but it had no lands and has none now and never will have any to compare in any respect with a great portion of the present Territory of Arizona for barrenness and lack of fertility. So I repeat that there is no comparison. But to be en-

tirely fair I will add further that there were then and are now people who believed, and still believe, that it would have been to the advantage of the Territory of Dakota to have been admitted as a whole. The thought that our influence in the union of States would be far greater as one State than it ever can be as two. I do not say that it would be so, but there were then, and are now, those who believe so.

Now, then, as I was saying, it appears that the population of Arizona is confined to a few river valleys, that the greater portion of the balance of the Territory is so barren and desert-like that it will never be populated to any extent. These valleys are now to some extent irrigated. If the reclamation project progresses favorably and successfully, they will be irrigated to a far greater extent than they are now, but the fact will remain that the population must always be confined to those valleys and that the remainder of the Territory cuts no more figure than so much air in constituting a State, and should not be taken into consideration in determining whether it ought to be admitted or not. Arizona has a capital and school system, public institutions of all kinds, well supported, and which would be a credit to any State.

The population of New Mexico in 1900 was 195,310. Of this population 180,207 were white, 13,144 Indians, 1,610 negroes, 349 Mongolians. Thirty-three and two-tenths per cent were illiterate, and the density of population was 1.6 per square mile. The population of school age was 69,712, of which 28,672 were attending school. The number of inhabitants unable to speak English was 16,163. It is claimed that the population has largely increased since the census was taken, but there is nothing in any degree definite on which to estimate such increase. New Mexico has the usual State institutions, schools, and colleges.

We have been extremely liberal with the new State of Arizona by granting it something like 22,000,000 acres of school land from the public domain. We provide that the capital shall remain at Santa Fe until 1910. This is done because the committee deemed it better policy to leave the location of the capital permanently until the people of the new State become adjusted to State affairs and to the combination. If they were permitted to locate it at the present time by popular vote, New Mexico would have its own way, while in the course of six years it will appear whether New Mexico is to retain the larger part of population. The usual Federal courts and officials are provided for.

We are met with two arguments against this bill. It is opposed by some because they desire the admission of neither Arizona nor New Mexico. It is opposed by others for the opposite reason, namely, that the bill makes one instead of two States of those Territories. The people in favor of two States say that the Southwest should have more Senators. Southwestern Senators are what they and their children cry for. They are willing to accept Senators of any political faith, if they can only be given to the great desert and States be measured by the square mile. In their estimation Senators should be apportioned by space and space alone. The fathers were mistaken when they recognized the States as entities and gave to each two Senators.

The mountain heights of the Rockies, the barren plains of the arid Southwest should count for more in the Senate of the United States than the culture of Boston's thousands, the wealth and poverty of New York's millions, or the enterprise of the metropolis of Illinois. The only standard for Senatorial influence should be the standard of acres and miles. These people also argue that Congress is bound to consider only the wish of the Territories. This I deny. We are legislating for the people of the whole United States and for all time. The people of the Territories are a small fraction of those interested. They have no abstract or inherent right to statehood.

The States of the Union form a great partnership, and their relationship to Territories seeking admission to this partnership is precisely the same as the relationship of the members of an established firm is to an employee or outsider who seeks admission to the partnership. It is purely a matter of grace. There are no contracts which require of Congress anything more than its exercise of judgment. I know no platforms of the Republican party which pledge it to the unconditional and immediate admission of any Territory. I know of no treaties affecting the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico which require their admission as States, or as a State, except at such time as Congress may in its wisdom deem for the best interests of the people of the Territories, and particularly of the people of the States.

It is contended that the population in the two Territories justifies and requires the admission of two States and that a rule has been established, by precedent and otherwise, fixing the number necessary to statehood at 60,000, and it is argued at great length and with much vehemence that inasmuch as the original thirteen States were many of them small in comparison with these Territories, both in area and population, that the Territories have a right to immediate admission. No rule has been established as to population. If I were to establish one it would be that no

State should be admitted with less inhabitants than are made, under the last apportionment, the basis for one Congressman. This rule, if applied, would exclude absolutely Arizona, and, if nothing but numbers were considered, would very nearly exclude New Mexico.

Long tables are published showing the population of each Territory when admitted as a State. The argument based upon these figures is fallacious. If it were entitled to any weight whatever there should be taken into consideration in connection with the population of the State when admitted the population of the whole United States, that is, the population of the new State as compared with the whole United States. It will then be seen that the argument based on abstract population falls to the ground; that these Territories have a smaller population in proportion to the total population of the nation than most of the other Territories when admitted. I submit herewith a table showing the population of different States when admitted and the population of the United States at the nearest census.

State.	Date of admission.	Population by census next previous to admission.	Population by following census.	Ratio to population at census nearest date of admission.
Vermont	Mar. 4, 1791	85,425	154,465	46
Kentucky	June 1, 1792	73,667	220,955	53
Tennessee	June 1, 1796	55,691	105,692	37
Ohio	Nov. 29, 1802	45,365	220,700	122
Louisiana	Apr. 30, 1812	76,556	182,923	95
Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	24,188	149,388	66
Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	40,352	75,448	124
Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	40,352	127,401	75
Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	12,292	55,182	174
Maine	Mar. 15, 1820	228,865	298,532	69
Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	66,557	140,455	126
Arkansas	June 15, 1836	30,388	97,574	80
Michigan	Jan. 26, 1837	31,679	212,267	80
Florida	Mar. 3, 1845	54,477	87,445	156
Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	212,562	212,562	100
Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	43,112	192,214	130
Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	30,945	305,391	72
California	Sept. 9, 1850	101,597	327,263	229
Minnesota	May 11, 1858	6,077	169,654	133
Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	13,294	52,288	604
Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	107,017	269,495	294
West Virginia	June 19, 1863	442,013	442,013	71
Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	6,857	39,316	80
Nebraska	Mar. 1, 1867	28,778	122,908	315
Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876	39,677	194,327	237
North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	86,909	182,496	344
South Dakota	do	98,268	328,808	199
Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	75,116	349,380	184
Idaho	July 3, 1890	32,610	84,219	745
Wyoming	July 10, 1890	20,789	60,700	1,040
New Mexico	.....	.....	.....	300
Arizona	.....	.....	.....	620
New Mexico and Arizona	.....	.....	.....	210
Oklahoma	.....	.....	.....	190
Indian Territory	.....	.....	.....	194
Oklahoma and Indian Territory	.....	.....	.....	65

I concede that the population of Arizona will compare favorably in character with that of any State of the Union. It is largely composed of immigrants of the very best classes from the other States. This is also true to some extent of New Mexico, but many people of both New Mexico and Arizona are miners and ranchmen, and their location is transient. Many of the inhabitants of New Mexico are of Mexican descent, but natives of the United States, who can not read or write any language, and many of them can not speak the English language. It is contended that they are good citizens, that they are familiar with the principles of a republican form of government, and with republican institutions.

I am ready to believe that, to a limited extent, this is true, but that largely it is assumed. I contend that the foreigner who can read and write his own language, but is unable to read or speak the English language, who has just landed on our shores, is entitled to more consideration than the native of the United States grown to the estate of manhood in this country who can neither read nor write English.

These Territories have been settled for more than three hundred years. Their increase has been less rapid than any other section of the country, and unless irrigation works a miracle, the increase in their population must continue to be very slow.

It is charged that the union of Arizona and New Mexico is a political measure. If this be true, what can be said of the opposition to their admission when united? Is not that likewise a political measure, and does not that, if successful, deprive them of all privileges of statehood rather than of simply their method of acquiring and exercising it? Arizona and New Mexico were originally one Territory. They were divided, it is claimed, by reason of the difficulties of communication. That was before the days of railroads. The different parts of the two Territories are now,

so far as accessibility goes, no further apart than Philadelphia and New York were when the Union was established.

It was contemplated by the act creating the Territory of Arizona that it might thereafter be reunited with New Mexico or joined to other States or Territories. That act provides that nothing contained therein shall be construed to prohibit Congress from dividing the Territory of Arizona or changing its boundaries in such manner and at such time as it may deem proper.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the admission of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, to my mind, is a political question. The admission of new States has been during the last century a political question in every instance, and were this not a political question at the present time I should oppose the admission of Arizona and New Mexico and insist that they retain Territorial government for a quarter of a century longer.

The calamity, if it be a calamity, which is occasioned by their admission as one is far smaller than the country would experience if they were admitted as two States. They have knocked at the door for admission for many years. Their demands have not been complied with. They naturally feel like the people of other Territories, that they are deprived of some great right or privilege in not being allowed to elect their own executives and full representation in Congress. Without doubt on admission they will cast a very large vote on the first election when compared with their population, but the novelty gone the majority of the people will settle back to their normal condition, and but little more interest will be taken in matters of State than have heretofore been taken in those pertaining to Territorial government.

It is claimed that many of the people of New Mexico are opposed to their union with Arizona, and that the people of Arizona are almost unanimously opposed to such union. It is claimed that on a vote to adopt a constitution the people of Arizona will vote as a unit against it. I doubt these claims very much. In my judgment the great mass of the people pay little attention to these matters. Those who take an active interest in public affairs realize that with one State there will be only half the offices and places to be filled in the new State government. The people care nothing about this. The office seekers do, and the vote will be much more largely in favor of admission than is claimed by many.

I further contend, Mr. Speaker, that the claim that Arizona prefers to remain a Territory indefinitely than to be united in a State with New Mexico is incorrect. Your committee on Territories has had something like forty meetings at which argument and testimony has been heard relating to the admission of these Territories; but our sources of information have not been confined to the public declarations of witnesses and advocates. Information has come to different members of that committee from sources much less likely to be governed by prejudice, and I am satisfied that the people as a whole will be satisfied, and are satisfied, with admission as one State, and that in a few years from this time they will concede the superior wisdom of Congress, if this bill becomes a law.

Mr. Speaker, there is much more that might be said on this subject. For two States of these two Territories I can not vote. I acquiesce in admitting them as one State on the ground that the population is sufficient to make one representative State, on the ground that the intelligence of the people warrants a State, and on the ground that there is some justice in their demand for statehood.

	Arizona.	New Mexico.	Indian Territory.	Oklahoma.
Area—square miles	112,020	122,400	31,000	38,830
Total population	122,981	195,310	302,060	308,331
Male:				
White	55,230	96,036	163,683	198,943
Negro	1,363	1,023	19,147	9,509
Indian	13,551	6,828	26,095	5,876
Female:				
White	37,673	84,171	138,997	168,531
Negro	485	587	17,706	9,322
Indian	12,929	6,316	26,405	6,069
Total whites	92,903	180,207	302,680	367,524
Total Indians	26,480	13,144	52,500	11,945
Indians, taxed	1,836	10,207	1,107	6,018
Indians, not taxed	24,644	2,937	51,393	5,927
Negroes	1,848	1,610	36,853	18,831
Mongolian	1,700	349	27	31
Percentage of illiteracy	29.0	33.2	19.0	5.5
Density of population	1.1	1.6	12.6	10.3
Percentage foreign born	19.7	7.0	1.2	3.9
Population of school age, 5 to 20	33,869	60,712	159,125	147,657
Population attending school, 1900	17,495	23,672	43,233	82,274
Number unable to speak English	27,469	16,163	7,971	5,292
Number of farms	5,800	12,311	45,505	62,495
Value of farm products, 1899	\$6,997,000	\$10,155,000	\$27,672,000	\$45,440,000

The Main Ship Channel to the Port of Baltimore.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES W. DENNY,

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 27, 1904.

On the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill (H. R. 14416).

Mr. DENNY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The bill under consideration contains an appropriation of a sum not exceeding \$100,000 for the purchase of two lots of ground adjacent to the new custom-house in the city of Baltimore, as well as another \$100,000 for the continuation of the work on that new building now being constructed. The great fire in Baltimore destroyed the two buildings which stood on these lots on the west side of the new custom-house, and if this property is ever to be acquired for the use of the Government now is the time to secure it, before it is again improved. The possession of this ground to the west of the custom-house by the Government is deemed essential in order to protect this splendid property from another fire at any future time, and also to secure an abundance of light and air and ample space for any extension that may be desirable for any purpose.

The city of Baltimore, which I have the the honor in part to represent, is now engaged in widening its streets in the burned district in order to accommodate its advancing manufacturing and commercial industries. We have, as a city, recently authorized the appropriation of millions of dollars for this purpose; and all our citizens are determined to rebuild the city in a way that will, in the future, tend to the advancement of its trade and add largely to its future greatness and beauty. While we are now practically in ashes, yet we are hopeful for the future, and propose to retain and increase our commercial business and renew the waste places as rapidly as persistent efforts can accomplish it. We are grateful for the many friends in and out of this representative body who have voluntarily offered substantial aid in the hour of our city's calamity. Their offers of assistance have been very gratefully appreciated, but very respectfully declined. We have been able to care for those who lost their all, and we will continue to do so as long as the emergency exists. We, in this bill, ask the Government to buy in fee simple this property at a fair price for its own purposes and uses, and to that extent add to the beneficial use of the beautiful custom-house building now being erected at the port of Baltimore.

This measure meets the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, who, in company with my distinguished colleague, Mr. WACHTER, some of the Members of this House, and myself, very recently visited Baltimore to inspect the premises. The Secretary, speaking of the advisability of this purchase, says:

ADDITIONAL SPACE NECESSARY.

The site for the custom-house building at Baltimore is bounded on three sides by streets, and on the remaining side the building line is within 30 feet of the adjacent property. There is no room for the future enlargement of the building except in that direction, and this open space is necessary, and, furthermore, would be desirable to afford proper air and light to the offices on that side of the building.

It is considered that it would be greatly in the interest of the public service to secure this addition before it is improved, in order that provision may be made for the future enlargement of the building and to secure for all time proper light and ventilation on that side of the building.

With this evidence from the distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, I am quite sure that this appropriation will meet the favorable consideration of this House.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with the custom-house, I beg to submit a few additional facts and statistics concerning the port of Baltimore itself and its approaches to the Chesapeake Bay through the famous Craighill and Brewerton channels, and to state some few reasons why the Government should deepen the channel to that port to a depth of at least 35 feet. It is now 30 feet deep and 600 feet wide. On the 11th of November, 1903, I introduced a bill (H. R. 1214) in this Congress, which provides for an appropriation of \$3,465,000 for the purpose of increasing the depth of the main ship channel in the Patapsco River to the harbor of Baltimore to 35 feet. This bill was referred to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors. The distinguished chairman of that committee has given its advocates a patient hearing, at which hearing were present representatives of the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, and, indeed, representatives from all the great commercial interests of the city of Baltimore, including the mayor and city council.

When that bill is reported I hope to be able to convince the candid judgment of this House that this demand for an increased depth of the great Craighill and Brewerton channels to 35 feet is reasonable and just to the people using that port. The channel

is 19 miles long and extends from Fort McHenry to deep water in the Patapsco River and the Chesapeake Bay. The evidence produced satisfies me that the business of the country requires a deeper channel to accommodate the modern steamships that trade at this port and which carry the products of the great western country to foreign lands. The size of modern seagoing vessels has, from year to year, greatly increased, and it is not now unusual for vessels to leave this port drawing over 30 feet of water. In a number of cases reported the captains of large freight steamers have declined to load to their full capacity in consequence of the danger in passing through the 30-foot channel.

On the 7th of last February our beautiful city was laid in ashes by a conflagration almost unprecedented, in which over 2,000 buildings were destroyed in the heart of the business section, yet our merchants have retained their trade and commerce. They are located in temporary places of business and are pressing forward in an earnest effort to rebuild in grander proportions. We have a great harbor with its splendid accommodations for commerce; Baltimore is one of the gates to the Atlantic Ocean. If our approaches by water are not sufficient for the safe transport of modern ships, we must suffer in our commercial relations. New York is now provided with 40 feet of water; Boston has 35 feet of water, with a width of about 1,200 feet. Under the act of June 13, 1902, the sum of \$3,600,000 was appropriated for the purpose of increasing the depth of that harbor. The act reads as follows:

For improving said harbor in accordance with the report submitted in House Document No. 119, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, by providing channels 35 feet deep, but modified in width so as to provide a channel 1,200 feet wide from the navy-yard at Charlestown and the Chelsea Bridge and Charles River Bridge to President Roads, and 1,500 feet wide from President Roads by route designated as No. 3, through Broad Sound to the ocean, \$600,000; *Provided*, That a contract or contracts may be entered into by the Secretary of War for such material and work as may be necessary for prosecuting said improvement, to be paid for as appropriations may from time to time be made by law, not to exceed in the aggregate \$3,000,000, exclusive of the amount herein appropriated; *Provided further*, That the expenditure hereby authorized shall be made with a view to securing channels 35 feet deep and of a width as uniform as possible.

To encourage the merchant marine in an equitable and permanent manner let there be commodious waterways to our seaports. That is the only subsidy that is just to the shipping interests and to the people alike. That is the only bounty which the shipowners can rightfully claim at the hands of the Government.

This money was no doubt well spent for the port of Boston. It shows the necessity there existing to meet the demands of modern commerce, which is now and will hereafter be carried in larger ships. The few Atlantic seaports from Maine to Texas are the doors through which the great productions of the West must seek a foreign or coastwise market, and demand the highest consideration on the part of Congress in the interest of all the people of the country. Unless the seaports are safely and conveniently reached the owners of vessels will not enter them, and to that extent the commercial importance of such port with insufficient water is retarded. The production and interchange of commodities is the basis of our material prosperity.

The wealth of our people depends upon the labor that produces the wheat, that cuts the timber, that digs the ore; upon the factories that make the finished article, from a pin to a steam engine; upon the railroads and ships that carry those products to the consumer in every land. We appropriate this year \$98,000,000 for our Navy, and yet we are at peace with all the world. To maintain the Army we appropriate this year \$77,000,000, all of which comes to the Treasury from the pockets of the people. These expenditures may be necessary for our safety in times of war. In time of peace the Army and Navy are consumers and nonproducers. Is it not the part of wisdom to provide in a generous way to secure to the people the fruits of their labor by encouraging their industries, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, by opening the great rivers and harbors of the country to the unrestricted interchange of the products we produce by convenient and economical transportation and shipment to the nearest markets of this or any foreign land.

While we are expending yearly many millions of dollars for the Army and Navy, we have on all the waterways of the country spent comparatively a small sum. During the last fiscal year all the expenditures for the rivers and harbors of the United States did not exceed \$20,000,000, although there are now over 600 projects on hand. I am glad to believe that the future policy of the country is being shaped more wisely with a view to complete the great projects beneficial to the whole people and discreetly to provide the leading seaports with facilities by which they are made convenient, safe, and accessible for the world's commerce. This should first be done before questionable projects are undertaken. The people of the whole country are directly interested in the shipments of their products. Projects not affecting the whole country and of a local character merely should be postponed until those of an urgent and general character are pushed to a conclusion.

The channel to the port of Baltimore is one that presents the highest claims for prompt consideration, in order to supply the pressing requirements of the country's commerce. According to the Report of the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, the sum of \$3,465,000 is required to deepen the channel to 35 feet throughout its entire length of 19 miles. This depth is absolutely required in order to enable the ships which carry the world's commerce to reach our harbor in safety. The customs duties received at this port in nine months would more than pay the cost. The western producers seek the best and cheapest facilities for shipment of their farming industries, their iron, and manufactured products to the Atlantic coast. By this improvement in deep waterways lasting benefits would come not alone to Baltimore, but to all the western trade that naturally seeks the nearest and cheapest port.

Realizing this public necessity, the city of Baltimore has expended out of its own treasury, from the year 1876, the sum of \$2,397,408 in enlarging and deepening its harbor, while the Government has never spent a cent on the harbor itself. The projects of the Government there have been limited to the approaches to Baltimore in the channels known as the Craighill and Brewerton channels. To the dredging of these channels the city has contributed the sum of \$750,000, which was expended under the direction of the engineers of the United States. The city of Baltimore began in an humble way over one hundred and four years ago to improve its harbor. There is no record of the costs incurred prior to 1875. I beg to read to you an interesting document written by James Calhoun, then mayor of Baltimore, to the city council, which, for expenditures, might teach us a lesson of the strictest economy. Baltimore was then a village and its future greatness was but a dream; now we have a city of about 600,000 busy people. The letter is as follows, and I read it rather as a curious official paper of days in the past:

BALTIMORE, September 27, 1799.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CITY COUNCIL: The cleaning of the harbor of Baltimore is certainly an object of the first magnitude to the city, and the board of wardens were at much pains and great expense in procuring a machine for raising the mud out of the basin, which I verily believe is as well calculated for the purpose as any it is in our power to obtain; but unless we had a place for deposit for the mud or could get it taken from the machine, the expense of skows and hands to unload them, with the annual support of the superintendent and horses, is more than the same number of skow loads would cost by scooping; besides, it can be taken up in that way from the wharfs and channel with less interruption to the trade of the place than it can possibly be done by the machine, and altho' I confess it is with great reluctance I can be brought to consent to lay aside this machine, which cost so much money, and in which the expectations of the citizens were so great, yet it gives me real pain to find so little can be done for the money expended in its support, and therefore I submit it to the council whether it would not be as well to dispose of the horses now as to keep them over winter at the present high price of forage, and to strip and lay up the machine, at least for the present.

JAMES CALHOUN.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply interested in trying to impress this Congress with our urgent necessities as an Atlantic seaport. Such improvements will increase largely the revenue from imports. We ought to be placed in fair competition with New York and Boston. All of these ports are of national interest and deserve the highest consideration, and equally deserve just consideration for the great sections of country that use the respective ports.

We have been entertained with numerous lucid speeches on the advantages and disadvantages of the tariff laws at this session, and on a thousand and one political questions, about which honest differences may fairly exist, but about the great public projects, seriously involving the commerce of the United States, there ought to be no difference and more interest. The political systems of either party are of secondary importance to this commercial question, far above partisan considerations. The advances in modern civilization, the loyalty of the American people to the Government, the unprecedented progress in transportation systems by land and water justify the belief that our seaports will not only be well guarded by our great war vessels in times of war but better guarded by extending safe facilities to our ever-increasing commerce in times of peace. Commerce has built up the prosperity of the people and has contributed to the comforts and luxuries of American life. We hail with joy the invasions of peaceful commerce at all times and hope it may never decline in importance.

Let nothing divert our attention from the peaceful pursuits of industry and commerce. We favor appropriations that tend to bring peace and happiness and set our faces against unnecessary appropriations for great military and naval establishments, which are not now required and will not be if our course toward other nations shall be consistent with the spirit of fair, honest, republican institutions. Because other great nations tax their subjects for the maintenance of large navies and armies presents no sufficient reason for us to do the same. We may seriously err in appropriating our substance in maintaining an equivalent in force on the sea or land. We will not err in protecting and fostering our commerce.

But, Mr. Speaker, I must not be diverted from the object I have in view, and that is to impress this Congress with the necessity

for a deeper channel for the port of Baltimore. In ocean freight steamers it is shown that the larger the steamer the greater the saving in cost of transportation. The small craft of ocean steamers can not compete with the larger and make a profit. If, therefore, the larger steamers can not trade at our port for want of depth of water, we can not maintain our place as an importing or exporting city. We have known some of these large steamers from Baltimore, when dry docked in foreign ports, to present bottoms brightened and their plates indented by scraping along the bottom of the channel. Sometimes much delay results from grounding or the fear of grounding. We have at least a dozen steamers engaged regularly in commerce from this port which draw 30 feet of water and can not be loaded to their full draft and capacity for want of sufficient depth of water. The following is the loaded draft of various steamers trading to and from Baltimore:

Hamburg-American Line—*Batavia, Belgravia, Brazilia, and Bulgaria*, all 30 feet 11½ inches; *Bethania*, 30 feet 3 inches; *Bengalia, Bosnia, and Belgia*, 30 feet, and the Johnston Line steamer *Rowanmore*, 31 feet 6 inches extreme draft. These steamers, of course, can not load at this port to their full draft. The *Rowanmore* last January showed evidence of having dragged over soft mud and was delayed several hours in clearing the channel, and frequently the water is discolored with mud stirred up both in the channel and at York Spit in the lower bay. Northwestern winds in winter often reduce the water in the harbor and also in the channel. The city has always dredged its harbor proper, and it now requires the aid of the Government in its deep-water channel approaches.

During the past twenty years, from March 3, 1881, to June 1, 3 1902, the Government has expended in the navigable waters of the Patapsco River a total sum of \$3,524,000, as follows:

March 3, 1881	\$150,000
August 2, 1882	450,000
July 5, 1884	250,000
August 5, 1886	150,000
August 11, 1888	300,000
September 19, 1890	340,000
March 3, 1891	151,200
August 5, 1892	208,000
August 18, 1894	50,000
June 3, 1896	400,000
June 3, 1896	50,000
March 3, 1899	200,000
June 6, 1900	324,648
March 3, 1901	475,352
June 13, 1902	25,000
Total	3,524,200

while the total sum expended from the beginning of the Government's contributions in 1852 amounted to \$4,741,030. (See Appendix K, Chief of Engineers' Report of 1903, p. 1028.)

The United States was paid, through the customs receipts of this port during the same period, sums amounting to \$61,325,843.47, as shown by the following table:

1882	\$3,115,776.06
1883	3,171,620.65
1884	2,331,396.33
1885	2,081,796.51
1886	2,601,439.64
1887	3,053,104.02
1888	2,906,220.14
1889	2,326,659.29
1890	2,951,827.83
1891	3,706,928.22
1892	3,175,558.44
1893	4,039,196.13
1894	3,038,688.22
1895	2,937,826.53
1896	2,825,586.39
1897	2,301,264.39
1898	1,780,254.99
1899	2,100,792.77
1900	2,849,565.53
1901	3,020,653.92
1902	3,517,252.02
Total	61,325,843.47

In addition to the sums the city of Baltimore has contributed in caring for its harbor, the Maryland Steel Company, the Northern Central Railroad Company, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company have spent large sums in dredging deep channels to their works and elevators, and now the Wabash System is erecting its tide-water piers and docks.

I beg to submit the report of Col. Peter C. Hains, Corps of United States Engineers, dated August 5, 1902, directed to Gen. G. L. Gillespie, in the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for the year 1902, Appendix A A A, pages 2586-2588, which shows the above-named expenditures by the city of Baltimore. It reads as follows:

UNITED STATES ENGINEER OFFICE,
Baltimore, Md., August 5, 1902.

GENERAL: In compliance with the instructions contained in your letter dated July 25, 1902, I have the honor to report as follows:
Patapsco River and channel to Baltimore, Md.—This improvement extends from the city limits of Baltimore, near Fort McHenry, down the Patapsco

River and into the Chesapeake Bay to a point off Sandy Point light-house, a distance of about 19 miles. All depths given in this report refer to mean low water.

From the beginning of operations in 1853 to the attainment of a 21-foot depth in 1874, the municipality of Baltimore worked in conjunction with the United States in dredging that depth, the city expending about \$750,000. Since 1874 the United States alone has made all the improvement to this channel, always operating outside the city limits and never adjacent to wharves.

The main or inner harbor of Baltimore has been improved by the city of Baltimore alone. The southern boundary of the city at the mouth of the harbor is on a line drawn about east and west from the most southern point of Fort McHenry to the southern boundary line of the United States light-house establishment at the lazaretto. At that city limit the main ship channel, improved by the United States, joins the channels of the inner harbor, improved by the city of Baltimore to a depth of 30 feet for a length of about 3,000 feet on the eastern side and a length of about 6,000 feet on the western side, and graduated depths, varying from 27 to 17 feet, for the remaining portion of the inner harbor, as shown by the accompanying map. These improvements were begun by the city as early as 1793, as will appear from a copy of a letter from the first mayor of Baltimore.

The amount expended by the city upon these improvements up to 1875 is unknown, but in 1876 a harbor board was constituted by the city and records kept which show an expenditure of \$1,647,408.25 for dredging from 1876 to 1901, inclusive, the expenditure including the South Branch of the Patapsco River, Spring Garden, and Jones Falls. Adding that amount to the sum (\$750,000) expended by the city upon the main ship channel, in the approaches to the harbor, as given in the fourth paragraph of this report, the known total expended by the city in the navigable waters of the United States amounts to \$2,397,408.25.

The Maryland Steel Company dredged a channel 100 feet wide and 26 feet deep, for a distance of a little over 1 mile, from the main ship channel to their works at Sparrows Point, at an expense of \$67,177.04. In addition the same company expended \$37,080 in dredging in the Patapsco River near their shipyard at Sparrows Point.

The Northern Central Railroad Company dredged a channel a little over one-half mile long from the main ship channel in the Patapsco River to their Canton elevator, outside the city limits. The channel is about 100 feet wide and has a controlling depth of 29 feet in it. The cost is unknown.

Other dredging operations of private corporations and individuals have been confined to slips between piers, and between ends of piers and pierhead lines within the city limits.

Harbor of Southwest Baltimore (Spring Garden), Md.—This section is made up of the South Branch of the Patapsco River from the main ship channel near Fort McHenry to the Light Street Bridge, and Spring Garden, which extends from Light Street Bridge to the foot of Eutaw street. The boundary of the city of Baltimore is on a line drawn due east and west from the end of Ferry Point to the shore in Baltimore County.

No work has ever been done by the United States in this locality, but operations are about to be commenced under the law of June 13, 1902, providing for a continuous contract to dredge a channel 100 feet wide at bottom and 27 feet deep from the main ship channel near Fort McHenry to the foot of Eutaw street at an estimated cost of \$31,000. Forty-three per cent of this work will be within the city limits and 57 per cent outside of them.

From 1876 to 1900, inclusive, the municipality of Baltimore has operated in this locality, dredging a channel about 100 feet wide and 17 feet deep. This with other dredging in the vicinity cost the city \$243,141.63, which is included in the total expended by the city as given in the preceding report.

Conclusion.—The above, so far as known to me, covers the law quoted in your letter, so far as it relates to the navigable waters of the United States in the district in my charge.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Brig. Gen. G. L. GILLESPIE, Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army.
PETER C. HAINS, Colonel, Corps of Engineers.

BALTIMORE HARBOR.

The harbor of Baltimore is one of the best on the Atlantic coast. The whole United States Navy and many hundred ships in addition could be accommodated with ease in its waters. Indeed, the Patapsco River, from the inner harbor to the Chesapeake, is a great peaceful harbor, with only a foot of tide and no perceptible current. The hills surrounding screen it from excessive winds, and the largest ships can find room at the docks on either side of the harbor. The port warden's line has been extended by the Secretary, so that wharves may extend 1,000 feet or more to suit the convenience of commerce.

All the shipping interests, merchants and manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, the railroad and transportation companies, as well as the United States engineers, have, with a unanimous voice, declared that the business of the port is retarded by want of a deeper channel for its seagoing steamships. The great ships that trade regularly at this port are prevented from taking full cargoes; or, if they do, they become endangered by plowing up the mud in the bottom of the channel. We fear their owners may seek other Atlantic seaports now provided with deep channels rather than risk their large, seagoing ships in a 19-mile channel with no margin in depth of water for safety or dispatch. With the approaches to the harbor deepened to 35 feet, the harbor facilities will be unsurpassed and we will be kept abreast of the demands of modern vessels. Steamers 500 feet long, 62 feet wide, and drawing 32 feet of water frequently dock at our great wharves. One of these wharves, recently built, covers 4 acres of floor space, at a cost of \$600,000. It is 800 feet long, 160 feet wide, two stories high, with docks now 32 feet deep, and capable of accommodating four of the large ocean liners at one time.

WHAT THE CHIEF ENGINEER SAYS.

Gen. G. L. Gillespie, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, in his annual report of 1902 to the War Department, on page 195, Appendix K, says:

The draft that can now be carried to Baltimore, to which point the Patapsco River is navigable in fact, is 80 feet at mean low water, but this is not

adequate for the commerce of the port. The depth at least should be increased to accommodate at full draft the vessels using the port.

With this in view Congress by concurrent resolution called for an estimate of the cost of increasing the depth of the channel to 35 feet. That estimate is printed in Senate Document No. 118, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, and is also herewith as Appendix K 4. If no appropriations are made at the next session of Congress for this 35-foot project, \$50,000 will be required to maintain 30 feet depth in the channel to June 30, 1905. The tonnage movement of the port has been as follows:

Fiscal year ending June 30—	Tons.	Fiscal year ending June 30—	Tons.
1889.....	3,243,017	1897.....	6,868,120
1890.....	4,237,301	1898.....	7,339,405
1891.....	4,435,469	1899.....	6,843,629
1892.....	5,224,042	1900.....	7,841,589
1893.....	4,607,176	1901.....	8,055,017
1894.....	4,732,946	1902.....	7,520,870
1895.....	4,794,964	1903.....	7,736,447
1896.....	5,263,894		

The statistics of the port for the past fiscal year are illustrated briefly by the following table:

Dutiable imports have increased.....	\$7,841,152.00
Free imports have decreased.....	\$2,979,853.00
Domestic exports have increased.....	\$1,167,922.00
Tonnage (foreign) has decreased..... tons.	13,003
Duties collected have increased.....	\$1,842,137.77
Duties on merchandise in bond have decreased.....	\$33,396.03
Duties on merchandise in bond with and without appraisement have decreased.....	\$224,575.67

REFERENCES.

Subject.	When made.	Document.	Annual report.
History.....			1874, page 18 (Pt. II).
Do.....			1903, page 231.
Survey.....	1894	House Executive, No. 57, Fifty-third Congress, third session.	1895, page 1201.
Do.....	1896	House, No. 50, Fifty-fourth Congress, second session.	1897, page 1308.
Do.....	1901	Senate, No. 118, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session.	1901, page 1395.
Do.....	1902	House, No. 186, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session.	1903, page 1032.

Steamships that draw 30 feet and regularly load at this port belong to the Johnston Line, the Atlantic Transport Line, Hamburg-American Line, and the North German Lloyd Line. The pilots say they have trouble in passing through the ship channel, especially when the wind blows from the northwest, and want two hours of daylight to make the passage in safety. They have sometimes been detained in consequence of winds for twenty-four hours, and sometimes have to steam through the mud they stir up. They have to anchor at times in the lower bay, waiting for the tide to rise off York Spit, where the bottom is hard. Some dredging is recommended by the engineer to be done at York Spit, which is above the mouth of York River, in the Chesapeake, in accordance with the report contained in Senate Document No. 118, second session, Fifty-sixth Congress.

At the port of Baltimore there are 15 established lines of steamships engaged in foreign trade, namely:

Company.	Number of vessels.	Tons.	Destination.
Hamburg-American Line.....	12	49,555	Hamburg.
Atlantic Transport Line.....	4	13,683	London.
Lord Line.....	13	30,876	Belfast, Cardiff, London.
Earn Line.....	7	11,408	West Indies, South America, Mexico, and Europe.
North German Lloyd.....	10	52,219	Bremen.
Di Giorgio Importation and Steamship Co.....	7	4,782	Cuba and Jamaica.
United Fruit Co.....	6	8,818	Jamaica.
Johnston Line.....	6	28,055	Liverpool.
Donaldson Line.....	5	18,186	Glasgow.
Puritan Line.....	4	9,060	Antwerp.
Neptune Line.....	7	15,192	Rotterdam.
Elder Line.....	3	5,389	Mediterranean ports.
Mexican Lloyd Trading Co.....	2	8,793	Vera Cruz and Tampico.
Deutsch-Amerikan Petroleum Gesellschaft.....	8	15,867	German ports.
American Petroleum Co.....	6	10,877	Various ports.

Besides a great number of tramp ships.

WHAT COL. WILLIAM A. JONES, UNITED STATES ENGINEER, SAYS.

Col. William A. Jones, in a report dated July 28, 1903, published by the board of trade for the year ending September 30, 1903, page 22, says:

The average rise of the tide is over 1 foot throughout the channel, and there was also a margin of safety allowed for when the channel was dredged,

which makes the draft that can be carried to Baltimore somewhat greater than the projected depth. As a matter of fact, vessels drawing over 31 feet have navigated the channel. Notwithstanding this, the depth in the channel is not sufficient to accommodate the full capacity of all vessels trading with the port. The steering of the very large, deep-draft ocean steamers in a channel of the dimensions of the main ship channel, whose draft is equal to, or nearly equal to, the depth of water in the channel, is quite difficult, owing to the suction produced by the proximity of the bottom and sides, and they are liable to lose steering control and ground on the side of the channel. Although the channel is well lighted and buoyed, there are very few, if any, deep-draft ocean-going steamers which navigate it at night.

There is now before Congress a project submitted by this office for increasing the depth to 35 feet and the width to 600 feet and 1,000 feet, respectively. The cost of 600 feet is estimated at \$3,435,000, and for 1,000 feet at \$10,700,000. It is my judgment that in the interests of the port the project for a 35-foot depth in the existing 600-foot-wide channel should first be completed before undertaking the 1,000-foot project. Both projects involve dredging in the lower part of the Chesapeake Bay.

THE TRADE OF THE PORT OF BALTIMORE.

I will submit the report of the president and board of directors of the Board of Trade of Baltimore for the year ending September 30, 1903, showing the value of domestic exports, vessels entered and cleared, and the tonnage movement. The business of the port is shown in part by the figures following:

Value of domestic exports for the year.....	\$81,670,667
Value of imports for the year.....	\$27,807,878
Number of passengers, including immigrants for the year.....	53,802
Coastwise and foreign tonnage:	
Arrived.....	6,307,301
Departed.....	6,914,209
Receipts of grain and flour, reduced to bushels, for ten months ending October, 1903.....	41,005,915
Customs receipts for the year ending June 30, 1903.....	\$5,628,670.57

Comparing the exports of last year with the exports of ten years ago an increase is shown, in round numbers, from \$71,000,000 in 1883 to \$81,000,000 in 1903, and in imports from \$16,000,000 in 1893 to \$27,000,000 in 1903.

The number of steam and sail vessels built during the year within the district of Baltimore was 66.

The Maryland Steel Company, at Sparrows Point in 1899, commenced the construction of the large floating dry dock for the United States naval reservation at New Orleans, which, after being completed, safely reached its destination. This floating dry dock is 525 feet long, 140 feet wide, and 50 feet high, and capable of lifting the largest battle ships. The company is now building four vessels over 500 feet in length and 13,000 tons each; also another floating dock intended for Manila.

The number of vessels, coastwise and foreign, departing from this port during the year was 14,452, of which 2,091 were steam vessels, which cleared at the custom-house for foreign ports. The dutiable imports for the past year increased \$7,841,152 and domestic imports increased \$1,167,922.

RAILROADS.

In addition to the Northern Central and Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company piers, the Wabash system has recently made Baltimore its eastern terminal, and is now erecting immense piers for its transcontinental business, that will seek through this port the foreign and coastwise markets. With increasing railroad lines increased shipping facilities are required.

The harbor having but little tide no shifting is needed and the loading and unloading is attended with a minimum charge.

The railroads are making provisions for an increasing trade. Our terminal warehouses are among the largest in the country. The coal piers of the Baltimore and Ohio are of large proportions. That road has just completed at Locust Point the largest pier in the country, using over 8,000 piles.

The foundations for the new coal piers at the terminals of the Wabash system are already laid on 1,508 piles.

Baltimore has become one of the greatest grain ports of the country. The greater portion of the trade consists of shipments from the West, which shipments may be transferred into a number of vessels at one time, alongside or at the elevators. Forty million five hundred and thirty five thousand and twenty-three bushels of corn were exported last year from this port. It is the natural and convenient outlet for the grain and farm products of the West.

It is 150 miles nearer Chicago than New York, 210 miles nearer to St. Louis, 104 miles nearer to Pittsburg, 240 miles nearer to Cincinnati, 246 miles nearer to Louisville. It is next to New York in its corn and flour receipts and exports. Its commerce and shipping interests justify this appeal for increased facilities, in order that modern vessels may reach our port with ease and safety. The ships of commerce travel only in safe courses. Good roads to the sea are as essential as good roads on the land. We have the products of the fields of the West, the mountains of coal at convenient distances in West Virginia, the manufactured articles of every description, made of wood, iron, and steel, all seeking the markets of the world through our economical port, which is now well equipped to handle the trade that results from the increased railroads with their terminals in our harbor.

It is of the utmost import to the whole country that our Atlantic harbors be fostered and made amply sufficient to keep pace with

the rapid and marvelous advance in modern shipbuilding. Healthy and just competition requires our few Atlantic ports to be placed on an equal footing. The partial blockade of ships, which would naturally trade with our port if they could safely reach it, ought to be raised by the powerful arm of the Government as efficiently and as promptly as it would destroy an enemy blockading the coast.

Baltimore has greatly increased its shipbuilding plant in recent years, and is now constructing ocean steamers of steel and daily manufacturing tons of steel rails for the home and foreign markets. Her funds paid for making and enlarging her own harbor until it is now capable of anchoring a thousand ships. It deserves liberal treatment. It deserves an unobstructed outlet for its commerce. It asks that a just and generous Government will safeguard the commerce of the port from the increasing perils of a channel now insufficient in depth to meet the requirement of modern steamships.

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH T. JOHNSON,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 15, 1904.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. JOHNSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: During the year 1903 it was suggested that weak rural routes should be discontinued. In order that no route in my Congressional district might be found weak when the crisis came, if it ever came, I determined to make the rounds of all the district. My purpose was to see the patrons of the routes and encourage them to make of rural delivery what it was designed to be, viz, a great school. I have found some people who had an idea that the purpose in installing free delivery was for the convenience of the people. To be sure, it is convenient to have mail delivered at or near one's door, but that is a mere secondary and superficial reason. Back of and beyond the convenience the system affords is a deeper and sounder reason for its installation. It is for the education, the comfort, and the pleasure of the country people. It will destroy the loneliness and the isolation of country life. It will bring the country people in touch with the world. It will enable the countryman and his family to spend their evenings and leisure moments in the perusal of newspapers and magazines. As the isolation of country life diminishes, the drift from country to town will become gratifyingly less.

With the indulgence of the House I will submit a few observations from my experience as the companion of the carriers on their various routes. On every route, almost, the patrons insisted that they had the best carrier in the service. On the other hand, nearly every carrier vowed that he had the best people on earth to serve. It reminded me of a story I once heard. Two men were migrating from the populous States of the East to the rich, virgin States of the West. They camped together one night near a farmhouse. After supper the old man who owned and lived in the farmhouse went out to the camp to spend the evening in conversation with the travelers. In the course of the evening the old farmer turned to one of the travelers and asked: "Why are you going West?" The traveler so addressed replied: "My family is large, my means are limited, and I hope on the rich lands of the West to do better for my family; but I am leaving the best people on earth, and it is a sore trial to go away from such good neighbors." The old farmer said: "You will find the same kind of neighbors where you are going." Turning to the other traveler, the farmer asked: "And why are you going West?" The second traveler replied: "I am well off in this world's goods, but I am leaving the meanest neighborhood in the world. The people are mean, selfish, and unneighborly. I want to get away from such mean neighbors." The farmer answered: "You will find the same kind of neighbors where you are going." [Applause.] That farmer was a philosopher. We make in a large measure our environments and surroundings. We see our own good or bad qualities reflected in others. It was gratifying to me to hear each carrier aver that he served the best people in the world. It was equally gratifying to hear each set of patrons claim that they had the best carrier in the United States. It showed that both carriers and people were good. The whole truth is that the people

of the Fourth Congressional district of South Carolina are the best people in the whole habitable globe.

I wish to call your attention to the great increase in the mail handled by the rural letter carriers. I have here a statement showing the quantity of mail handled on each rural route in my Congressional district the first month it was in operation and the last. The average of all the routes in the district is 3,500 pieces of mail per month. Some of the routes that have been in operation for two years or more have reached 7,000 to 8,000 pieces per month. The last month's operations, compared with the first, shows an increase of two, three, four, and even five hundred per cent.

I saw the other day a statement in one of the daily papers published in my district that it has 1,100 subscribers on the 27 rural routes in one of the counties in the district. That is the circulation of one daily paper on the rural routes in one county. There are four daily papers published in the district. There are four counties and seventy-odd rural routes in the district. The weekly, semiweekly, and daily papers have all increased their circulation. The people receive more letters and write more letters. The system grows in popularity, and its blessings multiply. Complaint has been made that in some sections carriers have become traveling storekeepers and the carrying of the mail a secondary consideration. Not so where I come from. The carriers in my district almost without exception have freely and cheerfully given the patrons the benefit of whatever commissions the newspapers allowed them, and in this way have greatly increased the circulation of the newspapers among the people. As for carrying small packages, the carriers do that as an accommodation to their patrons; not for hire. Suppose a farmer lives 10 miles from town and has a case of typhoid fever in his family. It is a pleasure to the carrier to take out a few pounds of ice each day for the sufferer. If the busy farmer or his wife is in need of some small article, it would be folly to deny the carrier the right to take it out. It accommodates the farmer or his wife. It is no burden to the carrier.

My time is too limited. One word more. The carriers in my district have sent me no telegrams or circular letters. They are attending to their business, and they know that I will attend to mine. Let us do all we can for the good of that grand, noble, conservative class, the country people, who do so much for the happiness of the human race and who themselves have received so much less than they deserve. [Applause.]

Development of the American Merchant Marine.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. BURTON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: In common with a considerable number of Republican Members, I am opposed to a bill which seeks to build up our merchant marine by the granting of subsidies. I do not believe that method will be effectual or that it is best to adopt a policy of fostering this or any other industry by direct bounties or subventions. The measures which have heretofore been pending, and one of which passed the Senate during the last Congress, grant a bounty to ships of American register engaged in oversea trade according to tonnage and speed.

It is claimed that this bill is in accordance with the policy of Great Britain and Germany. A cursory examination discloses the fact that subsidies in those countries are not paid for the purposes intended in the measure referred to. The name "subsidy" may be employed, but it is used in an entirely different sense. France, Italy, and Japan pay subsidies or bounties on tonnage, and it is only by comparison with their methods and by a study of the experiment there that we can judge of the probable success of such a measure here. Those who oppose subsidies would not vote for this measure if it involved a committal to any one of the measures heretofore pending in Congress. The report of the minority takes it for granted that the pending bill, if adopted, does imply a committal to ship subsidies. Some expressions of opinion in the majority report point in the same direction. I trust that the measure will be amended so that it will clearly provide for the gathering of information only. If this is done I can see no objection to it, and possibly very considerable advantage.

Naval Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. JONES,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, February 23, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 12220) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. JONES of Virginia said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This is a proposition to establish another naval station in the Philippine Islands. The paragraph which I have moved to strike out appropriates the sum of \$862,395 to begin the construction and establishment of a great and expensive naval station at Olongapo, in Subig Bay.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman allow me just there to make a statement for his information?

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I will.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. It is proposed to abandon the naval station at Cavite.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. BARTLETT. This very bill carries an appropriation of \$725,000 for it.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. This is the very matter which I now propose to discuss. We already have, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania admits, a naval station in the Philippine Islands. Just where that naval station is located it would be difficult to determine were we confined for information to the naval bill now before the House and to the report which accompanies that bill. In the bill there is a considerable appropriation for a naval station at Cavite, which is in Manila Bay. The report describes the existing naval station as being located in Subig Bay, which is at least 60 miles away from Manila Bay. So it would seem that the Naval Committee does not know exactly where the Cavite naval station is located. Cavite is in Manila Bay, and it is there that we already have a naval station. We are informed that upon the establishment of a new naval station at Olongapo the one at Cavite is to be abandoned, and that it is the purpose of the Navy Department to take so much of it as may be movable to Olongapo. We have recently spent, and we are still spending, large sums of money on the Cavite station which it is now the purpose, it seems, to abandon.

For myself I am somewhat at a loss to know where the Navy Department gets the authority, which the committee tells us it proposes to exercise, to remove the plant of the naval station at Cavite to Olongapo. The station at Cavite was, I presume, established by law, and I know of no act of Congress authorizing its removal or abandonment. Mr. Chairman, if it be the intention of the Navy Department, with or without the sanction of Congress, to remove the Cavite station to the one proposed at Olongapo, may I not ask why it is that the urgent deficiency bill, which passed this House a few days ago, and which only received the approval of the President on the 18th of this month, carries an appropriation for the extension and enlargement of the construction plant at Cavite? And I also ask the gentleman who volunteered to give me information a few moments ago, if the Cavite station is to be removed, why is it that this bill carries two separate and distinct appropriations for that naval station? I object to this paragraph because we now have at Cavite a naval station upon which we have expended large sums of money and for which this bill carries two appropriations. If it be true, as is admitted, that we only need one naval station in the Philippines, we should not appropriate money for two in one and the same bill.

Mr. FOSS. Will the gentleman yield to me?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Virginia yield?

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I do.

Mr. FOSS. I desire to say to my friend that there is an appropriation in this bill of \$725,000 toward a floating dry dock which we are now building in this country for Cavite, P. I. We have been using the old Spanish station over there, and Congress authorized the construction of this floating dry dock, with the intention, however, that as soon as it is completed to float it over to that bay, so that while it appears in this bill we have a large appropriation for Cavite as well as Subig Bay, it means in the end only one station, and that is at Olongapo.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I am obliged to the gentleman for calling my attention to the dry dock.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman gives me no new information. I have said nothing about a floating dry dock at Cavite. I am fully

aware of the fact that we expended, under the last naval appropriation bill, the sum of \$320,000 upon that dry dock, the cost of which is to be \$1,225,000; and I am also aware that there is an item in this appropriation bill of \$725,000 for that same dry dock. My statement was that there were two items of appropriation in this bill for the naval station at Cavite, not the dry dock, for which there is also an appropriation of \$725,000. I also stated that in addition to the two appropriations contained in this bill for the naval station at Cavite, not the floating steel dry dock under construction by the Maryland Steel Company, and which is to be floated to Cavite, the urgent deficiency bill recently passed carried still another appropriation for the extension of the construction and repair shops at the naval station at Cavite.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania rose.

Mr. JONES of Virginia. I think I understand the situation, Mr. Chairman; and if when I get through I have not covered what the gentleman is going to ask, I shall be very glad to answer any question which he may wish to propound.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is still another and a most serious objection to this paragraph. Before appropriating so large a sum as is here proposed to begin the establishment of another naval station in the Philippine Islands, Congress should be furnished with reliable information as to what the ultimate cost is to be. The gentleman in charge of this bill has not given us this information, and no member of the committee has undertaken to enlighten the House upon that important subject. It is entirely fair to assume that it will cost many million dollars—how many not even the experts of the Navy Department are able to say.

The eight hundred and sixty-two thousand and some odd dollars now asked for exceed by \$62,000 the amount that Admiral Dewey said the naval station at Olongapo ought to cost, and yet it developed during the course of this debate on yesterday that this proposed naval station is estimated to cost anywhere from eight hundred thousand to thirty million dollars. The Secretary of the Navy himself stated before the Committee on Naval Affairs that it would cost something like \$10,000,000, in round numbers, and the estimate made by the Navy Department is even larger than that. One estimate, I am informed, places the cost at twelve and another at twenty million dollars.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to entering upon a project of such vast proportions as this, one that may, and probably will, involve the expenditure of \$30,000,000, unless there is some limitation placed upon its final cost. I protest against committing the Government to the establishment of a great naval station in the Philippine Islands, within 60 miles of Cavite, where there is now one, the ultimate cost of which has not been ascertained.

This proposition simply involves an illimitable and immeasurable expenditure. Some limit should be placed upon the cost of this proposed naval station—some mark fixed beyond which it is not the purpose of Congress to go. Moreover, the character and nature of the works constructed in the Philippine Islands should depend in a great degree upon the final disposition which shall be made of those islands.

Mr. Chairman, it is impossible to ascertain the amount appropriated at any one session of Congress for any one object by a mere examination of the item or items relating to it in one of the great appropriation bills which originate in this House. There are a dozen or more such appropriation bills, each of which carry items aggregating many million dollars, and it is not unusual for several of them to carry appropriations for one and the same object.

How many gentlemen upon this floor have any idea what we are expending in the Philippine Islands for naval stations and military posts? Those of you who were in the last Congress will recall that when the measure establishing a military post in the Philippine Islands was under consideration in this Chamber it provoked an earnest and heated debate. Its advocates would not admit that the \$500,000 appropriation then made was to establish a military post. The money was to be expended in providing, it was said, temporary shelter for our soldiers in the Philippines. The bill which contained that item became a law on February 14, 1903, and immediately following its enactment there was placed in the sundry civil bill of that session an appropriation of \$2,000,000, which it was expressly provided should be expended upon that same military post.

The sundry civil bill containing this item of appropriation was passed during the closing hours of the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, and the little \$2,000,000 item for the military post in the Philippines seems to have then escaped notice. The army appropriation bill of the second session of the same Congress carried an appropriation of \$500,000 for continuing the work upon that military post. That bill was approved on the 2d day of March, 1903, and the general deficiency bill which was approved on the 3d day of March, 1903, only one day afterwards, carried an additional appropriation for the identical project of \$250,000.

The sundry civil bill of the second session of the last, or Fifty-seventh, Congress, which was approved on the 3d day of March,

1903, the very day that the general deficiency bill became a law, carried another appropriation of a million dollars for this military post at Manila, to establish which a miserable subterfuge was resorted to. Thus it appears that an indefensible proposition, which originally involved the expenditure of only \$500,000, and which provoked a spirited discussion and earnest opposition in the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, assumed vast proportions before the end of that Congress, although attracting little or no attention. The most industrious and vigilant Member of this House, unless he happens to be a member of the great Committee on Appropriations, can have little actual knowledge of how the public moneys are expended. The history of the establishment of the Manila military post illustrates this as no language of mine can describe.

Mr. Chairman, in addition to the twenty or thirty million dollars which I feel confident will eventually be expended upon the naval station at Olongapo, it will be necessary, in the estimation of our naval and military authorities, to fortify Subig Bay, and the fortifications bill, which passed here two or three days ago, and which is now before the Senate, in anticipation of the establishment of this naval station, contains an item of \$908,000 for beginning the work upon a system of fortifications for that bay. So that, Mr. Chairman, we not only will have to expend many millions upon this naval station, for which the amount here and now appropriated is but a mere starter, but we are rashly being committed to a vast and measureless scheme of expenditure which no man can justify and for which no reasonable excuse has as yet been offered.

To fortify the many seaports and harbors of the Philippine Islands is an undertaking of such stupendous magnitude that it well might appall the imagination of the most heedless imperialist. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, this bill carries in the aggregate the enormous sum of \$96,000,000. The Navy Department's estimates exceed \$102,000,000, and it is safe to predict that when it comes back from the Senate it will have grown to \$100,000,000. It is as it now stands larger by \$15,000,000 than the naval bill of the Fifty-seventh Congress, and it is likely to exceed it by \$20,000,000. The army bill carried \$75,089,957 when it passed this House, and it will not be less when it is returned here.

The fortifications bill carried \$7,181,192 when it left here, but no man is wise enough to say what the amount will be when it receives Executive approval. We expended last year for all purposes the enormous sum of \$753,058,503.02, and we shall expend during the fiscal year for which Congress is now appropriating money a sum considerably in excess of that amount, of which not less than \$180,000,000 will go for military and naval purposes. We are at peace with all the world, and I can not believe that our naval establishment will require the expenditure next year of \$96,000,000. This is three times the amount expended upon our Navy in the year 1898, when we were engaged in a war upon the sea with Spain. We have twice as many men in our Navy to-day as we had when actually engaged in that war. We have now in our Navy and fit for service more than 250 vessels of all descriptions and classes, and we have expended since 1883 and up to the present time in developing and maintaining this Navy the gigantic sum of \$760,000,000.

There are now under construction, or authorized, more than forty vessels, of which thirteen are first-class modern battle ships. These battle ships alone, including armor and armament, will cost very nearly \$100,000,000, and it is estimated that it will require \$130,000,000 to complete all that are being constructed. Under these circumstances I can not give my assent to a measure that will appropriate a larger sum than was ever expended by the United States for naval purposes in any single year in all their history. We have been repeatedly warned by the leaders of the dominant party in this House that our expenditures may exceed the public revenues. We have been told that we are to have no river and harbor bill this year; that not a dollar is to be expended for public buildings; that the National Treasury is in no condition for Congress to enter upon the policy of extending Federal aid to the States in order to contribute toward the maintenance of our post-roads.

These, Mr. Chairman, are but a few of the internal improvements that are loudly appealing for Congressional aid. We can expend hundreds of millions in building up vast and expensive naval and military establishments, and in furtherance of the un-American and unwise policy of colonization to which the Republican party has committed the country, but not a dollar can be had to provide for the needs of commerce and navigation, not a public building can be authorized, and the appeals which have come to us from one end of the Union to the other in the shape of tens of thousands of petitions, asking that a small portion of the taxes contributed by the people may be returned to them to be used in the betterment of their public highways, must go unheeded.

For years Congress has been asked to provide pensions for, or else to retire under certain just and equitable conditions, those members of the Life-Saving Service who by reason of age or ill health or disability incurred in the line of duty are no longer able to endure the privations or face the perils of their hazardous vocation. The Revenue-Cutter Service has been put on a footing with that of the Army and Navy, and pensions and retirement have been provided by Congress for those who grow old or become disabled in that service. Nothing, comparatively speaking, has been done for the life-savers, who lead lives of isolation and loneliness, and whose constant companions are privation and hardship, to say nothing of the perils which environ their very existence. Surely a grateful country should not deny to those who imperil and often lose their lives in the effort to save human life that which it so freely accords to those whose calling it is to take, rather than to save, life.

We are appropriating \$140,000,000 annually for pensions, whilst our total expenditure on account of the Life-Saving Service during the last fiscal year aggregated very little more than a million and a half dollars. The cost of one of our most modern battle ships, armor and armament included, is approximately \$8,000,000, and to maintain one for a year costs \$500,000. To provide a liberal pension for every life saver who retires from the service by reason of old age or disability incurred in the service and for the widows and dependent children of such as lose their lives in the service would require an annual expenditure of less, much less, than it requires to man and keep afloat a modern battle ship for twelve months. The cost of one 16,000-ton battle ship would connect the waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays by a ship canal with a capacity sufficient to accommodate the largest ships afloat, and the cost of two, judiciously expended in river and harbor improvement, would develop an interstate commerce greater in volume and in value than that which we now enjoy with the Philippine Islands, to retain which we are now expending, directly and indirectly, certainly seventy-five and possibly one hundred million dollars annually.

Mr. Chairman, I am not one of those who believe that our naval establishment should be increased beyond the addition of the ships already authorized and provided for. To maintain it at that state of power and efficiency which it will have reached when the ships now under construction and authorized are completed will entail upon the United States as large an annual expenditure as the needs of our domestic concerns and commerce will justify and the proper development of our resources at home will permit. No navy which we could build would afford adequate protection to our 7,000 miles of coast line. For that we must rely upon torpedoes, mines, and submarines.

Mr. Chairman, I have no patience with that description of Republican consistency which in one breath declares that the permanent retention of the Philippine Islands will not constitute for us a source of military weakness and in another proclaims that their possession and protection involve the expenditure in fortifications, naval stations, military posts, and battle ships of enormous sums of money. The sooner we give them that independence which is rightfully theirs the more money we shall have to expend at home in necessary works of internal improvement. Great navies are not in keeping with that Democratic simplicity which should characterize a Republic founded upon the principles which are supposed to underlie ours, and, like standing armies, are a menace to peace and liberty.

Eulogies on the late Hon. Robert H. Foerderer.

REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD DE V. MORRELL,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 10, 1904.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. ROBERT H. FOERDERER, late a Member of this House from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at this conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of the resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Mr. MORRELL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I want to add a word of tribute in regard to our departed colleague, one of the best friends I had in this House, the late ROBERT H. FOERDERER. So much has been said, and so beautifully said, that it is almost impossible for me to add any-

thing; nevertheless, I can not refrain from just a word on account of the relationship which existed between us.

On my daily journeys to and from my place in the country I pass on the railway train the manufacturing works of ROBERT H. FOERDERER. When I first went to live in the country, they were comparatively small, but each month and each year, as I looked out of the car windows I saw more ground acquired, more buildings erected, until, as was said by my distinguished colleague, the Robert H. Foerderer leather works became one of the largest and most important manufacturing establishments, not only in this country, but also in Europe, covering almost 20 acres of ground.

During this time I did not know Mr. FOERDERER. It was not until he came to Torresdale and purchased a country place almost adjoining my own that I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance. The place he purchased was one of the handsomest and most historic on the Delaware River. Shortly afterwards, desiring to extend his grounds, I met him in connection with the purchase of some ground of mine, and the experience I had with him on that occasion, and on business occasions afterwards, showed me that a quick mind he had and how, when he came to a decision, terms and condition would be speedily agreed upon. I realized that it was through this faculty to transact business quickly that he had built up the great leather works which are situated at Frankford, in my district. I realized that it was through this power to utilize and economize time that the product of that factory is as well known in Europe as in this country. I realized that it was through this ability and his marvelous energy that he had gradually established or acquired the different enterprises necessary as feeders for this enormous trade.

Mr. FOERDERER's interests were not alone confined to his great leather works. He was identified with many other large enterprises, and in the last years of his life a great deal of his time and energy were devoted by him to the perfection of the Keystone Telephone Company, of Philadelphia, a company which he organized as a competitor with the Bell Telephone Company in order that the rates might be reduced to the consumer.

Little by little I learned to know ROBERT FOERDERER better and finally grew to know him well. No one had a character more lovable; no one man grew to love another with the same feeling of confidence and trust, being sure that he would never be disappointed in his ideals, than did the man who grew to know ROBERT H. FOERDERER.

In my personal and social relations with him I always found him kind and sympathetic, his advice good and conservative, and he ever stood ready to go to the front for a friend and advocate his interests. These unselfish traits I realized when, on one occasion, I needed a friend of the character of ROBERT H. FOERDERER. In nature and disposition he was generous and affectionate. The coldness of calculating selfishness was all foreign to his character. He was not a man of policy, nor did he stoop to substitute tact and craft for courage and strength. His affection for friends was not the result of lack of confidence in himself or in his ability to stand alone, but rather the impulse of a heart as gentle as it was brave, as noble and charitable as it was fearless and true to win the regard of those who attracted him. His bearing was a most admirable commingling of manly dignity and unassuming modesty, while the kindly smile, which was indeed the sunshine from his soul, and the frank, cordial manner of his address won for him the friendship and confidence of all who were fortunate enough to know him.

Among the attractive traits in his character the one that impressed me most was his broad-minded charity for the opinions, the faults, and the harmless vanities of others. In the hours I passed in his company I never heard him speak uncharitably of any man. If he had no word of commendation, he was silent. He endeavored to trace a good and pure motive in the speech and actions of all men and believed that men could differ widely from his views and opinions and still be as honest and sincere as he realized himself to be.

Although comparatively young in years when called from the scene of his activity, no one can feel that his life was not rounded out into full completeness or mourn on his account that it has ended, although our sympathies go out to those near and dear to him who lament his loss. All those who knew him, both in his private and public career, realize that his State, his constituency, and his friends will miss his presence and the useful and honorable place which he occupied in their councils.

His duty in life, his obligations to his country and his people had been honorably and nobly performed; and it is, perhaps, a fortunate and happy fate for a man to pass away from this world in the height of his powers, in honorable position gained by faithful service for his fellow-men, and by their appreciation of his worth deeply regretted and lamented by them, rather than in the decrepitude of old age, with faculties impaired and usefulness gone, so that as one sinks beneath the waters of life the waves close over him without leaving a ripple of regret.

Judged by what he was and what he had done, no one can call the life of our friend a short one; nay, more, upon the calendar of events marked by them his life was longer by far than many a one of four score and ten.

He was honest, just, faithful, unostentatious, considerate, kind, and courteous; true to his country, constituents, and himself. Such characters always have and always will command respect and tribute. The youth of this great land can not do better than to strive to imitate such an example. His life illustrates the possibilities which, under our form of government, lie within the reach of those who utilize the gifts with which God has endowed them. The history of his life and of his gradual rise to fame, fortune, and position is the history of the lives of many of the illustrious men of this country. Such experiences as his are more valuable to make men suited for great emergencies, qualified to control great enterprises, and to fill responsible public positions than all the aids of birth, fortune, schools, and influential friends.

There are others who knew him longer and more intimately than I did, and for them it is more fitting to speak of him and his character more minutely and at greater length than I should do.

I heard of his serious illness when I was in Europe, and was shocked a few days later to hear of his death. ROBERT H. FOERDERER was one of the kind of men whose personal energy and ability to inaugurate and consummate large enterprises has made Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia what they are to-day.

He was my friend, as he was the friend of all who attracted him and of all whom he learned needed a friend. I miss him as a colleague; I shall always miss him as a friend and the best of neighbors, and I have sought this opportunity in all sincerity to offer a humble tribute to his memory.

Eulogies on the late Hon. Henry Burk.

REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD DE V. MORRELL,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 10, 1904.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. HENRY BURK, late a Member of this House from the State of Pennsylvania.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of the resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. MORRELL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: On one of the early days of the present session of Congress the business of the House was suspended and the announcement made that during the vacation two of our fellow-members had passed away from earth and would never again meet us in this Hall, and, strange to say, they were the two members most recently elected from Philadelphia.

Thus, in the midst of our busy life here, we were reminded that a dark shadow enveloped the households of two of our late companions. In the full vigor of our own active life and health we were reminded that death had claimed two of those whose comradeship and counsel we enjoyed. To-day we come in formal, deferential manner to honor the memory of our departed fellow-workers.

I had not the pleasure of knowing the late HENRY BURK, although I had often heard of him through mutual friends, until after he was nominated for Congress. Mr. BURK, it will be remembered, contested a seat which had theretofore been practically acknowledged a Democratic stronghold, having been represented by Samuel J. Randall, Richard Vaux, and William McAleer. I have heard that the campaign in which he won was one of the most trying ever held in the city of Philadelphia, requiring untold energy and ability and special qualifications on the part of the candidate to win.

Mr. BURK, like Mr. FOERDERER, was engaged in the manufacture of leather, and, like him, was eminently successful. He had large works in Philadelphia, in the district which he represented, and owned large interests in India and other countries from which he received his supplies of skins. The same business instinct and attention to detail which developed and made successful Mr. BURK's factories located in Philadelphia made him unwilling to entirely trust the management of his far-away enterprises to others, so that when in his judgment the necessity arose, with his characteristic energy, he turned his face from home and crossed the seas to regulate their management and to increase their efficiency and thereby the output of the home factories.

Mr. BURK's personal characteristics of good temper and geniality were known to all in the House. No one loved more dearly than HENRY BURK to entertain his friends or knew better how to do it. He was never happier than when seated at the head of his own table, having gathered around him those whom it gave him pleasure to see happy and enjoying themselves. The slight acquaintance made with Mr. BURK before coming to Washington soon ripened into friendship under the opportunities afforded by Congressional life. I found him warm-hearted, genial, generous to a fault. His ingenious trust in others calculated to win him friends and to retain them. His estimate of a man, no matter how lowly his beginning, was based upon what he found him, and if he once decided he was one to be trusted he had in him a friend not to be despised. His ideal of a man was that he should be true and honest with himself and in his purpose and faithful to his friends, and these ideals he lived up to.

In the various paths to fame men may gain praise as daring and valiant warriors; may gain distinction as eminent statesmen; may be honored as great musicians or poets; may be looked upon with wonder and awe as inventors and scientists; may be held in esteem and receive consequent recognition as being financiers and successful in commercial enterprises, but yet there is one narrow path, one particular goal harder to discover and more difficult to attain than all the others, a path which appeals more to a man, no matter which of those avenues to success he has traversed successfully, a path which if found gives more lasting satisfaction and happiness to the fortunate discoverer than any of the others; I refer to that narrow path which leads to the possession of the hearts of our fellow-man. This path had unconsciously been discovered by Mr. BURK, and his possession of the secret was realized by all who had the good fortune to come in contact with him.

Mr. BURK was too young a man to die, and, as is often the case, his career of usefulness was too brief. Possessing more than abundant means, he was nevertheless unobtrusive, modest, free from envy, malice, or uncharitableness. The places of honor and trust he was called to benefited greatly from the fact that he made use of his business training in his political life. As has been said, it is difficult for public men to combine public service and private business in a manner to serve both interests well, but Mr. BURK seemed to have been able to solve the problem. He was a man who through his business materially added to the wealth of his country, yet at the same time he was always alive to the interests of those he employed, and did what he could do to lighten the labors of the laboring man and woman.

It is one thing for a man to live upon the toil of those whom he employs, and it is an entirely different thing when a man at the same time does what he can to lighten the burdens of those who contribute through their toil to make his enterprises a success.

Mr. BURK was proud of the fact that he had made a good fight and had been elected a Member of Congress, but he was never for a moment carried away with any false notion of what his membership in the House meant, nor did he change in the least degree his simplicity of thought or the integrity of his character. He belonged to a class of men whose business wisdom and common sense do much to keep the balance in the councils of nations and upon whose judgments governments rely in times of crisis.

Mr. BURK did not make a parade of his religion, but with him it meant more than an empty name. He never flaunted his faith or attempted to thrust his religious beliefs upon those with whom he associated. Like all men worthy of the name, he eliminated it entirely from the business affairs of life and regarded it as too sacred a thing to be considered except in communion between himself and his God. Thus he was devoid of sectarianism and bigotry, and the fact that his creed differed from others never for a moment interrupted the pleasant intercourse and friendship which he had with those who might have other religious beliefs. Cut down at a time when he was just about to enjoy the fruits of his labor, yet at the same time the character which he had established for usefulness and ability and devotion to duty will be a matter of pride to his family and to the constituency which sent him to Congress.

Our departed fellow-Member was known to be an indulgent father and a loving husband. Among his friends, as I have said, he was generous to a fault and careless as far as injury to his temporal interests might be concerned. He was sympathetic to others in distress, and quick to emotions of pity and compassion, while stern in the redress of a wrong.

The fact that we are so often called upon during a session of Congress to meet on sad and solemn occasions like the present one to do honor to the memory of departed Members should remind us that "we know not the day or the hour when the Son of Man cometh," and all and each of us should be admonished to have "our lamps trimmed and burning," and that we should so lead our daily life that when the summons comes it will bring no fear, realizing, like HENRY BURK, that "those who die in Christ shall live again."

Memorial Address on the Late Senator Hanna.

REMARKS OF HON. JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER, OF IOWA, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, Thursday, April 7, 1904.

The Senate having under consideration the following resolutions:
"Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator from the State of Ohio.
"Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.
"Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives"—

Mr. DOLLIVER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I would not at this hour be disposed to add anything to the tributes which have been paid here to-day to the memory of the late Senator HANNA were it not for the fact that I have felt since he went away from us how much I owe to his kindness and friendly interest in me; and so I venture to speak a few words out of the gratitude of my heart.

The epoch which brought him into the arena of American public life, though only a few years have passed, has been stricken in a strange way. The central figure of that epoch, President McKinley, is gone; Governor Dingley, famous and useful in the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, is no more; Thomas B. Reed, that wonderful parliamentary hand which brought in the new order of things in representative government in the United States, is seen no longer among us; and here we are to-day paying our last tribute to one who in an important sense mastered more perfectly than any of these the great situation in which each played so conspicuous a part.

I have been impressed by the general recognition which has been given in these memorial exercises to the business man in American public life. It is true, in a sense more important than we have understood, that an age like this naturally calls into the public service the men who have given leadership to its great industrial and commercial affairs.

I have sometimes pondered over suggestions in the public press that the Congress of the United States is being invaded by millionaires and men of wealth. I have never had any anxiety about that. I regard it as a true sign of our political health that in times like these men of great business affairs have their ambition stirred to take part in the administration of the Government of the United States.

I remember when I first came to this Capitol watching the industry and activity and marking the influence in this body of such men as Senator Sawyer, of Wisconsin; Senator Stockbridge, of Michigan; Senator Stanford and Senator Hearst, of California, and sometimes wondering whether their presence here portended a healthful tendency in our public life. I count it now as the finest evidence of the adaptability of our institutions to our new commercial and industrial situation that the influence of money has not been able to keep out of American public life men successful in business affairs in all the departments of commerce and of industry. If money were everything, if men could by piling up riches satisfy all their ambitions, and content themselves by the mere fame of being rich, there would be no limit to the carnival of avarice and greed in the world.

The education which Senator HANNA had as a man of affairs was the exact qualification needed for usefulness in the Congress of the United States. It always seemed to me a curious thing, at least, that his first entrance into the public arena should have been after the age of 60 years; and in meditating upon that it has appeared to me that the secret of it lies in the fact that the education of the man, his real preparation for a work like this, was the spirit in which he approached even the humble tasks which engaged his attention throughout his life. It was a part of the quality of the intellect of Senator HANNA that he was able to idealize the occupations of his previous career, and in reality he brought into this Chamber a special and peculiar training for the questions with which the Government of the United States has to deal.

I have never wondered, as so many have, that he suddenly developed into a great orator. In studying the peculiarities of Senator HANNA—and I confess that I was interested in them from the very beginning of my acquaintance with him—it appeared to me that his case showed that the human mind is so organized that any man who has a true thing to say is not holden in the faculty of saying it. There is a mode of eloquence, fortunately now nearly obsolete, which needs neither clear thinking nor even any think-

ing at all to make itself fairly acceptable; but the man who understands, who has explored his subject in all its hidden parts, who opens his mouth with the authority of actual knowledge, such a man has nothing to fear in a debate in a place like this.

I was present in 1900 at the stock yards in Chicago when I had a glimpse of the colossal personality of this man which made a very profound impression on my mind. We took him down there to speak to the working people of Chicago and, curiously enough—a very strange anomaly under institutions like ours—a large part of the audience had assembled there not to listen to him, but to prevent him from speaking; and with noise, riot, tumult, disturbance, and breach of peace, in a measure almost unimaginable in a country like ours, that surging multitude for one hour and thirty minutes fought an unequal battle with the genius of a single man; and at 10 o'clock the audience calmed, controlled, fascinated, he began one of the most remarkable political speeches it was ever my good fortune to hear.

So I was not surprised in this Chamber when he came here dealing with questions about which he knew more than anybody else—questions like the revival of the merchant marine; questions like the Panama Canal—that he was able to stand on this floor and in simple, plain, direct speech discuss them with a skill that was hardly less, if at all less, than the most effective debating power we have had in the public life of the United States.

There is another thing which I have thought a good deal about in reflecting upon Senator HANNA'S career, and that was that contact with practical affairs enabled him to see not only the importance but the difficulty of the greatest problem that now presses upon our Government and upon all the governments of the world.

He had known for a good many years that if American society is to go on, if civilization itself is not to halt in its progress, some solution must be found of the disputes rapidly settling into a state of fixed and permanent hostility between the men and women who work for their living and the men who employ them. He had more knowledge of that question than any of us, because he had touched it from a greater variety of standpoints, so that he brought to the labor question a wealth of experience and of personal interest that enabled him easily, and without interfering with his public duties here, to become the leader of a far-reaching movement to bring about an understanding and treaty of permanent peace between the contending industrial forces. The thing about his philosophy of more importance than anything else was the fact that he recognized that this peace will not be brought about by legislation, will not be brought about by the devices of human government, but that underlying this problem, and nearly all the other problems of society, is the individuality of the men who employ labor and the individuality of the unnumbered millions who do the work of this world.

So this man in his old age rose to a level higher than mere statesmanship. He got a prophetic insight, which he had almost alone among our public men, that the labor question is a larger question than mere legislation; that its final solution depends upon principles which underlie the moral structure of society, and are more intricate than all the machinery of the Government; that if the problem ever finds a solution, it will be through the practical application to the daily life of the world of those Divine precepts which are the chief inheritance of these Christian centuries. To my mind the best contribution to present-day thinking upon the labor problem was that higher vision which Senator HANNA in his old age received when he declared, in the last public utterance he ever made, that the rights of labor and the rights of capital will find their permanent adjustment in that fundamental truth of the gospel through which the law of the human brotherhood, and with it the perfect code of social justice, is revealed.

In studying the life of Senator HANNA I was impressed by the immediate victory which the man's character won over his enemies when the people of the United States once got a fair look at him. In the quiet of the national committee headquarters everybody loved him. In two campaigns I remember in going there how everyone, from the elevator boy to the Senator's associates on the committee, referred to him in familiar terms as "The Old Man." The "old man" he was to them, and "the boys" they were to him. No slander could touch him in the society of those who knew him. But the American public is large—80,000,000 of people—bombarded day by day with newspapers and pictures and the smooth inventions of political malice, and at the end of the campaign Senator HANNA was the most misunderstood man in American public life.

He came into this Chamber. He met the representatives of public opinion, including the members of the press gallery yonder—just men, able, and willing to measure a man by a fair standard—and within a year that cloud of calumny had rolled away. Everybody who saw him recognized at once that he was an authentic man; everybody who had business with him saw that he was a man of good heart and humane impulses; and when men

came to know his intellectual grasp he passed from the category of suspicious public characters to the list of honored and trusted statesmen in the service of his country. Such was the victory of the man's character over the crusade of scandal and disparagement to which he had been so strangely subjected as he undertook to manage honorably and squarely the fortunes of a great political party.

The thing about him, however, which comes nearest to me, and, I think, nearest to everybody who listens to me here, is the fact that he had those qualities in him which excite, not alone admiration, not alone approval, but love and confidence in the deepest and truest sense. He had no artificial suavity of manner in his approach to the public, but he had what is vastly more serviceable even in the cheaper relations of political life, he had by nature a benevolent outlook on the world and a cordial sentiment for every man, however humble, who was brought into contact with him. His love for McKinley was only a part of his loving relations with the world in which he lived. Nobody ever saw him in this Chamber without feeling the influence of his cheerful disposition and of his helpful attitude toward everybody here.

The words which have been spoken with such eloquence by Senators on the other side of this Chamber not only show the kindness which underlies our politics, whatever may be our differences, but interpret in a beautiful and suggestive way the surrender of all opposition to this gentle and benignant character. I recall the day I saw him after the funeral of poor McKinley. The procession had gone away, the pomp and ceremony of the hour had passed, and toward night I happened to be standing near the cemetery gate, and there, alone, in the rain, leaning on a crutch, careless of his surroundings, tears falling upon his careworn face, I saw this good and great man. I did not venture to speak to him, but as I turned away I said to myself, as I thought of William McKinley's political fortune, of the splendor of his career, of the fame which had increased year by year as he rose from the obscurity of a country law office until at last he stood upon the highest civic eminence known among men, that in all future generations, as his countrymen make their pilgrimage to look with reverent emotion upon the grave of the martyred President, there will be few among them who will not think also of the man whose fame is joined with his, of the friend whose heart was broken in the tragedy of the national sorrow, of the reunion on unseen shores, where all the mysteries of life and death are made plain at last.

Eulogy on the Late Hon. Marcus A. Hanna.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. JOHN F. LACEY,

OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 24, 1904.

On the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for paying tribute to the memory of Hon. MARCUS A. HANNA, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Ohio.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of the exercises of this day shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. LACEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER: We commemorate to-day the public life and services of MARCUS A. HANNA, whose great and useful career has so suddenly terminated.

His political life was exposed to the fiercest attacks, but he outlived calumny, and died loved and honored even by those who fought him the hardest.

The world has always loved the man who does things. He ranks far above the man who only says things.

In 1896 MARK HANNA was the best hated man in America.

Libel and the deadly caricature had been plied against him with persistence and telling effect, and he was thoroughly and effectually misunderstood, even in his own party, save by those who knew him personally.

It was well said of Sir Joshua Reynolds by Northcutt that the great painter would as lief have committed a forgery as to draw a caricature.

When finally Mr. HANNA took the stump in person and demonstrated that he could talk as well as act, the people looked into his clear, honest eyes, listened to his strong, vigorous, and sound logic, and the frozen crust of hate melted, and he was at once valued at

his true worth; the myth disappeared and the man took its place. I remember in 1896 when I was speaking to an audience of workmen they hooted at the name of HANNA.

Four years later the same men welcomed all allusion to his name with thunders of applause. He had become recognized as the friend as well as the employer of labor.

His life, public and private, has been so well described by his friends in both the Senate and the House that I content myself with this brief but loving tribute to his memory.

He was my friend. To love and hate the same things constitute the strongest bond of human friendship.

In the maturity of his powers, when his ability and character had become so recognized that his usefulness was most helpful to the cause and country that he loved, he fell.

We mourn him and commend him to that Being—

Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.

Development of American Merchant Marine.

SPEECH
OF

HON. BENJAMIN P. BIRDSALL,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine.

Mr. BIRDSALL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The entire nation is directly or indirectly interested in the pending bill. It should be viewed from a nonpartisan standpoint and considered with a broad and enlightened purpose. The condition of our merchant marine, instead of being a source of pride and satisfaction, is such as to bring the blush to every patriotic American in the land. In the fiscal year 1902 the total of American exports to Europe amounted in value to \$997,614,672, and of that enormous sum only 1.76 per cent was carried in American ships. Of the imports from Europe, valued at \$474,827,159, only \$30,821,548 was carried in American vessels. Of the total exports and imports to Europe only 3.28 per cent were carried in American bottoms. It is the part of a wise commercial policy to foster the carrying trade, that it may be done in ships manufactured at home and manned by American seamen.

There ought to be no disagreement upon the proposition that the transportation of American products, whether of the factory, the forest, the mine, or the farm, ought to and must be done by Americans that this increment of wealth may inure to our own benefit. The decadence of the American shipping interests and our almost total dependence upon foreign ships for the transportation of our products is strikingly set forth in the report of the Department of Commerce and Labor, through its Bureau of Statistics, in its August, 1903, Summary of Commerce and Finance. It shows that our foreign commerce for the fiscal year 1903 amounted to \$2,445,000,000, and gives the following list of vessels, domestic and foreign, engaged in such commerce:

From New York to Europe, steamships.....	265
British.....	118
German.....	62
Italian.....	18
Austrian.....	14
French.....	14
Dutch.....	10
Danish.....	10
Spanish.....	7
American.....	6
Belgian.....	4
Portuguese.....	2
From New York to Australia—all British.....	8
From New York to Africa.....	12
British.....	11
German.....	1
American.....	0
From New York to China, Japan, and Far East.....	17
British.....	16
German.....	1
American.....	0
From New York to South America.....	50
British.....	44
German.....	4
Belgian.....	2
American.....	0
From New York to Cuba, West Indies, and Mexico.....	71
American.....	22
British.....	14
German.....	10
Dutch.....	9
Norwegian.....	8
Cuban.....	5
Spanish.....	3

From Baltimore to foreign ports.....	73
British.....	43
German.....	17
Norwegian.....	7
American.....	3
Dutch.....	2
Russian.....	1
From Boston and Charlestown to foreign ports.....	74
British.....	45
German.....	11
American.....	9
Danish.....	4
Norwegian.....	4
Dutch.....	1
From Newport News to foreign ports.....	18
British.....	11
German.....	4
Dutch.....	3
American.....	0
From Portland, Me., to foreign ports—all British.....	6
From Passamaquoddy, Me., to foreign ports.....	4
British.....	2
American.....	2
From Galveston to foreign ports.....	249
British.....	202
German.....	20
Italian.....	12
Austrian.....	6
Danish.....	5
Spanish.....	3
Norwegian.....	1
American.....	0
From Mobile, Ala., to foreign ports.....	43
Norwegian.....	24
British.....	16
Cuban.....	1
German.....	1
Dutch.....	1
American.....	0
From New Orleans to foreign ports.....	127
British.....	60
Spanish.....	20
Norwegian.....	13
German.....	10
Italian.....	8
Austrian.....	5
American.....	5
French.....	4
Danish.....	2
From Pensacola to foreign ports.....	44
Austrian.....	20
British.....	15
Spanish.....	5
Italian.....	2
German.....	1
Dutch.....	1
American.....	0
From Alaska to foreign ports.....	30
American.....	31
British.....	8
From Tampa, Fla., to foreign ports—all American.....	3
From Hawaiian ports to foreign ports.....	15
British.....	6
American.....	6
Japanese.....	3
From Port Townsend, Wash., to foreign ports.....	88
British.....	53
American.....	16
German.....	13
Japanese.....	6
From San Francisco to foreign ports.....	61
American.....	26
German.....	18
British.....	11
Japanese.....	3
Norwegian.....	3
From Philadelphia to foreign ports.....	64
British.....	33
German.....	14
Norwegian.....	7
From Porto Rico to foreign ports.....	37
Spanish.....	21
French.....	6
German.....	5
Cuban.....	2
American.....	2
British.....	1
Total steamships.....	1,368
Porto Rico is the only appearance of British ships at the bottom of the list.	
<i>Summary by flags.</i>	
British.....	723
German.....	192
American.....	133
Norwegian.....	67
Spanish.....	59
Austrian.....	45
Italian.....	40
Dutch.....	29
French.....	24
Danish.....	23
Japanese.....	12
Belgian.....	10
Cuban.....	8
Portuguese.....	2
Russian.....	1
Total.....	1,368

British ships carry more than one-half, German ships nearly 15 per cent, and American ships less than 10 per cent of American commerce.

Various causes are assigned for the inability of American ship-builders and American shipowners to compete with foreign ship-builders and foreign-built ships in the matter of transportation of American products, but, whatever the cause may be, we all should agree that the deplorable condition in which we find our nation in this respect demands our serious attention and thorough investigation that a remedy may, if possible, be discovered and applied. The pending bill commits us to no definite plan of action, either individually or as a party. It proposes a thorough investigation of the whole subject and a report to this body of the result of such an investigation and the evidence bearing on the subject. The amount proposed for the expense of such a commission is a mere bagatelle compared with the results that ought to ensue if the investigation is intelligently and thoroughly made, as no doubt it will be.

We have entered into the world's trade and commerce, and the most potential factor in securing and maintaining our position will be the upbuilding of our merchant marine. The foundation of material power is wealth, and that is won by trade. This has been the great factor by which a weak and isolated European civilization has ultimately become dominant in the world's history. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem, and we must find means to carry on our own transportation independent of foreign nations. We all long for the time when the Stars and Stripes will be found at the masthead of our ships in all the ports of the world as an emblem of the genius, the power, and the might of 80,000,000 Americans. We have entered the world's politics and the world's commerce. Let us prepare to maintain our dignity in the one and preeminence in the other. I hope, sir, the pending measure will prevail and that the investigation instituted under it will be fruitful of results.

The Late Hon. Charles W. Thompson.

REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM RICHARDSON,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 24, 1904.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:
Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. CHARLES W. THOMPSON, late a Member of this House from the State of Alabama.
Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of the exercises of this day shall stand adjourned.
Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.
Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. RICHARDSON of Alabama said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The simple tribute that I sorrowfully pay to-day to the memory of CHARLES WINSTON THOMPSON is the sincere offering of my heart to a friend whom I honored and loved, and around his vacant seat on the floor of the House tenderly clings the loving memory of admiring friends.

At his home in Alabama, where he was born and reared, and where every opportunity was offered to study and learn his private and public life, it was there, and among those people, that the sudden ending of his useful and hopeful life was most deplored. They had watched him as he walked in and out before them, and they saw in his life the slow and gradual construction of a character that illustrates and typifies human nature in its highest forms.

It was not Mr. THOMPSON's brilliancy of intellect or power of eloquence that challenged and secured the confidence and love of those who admired him, but it was the strength, heroism, truth, honesty, and virtue of his private and public life—his character—that made him the man we knew him to be. Armed as he was with these noble traits, he defied temptations and fought the great battle of life with honor and credit, whether the struggle came from within or without.

Mr. THOMPSON was a faithful and conscientious representative of the true interests and welfare of the people whose commission he bore in the halls of Congress.

His standard of work and duty was the same in public as it was in private life. He knew no compromise, no hesitancy, when right and principle were involved. He was genial and social in his intercourse with his friends, always thoughtful and considerate of the views and feelings of others, and his heart was full of love and sympathy for his fellow-man. His life is a splendid exposition of those quiet, guiding precepts and principles which constitute the highest and best type of our citizenship. He crowned it all with

a modest but a sublime Christian faith that easily stripped death of all terror to him.

I can not, Mr. Speaker, close these few remarks without referring to Mr. THOMPSON's views and feelings on his broad and patriotic love of his country. It was no surprise to me, knowing him so well and intimately as I did, that a man of his methodical life and high business qualifications and mind was absolutely free from the touch of sectional feeling. He was in all matters a fervent southern man. He loved the South with all its splendid memories and traditions. He honored our heroes, but he yearned in his heart to see the once bitter memories coming from the great civil war forever buried and forgotten. And his life by act and precept encouraged this happy consummation.

The Late Hon. Charles W. Thompson.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN H. BANKHEAD,

OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 24, 1904.

On the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. CHARLES W. THOMPSON, late a Member of this House from the State of Alabama.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of the exercises of this day shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. BANKHEAD said:

Mr. SPEAKER: CHARLES WINSTON THOMPSON, whose most inscrutable removal from among us we pause now to consider, was of a generation and of a part of our country which furnishes an interesting, and should be a most instructive, type in the study of the composite people who constitute the citizenship of this great Republic. He was born in Alabama in 1860. He was an Alabamian, a Southerner by birth, by heritage, by association, by sympathy, by impulse, and with purpose. He was born at a time when the Republic was on the verge of a convulsion of passion such as never before rent a national family into tragic dissension. He was of blood that was shed for his State and section. His childhood was spent in the little town in the heart of Alabama and in the heart of the Southern States which formed one side of the divided family of the nation. The blight of poverty, all the worst wreckage of that awful conflict of four years, was in evidence before his child eyes. He must needs, as his mind developed and his character formed, have been deeply impressed with all that he heard and all that he saw as to what home life meant, what community interest implied, what pride of State signified and what love of country inspired.

It is not possible to conceive that in this little southern community in Tuskegee, in the heart of hearts of Southern States, where was rocked the cradle of secession, that CHARLIE THOMPSON, as a boy, could have heard a single sentiment that was contrary to devotion to home, to State, and to the South, for which his kinsmen and his neighbors fought, as they believed, for the preservation of the high, lofty, and humane principles upon which the Republic was founded. There could not have been, in the very nature of his home life, his childhood, his youth, his young manhood, one marring voice of sensible utterance that reflected harshly upon the valor, the virtue, and the integrity of the motives of the South in the national family strife. Yet we all do know that when CHARLES WINSTON THOMPSON died in the blossom of manhood and the ripening fruitage of manful strength there died as pure an American patriot as has lived between boundary lines of land or far-apart ocean shores. He not only felt it, but he proved it, as we all know.

Successful from a humble beginning far beyond the success of many with better opportunities, helping others all along the way of his advancement, taking them with him by strength of hand and cheer of hope, no man in his community was before him in its confidence, its affection, and its respect. Necessarily his influence in any enterprise or measure for general effect in that community was unquestioned and unquestionable. Alabamian and southerner as he was in habit, accent, sympathy, association, and education, that little southern community never heard from CHARLIE THOMPSON's lips nor divined from his acts anything that was not brimming with the broadest patriotism. He thought much—probably most—of the genuine good of a really united country. He did not pause with the indulgence of sentiments pleasing to his moments of amiable reflection. He went to work,

took pains, spent money he had earned in many a day of self-denial to bring about a better, saner, sounder, kindlier feeling between representative people of the North and South. He took them to his home and did them honor.

He showed them a community in which all interests and all races lived and worked together for good and progress. He showed them the most wonderful educational institution for the advancement of a people lately emerged from slavery ever placed upon the surface of the earth. He showed that institution, mighty for good, a school for the training of negroes, respected and flourishing, progressive and productive, among southern white people. He showed them beyond cavil that truer friends of the negro did not live in the world than here in the heart of Alabama in the heart of hearts of the southland. Having done that, can there be any sort of respectable question anywhere that CHARLES WINSTON THOMPSON has done a great good for his people, for his State, for his section, and for his country? Cut off as he was in the very blossom of this noble generosity of purpose, we can but poignantly deplore his death. Yet gratefully shall we contemplate his memory for this great good that he has done. He deserved of the richest of the beatitudes pronounced for acts of men for the good of their fellow-men.

No respecter of fame or fortune belonging to any man, death has not hesitated to strike at palatial portals any more than at the hovel door of the humble. It cuts down a successful earthly career with a stroke as ruthless as that with which it smites to dust the last chance of him whose life has been a failure. If the continuously unfortunate go where "the weary are at rest," we consign his memory to eternal repose, with a sigh that means it is all for the best. But when he is taken from among us, to be gone forever, who but yesterday was strong, buoyant, sanguine; smiling over successes achieved and radiant with hope of triumphs to come; when such a man, moving among us and within a week is taken; his name stricken from among the list of living; all his high hopes as the dust with which he is soon to mingle; all his achievements but to be the solemn summing of an epitaph—then it is we are stricken with impotent awe and unavailing wonder. But young as he was, untimely taken as he was, CHARLES W. THOMPSON served his community, his State, and his country with an example worthy of emulation by the best blood that courses in the veins of American citizens.

He lived and loved to live with and for the things of good repute. He was a professor of the Christian faith, and no man more zealously, more diligently, more ardently sought to attain toward the perfection of its teachings than he. Suddenly smitten amid his duties and his pleasures, he was the first to realize that his work must cease and all his joys of living come at once to an end—all. Early in his illness—to the amazement of his friends—he gave them timely but the calmest of warnings that the worst might be expected in but a few hours. They absolutely scouted his admonition, thinking the infliction of pains soon to pass had raised his pulse and excited his imagination. It was not until the unmistakable shadow of death itself hung its dread pall about his pillow did any one of those who had sought to laugh away his fears realize the truth in a dumbness of ended hope. The grief of yesterday for our dead friend and colleague is to-day merged into a sense of exaltation, almost fraught with rejoicing, that his life, brief as it was, marked a career of generous usefulness, of high and noble purpose, and of love and charity for all men. His was the "white flower of a blameless life," and it was more. The flower left its seed to enrich the soil of character wherever right-living humanity is indigenous, wherever honesty, industry, and love of fellow-man may nourish and cause to bloom again and again the best that is in men—the immortal part.

Development of American Merchant Marine.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ALFRED LUCKING,

OF MICHIGAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. LUCKING said:

Mr. SPEAKER: We have steadily maintained that this bill is but the forerunner of a subsidy measure which would be pressed for passage after the elections, and as bearing on that I now read from an editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer of April 17, 1904:

This commission, which is to consist of five Senators and of five Representatives, two of whom must belong to the minority party in each House, is to hear

testimony at its discretion and is to prepare a legislative scheme, which it will report on the first day of the next session of Congress. * * * The Inquirer is gratified at the circumstance. This paper has advocated the organization of such a commission as that described, not because it has any doubt as to what ought to be done, but for the reason that it did not seem practicable in any other way to attain the end in view. There are Members of Congress who persistently oppose the payment of ship subsidies, partly because they are influenced by prejudice and partly for lack of knowledge, and as the cooperation of these members is necessary to the enactment of an adequate law their prejudice must in some manner be dispelled and their ignorance enlightened.

Now, my friends, you will observe that this great organ of Republicanism and of the subsidy grafters gives you clearly to understand that your prejudices against subsidy are to be dispelled and your ignorance enlightened by this commission which you are asked to appoint.

Are any of us so simple and so innocent as still to believe this bill means anything but education of Congress and the public to the subsidy idea?

The Democratic party is in favor of building up our merchant marine by extraordinary measures; not because the men engaged in the business are entitled to any more Government favors than those in any other pursuit, but because there are certain public objects to be furthered. So far as the private interests engaged in shipbuilding or in ship sailing are involved, the Government should no more concern itself than for any other business. All businesses have their good times and bad times, and this is true of shipping, which is now depressed owing to the world being oversupplied.

The world's ship market is overstocked, and no sudden artificial stimulus should be applied in the United States simply because the builders make a clamor about their business. Other lines of business are depressed also, but bounties are not given them from the Treasury.

We to-day carry a smaller percentage of our foreign commerce than ever before. For the first forty years, from 1789 to 1829, our marine flourished, but it has declined steadily for seventy-five years—from 90 per cent of our own carrying in 1830 to less than 9 per cent in 1903. This indisputable situation is humiliating and calls for grave and patriotic consideration.

While this is so, it is not true that there is any occasion for alarm or for hysterical or even heroic measures. We still have the second largest mercantile marine in the world, although five-sixths of it is engaged in our coastwise and internal commerce. England has 15,350,000 tons, America 6,000,000, and Germany comes next with 3,500,000 tons.

We have large and flourishing shipyards engaged in building and repairing these vessels and in building our Navy, for which they are abundantly rewarded. Our foreign commerce is vast, and, while it is mostly carried in foreign vessels, it is carried at reasonable rates, and a goodly proportion of those vessels flying the foreign flags are owned by American capital. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GARDNER] cried out in alarm yesterday: "What will we do if England and Germany, which now do the carrying of our commerce, should go to war? Must our commerce cease? Shall we have a panic?" We can say to him, calm your fears; it would be the best thing that could happen to our shipping, for in such case their shipping at once would seek a neutral flag; it would be for sale, and if we were willing to buy we could do so very cheaply, and if not the other nations would, as has been done many times in the past; and it is not true, as intimated by him, that such sales could not take place after the declaration of war. Any book on international law will set him right on this point.

Shipbuilding for our foreign trade is only one of the industries of the country, and we can not admit the extravagant claim made of its supremacy above others, or that the prosperity of the country is dependent on its success. We recognize its great importance, and all reasonable efforts should be made to promote it; and we desire to see it reach its former pinnacle of power and prosperity, but the great body of our people have only the natural pride of Americans in seeing all our industries prosper.

Our past course, so far from impoverishing us, has left us the richest nation in the world, although we have paid out many millions for our carrying. While we realize some stimulus would be well and are willing to adopt constitutional and reasonable means to that end, we do not agree that the patient is as desperately sick as is pretended. A very poor mouth is made here by those who want to get their hands into the Treasury. They are able to make an especially strong showing at this time owing to the fact that the carrying trade has been at its lowest ebb.

Mr. Winsor, of Boston, president of the line of steamers now running from Puget Sound to the Orient, testified before our committee:

Take the history of shipping—go back as far as you can—it goes by the swing of the pendulum. In times when rates were high men built ships. They built too many, and rates went down; then it would go up again. Now we are at the very bottom. The English ships are not making a dollar. That is a fact.

This, gentlemen, is the evidence of one of the subsidy seekers, and it shows that all shipping of the world is now depressed owing to overconstruction following the Spanish-American and Boer wars, and that the situation will relieve itself naturally when the pendulum swings the other way. And I am in a position to say that the relief is already appearing, for ocean rates have been advancing during the last two or three months.

In spite of all protests to the contrary, our shipyards are reasonably prosperous. On July 1 last there were under construction or under contract 135 steel vessels of 589,822 tons, which is nearly as large as in any previous year. They have all the repairing for our vast tonnage and are the recipients of enormous sums for building the new war vessels; and while our shipbuilding trade is the best protected industry against foreign competition of any in the world, nevertheless our ocean-ship builders are coming here to Congress like a lot of mendicants asking for direct gifts out of the Treasury, and they grow more persistent and more determined the more that Congress trifles with the question.

We say it is the best protected industry, because no foreign-built vessel can carry a pound of goods in the domestic traffic of the United States, which is the greatest in the world. In all our coastwise and internal traffic—almost illimitable in amount—only home-built vessels can engage; and, besides this, for the foreign trade these gentlemen have the right to import free of duty all materials to be used in the construction of vessels, thus making our shipbuilding the most thoroughly entrenched industry in America against foreign competition, and yet this insistent lobby asks for direct gifts and bounties of money. They do not come here for the good of the country; their motives are not public, whatever may be those of our Members who support a subsidy. They are here for their own private gain, and very little stock should be given their arguments, and their alleged facts should be very closely scrutinized. Mr. Metcalf, head of the agricultural implement manufacturing industry and of the cordage company, after stating his entire friendliness to the ship people, made the following most remarkable and significant statement:

Now I am going to make a statement that some of you may disagree with, but it is a fact, in my opinion. If the shipbuilders spent more time at their work improving their methods, trying to find methods to compete with the English shipbuilders, and less time on the steps of the Capitol at Washington, or in its committee rooms, the United States would be building the ships for the whole world.

Because in one of the interests in which I am engaged we use exactly the same materials that the shipbuilder does; we use American labor, union labor, high-priced labor; we use protected steel, protected iron, protected lumber; we use protected paints and oils and varnishes, and everything that goes into the construction of a ship, and yet we are able to export our line of goods, and not only build them in this country, but build them for the whole world. And in this one industry which I represent we exported \$23,000,000 worth of goods last year produced out of the same material under the same circumstances and same conditions as the shipbuilding interests can work, and why they don't take hold in earnest to find ways to compete with the English shipbuilder I can not understand, because we can sell our goods right in Great Britain.

I believe if the same skill, energy, pluck, inventive genius, and executive capacity were shown in our ocean carrying as on the Great Lakes a different tale would be told. Our lake vessel men pay the highest wage scale in the world and carry freight cheaper, and yet they are not coming to Congress begging alms. The rate for carrying coal on those great inland seas has averaged for ten years past 31 cents per ton per thousand miles, which is about one-half the present low ocean rates of which so much complaint is made, and only about one-quarter the rate in the Atlantic coastwise trade.

We have just cause to be proud of our lake marine, which in tonnage is nearly one-third of all the tonnage of the United States, although less than one-seventh of the whole number of vessels, which shows that the average lake vessel is more than twice the size of the average ocean-going craft. It may surprise some of you to know that the commerce borne upon the Detroit River is 57,000,000 tons per annum, or four times as large as that of the Suez Canal, that great highway of the commerce of the three continents of the Old World.

Now, the question arises, what shall we do?

This bill proposes a commission to investigate and to recommend a measure December 1 next. But why do this? Why not fight it out now? No new light can be shed on the subject by a commission. Searchlights have been turned on it for thirty-five years past, and the sum of human knowledge, debate, argument, and opinion has been gathered and is spread before us. The rivers of eloquence and little rivulets, brooks, and creeks would easily fill the Potomac. The Library of Congress issues a catalogue of 1,100 publications, great and small, on this subject.

A commission simply means delay and a cowardly shrinking from dealing with the question on the part of somebody. If we don't want to take a stand on the question before the people, then a commission is a good way out—a convenient loophole; but that is the only honest argument for a commission. The commission can not bring out a fact which is not now known, nor devise any plan which is not now threadbare, nor offer an argument which is not

now stale. Why, then, waste \$20,000 on this farce? If you are bound to put the question over election, let us at least strike out the \$20,000 and save that much, since we know that the resources of the Government are insufficient to pay running expenses.

This bill is pushed by two classes of people: First, by those who want and advocate subsidies, and, second, by those who are afraid to vote subsidies but don't want to offend the subsidy hunters just before election. Those campaign subscriptions will come in very handy again this year.

To revive our merchant marine four principal plans are advocated: (1) Free ships; (2) subsidies; (3) export bounties; (4) discriminating duties.

The free-ship plan is supported by some very good arguments. Still its efficiency may be fairly questioned, because France and Italy and other European countries have pursued the free-ship policy in the past, and yet it has not built up their shipping. But it is not now a practical question, because the dominant party is wholly hostile to such plan, and also some of the minority, because it is claimed it would be a serious blow to our shipbuilding industry. We may therefore lay it aside as out of the question.

Ship subsidies and export bounties are in one class, for both call for direct appropriations from the public Treasury, to be given to private persons. They tax all the people for the enrichment of the few. You can not justly defend such use of the public funds unless you can prove a case of overwhelming necessity—mere incidental public benefit is not even an excuse, much less a justification for such use of the people's money.

Subsidy spells "special privilege," "special favor," "corruption," "jobbery," and "the lobby." In its essence it is unconstitutional. It has always been a failure, for it has never succeeded in building up a merchant marine. Italy and France have subsidized their marine more lavishly than any other country, and both have failed miserably. No one disputes this. England's shipping is the greatest and most successful in the world, and her sailors' wages are higher than any other except Americans, yet her merchant marine has never received a penny of subsidy. Some of her passenger steamers have received liberal pay for carrying the mails, but this scarcely equals 3 per cent of her shipping, while 97 per cent have never received a dollar of public moneys. We have tried subsidies several times, and they have always been confessed failures. We are to-day paying fully as much in the way of mail subsidies as is Germany, and yet we lag far behind her.

At times agriculture has languished, mining has languished, lumbering has languished, yet no one has advocated taxing all the people to give bounties to these industries, and farming, mining, and lumbering are quite as essential to the well-being of all our people as is the ocean carrying. So far as my opposition to this measure is concerned, it arises out of deep-seated antipathy to ship bounties. I am utterly averse to taking money raised by taxing all the people and giving it over to one small class of our people, even though it might result in some incidental benefit to all.

A subsidy, to be effective, calls for fabulous sums. All authorities unite in this, and when you get through the result is a system and a fabric which must fall to pieces when the support is withdrawn. "If subsidy be given at all, it must be with a free hand and no care for cost," says our present Commissioner of Navigation, Mr. Chamberlain, and "once given, they must be increased from time to time to be effective."

The advocates of subsidies come here soliciting public charity, begging alms and bounties from the rest of the people, although most of them are already rich, and they will keep on coming so long as any encouragement is given them. In nearly every Congress for forty years subsidy has reared its head, and the more it gets the more it wants. It is the very nature of the creature to demand more and more. Once yield to the demands of this persistent lobby, and organized raids on the Treasury will continue without ceasing.

Believing as we do that subsidies, as a remedy, should be barred from consideration, I shall offer an amendment to the bill providing that no plan calling for subsidies from the United States Treasury shall be reported or recommended by the commission. The vote on this amendment will enable every man to record himself for or against ship subsidies, and the country may judge of the two parties on the issue and of the individual Members. A leading newspaper of my city recently declared that 99 per cent of Republicans were opposed to the subsidy plan and that there was no danger of its adoption. We shall see by the vote on this amendment whether there is any danger.

To reinvigorate our merchant marine the minority of the committee has proposed to restore the system which was inaugurated with magical success by Jefferson and Madison in Washington's Administration, viz, the discriminating-duty plan. The decadent condition of our merchant marine in 1781-1788 was one of the most powerful factors in inducing the thirteen original States to adopt the Constitution, and immediately following its adoption acts

were passed by Congress to encourage the marine. These consisted of a rebate of 10 per cent of tariff duties on all goods imported in American vessels and an increased tonnage tax of 46 cents per ton against all foreign vessels coming into our ports.

Under this system our merchant marine rose rapidly from weakness to strength and flourished beyond description. Whereas but 24 per cent of our imports and exports were carried in our own vessels in 1788, within five years the percentage had risen to nearly 90. This result had been achieved before war broke out between France and England and can not be attributed to any cause except the laws referred to. This splendid condition of American shipping continued substantially unimpaired until 1830, when a decline began owing to the fact that the benefit of these laws was deliberately given up by the adoption of trade treaties with foreign nations giving to their vessels the same privileges as to our own. From 1830 to 1860 the carrying of our own commerce fell off relatively about 1 per cent a year, so that at the breaking out of the civil war we were carrying about 65 per cent of our commerce. Since the war a substantially steady decline has continued, so that now we carry something less than 9 per cent of our imports and exports.

Those who favor subsidy measures oppose discriminating duties not because they would not be a success, but they claim foreign nations would retaliate by levying discriminating duties in favor of their own vessels, and also that they would levy additional tariff duties against our exports.

Our measure is designed, in good faith and without ill feeling toward any nation, to secure to our people only that which all publicists agree belongs of right to us, namely, the carrying of one-half of our own commerce. The measure should not be prohibitive or in any sense extreme, but should go only so far as to equalize the chances of American vessels for cargoes, giving them 5 or 10 per cent advantage on imports, so that they may be in a position to bid low on export cargoes.

England does 55 per cent of our carrying; Germany, 11 per cent; Holland, 8 per cent; France, 3½ per cent; Italy, 1½ per cent; Norway, 2 per cent, and our own vessels, 8.8 per cent. It will thus be seen that the only nations having any particular incentive to retaliate would be England and Germany.

I lay down the proposition that all foreign peoples would recognize and respect our strict right to take conservative measures to resume 50 per cent of our foreign carrying, and that no nation can justly take offense if we adopt lawful measures to that end. The discrimination need not necessarily be 10 per cent; 5 per cent may be enough to give our vessels an equal footing on the seas.

This policy does not contemplate the prohibition or exclusion of foreign vessels from traffic, but only the giving of our vessels a preferential treatment in the carrying trade for the benefit of the whole nation from an economic and naval point of view. The majority report says that the discriminating-duty plan is not practicable because we have not vessels enough to carry all our imports, as if it were contemplated that the trade should be transferred at oneswoop. This is not so for two reasons: The proposed law would not take effect for at least fifteen months; and second, no prohibition against foreign vessels is designed, but only a narrow and moderate preference for American vessels.

Far be it from our purpose to advise a course which would lead to a bitter commercial warfare, and if we thought this would be the result or outcome of adopting the policy proposed by the minority, we should hesitate a long time before recommending it. No reasonable man can object to our adopting conservative and moderate methods to encourage our own shipping so as to carry a reasonable portion of our own commerce.

Fears of retaliatory tariff duties would seem to be groundless. No statesman can see danger so far ahead as he who wishes to see that danger. The men who see danger of retaliation in discriminating duties are the men who want subsidies. I can not believe that their fears are genuine, because the same men remorselessly levy 50 per cent duties against foreign goods and stand by with stolid and stupid indifference while they see the world threatening revenge.

If foreigners were going to retaliate against our food stuffs, they have had every provocation heretofore. If anything short of malicious attacks from unworthy motives could induce them to retaliate by high tariffs on our food stuffs, the Dingley bill would have done it. But our food stuffs and cotton are their necessities, and they are not going to put obstacles in their own way of getting them. One plan much advocated by conservative people is discriminating duties in the indirect trade, which allows all foreign vessels to carry freely between their own countries and the United States, but levies an extra duty when they carry between the United States and other countries. Speaking of this plan, Senator ELKINS said, having reference to the South and Central American trade:

Here is the carrying of nearly \$200,000,000, 60 per cent of which is done in foreign ships, which, if this bill becomes a law, without retaliation or opposition of any kind, will come to our ships, and they can not get it in any other way.

Norwegian vessels last year carried \$31,000,000 of our commerce, nearly all (fully 99 per cent) of which was in the indirect trade.

We can not understand why our Republican friends turn their faces away from the discriminating-duty plan. The history of our country has demonstrated its effectiveness, while other plans are at best only experimental.

In 1894 the revival of this plan was advocated in the Senate by Senator FRYE, Senator LODGE, and other Republican Senators. After two years of consideration fourteen Republican State conventions in 1896 declared for the discriminating-duty plan, and then the Republican national convention in June, 1896, adopted a plank declaring, "We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine." Mr. McKinley, the nominee on that platform, after a month or six weeks of deliberation, wrote his entire approval of it, and declared that it should be put in force as soon as possible. He was elected upon that platform, and yet never a step has been taken to carry it out.

It has been published a thousand times in the press since 1896, and never contradicted to my knowledge, that the great ship-building interests of the country contributed large sums to the Republican national campaign fund of 1896, upon the distinct promise that subsidy measures should be adopted, and it is a significant fact that at the next session of Congress the chairman of that committee immediately began the advocacy of ship subsidies, and he continued that advocacy up to the time of his decease, while the Republican party deliberately abandoned its platform pledges of 1896.

The Protectionist Magazine last fall sent out 2,000 circulars to the leading bank presidents, college presidents, and large manufacturers in the United States requesting their views as to the best method of reviving the merchant marine, and the returns will be found published in the October, 1903, number of that periodical. Seven hundred replies were received, of which 456 favored discriminating duties, 132 subsidies, 86 both, and 29 neither.

We believe that if the subsidy hunters were given distinctly to understand by the vote of this House at this time that a subsidy would never be granted by Congress, they would then abandon their persistent clamoring and be glad to accept the proposition of a moderate and reasonable discriminating duty; but so long as prominent and powerful Members of Congress advocate the subsidies, and year after year bring up measures proposing such subsidies, just so long will the clamor continue and nothing be accomplished.

And so, sir, for all these reasons, we condemn the subsidy policy—the discredited, indecent, ineffective, scandalous, lobbying, disgraceful, never successful, corrupt, and malodorous subsidy—and turn with confidence to the ancient, historic, respectable, successful, decent, and constitutional discriminating duty plan, the plan which has the prestige of undoubted success and which, fathered by Madison and Jefferson and indorsed by the Republican convention of 1896 and by William McKinley, may justly be termed nonpartisan and broadly American.

Post-Office Appropriation Bill—Necessity for Additional Post-Office Facilities in New York City.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 18, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1352) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. GOLDFOGLE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: As one of the Representatives from the city of New York, so vitally affected by the paragraph in this bill under discussion, I wish to add my approval of the recommendation by the majority of the committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads for the leasing of quarters offered by the New York Central Railroad for post-office purposes.

The chairman of the Post-Office Committee [Mr. OVERSTREET] and my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. HARRISON] have stated that the Government is now paying for offices in the vicinity of the railroad depot and for the necessary cartage of the mail that passes to and from that office to the railroad something like \$70,000, or about \$20,000 less than the maximum sum fixed by this bill as a rental for more spacious quarters and by far more

adequate accommodations which the Government will secure if the proposition of the New York Central Railroad be accepted as contemplated by the bill.

That company proposes to give us a building suitably furnished and properly equipped, as I understand it, fully adapted to the purpose of a subpost-office, at the terminal of that railroad for an annual rental not exceeding \$90,000. The minority object to this, and looking at the printed report I judge that the main and principal objection is that the rental is to be for too long a period. In other words, it is suggested that this Government should not lease for such a number of years.

Surely it needs no extended argument or submission of figures or statistics to convince any gentleman of this House that in New York City real-estate values are constantly on the increase. The railroad depot is in the heart of the city—it is where real estate, both business and residential, is held at high figures, where it increases in value as the years run by, and to secure a long lease now is an advantage to the Government.

Mr. BAKER. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Certainly.

Mr. BAKER. Does the gentleman assume that the astute, far-seeing gentlemen controlling the New York Central Railroad Company are not as conversant with the increasing values that are attaching to land in New York City and with prospective increases of values as the Postmaster-General, and does he not suppose that they know what they are about when they propose to enter into this contract for a term of fifty years?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Why, of course they know what they are doing, but as they do not seem to ask an excessive sum, the fact that they know what they are doing does not in any wise argue against the proposition. We will rather assume that the company is not going to lease at a loss; neither is such a thing asked for or expected. When an intelligent landlord leases his property for a long term of years to an intelligent tenant, it may be well assumed that the landlord knows what he is doing; but would anyone contend that for that reason the tenant ought to reject the proposition if it be of mutual advantage to each?

The bill is so framed that the power is reserved to the Postmaster-General to negotiate with the company as to the amount of rental—a maximum having been fixed—and he may still deal with the company to fix a reasonable rental, whatever that may be.

It does not necessarily follow that the rental will be \$90,000. Nor is it fair to assume that the Postmaster-General will agree to an excessive rental. Something must be left to his judgment and discretion in the matter of figures, when the needs of the postal service for quarters and accommodations are so great and when we have fixed a maximum sum beyond which he can not go.

For many years past New York has sorely needed a new post-office to facilitate the mail service in the Empire City of the Union. In the past we asked but two and one-half million dollars appropriation, yet this was refused. That was less than 35 per cent of one year's net revenue from New York's office alone. Over one-tenth of the gross receipts of the entire postal system of the country is derived from that city. That may convey to the mind some idea of the magnitude of the work done there, and the room required for proper and efficient service.

Need one speak of the tremendous growth of the metropolis? Need one speak of the immensity of its business or financial operations necessarily productive of the handling and transmission and delivery of billions of tons of mail? Surely not. You all are aware of these things, yet you leave the post-office as it was thirty years ago.

Were you to visit that post-office, you would be amazed. Inadequate in point of space, some of the second and third class matter is handled in the cellar, where the light of day never enters. In that unhealthy place you force many of the men to work, too frequently impairing their eyesight and undermining their health.

For want of sufficient room to handle mail, the large volume of mail matter during holiday and other busy seasons becomes congested, and delays in transmission result. This affects the business interests of the whole country. It is by no means a local injury.

Our press has agitated this matter, but in vain. Again and again have the newspapers called this matter to your attention, but for some unknown reason we could obtain no relief. And now that at last some slight relief is proposed which will tend to relieve in a measure the situation I have described, we are again met with objections of those unacquainted with the conditions that require immediate remedy.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. I will; certainly.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. I believe the letter read from the Clerk's desk states that the estimate of this rental is on a basis of 2½ per cent of the value of the building. Now, the United States can get all the money it wants for 2 per cent. Why should they pay rent at the rate of 2½ per cent when they have plenty of

money of their own that can be used at 2 per cent? Why should they pay it for fifty years, amounting to four and a half million dollars on a building that they can build for a great deal less money?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. The gentleman from Texas does not take into consideration the fact that the New York Central Railroad proposes to put up a structure specially adapted to the postal needs, that it proposes to thoroughly equip and furnish it to meet the postal-service requirements, and in so doing will have to undergo a large expense; and the gentleman from Texas is likewise unmindful of the fact that the taxes assessed by the city must be borne by the company. These three considerations, if, indeed, there were none other, and there are others, as I shall proceed to show, would answer the questions propounded by the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. The question is simply this: Who estimates the value of this building? You do not give the United States authorities the right to do that; it is estimated by the railroad company itself.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Why, sir, we have it as an actual and conceded fact that about \$70,000 is now paid for quarters near this company's terminal, entirely inadequate to answer the postal needs there. This is made up of the rental for the present branch and the cartage and other incidentals. For comparatively a little more the Government is to have commodious quarters, suitable furnishings, adequate accommodations, a saving of cartage, and proper facilities for handling the mails at the terminal of the railroad, into which and out of which comes 60 per cent of the 90 per cent of all the mail which is handled in the city of New York.

To the gentleman from Texas—from the State so remote from this great imperial city—the figures look gigantic, but to anyone at all familiar with New York City or its property interests the figures will not seem so large. Besides which, as I have already suggested, the Postmaster-General is to negotiate with the company as to the amount of rent by fixing a fair and reasonable sum, whatever that may be, within the limits fixed by this bill.

Mr. CLAUDE KITCHIN. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Yes.

Mr. CLAUDE KITCHIN. Could not the Government erect that building much more cheaply than for four millions and a half?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. That is not a question now under consideration. Year in and year out, session after session, New York through its Representatives has implored and almost on bended knees asked Congress for relief from the very bad conditions we have there in respect of our post-office. We have been before committees, we have proposed bills, we have argued on this floor, we have sought in every way known to the rules of this House for the passage of a bill or the incorporation of a proper provision in some appropriation measure for the acquisition of a site for the erection of a new post-office.

Our present post-office is in a wretchedly bad condition. It is inadequate. It is unsanitary. It is unequal in size to the great postal demands in that ever-growing city. It is a disgrace to a great Government, for New York should have the best post-office in the country. That city is the radiating center of this country's commerce. It is the center of its great financial interests. It is the great producer of postal revenues, yielding the country a net income of nearly \$12,000,000 per annum; yet our demands have gone unheeded.

In a most unjust way New York has been discriminated against. There is not a member of the Post-Office Committee nor a member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds who is not acquainted more or less with the conditions that make it absolutely necessary for the country's needs to provide a new post-office. The delegation from New York have unitedly urged in the last Congress and in this one some measure for relief. We have been before these committees; so have those Members who served in the House before we came to it. To all our entreaties the committees have turned a deaf ear.

Now come Members from far distant States, and in a spirit of opposition to affording the desired relief—relief not alone for New York, but relief to the entire postal service, relief to the country, for whatever hampers and cripples the service in the metropolis of the country necessarily affects in a great degree the entire nation—and ask why we do not build a post-office for this aggregate rental.

True, we desire a great central post-office, commensurate with

the vastness of the postal needs and the importance of our city. But failing to get that, after exhausting every known effort and resorting to every parliamentary expedient known to the drastic rules of this body, we want to get the best relief possible under the circumstances. We shall have every need for this subpost-office at the terminal of the Central Railroad, and the quicker we get it the better for the entire service.

After all the efforts employed by the New York delegation in the Fifty-seventh Congress and in this Congress to secure favorable consideration of the proposed measures for a new post-office, it is unfair to still further, by opposition to the small measure of relief which this bill would afford, delay giving New York some of the facilities which we must have to properly handle and rapidly dispatch the mail.

Mr. MOON of Tennessee. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Not now. Yes; I will yield to the gentleman for a question.

Mr. MOON of Tennessee. If the gentleman from Texas should kindly withdraw the point of order, would he and other gentlemen from New York take a lease for twenty-five years at \$75,000 a year.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. The difficulty is that such a proposition is not pending, and an offer for such leasing has not been made.

Mr. SULZER. I will accept that amendment.

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. Since the question was put to me, I will say that the kind of an amendment I might accept would be that if it is possible to enter into a lease for twenty-five years between the railroad company and the Post-Office Department, that that may be done.

Mr. STEPHENS of Texas. Will the railroad company accept that amendment?

Mr. GOLDFOGLE. That I do not know. I do not and can not speak for the railroad company. I hold nothing in common with it. I am here to speak for the city of New York. Nay, sir, in this matter I speak for the nation, for the post-office in the city of New York is an institution of national scope and of national importance. [Applause.]

Work and Character of the Western Federation of Miners.

SPEECH OF HON. C. D. VAN DUZER, OF NEVADA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 14, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 15054) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1904, for prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. VAN DUZER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I hold in my hand Senate Document No. 86, a statement purporting to represent the actual conditions of the present labor difficulties in the State of Colorado. It is a statement by the secretary of the Mine Owners and Operators' Association of Colorado, in reply to the statement of the Western Federation of Miners, recently printed as Senate Document No. 163. The statement on behalf of the mine owners and operators was made by C. C. Hamlin, and the statement on behalf of the Western Federation of Miners is made Charles Moyer, president, and William D. Haywood, secretary and treasurer.

I have read them carefully, and my purpose in addressing the House at this time is to resent the slanderous and libelous statements contained in Senate Document No. 86 against the Western Federation of Miners, an organization whose purposes are laudable, patriotic, and humane, and whose membership comprises the best citizenship of western labor forces. I am going to read one statement made by the Mine Owners and Operators' Association as a sample of the gross misrepresentation and cruel and unwarranted attack made upon the metal miners of the West.

Mr. Hamlin says:

During all these years an alleged labor organization known as the "Western Federation of Miners" has been endeavoring, with considerable success, to obtain a hold upon this particular industry through the unionization of these mines, and the history of this campaign, with its record of murder, arson, dynamiting, and riot, to say nothing of the more petty crimes, such as assaults, intimidation, threats, and personal abuse, all committed for the purpose of intimidating and coercing men engaged in earning a livelihood, is enough to shock humanity.

No parallel can be found for it in the labor history of the world, unless it be in the Molly Maguire organization, which maintained a reign of terror in the Pennsylvania coal fields prior to 1877. During times of comparative peace the career of this organization has been marked by nocturnal assaults and secret assassinations, while now and again they have broken out into

open warfare amounting to insurrection. Whenever a mine owner has assumed to stand against their aggressions or to employ as laborers men not members of this organization his life and property has been the forfeit. Criminal, cruel, untiring, militant political parties have obeyed their behest; honorable judges have been retired to private life for decisions to them obnoxious; courts have yielded to their dictates, and sheriffs and other peace officers, often selected from their own number, have been their willing agents. When an executive has been found big enough and brave enough and patriotic enough to rise above political expediency and take a firm stand in favor of law and order and the preservation of those rights guaranteed by the Constitution, as did Governor Steunenberg in Idaho in 1890, and as Governor Peabody is doing in Colorado to-day, protests such as that embodied in the resolution under consideration have gone up from certain quarters, either inspired by sympathy with the acts and purposes of this organization or with the hope of obtaining some political advantages through them or, as we trust is the case with the present resolution, by ignorance of the facts which have engendered the condition.

On account of the machinations and methods of the Western Federation of Miners the metalliferous mining industry of the West has been in a chaotic state for a long period of years. That a person was operating his property one day under satisfactory conditions was no guaranty that he would be able to do so the next. To make a contract with the Federation has always been a mere form, for this organization knows nothing of the sanctity of such an obligation. Continual aggressions have been supplemented by open outbreaks of alarming frequency.

The above statement, purporting to outline the purposes and history of the Western Federation of Miners, is false. It is without foundation. It is without fact. It is a partisan, inflammatory, incendiary statement, uttered for the purpose of creating prejudice and skillfully hiding the origin of this whole trouble. At the outset of this discussion I desire to state that I do not for one moment countenance violence.

I am not a supporter of lawlessness. I believe that one of the greatest problems of the future is the one relating to the adjusting of the difficulties between labor and capital. There is no question before the American people requiring more fact, more patriotic judgment, more of the spirit of mutual concession and wise arbitration than the settling of questions between capital and labor. It is the danger ahead of us. If we could eliminate the arrogant, intolerant oppression of predatory wealth on the one hand and curb the radical tendency to a possible lawless condition on the other, we would rapidly approach a solution of the question. If we could banish D. M. Parry and Sam Parks, two types, the tendencies of whom are to separate radically rather than to compromise conservatively, we would soon reach an amicable adjustment.

I admit that there may have been lawlessness in Colorado, but I emphatically deny that the Western Federation of Miners or any miners' union has aided, conspired, or abetted such acts. I emphatically deny that members of a miners' union as such have been guilty of lawlessness. If there is a condition of anarchy and bloodshed in Colorado, it is not due to the miners nor is the Western Federation of Miners in any way responsible for it.

The present conditions in Colorado are without parallel in the history of civil and State government in the United States. Only when the safety of a State is threatened by foreign invasion does it seem to me that any necessity arises for a supreme military rule. I can hardly imagine a justification for supreme military power in a State as between citizens of a State endeavoring to adjust differences of a social and economic nature.

In order to arrive at a just and impartial consideration of this subject I wish to state the facts as they actually exist in Colorado and submit to this House whether or not the Western Federation of Miners are wholly at fault and whether or not if there is law-breaking in Colorado that it is not the governor, the military, and the mine operators who have compelled and indulged in law-breaking.

For some years there has been a just struggle on the part of the Western Federation of Miners for an eight-hour day in the mines of the Western States. Nevada, Montana, and Utah and other Western States have adopted such laws, and the adoption has met with the approval of public sentiment, and their operation has been for the general good. The economic necessities of an eight-hour law are no longer disputed. Its application is universally recognized. An eight-hour law as a sanitary measure for the protection of life and limb and health of all men employed in mines, mills, and smelters has been successfully adopted in Utah, Montana, Nevada, and Arizona. The situation in Colorado is best stated by the Western Federation of Miners. I read from their statement:

For several years past in the State of Colorado the Western Federation of Miners has labored for the passage of an eight-hour law. When finally an eight-hour law was enacted in 1890, the mine owners and the smelting trust joined hands, and through their influence with the supreme court of the State the eight-hour law, which was a facsimile of the Utah eight-hour law, was declared unconstitutional. At the general election of 1902 a constitutional amendment was submitted to the people making it imperative upon the legislature to pass an eight-hour law, and this amendment was carried by a majority of over 40,000, the largest vote ever recorded for a constitutional amendment in the history of the State. Again the mine operators of the State, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the American Smelting and Refining Company, strangled the political will of the people as expressed at the ballot box by brazenly debauching the supposed representatives of the people.

The miners have made an unsuccessful struggle for an eight-hour law in Colorado. The will of the people has been thwarted.

The miners and the people have been patient and law abiding. A law passed did not meet the constitutional requirement of the State. With patience and with the ballot an amendment was submitted and passed by a great majority. It is a notorious fact that the legislature was controlled by great corporate interests, and the will of the people was defeated by corruption. Then the miners petitioned; they asked for arbitration; they presented their grievances. Their demands and their requests were ignored. Their only recourse was a strike. As American citizens they walked out for principle.

Of course the policy of strikes is to be deprecated. Yet they are sometimes inevitable. John Mitchell says in his book, *Organized Labor*, that "a strike may be perfectly justifiable in morals and policy; it may be an inevitable revolt against intolerable oppression." The strike in Colorado clearly was compelled by intolerable conditions. The mine owners and operators in Colorado are entirely responsible for the present strike.

Again, John Mitchell says:

Frequently strikes are inevitable, just as there are cases where lockouts can not be avoided. It is commonly believed by people unacquainted with the subject that workmen are responsible for the strikes.

The present situation in Colorado meets the above comment, for an examination by impartial persons will place the blame for this strike upon the mine owners and operators. The miners had no other recourse left.

It became necessary for the mine owners to use coercion, and they called upon a governor who was ready to disgrace his State by employing a military force to destroy and cripple the Western Federation of Miners. The officers of the federation were arrested; the officers of local unions locked up in filthy jails. The decree went forth to destroy and break up the miners' union. Labor papers were suppressed; the editors locked up. American miners were driven from their homes. Hundreds of miners have been deported. Free speech has been denied. Sympathizers have been shadowed. And yet this has been done under the name of law and order.

I ask who has broken the law; who has trampled upon the majesty of the law; who has subverted the State constitution? If the law has been broken in Colorado, it has not been broken by the miners. Had the will of the people been carried out peace would have prevailed in Colorado. The men responsible for the disgrace in Colorado to-day are the men who first trampled upon the law by defeating the law, and by men who have entered into deliberate conspiracy to break up organized labor and throw the leaders into jail and deny them the writs guaranteed under the Constitution.

I wish to take particular exception to the statement of C. C. Hamlin that the members of the miners' union are an organized gang of lawbreakers. Although I am not a member of the organization, yet I have lived among the men who constitute the miners' unions of the West. There are to-day four great mining camps in the West—Virginia City, Nev.; Butte, Mont.; Cripple Creek, Colo., and Tonopah, Nev. The fabric of our social and industrial growth in Nevada has been based upon our mining camps. Virginia City is the oldest camp in this respect, with a history without a parallel in the world. Every scene and every incident, every romance, with all the pathos and tragedy of early mining life, has been reflected in her history. The same is true of Butte City. In these two great types of mining camps the miners' union has been the brawn and the brain of her growth. Her members of the legislature, her mayors, her judges, her governors, have been drawn from the ranks of the miners' union. In the social and financial and political life the members of the miners' union have been leaders and factors. Lawlessness has never marred the history of these two great camps. The miners' unions of these camps have been the strong arm of the law. There never was a great crisis in the history of either camp but the members of the miners' unions were to the fore. When it was fire, flood, or mine disaster the deeds of heroism and the self-sacrifice of the individual has come from the ranks of the unions. Generous and patriotic, they are ready to give their last dollar to charity and give their lives for the protection of the law and defense of their country.

Familiar as I am with the history and development of these unions, knowing and appreciating the character of the men who constitute these unions, it is with feelings of indignation that I have read the brutal libel published by Hamlin in this Senate report.

In Tonopah, Nev., a modern mining camp in Nevada of great promise, which will some day become a Butte or a Comstock, I want to add as a tribute to this organization so grossly assailed a sketch of the work and charity of the miners there. Three years old, with a population of 5,000, there has been but one murder. The strong arm of the law has been the miners' union. In the early history of the camp millions of dollars of property changed hands without a written memorandum, millions were taken from

leases which were verbal, and yet not a lawsuit resulted. When an epidemic visited the young camp and death stalked about, the miners' union became a hospital and its members a "red cross" association. Strangers were tenderly cared for, widows given money, and orphans assisted. They built a hospital, and the memory of their work will ever form a chapter bright in the history of Tonopah.

I denounce, line by line, paragraph by paragraph, the statements in this report. I wish to bear personal testimony upon the floor of this House as to their courage, their integrity, their manhood, their citizenship, and I am proud to say that nowhere in America can be found a more law-abiding, home-loving, generous, charitable, and patriotic citizenship than that which constitutes the membership of the miners' unions of the West.

The one question which is of vital interest to a man who labors in metaliferous regions, to a man who works in gold mines, silver mines, and copper mines, is that it involves great danger to life and limb. For instance, in Virginia City, Nev., the miners work at a depth, or they did work at a depth, of almost 3,200 feet, where it was impossible to work for longer than from fifteen to twenty minutes until relieved by other miners. It has become a law of almost universal application in the West that the eight-hour law is recognized, and it has applied by statutory enactment in all the mining States that eight hours shall constitute in mining a day's labor.

In Colorado the Western Federation of Miners took up the question of the eight-hour day. They succeeded in getting a law passed which was declared unconstitutional. Then in order that they might gain their rights, the law having been declared unconstitutional, a constitutional amendment was submitted, I believe, at the following election, which carried in the State of Colorado by some forty thousand votes, and then when the question of the eight-hour law came up in the subsequent legislature under the amendment which had been adopted which would make the law constitutional the legislative will of the people in the State of Colorado was defeated and—

Mr. BONYNGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. VAN DUZER. Certainly.

Mr. BONYNGE. Is it not a fact that the Democratic party had control of the legislature of Colorado at the time you now mention?

Mr. VAN DUZER. Judging from the legislative results the mine operators had control of it. [Applause.] It is true that an endeavor was made to count out Senator TELLER, who was elected by a bare majority of one vote. I doubt not but that the legislature was Democratic on joint ballot by one vote, but is it not a fact that it was the branch controlled by Republicans that defeated the eight-hour law? I am aware that Senator TELLER was elected by that legislature.

Mr. BONYNGE. By Democratic votes in that legislature.

Mr. VAN DUZER. I presume he was elected by Democratic votes, of course. I make no pretense of defending any act of lawlessness, no matter by whom committed. That there is lawlessness in Colorado right now is apparent. That it is due to legislative and executive tyranny strikes me as the true solution rather than that it is due to any acts of the miners' unions. I have no intention of intermeddling in this affair; but when a condition arises in a State so notoriously flagrant against the rights and character of American citizens any Representative from any State has a right to submit comments, criticism, or protests.

I do not care whether or not it was a Democratic legislature or a Republican legislature that brought about that condition of affairs. I am frank enough to state that I believe that the will of the people of the State of Colorado was thwarted after giving expression to it by 40,000 majority in favor of the eight-hour law. That will was thwarted by the mine owners, and I do know that the mine owners and operators have stated that the Western Federation of Miners was a lawless organization, and I wish to say that I have been a resident among the miners of the West, I have myself worked in the mines in association with men who are known as members of the miners' union, and I wish to say that the statement which has been submitted in this report, coming from C. C. Hamlin and the mine owners and operators, is as gross a libel as was ever uttered against an American citizen. [Applause.]

Now, as I was going to submit a few moments ago, the miners work at a great depth and under great danger. All the States, particularly in Nevada, particularly in Utah, particularly in Arizona, have passed eight-hour laws. These eight-hour laws have been met with violent opposition upon the part of the mine owners and operators, and the result is that the miners, contending for what they believe to be their rights, have been compelled, since they believe the will of the people has been thwarted and legislative action has been denied, to resort to a strike. I am not prepared to state anything about violence and lawbreaking, but

this I am prepared to state, and that is, that neither the Western Federation of Miners nor any miners' union organization in the West has ever aided or abetted any murder or any arson, and I emphatically deny it here on this floor in defense of the miners' unions of the West. Now, we have—

Mr. HOGG. Will the gentleman permit me a question?

Mr. VAN DUZER. Certainly.

Mr. HOGG. Are you familiar with all the conditions of Colorado?

Mr. VAN DUZER. I should state to the gentleman from Colorado that I have recently been reading the statement or statements of the mine owners and operators and also the statements introduced in behalf of the Western Federation of Miners by Senator PATTERSON; that is, I have been reading both sides. I will admit I am not familiar with the exact details of the conditions out there personally, except as I have read it in these particular reports. My knowledge of the matter is based upon these reports, and knowing as I do the life, the work, the character, and law-abiding tendencies of the western miner and miners' unions, I have taken the floor to deny that the Western Federation of Miners is an organization of murderers, gotten together for the purpose of murder, for the purpose of arson, or for the purpose of the destruction of property.

Mines have been blown up and property has been destroyed in Colorado. You say mills have been burned down. I challenge right here anyone to show any connection on the part of the Western Federation of Miners. I am no defender of lawless acts. I hope the guilty parties will be apprehended and punished. I am here to deny the participation of the Western Federation of Miners and the local miners' unions in any acts of violence. While there has been serious trouble in Colorado, the Western Federation of Miners have not put the stamp of their approval upon it.

Mr. HOGG. Mr. Chairman, I would ask the gentleman if he does not know, as a matter of fact, that murders have been committed, especially in the county of San Miguel and in two other counties, and that officers of the Western Federation of Miners at that place are fugitives from justice at this time?

Mr. VAN DUZER. That may be true. I do not know that it has ever been proven in a court of law or that there has ever been a conviction which has proven to the public at large that the miners' unions, as an organization, or the Western Federation of Miners, have ever directly or indirectly aided or abetted in cases of murder or arson. If officers of the miners' unions are now fugitives, they are not fugitives from justice, for there seems to be no such thing as justice in Colorado. If they are fugitives, it must be from the hirings of corporations, and are hounded and pursued, not by the vengeance of the law, but by the corporations. [Applause.]

Mr. HOGG. Does not the gentleman know that they had over 200 stands of arms in 1901 in San Miguel County, and that they killed a number of men?

Mr. VAN DUZER. I know nothing of the kind. I do know that two men were convicted, members of a miners' union, and I do know that after their conviction they were pardoned because evidence was brought in or came to the governor showing they were innocent. I do know that at the present time the writ of habeas corpus is suspended, and that in a time of peace men are arrested without warrant, homes are visited and citizens carried by the military in the hours of night and thrown into bull pens; that the right of trial is denied, freedom of press suspended, courts of jurisdiction laughed at, men who have struck or been discharged are by military proclamation branded as vagabonds and driven from their home towns; and I further know that the mine owners' organization is furnished the money to pay the troops that are being used to destroy the miners' unions of Colorado, and that no lawlessness exists, and that there is no violence to suppress, and that the sole object of this outrageous condition in Colorado is to cripple and destroy the miners' unions.

It may be that the gentleman from Colorado thinks that the gentleman from Nevada has no right to cut into this controversy, but the matter is now the concern of every American citizen who loves fair play, who loves order and is proud of the majesty of the law. And if the gentleman from Colorado is proud of his governor's action or of his party's participation, I will say there is a considerable portion of the American people who have nothing but pity for Colorado and her imperial and autocratic governor.

Since the gentleman from Colorado has dragged politics in by calling attention to a Democratic legislature, I will add that Colorado is a Republican State, I believe, with a Republican governor and State officers, and I am proud to say that such a condition of affairs could not exist in a Democratic State. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Contrast the action of Nevada and Colorado, her legislature and her governor. The miners of Nevada wanted an eight-hour law. Their first attempt met with defeat in a State senate no-

toriously controlled by Republican influence, and although it had passed the lower house unanimously, it was defeated by Republican votes, and had sufficient Republican senators cast their votes for it the measure would have become a law. At the last session of the legislature the eight-hour law was passed. Its constitutionality was passed upon favorably by the supreme court.

Governor Sparks, of Nevada, when he signed the law sent the priceless souvenir pen to the miners' union of Tonopah. Governor Sparks, himself a man of wealth and influence, for forty years an employer of men, and the owner of a wonderful mine known as the "Wedekind," discovered almost on the edge of alfalfa fields near Reno, Nev., was brave and courageous enough to do his duty. Contrast his action with Governor Peabody's. Governor Sparks, when he became the owner of the Wedekind mine—which has added much to the reputation and prosperity of Reno—had a miners' union organized in Wedekind and raised the wages of the miners to \$4 a day. Governor Peabody calls out the troops, drives the miners as outcasts into strange lands, and then you wonder why you have anarchy in Colorado and peace in Nevada.

It is simply the difference between the promise of Republicanism for labor and the performance of Democracy for labor. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Nevada is a greater mining State than Colorado. She has produced more and she will produce more. Therefore they can be compared on equal terms. The history of Colorado has been a history of mining disturbances. Why? Because she has been controlled by eastern capital largely, who believe in low wages and long hours. Because she is worked by foreign capital. Because her mine operators fight against eight hours and living wages. Nevada has the world's record for mining output.

Recognizing the humanity of an eight-hour law, she enforces it. Recognizing the justice of a living wage, she has granted it. Her Mackey and Fair and Sharon and Hearst were big-hearted western Americans. They were men who had the love of humanity in their hearts, who themselves had toiled in the bowels of the earth in danger.

To-day Virginia City, a giant in the mining world, with more in sight than Cripple Creek has produced, a live, prosperous, and famous camp, stands as an example, made great not only on account of her great production, splendid history, and the character of her miner citizenship, but has never had her history stained by any labor disorder; and to-day such men as Joseph E. Ryan and William E. Sharon, representing the mine owners and operators, are the strongest and ablest advocates of eight hours and living wages in the West.

The history of mining in Nevada and the example she affords ought to be an object lesson to Colorado, and ought to be a lesson to mine operators in general, and is an unanswerable argument that labor difficulties never arise where governors are brave and courageous, where mine owners are magnanimous and generous and just, and where miners are law abiding, patriotic, and reasonable.

The question is to-day one of the greatest issues before the American people. The situation in Colorado is a danger signal. When the military can be employed at the behest of a governor of a great State to suppress American citizens whose only crime is sympathy for a movement looking to an eight-hour law, now a universally recognized principle, given them by the people's will, but denied them by a corporation's corruption and a party allied to predatory wealth, which it has created and whose instrument it now is, the semblance of free government fades before the dark shadow of revolution. [Applause.]

Violence and lawbreaking never won a social, political, or economic victory. The Western Federation of Miners recognize this, and they neither countenance nor approve it. The victory of labor must be won by the ballot. Emulating the cunning of predatory wealth, labor must see to it that their friends stand in places of power. The Standard Oil trust has its representatives in places of power. The great railroad corporations are careful to elect their representatives to places of power. So has every powerful trust. So do the banks. So does every powerful interest. Labor should elect representatives to positions of political power. The Republican party is the ostentatious friend of labor, continually promising but never performing. Labor has asked of Congress an eight-hour law, a convict-labor law, an anti-injunction law, and when these bills occasionally pass the House they find their death in the Senate. No man who is notoriously known to favor large corporate interests can be trusted by labor. No man who has ever been the agent, representative of, or lobbyist before any State legislature for corporate interests and against labor legislation can ever be trusted in the Senate. The fight which labor must wage in this country is the peaceful conquest of the ballot, whereby they can at least secure friends who will recognize the justice of their demands and listen with respectful intelligence to their requests.

While it may be wisdom to keep the labor unions as labor unions out of politics, yet the salvation of the labor union depends upon the political energy of the individual who constitutes the union to wage his battle at the polls.

If you want eight-hour laws in the State, you must send your friends to the legislature. If you want brave and courageous governors, you have the power at the polls. If you want favorable action in the United States Senate, your remedy lies at the primary to select members of the legislature who will elect a Senator who represents the people, their interests and aspirations, and not the selfish interest of any one corporation.

I have taken more time than was allotted to me, but this question appeals so strongly to me and it and its importance seem so great that I could not refrain from a somewhat extended discussion. The situation in Colorado appeals to conservative Americanism.

My desire is to be conservative, to accord fair treatment to individuals and corporations, and give each just consideration; and I can not stand here and read this attack upon the Western Federation of Miners without voicing a protest, because that organization is represented by a splendid citizenship in Nevada; its rolls contain not only the heroes in great critical times of danger and death, but its rolls bear the names of men famous in financial conquest, in the political arena, at the bar, and in business life. No acts of violence mark its history in Nevada; and if the conquest of the West is to be accredited to any two classes of men, I want to say that it is the prospector—the lonely and generous hermit of the desert—who has discovered our wealth and the miner whose brawn has taken it from the earth who have framed the foundation of our greatness and shaped our destiny.

The prospector has seldom if ever prospered by his discovery, but, unlocking the riches of the earth, has passed on and been lost in the desert or passed from sight in the land of the midnight sun. A nomad whose home roof is the dome of heaven and whose hearthstone is the wide expanse of the West, he is followed by the miner, always a typical American, always law abiding, engaged in a dangerous avocation, and the two have given to the world the wealth of nations, the metallic money that gives life to commerce, the wealth that gives happiness to humanity, beauty to art, and energy to intelligence.

His energy has wrought the fabric of western development, and his citizenship makes safe its splendid edifice. [Applause.]

As a complete defense of the Western Federation of Miners, I herewith submit their statement:

[Senate Document No. 163, Fifty-eighth Congress, second session.]

STATEMENT.

In support of the resolution introduced by Senator PATTERSON, of Colorado, the Western Federation of Miners desires to submit a reply to the lengthy statement introduced by Senator SCOTT, of West Virginia, in rebuttal of the fabricated and unsupported assertions contained in said statement. The document introduced by Senator SCOTT to the United States Senate brands the Western Federation of Miners as a criminal organization, and has been introduced for the sole purpose of poisoning the public mind. In order that the honorable body which compose the Senate of the United States may have a clear conception of the objects and aims of the Western Federation of Miners we hereby present the preamble of our organization:

PREAMBLE.

We hold that all men are created to be free and should have equal access and opportunity to the enjoyment of all benefits to be derived from their exertions in dealing with the natural resources of the earth, and that free access and equal opportunity thereto are absolutely necessary to our existence and the upward progress of the human race. Since it is self-evident that civilization has, during centuries, made progress in proportion to the production and utilization of minerals and metals, both precious and base, and that most of the material prosperity and comforts enjoyed by mankind are due to this progress, it is highly fitting and proper that the men who are engaged in the hazardous and unhealthy occupation of mining, milling, smelting, and the reduction of ores should receive a just compensation for their labors, which shall be proportionate to the dangers connected therewith, and such protection from laws as will remove needless risk to life or health, and for the purpose of bringing about and promoting these and other proper and lawful ends and for the general welfare of ourselves, families, and dependent ones we deem it necessary to organize and maintain the Western Federation of Miners, and, among our lawful purposes, we declare more especially our objects to be:

First. To secure compensation fully commensurate with the dangers of our employment and the right to use our earnings free from the dictation of any person whomsoever.

Second. To establish as speedily as possible, and so that it may be enduring, our right to receive pay for labor performed in lawful money, and to rid ourselves of the iniquitous and unfair system of spending our earnings where and how our employers or their agents or officers may designate.

Third. To strive to procure the introduction and use of any and all suitable, efficient appliances for the preservation of life, limb, and health of all employees, and thereby preserve to society the lives and usefulness of a large number of wealth producers.

Fourth. To labor for the enactment of suitable laws and the proper enforcement thereof.

Fifth. To provide for the education of our children and to prohibit the employment of all children until they shall have reached at least the age of 16 years.

Sixth. To prevent by law any mine owner, mining company, or corporation, or the agents thereof, from employing detectives, or armed forces, and to provide that only the lawfully elected or appointed officers of the county, State, or province, who shall be bona fide citizens thereof, shall act in any capacity in the enforcement of the law.

Seventh. To use all honorable means to maintain and promote friendly relations between ourselves and our employers, and endeavor by arbitration and conciliation, or other pacific means, to settle any difficulties which may arise between us, and thus strive to make contention and strikes unnecessary.

Eighth. To use all lawful and honorable means to abolish and prevent the system of convict labor from coming into competition with free labor and to demand the enforcement of the foreign contract-labor law against the importation of pauper labor from any foreign country, and also to use our efforts to make it unlawful to bring persons from another State, Territory, or province to take the places of workmen on a strike, or who may be locked out, by means of false representation, advertisements, or other misleading means.

Ninth. To demand the repeal of conspiracy laws that in any way abridge the right of labor organizations to promote the general welfare of their membership, and also to use our influence to bring about legislation which will prevent government by injunction by either Federal, State, or provincial courts. To procure employment for our members in preference to nonunion men, and in all lawful ways cooperate with one another for the purpose of procuring a just share of the product of our toil and mutual advancement in order that the general welfare of the membership and their families may be steadily advanced and promoted.

Tenth. To use our united efforts to discourage the contract-labor system, and, as soon as practicable, to abolish the same, believing the said system to be detrimental to the best interests of organized labor.

For the further enlightenment of the members of the United States Senate, and in order to show that our organization is a legitimate body, we quote the following from the constitution:

"Sec. 2. The objects of this organization shall be to unite the various persons working in and around the mines, mills, and smelters into one central body, to practice those virtues that adorn society, and remind man of his duty to his fellow-man, the elevation of his position, and the maintenance of the rights of the workers."

Previous to an applicant being initiated to membership in the Western Federation of Miners or taking the obligation the following assurance is made:

"This body exacts no pledge or obligation which in any way conflicts with the duty you owe to your God, your country, or your fellow-man."

The Western Federation of Miners was organized in Butte, Mont., on May 15, 1893, and for ten years the organization has kept inviolate the principles enunciated in the preamble and constitution.

Because of the success, growth, and strength of the organization, and because of its progressive spirit in defending the humblest of its members from the tyranny of corporate oppression, the Federation has been assailed, not only by the federated might of the smelting trust and the various mine owners' associations, but corporation journals owned and controlled by magnates in the mining and smelting industries have loaded their editorial columns with slander and vituperation in obedience to the mandates of the moneyed fraternity that molded the convictions of mortgaged editors. The Western Federation of Miners has never waged a battle except in self-defense. All strikes that have arisen can be traced to the encroachments of corporations, whose managers received their orders and instructions from a foreign source.

In the strike of 1901 in the Telluride district in Colorado Arthur Collins, another Englishman, introduced the contract-fathom system, in order that the miners in America might be placed upon the same basis as the miners of Cornwall, England. The document of the Mine Owners' Association, as introduced by Senator SCOTT, holds up the Western Federation of Miners as an organization of lawbreakers and criminals, and in refutation of these infamous aspersions cast upon the character of our membership we quote the following from ex-Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, of Idaho, who was interviewed by a correspondent of the San Francisco Examiner in regard to the confessions of ex-Governor Steunenberg:

"I do not understand the animus of the above, and I have carefully refrained from an expression, but if the governor did testify as quoted in the Examiner I am willing that he should have the glory. His deputy governor may not be afraid of 'man or consequences,' but I would not want to be ambitious politically with his record. I have 200 miners under me, and every one of them belongs to the Western Federation of Miners, and do not know of one that is a criminal. We have handled off and on 4,000 men in five years, and I believe that the criminal records of Owyhee County do not show one criminal among the number. Two of these men went north to test Sinclair's permit business, and neither of them would seek work without a permit to do so, and they were 1,000 miles from the seat of the trouble at the time of the explosion. One of these is studying for the ministry, and is a careful, conservative man, and has been working for us for years without complaint.

"A big mine is really an underground city, and while underground and in different streets we do not need sheriffs or police. I know something of miners, their virtues and their faults, and I should say that Governor Steunenberg picked the right man, because if it is true that he was sick he was incapable of taking care of business, and if the lieutenant-governor had been sent he would not have made every metalliferous miner from the Joplin mines to Klondike and from the United Verde to Cape Nome a criminal. I have broken bread with them, drank with them, prospected with them—yes, I have belonged to their organizations. Therefore the governor selected the right man to do the work he wanted. As a citizen and taxpayer of Idaho, I believe the necessity for troops in the Coeur d'Alenes would soon cease if the present permit system, as enforced by Governor Steunenberg's putty deputy governor, Bartlett Pear Sinclair, were abolished.

"I want nothing to do with men that wear masks or have fearful solemn oaths, and they have no more to do with true labor organizations than do the Mafia in New Orleans to any benevolent secret society. The men under me belong to the Western Federation of Miners. Their number is sixty-six. They are composed of as true and liberty-loving a class of people as any organization in Idaho. When they are stamped as criminals in Washington, either by the governor or his putty-self-molded-man-afraid-of-nothing, it is time to call a halt. For one, if Governor Steunenberg or De-puty Governor Sinclair have political monuments on account of their permit system in north Idaho, I am willing that they stand on them. If they have political graves, I am going to help fill them, and after reading the Examiner I bought a scoop shovel."

If the members of the Western Federation of Miners are men with criminal records, why have our membership been permitted to register their names upon the rolls of the various fraternal organizations, such as Masons, Knights of Pythias, Red Men, Woodmen, Maccabees, Yeomen, Elks, United Workmen, etc.; and how was it that Sherman Bell, the new adjutant-general of the State, was proud to accompany the drill team of the Knights of Pythias of the Cripple Creek district, which won the world's prize at the encampment at San Francisco, and who were nearly all members of the Western Federation of Miners?

Why was it, if the members of the federation were criminals and lawbreakers, that the mine operators have frequently declared that the miners of the great gold camp were the best in the world, and why have they made such strenuous efforts to influence these "criminals" to return to work? Search the records of every penitentiary located within the jurisdiction cov-

ered by the Western Federation of Miners and you will find no member of the organization behind the walls of a prison, and you will find no man serving a sentence on account of his affiliation with the federation or on account of his connection with any strike. The mine owners' document charges the federation with "murder, arson, dynamiting, and riot."

Permit us to call the attention of the United States Senate to the reckless slaughter of human life that may be laid at the door of the mine operators.

In Scofield, Utah, some three or four years ago, nearly 300 miners were killed by an explosion, which resulted on account of the failure of the mine owners to comply with the law governing ventilation. In May, 1901, a disaster occurred in Fernie, British Columbia, where 137 men lost their lives and a coroner's jury brought in a verdict of culpable negligence against the company, and this "criminal" organization, the Western Federation of Miners, immediately sent a representative with \$3,000 for the relief of the widows and orphans. Before all of the bodies were removed from the mine, Manager Tonkin reduced the wages of those who survived this blood-curdling disaster.

It should be fresh to the memory of the members of the United States Senate concerning the appalling disasters which have taken place in Tennessee, Wyoming, and Pennsylvania, and all of which could have been averted if the mine operators had placed a higher value upon human life than dividends and complied with the laws of the respective States. In order that the Senate may realize the wanton sacrifice of human life in the mines and the mine operators' responsibility for the same, we quote the following from the editorial columns of the official organ of the United Mine Workers of America:

"Within the past ten months there have been two explosions in coal mines which cost 528 men their lives—338 in Wyoming and 190 near Pittsburg. This is the second national convention within three years that has been horrified by an appalling mine disaster. There were lost in the Iroquois Theater fire in Chicago, four weeks ago, about 560 persons. That disaster resulted in the most rigid examination of every theater and public building in the United States. Scores of theaters have been closed and their owners compelled to obey the law and provide safety for their patrons. The mayor of Chicago, along with six other public officials, have been indicted by the grand jury for neglecting to enforce the laws regarding public buildings.

"Now, notice the difference: No one is obliged to go to a theater, but men are compelled to work in the mines. A failure to compel the proprietor of a theater to properly secure the safety of his patrons results in the indictment of the men responsible for that failure. Within the past three years in four mine accidents, whereby 872 men have lost their lives, over 500 women made widows, and over 2,000 children made orphans, there has not been a single indictment of operator, foreman, or inspector. It seems unnatural, nay, a brutal state of public conscience, that these mining accidents—let us call them accidents—can go on regularly and not excite an indignation that would remedy this state of affairs. Why is the life of a theater patron of so much more consequence than that of a miner? In the first case there is a clamor set up which results in indictment of derelict officials, while in the other there is a brief paragraph in the papers and the matter is forgotten.

"Let a girl or a young woman be murdered under suspicious circumstances, and the bloodhounds of the law and the vigilantes of the press pursue the matter to the last extremity. Column after column is used, the whole matter illustrated for weeks. But let a score of workmen meet their death through some unlawful act of their employers, and after a little squib oblivion is reached in the matter. It is extremely doubtful whether outside of the mining communities 100 persons in the country can tell where those four accidents occurred. In this latest disaster the accounts are so meager that one can not at present tell where the blame for it rests. But we are sure of this one thing: Such an accident can not occur in a properly ventilated mine. We have this from the highest mining authorities in the world. No man is allowed to practice law or administer medicine unless he is declared competent by a proper tribunal.

"This is done to protect the lives and property of the people from incompetent persons. Why should not the same rule apply to mining? If the law can protect people from quacks and pettifoggers, why should not the mine workers be protected from the ignorance of their fellows? It is true that a pick may strike a pocket of gas and cause disaster, but nevertheless no man should be permitted to enter a mine until he had shown that he was not a constant menace to life and property because he knew nothing of the perils which lurk in a mine. They tell us that these men are overpaid—that their demands for decent wage and safe conditions imperil the prosperity of the country. Merciful God! The prosperity that demands a constant repetition of these horrors is not fit to survive an hour."

In Park City, Utah, at the Daly-West mine, 35 miners were killed by an explosion of giant powder that was stored in the mine by the company, contrary to every safeguard which common sense should suggest.

In November, 1901, 22 miners lost their lives by being suffocated on account of a fire which destroyed a boarding house that was connected with the tunnel of the Smuggler Union mine, a property that was then under the management of Arthur L. Collins. The law had not been complied with, for the doors of the tunnel were not so adjusted as to prevent the flames and smoke from entering the mine. The mine operators shed no tears for the sacrifice of these 22 miners who were smothered to death, but when some unknown assassin pulled the trigger and ended the life of one man, Arthur L. Collins, a mighty wall went up and the finger of suspicion was pointed at the Western Federation of Miners.

It was only a few days ago when fifteen men were hurled into eternity at the Independence mine, in the Cripple Creek district, through defective machinery and an incompetent engineer who was imported by the Mine Owners' Association as a strike breaker, and in whose ignorant keeping, for mercenary reasons, were placed the lives of all the men in the mine. Scarcely had the Associated Press contained the report of the horrible calamity when the Mine Owners' Association, together with Bell and Peabody, intimated that a crime had been committed and that the Western Federation of Miners was probably responsible. The following is the verdict of the coroner's jury, which will speak for itself:

"We, the jury, find that the above-named men came to their deaths at Stratton's Independence mine on January 26, 1904, by the engineer, Francis T. Gellesse, losing control of the engine there in use and pulling the cage into the sheave, thereby parting the cable and precipitating the cage, loaded with the above-named men, down the shaft to their deaths.

"And we further find that if the management had not neglected the usual necessary precautions the said casualties might have been reduced, if not avoided.

"The usual precautions referred to, which were not taken, are as follows: "First. No man is required to preside at the collar of the shaft while hoisting men.

"Second. No safety device was in use on the cable to prevent the overwinding of the same.

"Third. Men were loaded and unloaded without placing the cage upon the chairs.

"Fourth. The disk brakes of the hoisting engine were detached from their usual positions and were useless.

"We, the jury, would recommend that all safety appliances and the precautions herein named and recommended be adopted and used, not only by

the Stratton's Independence mine, but by all mines in this district not now using the same, thereby reducing to a minimum the damage to life and limb that men working in mines are subjected to.

"We further recommend that a competent extra man should stand near the engineer while he is hoisting or lowering men, whose duty should be to render any assistance needed.

"THOMAS M. HAMILL, Foreman.

"FRANK AKINS, Clerk.

"JOHN HORGAN.

"T. S. LELAND.

"R. W. REED.

"J. L. TOPPING."

In reference to the charge of "arson," the insurance companies would, in all probability, pay a handsome reward for information as to who, or by whose orders, certain mills in the Cripple Creek district and elsewhere were burned in order to obtain the amount of the insurance policy. The Senate might ask as to who were most interested in the destruction of mills that were insured, and whose machinery had outlived its usefulness in the treatment of ores?

In reference to the charge of dynamiting, the Senate might inquire as to who were most interested in the blowing up of assay offices in the Cripple Creek district, where ore thieves, it is said, deposited their high grade, and who are responsible for the dynamiting of houses of prominent union men who reside at Newcastle, Colo.

The Western Federation of Miners has been charged with the explosion which occurred at the Vindicator mine, which resulted in the death of two men. The mine at the time the explosion occurred was surrounded by the State military, and no union man was permitted to come within close proximity to the property. The secret of the explosion could probably be told by the superintendent of the property and the men who lost their lives on the 600-foot level of the Vindicator. The coroner's jury brought in the following verdict:

"We, the jury, find that Charles McCormick and Melvin Beck came to their deaths on the 21st day of November, 1903, at 11 a. m., from the effects of an explosion at the station of the sixth level of the Vindicator mine, located in Cripple Creek mining district. From the examination made at the mine and the evidence introduced, the jury is unable to determine the exact cause of the explosion.

"CHARLES KETTLESON, Foreman."

Notwithstanding the verdict of the coroner's jury, Lyman White, the commissioner of mines, made an investigation and reached a conclusion that the explosion "was a deliberate design to destroy life and property." Mr. White was the choice of the mine operators for the appointment which he now holds, and felt obligated to show his appreciation for his masters. Mr. White was busy after the Independence accident, and in his desire to show his gratitude for the political crumbs that fell from the table of the Mine Owners' Association he now stands charged with perjury, with brilliant prospects of becoming familiar with the interior architecture of an institution that is maintained by the State.

The Western Federation of Miners was charged with conspiring to blow up the Sun and Moon property at Idaho Springs, and a court and jury have exonerated every member of our organization from that charge.

The federation has been charged with the blowing up of the Strong mine, in the Cripple Creek district, in 1894, in which mine Senator SCOTT is largely interested. Two of the members of the federation were convicted by a judge and jury at Colorado Springs, the city which has won the title of "Little Lunnion," on account of the English aristocrats who have camped under the shadow of Pikes Peak. These two men served but a short time in prison when it became apparent that they were convicted through prejudice, and a Republican governor granted them a pardon.

If Senator SCOTT and the Mine Owners' Association of Colorado believed that these men were guilty, why was it that Samuel Strong, the original owner, was afterwards arrested, charged with the crime, and why was it that such strenuous efforts were made by Senator SCOTT and the stockholders of the property to convict Mr. Strong of the crime of dynamiting?

The Western Federation of Miners is charged in the document of the mine owners with "riot." We desire to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that eighty-nine men were arraigned before the courts to answer to the charge of riot, many of whom are prominent mine owners of Clear Creek County, Colo. These eighty-nine men are the "law and order" brigade who made a nocturnal assault upon fourteen members of the Western Federation of Miners and drove them from their homes at the point of deadly weapons.

When these men, who had violated no law, appealed to the governor for protection to return to their homes, he referred them to the civil authorities of Clear Creek County, knowing full well that the sheriff and his deputies were tools of the mine owners and took part in the expulsion of these fourteen citizens, who afterwards returned and were exonerated by a court and jury of their peers. In Telluride, Buckley Wells, the manager of the Smuggler Union mine, after securing five rifles from the office of the Telluride Journal, headed a mob and marched the streets in company with Meldrum and Rannels, desperadoes, who glory in their criminal records, and who feel flattered in being recognized as the partners of Tom Horn, who was executed in Wyoming for the murder of a little boy.

It was at the instance of this mob that Sheriff Rutan, of San Miguel County, took eleven men who had been arrested on trumped-up charges and escorted them to Montrose, the capital of another county. The cases against these men have been dismissed, but, through the influence of the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance, who absolutely control the civil authorities, these men have not been permitted to return to their homes. The only excuse offered by the sheriff for removing these men to another county was that the jail was overcrowded, notwithstanding the fact that after their removal there remained but one prisoner in the county jail. The men were able and willing to furnish bonds for their appearance in court, but it was evident from what has since transpired that it was the purpose of the authorities to exile these men from their homes.

At Dutch Flat, Cal., several months ago three members of the Western Federation of Miners were met by a mob, who, at the instigation of the mine owners, tarred and feathered their victims, solely because they delegated to themselves the right to organize a local union.

The charges of murder, arson, dynamiting, and rioting made by the mine owners against the Western Federation of Miners comes with poor grace from a combination of men who have not hesitated to violate every law to subvert their own interests and defeat the efforts of organized labor in its struggle to improve the conditions of its membership.

The Western Federation of Miners for years has struggled to place upon the statute books of the various metalliferous States throughout the West an eight-hour law as a sanitary measure for the protection of the life and health of all men employed in mines, mills, and smelters. In this we have been successful in Utah, Montana, Nevada, and the Territory of Arizona, and the province of British Columbia. When the legislature of Arizona enacted the eight-hour law and the same was signed by the governor, going into effect June 1, 1903, the mine operators refused to comply with the law, and when the miners

of Morenci and Clifton went on strike in support of the law that was enacted the governor sent out the armed forces of the Territory to awe and intimidate the striking miners, and, furthermore, called upon the President of the United States for Federal troops, who immediately complied with the request of the governor, backed by the mine operators.

These miners were forced by military might to violate the Territorial law and go back to the mines to work a nine and ten hour day. Five of these men who resisted the efforts of the mine operators to force them to violate the law have been convicted of conspiracy and are now languishing in prison, martyrs to the unholy greed of the "law and order" mine owners. The law, which was part of the organic law of Utah, and which was assailed by the mine operators, was carried by the Western Federation of Miners to the Supreme Court of the United States, where its validity was sustained by Justice Brown handing down a decision which left no doubt as to its constitutionality. The same law was enacted in the State of Nevada, and was again assailed by the mine owners, but the Western Federation of Miners carried the measure to the highest tribunal in that State, and its constitutionality was again upheld. At the last general election in the State of Idaho a constitutional amendment was submitted to the people demanding of the legislature that an eight-hour law should be passed, but the legislature, influenced by the mine operators, failed to pass the law.

For several years past in the State of Colorado the Western Federation of Miners has labored for the passage of an eight-hour law. When, finally, an eight-hour law was enacted in 1890, the mine owners and the smelting trust joined hands, and through their influence with the supreme court of the State the eight-hour law, which was a facsimile of the Utah eight-hour law, was declared unconstitutional. At the general election of 1902 a constitutional amendment was submitted to the people making it imperative upon the legislature to pass an eight-hour law, and this amendment was carried by a majority of over 40,000, the largest vote ever recorded for a constitutional amendment in the history of the State. Again the mine operators of the State, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and the American Smelting and Refining Company strangled the political will of the people, as expressed at the ballot box, by brazenly debauching the supposed representatives of the people.

The law, as demanded by the sovereign will of the people, was defeated, and this crime, that was committed by a legislature that was bought by the corporations which are now fighting the Western Federation of Miners, is a far greater crime than all the acts that have been committed under the titles of "murder, arson, dynamiting, and riot" that have been charged against the victims of corporation conspiracy. The Western Federation of Miners is only demanding that which the sovereign citizenship of the State have demanded at the polls, and we leave it to your honorable body to determine who are the greater criminals, the combinations who bribed the legislature, or the men who refused to work ten and twelve hours in the poisonous gases of mines, mills, and smelters.

The cause of the present strike is due to the fact that the Western Federation of Miners has been ever vigilant of the interests of all its members.

On the 14th of February the Mill and Smelter Men's Union No. 125, of the Western Federation of Miners, were forced to strike a blow on the industrial field against the arrogance of the mill trust, whose employees were denied the right to organize for self-protection under the penalty of a forfeiture of employment. Previous to the Western Federation of Miners sending an organizer to Colorado City to establish a local of the Western Federation of Miners, the employees of the mills had maintained a local union, which was disrupted and shattered through the employment of Pinkertons by the corporations, who furnished the names of every man in their employ who dared to become a member of the local organization. When the Western Federation of Miners invaded the domain that was considered sacred to MacNeill, Fullerton, and Peck, and organized the Mill and Smelter Men's Union, corporation coin secured the services of a Benedict Arnold in the union by the name of A. H. Crane, who, for Judas money, prostituted his manhood and betrayed his fellow-men by furnishing the corporations the names of every man who sought shelter in the membership of the Western Federation of Miners.

As rapidly as the names of members of the union were furnished by the traitor to Manager MacNeill, of the mill trust, they were discharged without ceremony. The union at Colorado City bore with patience this discrimination until patience became so abused "that it ceased to be a virtue." The representatives of the Western Federation of Miners called upon the management of the mills, protesting against discrimination, but all efforts to bridge the gulf that lay between the union and the mill owners were fruitless, and the strike was declared on the 14th of February against the United States Reduction and Refining Company. It was but a short time when the Telluride and Portland mill owners joined hands with MacNeill and entered into a compact that was backed and supported by the Mine Owners' Association of Colorado to fight to a finish any and all efforts of the Western Federation of Miners to establish the right of the mill men to organize for their mutual welfare and collective prosperity.

The management of the mills spared no effort or expense in endeavoring to secure men to take the place of the strikers. In their efforts to keep smoke curling from the stacks of the great plants, which, in the language of Baer, God had placed in their custody, boys from the schoolroom were accepted and used as "scabs" in the poisoned and fetid atmosphere of the mills. The strikers conducted their campaign in a most peaceable manner and their eloquent and moral persuasion left the mills in a condition which baffled the managers whose haughty contempt for unionism forced the battle. Secret meetings of the mill owners and representatives of the Mine Owners' Association were held, and a plot was hatched that would bring the State militia to the scene of action to assist the corporations in their infamous assault upon the right of labor to organize. The governor of the State became a willing tool to serve the interests of the corporate masters, who in all probability but a few months before furnished the "sinews of war" to aid him in reaching the goal of his political ambition.

When the mill owners and the representatives of the Mine Owners' Association realized that the strikers were masters of the situation and were able, through moral persuasion, to prevent men from usurping their places, a picture was drawn by the corporations to present to the governor that would justify the legality of the State militia being used to break the strike.

On the 3d of March, at the hour of noon, the governor delivered the following order to the adjutant-general:

[Executive order.]

DENVER, COLO., March 3, 1903.

Ordered: It being made to appear to me by the sheriff of El Paso County and other good and reputable citizens of the town of Colorado City and of that vicinity in said county, that there is a tumult threatened, and that a body of men acting together by force with attempt to commit felonies and to offer violence to persons and property in the said town of Colorado City and that vicinity, and by force and violence to break and resist the laws of the State, and that the sheriff of El Paso County is unable to preserve and maintain order and secure obedience to the laws and protect life and property, and to secure the citizens of the State in their rights, privileges, and safety under the constitution and laws of this State in such cases made and provided:

I therefore direct you, in pursuance of the power and authority vested in

me by the constitution and laws of the State, to direct the brigadier-general commanding the National Guard of the State of Colorado to forthwith order out such troops to immediately report to the sheriff of El Paso County as in the judgment of the brigadier-general may be necessary to properly assist the sheriff of that county in the enforcement of the laws and constitution of this State, and in maintaining peace and order.

Given under my hand and the executive seal this 3d day of March, A. D. 1903.

JAMES H. PEABODY, Governor.

THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL, STATE OF COLORADO.

The order of the governor calling out the State militia to proceed to Colorado City came upon the people of the State of Colorado "like a peal of thunder from a cloudless sky." Many doubted the story that was flashed from one to another, but as soon as President Moyer and Secretary-Treasurer Haywood ascertained the truth of the report the following address and appeal was drafted and furnished to the Denver Post and Rocky Mountain News for publication.

We herewith produce a portion of the above-named address:

"LABOR'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF COLORADO.

"The chief executive of the State of Colorado has ordered the State militia to Colorado City. The governor of this great Commonwealth, after giving audience for several hours to Manager MacNeill and the representatives of the Mine Owners' Association, men who are peculiarly interested in the degradation and subjugation of labor, sends the armed power of the State to aid the merciless corporations in demanding their 'pound of flesh' from the bone and muscle of men who have borne the tyranny of greed 'until patience has ceased to be a virtue.'

"Manager MacNeill acted as a deputy of the sheriff and handed to the governor the following letter:

"I hand you herewith a communication from the Portland Gold Mining Company, operating a reduction plant in Colorado City, and from the United States Reduction and Refining Company, from which I have received requests for protection. I have received like requests from the Telluride Reduction Company. It has been brought to my attention that men have been severely beaten, and there is grave danger of destruction of property. I accordingly notify you of the existence of a mob, and armed bodies of men are patrolling this territory, from whom there is danger of a commission of felony."

"It does not appear from the letter of the sheriff that he made a personal investigation of the conditions existing at Colorado City. The communications from the corporations to the sheriff of El Paso County actuated the sheriff in placing in the hands of Manager MacNeill, a member of the corporations, an order to Governor Peabody, and upon the strength of this letter, which MacNeill carried from the sheriff to the governor, the armed force of the State is to be placed at the disposal of the corporations, to be utilized in intimidating labor to fall upon its knees in mute submission to the will of oppressors. The governor, without any apparent investigation as to the truth or accuracy of the representations of corporations, sends forth the armed guards of the State to subserve the interests of soulless combinations, who gloat in arrogance and haughty despotism as their dividends are made more copulent, coined from the misery and debasement of the laboring man. No word came from the citizens of Colorado City to the governor stating that there was a mob or insurrection. Depending absolutely upon the unsupported representations of the corporations and a letter from the sheriff, an official who, from his letter, has failed to make a personal investigation, the governor of this great State has become a willing tool in the hands of corporate masters to place the armed machinery of Colorado in the hands of corporations to debauch the manhood and the independence of American citizenship."

WHO DID GOVERNOR CONSULT?

It does not appear that the governor even consulted a single solitary citizen of Colorado City, but, relying on the testimony of interested corporations and the sheriff of "Little Lunnion," who is the vassal of the mining corporations, he issues an order to the State militia to shoulder the rifle and become an auxiliary of the corporate interests in defying a battle of manhood against greed. The governor listened attentively to the gory story of MacNeill, the representative of the corporations. Why did he not summon the representatives of labor and hear their evidence as to the conditions at Colorado City? Is there only one side to a story when the interests of the corporations are to be subserved and labor humiliated?

As soon as it was learned by the citizens of Colorado City that the State militia had been called out by the governor and ordered to Colorado City, the mayor and members of the city council held a meeting, and the following protest was telegraphed to the governor:

"GOVERNOR PEABODY: It is understood that the militia has been ordered to our town. For what purpose we do not know, as there is no disturbance here of any kind. There has been no disturbance more than a few occasional brawls since the strike began, and we respectfully protest against an army being placed in our midst. A delegation of business men will call on you to-morrow with a formal protest of the citizens of the city.

"J. F. FAULKNER, Mayor.

"GEORGE G. BIRDSALL,

"Chief of Police.

"JOHN MCCOACH,

"City Attorney."

J. F. Faulkner, the mayor of Colorado City, made the following personal statement to a representative of the Rocky Mountain News:

"The only trouble we have had since the strike began was yesterday afternoon, when there were a few street fights. These disturbances were quickly quelled and the offenders were arrested. There were no gun plays. The men simply fought with their fists, and probably the employees of the mills who came down town were given the worst of it. However, I am not fully acquainted with the nature of the quarrels. The boys have been disposed to be peaceable ever since this labor trouble began, and I have been constantly assured by the officers of the union that they would go all in their power to keep their pickets from making any trouble. I can not see, for the life of me, how the governor came to act as he did. Why, it is absolutely absurd to have soldiers patrolling our streets. There has not been a sign of trouble here to-day, and if there had been there is little doubt in my mind but what we could have stopped it in a minute. Some of our citizens will wait on the governor to-morrow and try and induce him to keep the troops outside of the city limits. I think that we can convince him that we can well take care of ourselves here."

Chief of Police George G. Birdsall, of Colorado City, was interviewed by a reporter of the Rocky Mountain News and spoke as follows:

"I have talked with a number of people during the afternoon, and they are all exceedingly indignant at the thought of having the militia come among us. If some trouble had arisen which we experienced difficulty in handling, then there might have been some cause for sending soldiers over here, but nothing of the kind has taken place. The assaults have been mainly fist fights, which are apt to take place at any time. I do not know of a case

where a gun play has been made within my jurisdiction. If I could foresee that men involved in this labor trouble here would resort to the use of weapons, I might become scared myself, but the boys have never appeared to take that course, nor do I believe they will countenance such methods in trying to win their fight. They know, as well as all good citizens, that they must have the public behind them, and I am sure they do not care to employ force to win their victory."

In the face of the protests that came from the mayor, chief of police, and city attorney and citizens of Colorado City the troops were sent.

The history of this move by the mill owners is well known. The whole scheme was concocted in Governor Peabody's reception room the day Manager C. M. MacNeill, of the Standard mill, delivered to the governor Sheriff Gilbert's communication. Besides MacNeill, several prominent mine owners were present. Then it was decided to send the troops to Colorado City to intimidate the strikers. There could have been no other purpose in the plan. There was no violence to suppress—no indication that any violence would be committed. There had been no destruction of property, no overt act of any description. Only one striker had been arrested since the beginning of the strike.

Previous to the strike being declared, the following letter was presented to the mill managers by the Mill and Smelters' Union of Colorado City:

"We respectfully present for your consideration a schedule relating to employment and wages in and about the mills. This schedule has been carefully considered by the members of Colorado City Mill and Smelters' Union No. 125, W. F. of M., and they deem it a fair and reasonable minimum scale for the services in the various lines of work, and inasmuch as throughout the immediate surrounding places a like or a higher scale is in effect, it is evident that both the employer and the employees regard a scale not lower than the one presented as just and equitable. Should there be any part of the schedule, however, which appears to you as not being fair and just, we will be glad to take the matter up with you, and assure you of our willingness to look at things from the company's standpoint as well as our own, and do that which will promote harmony and justice.

"We are greatly aggrieved over the discharge of individuals who have been, as far as we are informed, faithful employees of the company, and the only reason for their dismissal being the fact of their membership in this union.

"We do not object to the company discharging men whose services as workmen are unsatisfactory. We are not now nor do we intend to uphold incompetent men nor insist that they be either employed or retained in the employment of the company, but we must and will protect men in their rights to belong to the union, even to the extent of discontinuing to work for any company which so discriminates against them.

"We, as members of the union, desire the prosperity of the company, and as far as our skill and labor go will do all we can to promote its interests. We can not understand how any fair and reasonable company should discriminate against union labor, for it is engaged in building hospitals to care for the sick and disabled; it furnishes a helping hand to the widows and orphans of its deceased coworkers. And in this connection we might say, as you are aware, employees are, in law, held to assume the risk of about all the dangers in their employment, and when one is injured or killed and the question of assumption of risk is not involved the courts usually declare that the injury was occasioned by contributory negligence, and in either case the company is held not liable for damages, so there is not any other source to which the crippled employee may turn except to his union for that pecuniary aid of which he absolutely stands in need, and, likewise, if he dies from his injury his widow, orphans, and dependent ones have no other source of support except from the bounty that they receive from the union.

"This being true, certainly the company or its officers are not justified in discriminating against men and punishing them by depriving them of employment because they belong to an institution organized for such wholesome and praiseworthy purposes.

"Realizing that you will require some time to consider the accompanying scale, the committee will call upon you February 25, and expect a definite answer."

This letter was signed by the official committee of the union, but the letter received but little courteous consideration from the managers. When all overtures of the union failed to bring about an amicable adjustment of differences, the strike was declared as a last resort for justice.

The three leading daily newspapers of Colorado recognized the justice of the strike.

The Rocky Mountain News, in its issue of March 7, had the following editorial on the "Duty of the governor:

"Governor Peabody's position in regard to the labor trouble at Colorado City is (1) that he will take no steps toward recalling the troops or in any other direction until next Monday develops the situation in Cripple Creek in regard to the shipment of ore to the mills where the men are out, and (2) that he has done all that his duty requires him to do, and will make no move of his own volition, toward trying to get an agreement between the men and the mill owners, or a conference between them, or submission of the dispute to arbitration.

"Such a view of the duty of the governor to the public is exceedingly narrow. His office charges him with the duty of doing everything in his power to insure the peace and prosperity of the State. At the present time there is no single matter in which he can render more real service to the State and its people than by using his personal and official influence to bring about a settlement of the strike in the mills at Colorado City. Failing to move in that direction, he fails in his highest duty as governor.

"Should Mr. Peabody persist in that determination, no other conclusion will be possible than that he favors the mill owners and wishes them to win, whether they be right or wrong.

"His call for the National Guard was made after a consultation only with a sheriff who had utterly failed to use the power of his own office, and with Manager MacNeill, of the mill trust. The governor took their report for everything. He did not ask the men for a statement. He did not consult with the people of Colorado Springs or Colorado City. He did not send anybody down to inquire into the merits of the quarrel or into the truth or falsity of reports of threats against property.

"Almost every governor who has occupied the executive chair of this State has been called on to interfere in labor difficulties or has voluntarily interested himself to secure their adjustment. They have all felt that they were governors of the whole people, and that whatever would tend to bring about an understanding or to promote good feeling was part of their duty.

"There is no longer any serious attempt to deny that Sheriff Gilbert, of El Paso County, was negligent or willfully unmindful of his duty, and that the stories of threatened danger at the mills were wild exaggerations. The sheriff would have had no difficulty in procuring as many deputies as he required to preserve good order near the mills. He did not try to get them; but, instead, in company with the manager of the mill trust, rushed to Denver to procure an order from the governor that the National Guard should do police duty in El Paso County, at a cost to the State of from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a day, or about \$50,000 a month. The expenditure for the army is at a rate sufficient to swallow up about one-half of the entire revenue of the State

from its 4-mill levy. The presence of the soldiers is itself an irritation, and the irritation is increased by the conduct of two or three of the officers, who seem to be on the ground as direct representatives of the governor and the mill trust to dispose the forces without regard to the opinions of General Chase, who is in nominal command.

"The legislature is in session and it is the business of that body to take official notice of the situation. A petition was presented in the house yesterday, signed by a large number of citizens of El Paso County, protesting against the presence of the military. A majority of the house, voting almost strictly on party lines, refused the petitioners the courtesy of having their paper read. By a vote of 29 to 19 it was ordered laid on the table after only a few lines of it had been heard.

"The legislature, or the senate, if the house will not act jointly, ought to appoint a committee to visit the scene of the trouble immediately and report.

"Matters will come to a focus in the Cripple Creek district on Monday, and a strike on a number of mines in that district may result if the mill difficulty is allowed to drift without action by the governor or the legislature. It will be no less than a crime against the people if both the executive and legislative branches of the State government do nothing toward securing an adjustment."

The Denver Post contains the following in its issue of March 6:

"This is the telegram sent to the Colorado City mill managers by the Denver Post:

"Are you willing to submit to arbitration the trouble between your company and the mill workers employed by you, the arbitration board to be appointed by joint arrangement of parties involved? Please answer at our expense.

"THE DENVER POST."

"This is the reply:

"There is no trouble between our company and mill workers employed by us. Our employees are now and have been perfectly satisfied with wages and treatment. Wages paid by us more and hours of labor less than ore-reducing plants with whom we compete. Our employees don't ask to arbitrate. Our plants are full-handed, and all our employees and plants require protection from the violence of outsiders not employed by us. We would be pleased to have your representative visit our plants and fully investigate.

"C. M. MACNEILL,

"Vice-President and General Manager

"United States Reduction and Refining Company."

In the same issue of the Post the following editorial appears:

"C. M. MacNeill, stand up!

"Was not this telegram of yours indorsed by the other mine managers?

"Is it not true that it is a subterfuge?

"Is it not a brazen falsehood from beginning to end?

"Is it not a carefully worded telegram, prepared to hoodwink the people of Colorado?"

"Is it not intended to make the people believe the mill managers are more sinned against than sinning?"

"Are you not laughing at your own cunning and flattering yourself that you have made a master stroke and have fooled the people?"

"Your answer to each of these questions, if you are truthful, must be:

"Yes."

"Read your own telegram, Mr. MacNeill.

"There is no trouble between our company and mill workers employed by us."

"Is it not a fact that your employees are on a strike?"

"You must answer 'Yes.'"

"Our employees are now and have been perfectly satisfied with wages and treatment."

"Is it not a fact that your wages were so low that the men were hungry more than half of the time?"

"Is it not true that your employees were forced to pay insurance and medical assessments and trade in your stores?"

"Is it not true that many of your employees were forced to live in tents because you would not pay them enough to pay for a house?"

"To each of these questions you must answer 'Yes.'"

"Wages paid by us more and hours of labor less than ore-reducing plants with whom we compete."

"You know that is a barefaced lie, don't you?"

"Is it not a fact that the Woods Investment Company pays higher wages for less hours of work than do you?"

"Answer 'Yes.'"

"Our employees don't ask us to arbitrate."

"Is it not a fact that they have offered to arbitrate and you refused?"

"Is it not a fact that you say 'there is nothing to arbitrate' to these men?"

"Is it not a fact that you are trying to break the union?"

"Is it not a fact that you have refused and do refuse to recognize the rights of men to organize?"

"Do you not know this right is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, that gives to every man the right of liberty and pursuit of happiness?"

"Do you not know that you are seeking to deprive these men of their liberty and deprive them of their happiness by grinding them down to the level of serfs?"

"You must answer 'Yes' to these questions or tell a deliberate lie.

"Our plants are full-handed, and all our employees and plants require protection from the violence of outsiders not employed by us."

"Do you not know that lies team in every word of that sentence?"

"Craftily as you have couched that sentence, do you not know that it will not fool the people of Colorado?"

"Is it not a fact that your plants are not full-handed?"

"Is it not a fact that there has been no violence?"

"Is it not a fact that you had the troops called out knowing that there had been no violence?"

"Did you not have the troops called out to awe men who were asking only that you pay them money enough for their labor to allow them to live decently?"

"Is it not a fact that citizens of Colorado Springs and Colorado City to the number of hundreds have signed petitions to Governor Peabody declaring that there was no violence?"

"Do you not know that these troops are costing the State of Colorado \$2,000 a day and that there is absolutely no use of them in Colorado City?"

"Is it not a fact that you have those troops there just to excite violence?"

"You must answer 'Yes.'"

"Is it not true that your company has \$12,000,000 of watered stock and you pay dividends on starvation wages?"

"Answer 'Yes.'"

"Don't you know that you must answer 'Yes' to these questions?"

"This is what the Western Federation of Miners stands for:

"To secure compensation fully commensurate with the dangers of our employment and the right to use our earnings free from the dictation of any person whomsoever."

"Do you not indorse that for yourself personally?"

"Answer 'Yes.'
 "Is there any reason why every man should not indorse that?
 "You must answer 'No.'
 "Here is another point the miners stand for:
 "To establish as speedily as possible, and so that it may be enduring, our right to receive pay for labor performed in lawful money, and to rid ourselves of the iniquitous and unfair system of spending our earnings where and how our employers or their agents or officers may designate."
 "Is that not right?
 "Will you consent to anybody dictating to you how or where or when you will spend your salary?
 "Here is another point the miners stand for:
 "To use all honorable means to maintain and promote friendly relations between ourselves and our employers, and endeavor by arbitration and conciliation or other pacific means to settle any difficulties which may arise between us, and thus strive to make contention and strikes unnecessary.
 "Does this not show that your employees are ready to arbitrate?
 "Is it not an honorable and fair stand for a man or men to take?
 "You must answer 'Yes.'
 "Mr. MacNeill, stand up!
 "You are the Baer of Colorado."
 The Cripple Creek Daily Press of March 11, 1903, contained the following editorial:
 "You were elected by the people of the State of Colorado, and when you took the oath and assumed the duties of the office you did so as the servant of the whole people.
 "Your acts during the past few days incline to the belief that you are not aware of this. You are evidently laboring under the impression that you are the servant of the corporations.
 "As chief executive you are commander of the State militia, and, as such, are directly responsible for the acts of the militia in the field on duty at your command.
 "You stated that the militia was sent to Colorado City to preserve the peace.
 "Don't you know that your soldiers are doing all in their power to incite the strikers to riot?
 "Don't you know that your soldiers are every day violating the law they are supposed to enforce?
 "Don't you know that the soldiers have confiscated the property of the strikers without process of law and have refused to return said property to its rightful owners?
 "Don't you know that citizens have been denied the right of the public domain by the militia?
 "Don't you know that you are keeping the militia there when it is altogether uncalled for and unjustifiable?
 "Don't you know that one of your officers invaded the strike headquarters and abused the men found there and was very profane in his language and ungentlemanly in his conduct, and that his language was calculated to stir up strife and incite the men to some act whereby he might have some justification for keeping the troops there?
 "Don't you know that this same officer has stated he would picket with soldiers the homes of the strike leaders, and don't you know that such an act would be wholly contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, which guarantees every citizen the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?
 "Don't you know that your acts have been contrary to law and justice?
 "If you are not aware of these facts we take this method of informing you.
 "Now that you have been informed, what are you going to do about it?
 "Are you going to permit this outrageous condition to disgrace the fair name of Colorado?
 "Are you going to be the governor of Colorado for the benefit of all the people or for the money class?
 "You stated that no labor skate would be permitted to run your administration, but you did not state that no corporation skate could dictate your policy.
 "A great many believe that you are being influenced by corporation skates in connection with the strike of the Colorado City mill men.
 "And don't you believe they are fully justified in this belief?
 "Of course we do not expect you to reply to these questions, because your actions are all the reply that is necessary."
 The mass meeting that was held in the Cripple Creek district, and the meetings of other organized bodies in various parts of the State, protesting against the military being held in Colorado City as a strike-breaking power, and the urgent demands that the differences be submitted to a board of arbitration, caused the governor to visit Colorado City on the afternoon of March 11.
 The Denver Post, in its issue of March 12, after the governor had returned to Denver from Colorado City, had the following to say editorially:
 "THE PEOPLE WANTED ARBITRATION, NOT MILITARY REVIEW.
 "If Governor Peabody did not want his visit to the scene of the strike at Colorado City to result in honest arbitration, he took exactly the right course.
 "He visited with the military. He had a heart-to-heart consultation with the mill owners. He talked familiarly with the 'strike breakers,' usually known as scabs.
 "But he failed to have anything to do with the men whose wrongs are the cause of the strike. He neglected to consult with the citizens who know both sides of the case.
 "What the people of Colorado want is arbitration. The governor gave them a military review. What the strikers want is justice. The governor gave them the cold shoulder.
 "Does the governor court the worst?"
 The Rocky Mountain News had the following editorial in its issue of March 14:
 "SOME ADVICE BY REQUEST.
 "Governor Peabody said yesterday that the News had been criticising him so freely that he would like the paper to tell him what it thought he should do to bring about arbitration of the Colorado City strike.
 "Whether the governor's expressed wish was an outburst of petulance or was caused by a real desire to receive a suggestion the News does not know, but it will try to give the best advice it can.
 "The first thing the governor should do to bring about arbitration is to believe that there ought to be arbitration, and then to act as if he believed it. So far as the press and public have been able to discover from the governor's words and actions, he has never given any intimation to the mill owners that he thought they should recognize the union and arbitrate the differences. Never has he made any declaration to the public that he thinks there should be arbitration.
 "As a first step toward facilitating arbitration, let him make the public statement that he thinks the mill owners should accept the proposal of the Western Federation of Miners and that they will deserve to be condemned if they fail to accept it.
 "The governor should understand that the people of this State, almost without exception, look on him as a partisan of the mill owners, and think that the mill owners would have agreed to arbitration long ago were it not

that they expect to have his full support whether they be right or wrong. This belief in the minds of the people may do the governor an injustice, but if it does he is responsible for it, and he only can remove it.

"The conviction that the governor stands with the mill owners took deep root when he called out the National Guard and rushed it to Colorado Springs. Manager MacNeill, of the mill trust, came to Denver carrying in his pocket the request of Sheriff Gilbert for troops. Nobody had any idea that troops were to be asked for. There had been no disorder to warrant their entry on the scene. The sheriff of El Paso County had made no effort to employ the peace force of the county. The municipal authorities of Colorado City were prepared alone to keep order.

"But the governor and Manager MacNeill went into private conference, and when they came out the order to the troops came with them. The governor did not go to Colorado City himself. He did not send anybody to investigate. He took the ex parte statements of the manager of the mill trust and the request of an incompetent sheriff as his warrant for sending a small army to Colorado City at an expense of over \$1,500 a day to the State.

"Then the governor pushed aside the recognized officers of the National Guard and gave some kind of a personal commission to Sherman Bell and James H. Brown, both of whom have conducted themselves in exactly the right way to provoke trouble. The appointment of Sherman Bell to be adjutant-general of the State troops, beginning in April, is itself an indication of the most extraordinary ignorance or recklessness on the part of the governor. A harebrained adventurer like Bell is about the last man in the State who should be placed in a position so responsible as that of adjutant-general.

"The public conviction as to the governor's mental attitude was fixed by his recent trip to the scene of the strike. He talked with the men working in the mills, but refused to go to a meeting of the strikers to which he was invited. Instead of spending the evening talking with the strikers and learning their opinions, he chose to hold a social function in the Antlers Hotel. At another time a public reception in the Antlers would have been in good taste. Under the circumstances which took the governor to Colorado Springs it was in the worst possible taste, and no man with an ounce of good judgment in public affairs ever could have been led into such an indiscretion.

"If the governor has any wish to invite public confidence in himself and his administration, he will recall Bell and Brown from Colorado City, revoke Bell's appointment as adjutant-general, and require Brown to confine himself strictly to the duties of his proper rank in the guard.

"The proposition of the union is that the mill owners shall select one arbitrator, the Western Federation the second, and those two the third, the finding of the board to be binding on both sides.

"If the governor believes that proposition to be fair, let him say so.

"Then let the governor notify the mill owners that if they will not accept that proposition at the meeting this afternoon he will withdraw the National Guard from Colorado City and will issue a statement to the public saying that the mill owners are not disposed to be fair.

"If the governor will take that attitude an agreement to arbitrate will be reached before to-day's sun goes down. If he says there must be arbitration there will be arbitration."

The citizens of Colorado City to the number of more than 600 signed a petition, which was presented to the governor, requesting that the State militia be recalled, but the governor remained as adamant to the petition. Various petitions from different parts of the State flooded the legislature, which was then in extra session, demanding that the troops be recalled.

The governor could no longer maintain his position that "there was nothing to arbitrate." Public sentiment became so strong that he was forced to use his office in bringing together both parties to the controversy. The governor requested the mill managers and the representatives of the Federation to meet at his office in the afternoon of March 14 for the purpose of obtaining further personal information. The Federation was represented by President Moyer and Secretary-Treasurer Haywood, who secured the temporary services of an attorney. The mill owners were represented by their managers and attorneys. The conference lasted from 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon until 3 o'clock Sunday morning, with the following results:

"Terms of the Portland mill:

"First. That eight hours shall constitute a day's work in and around the mills, with the exception of the sampling department which may extend to ten hours per day.

"Second. That in the employment of men by this company there shall be no discrimination between union and nonunion labor and that no person shall be discharged for reason of membership in any labor organization.

"Third. That all men now on strike shall be reinstated within twenty days from Monday, the 16th day of March, A. D. 1903, who shall have made application for work within five days from said date.

"Fourth. That the management of the Portland Gold Mining Company will receive and confer with any committee of the Colorado City Mill and Smelters' Union, No. 125, at any time within said twenty days upon the subject of a scale of wages.

"Dated at Denver, Colo., this 14th day of March, A. D. 1903.

"FRANK G. PECK,
 "For the Portland Gold Mining Company.
 "CHARLES MOYER,
 "For Mill and Smelters' Union."

Terms of the Telluride mill:

"First. That eight hours a day shall constitute a day's work in and around the mills, with the exception of the sampling department, which may be extended to ten hours per day.

"Second. That in the employment of men by this company there shall be no discrimination between union and nonunion labor, and that no person shall be discharged for reason of membership in any labor organization.

"Third. That all men formerly employed by the Telluride Reduction Company shall be reinstated in the same positions which they occupied in the mill at the time it closed down, it being understood that in the new mill now under construction by the Telluride company that there will be certain positions in the new mill which did not exist in the mill as formerly operated, and that the agreement of the Telluride company to the reinstatement of men shall apply to the positions in the new mill which were in existence in the old mill.

"Fourth. That the management of the Telluride Reduction Company will receive and confer with any committee of the Colorado City Mill and Smelters' Union, No. 125, within any time after thirty days from the date upon which the mill is placed in operation to consider a wage scale.

"Fifth. The Telluride Reduction Company further agrees that during the period of construction of this mill that it will employ as many of its old employees as it finds practicable so to do.

Manager MacNeill, of the Standard mill, who had at all times maintained a stubborn attitude, practically forced himself out of the conference with the Portland and Telluride mill managers. President Moyer and Secretary-Treasurer Haywood, at the request of the governor, accepted an invitation to meet the manager of the Standard mill on Sunday, March 15, at 11 o'clock. The meeting took place at the governor's office, but all efforts on the part of the federation representatives to bridge the gulf were unavailing. Manager MacNeill refused to reinstate the strikers, made no mention of the wages he

would concede to his employees, nor would he consent to a recognition of the union.

The governor agreed that he would withdraw the State militia providing the Western Federation of Miners would withdraw the suits that were entered against officers of the Colorado National Guard. If the representatives of the Federation had refused to accede to the demands made by the governor the people of Colorado would have had the inestimable privilege of continuing to donate \$1,500 per day as an expense account for soldiers on dress parade.

After it became known that the Telluride and Portland mill managers and the representatives of the Federation had arrived at a satisfactory settlement there was general rejoicing, but amidst the jubilation there could be heard strong words of denunciation for Manager MacNeill, of the Standard, who repudiated with haughty arrogance the reasonable demands of the Federation representatives.

The governor failed to keep his promise that he would immediately withdraw the troops, and the delay of the governor in issuing his order recalling the State militia caused the following to be issued from the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners on March 17:

"The representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, since the strike was declared at Colorado City, have at all times held themselves in readiness to confer with the mill managers for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment of differences. For months previous to the strike the officers of the Federation labored early and late to bring about an honorable settlement which would prevent any open rupture between the mill managers and their employees. The officers of the Federation have given a respectful hearing to representatives in all departments of business and at all times have shown a disposition to submit their grievances to a board of arbitration. Had the mill managers manifested us earnest a desire to pour oil upon the troubled waters as the Western Federation of Miners, the people of the State of Colorado would never have been compelled to forward protests against the executive of the State for his loyalty to corporate interests."

The governor, toward the close of the interview Sunday morning, admitted without any solicitation that the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners had gone more than three-fourths of the way and had been more than fair in bringing about a settlement, and that he would at once issue an order to withdraw the troops. The governor admitted, after his personal investigation of affairs at Colorado City, that he was unable to connect the strikers with any violation of law. In the interview that was held Sunday at the governor's office to arbitrate with Manager MacNeill the governor receded from his former agreement to withdraw the troops. He asked the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners for a further concession, namely, that he would immediately withdraw the troops providing that the Federation would withdraw all suits against the officers of the State militia. The representatives of the Federation were again magnanimous and accepted the proposition of the governor.

The governor intimated that we promised there would be no strike in the Cripple Creek district. It would have been impossible to have made this promise while MacNeill refused to recognize the Western Federation of Miners. He refused to arbitrate and is largely responsible for the situation that confronts the people of the Cripple Creek district.

Charles Moyer, the president of the Federation, took his departure for the Cripple Creek district on the afternoon of March 16 to hold a conference with the members of District Union No. 1 as to future action in reference to the Standard mill, whose manager absolutely refused to recognize the Western Federation of Miners or their representatives in the settlement of the strike.

President Moyer, after arriving in the Cripple Creek district, immediately went into conference with the district members, and it was agreed at said conference that the mines that were shipping ore to the unfair mills should be requested to refrain from so doing or that the men on such mines would be called out. The conclusion arrived at by the meeting was not put in execution until 4 o'clock in the afternoon of March 17, at the request of a committee of business men, who labored with MacNeill for a settlement of the strike. The committee of business men failed to induce MacNeill to accept the terms proposed by the representatives of the federation, and the ultimatum of district No. 1 went into effect.

On March 17 the governor issued an order recalling the troops, and on March 19 the State militia returned to their homes, and on the latter-mentioned date the governor appointed an advisory board to secure all the information obtainable from both sides of the controversy and to make a full and detailed report of their conclusions in the premises. The advisory board that was appointed by the governor as a committee of investigation resolved itself into an arbitration tribunal, regardless of a protest entered by the Western Federation of Miners. This protest was based upon the grounds that the federation had no voice in the selection of the advisory board.

The advisory board, on reaching Colorado Springs, went into a conference with the representatives of the Mine Owners' Association. The conference lasted several hours behind closed doors, and after adjournment nothing was divulged as to the results of the meeting.

The advisory board met with the strikers on the night of March 26 in Knights of Pythias Hall in Colorado City, and after listening to several addresses from the members of Mill and Smelters' Union, the meeting adjourned.

The advisory board, on the 27th of March, received testimony from the strikers. The evidence presented to the board showed a condition in Colorado City that almost beggars description. It was proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that the employees of the mills were unable to support their families on the miserable wages of the mill trust. The testimony was of a character that made the coal barons of Pennsylvania look like philanthropists.

A committee of mining and business men of the Cripple Creek district visited Colorado City in the afternoon and presented a proposition to President Moyer to the effect that the strikers would be taken to the Cripple Creek district and given employment, providing the strike was declared off. The proposition was rejected by President Moyer and the Mill and Smelters' Union.

The Rocky Mountain News of March 28, had the following telegraphic report of the visit of the mining and business men's committee from the Cripple Creek district:

A committee arrived from Victor this afternoon and immediately went into conference with President Moyer and the union officials in Colorado City.

The committee was composed of Thomas Cornish, Frank Hart, Charles Lee, Nelson Franklin, J. B. Cunningham, and J. H. Gardner. They are business and mining men of the gold camp. Representatives of District Union No. 1 were present. John Harper, president of the Victor union; Dan Griffin, secretary, and H. Easterly came in the interests of the union at Victor.

The committee was firm in its efforts to bring about an adjustment. "We will put your men to work," they said to President Moyer, "pending the time Mr. MacNeill will take to reinstate your men. We can find room for 100 or more. Mr. MacNeill has given a verbal promise to reinstate your men, and will do so. He dare not do otherwise in the face of public sentiment in this State. We can guarantee the reinstatement of your men. By next Monday morning every man now on strike will be given work in the Cripple Creek district if you will but say the word."

Mr. Moyer and the union officials wished a written statement. If Mr. MacNeill is willing to reinstate the men, they consider that he should say so, not only verbally, but that it should be one of the stipulations in the agreement. He should do as the managers of the Telluride and Portland mills have done, and insert a positive clause as to when the men will be reinstated. Mr. Moyer said: "We want to know that our men will be reinstated. Let Mr. MacNeill do as Mr. Peck and Mr. Fullerton have done, and insert the time limit. All we want is the change in the clause which specifies as to when the men shall be put to work. Our men have homes here, and they will not leave."

The following ultimatum was delivered by President Moyer, of the federation, on March 31, to Charles D. Hayt, chairman, and members of the advisory board:

"GENTLEMEN: The Western Federation of Miners since its birth has never ignored the rights of any element of society. It has been the disposition of the organization to avoid, by all honorable means, a war between the employer and employee.

"We realize that when capital and labor confront each other on the industrial battlefield that various interests suffer through a long and protracted struggle. The aim of our organization is to build and not destroy.

"We appreciate the efforts of the operators and the business men of the Cripple Creek district who have demonstrated their amity in cooperation to avert a struggle that may paralyze the industries of Colorado.

"The Western Federation of Miners entertains for many of the mine managers of the Cripple Creek district the highest regard, and are not ungrateful for the fairness and justice that have prevailed in the far-famed mining district since the days of 1894. It is our desire that the cordial and friendly relations that have existed for years between the miners and their employers of the Cripple Creek district shall not be disrupted if it is possible to maintain such relations by an honorable adjustment of the present differences.

"The propositions submitted to the Western Federation of Miners by Manager MacNeill are vague and misleading. While his propositions may have the veneer of a disposition to act honorably and fairly with the members of the Mill and Smelters' Union, No. 125, they admit of interpretations that question his intentions of dealing justly with organized labor in the future. It seems that his propositions have been drafted to furnish loopholes through which he might escape if emergencies arose.

"The Western Federation of Miners can not accept, in honor to the organization, the propositions as presented by Manager MacNeill. The acceptance of Manager MacNeill's basis of settlement would be dishonorable to the managers of the Portland and Telluride mills, who have met the federation on fair ground and honorably adjusted the differences of contention.

"But while we refuse to accept the conditions of settlement as we interpret them from the propositions set forth by Manager MacNeill, we will demonstrate our feeling of appreciation for the public, the business interests of Colorado, and the advisory board who have labored zealously to bring about an amicable settlement.

"The chairman of the board, in an official communication addressed to the public, expresses the belief that the differences seem one of form as to the agreement rather than upon the result which we think will be certain to follow if either of the propositions shall be adopted.

"The chairman and the members of the advisory board have certainly placed a charitable construction on the propositions of Manager MacNeill; the Western Federation of Miners, to be as magnanimous and as generous in the construction of Manager MacNeill's propositions as the advisory board, are willing that you place Manager MacNeill on probation and give him until the 15th day of May, 1903, to carry out the beliefs and impressions of the advisory board.

"You may give him a fair trial and an opportunity to reinstate the men involved and thereby prove his sincerity as to his conduct toward organized labor in the future.

"We grant this concession in appreciation of those who have assisted and dealt fairly with us and whose interests would suffer through a prolonged struggle.

"We make this concession in appreciation of the advisory board and of those parties who have interested themselves to prevent an industrial conflict."

"CHARLES H. MOYER."

The ultimatum of President Moyer was presented to Manager MacNeill by the advisory board, and the strike which lasted a period of forty-seven days passed into history.

The refusal of the governor to incorporate in his call convening the legislature in extra session a recommendation for the enactment of an eight-hour law resulted in the smeltersmen of Denver presenting the following petition to the manager of the American Smelting and Refining Company:

DENVER, COLO., June 17, 1903.

To the American Smelting and Refining Company:

We, your employees, holding membership in the Denver Mill and Smelters' Union, No. 93, Western Federation of Miners, desire to call your attention to the fact that thousands of the members of our organization are enjoying the privilege of an eight-hour workday, and are receiving for the same a compensation in many instances far above that now being paid by your company for ten and twelve hours for the same class of labor. Not only is this so, but the large majority of workmen engaged in producing the ores which are reduced in the smelters operated by your company are working but eight hours and are receiving for the same a wage exceeding that of the highest paid twelve-hour workmen employed in said smelters.

After due consideration we have concluded that, owing to the hazardous and unhealthful nature of our employment, we are at least entitled to the same condition and system of working as others employed in the production and reduction of ores, and hereby request that beginning July 1, 1903, a day's work, which now consists of ten and twelve hours in and around the smelting plants known as the Globe and Grant, located in the city of Denver, be reduced to eight hours.

We believe this request to be a just and righteous one and sincerely trust that your company may see the way clear to granting the same.

Respectfully,

[SEAL.]

JOE SCOTT,
ANTONE STANSKE,
ROBERT WITHERS,
PATRICK F. HAMAWAY,
WILLIAM L. SMITH,
HANS OLSON,
CHARLES NARDIS,

Committee.

The petition was ignored, and a strike of the Denver smeltersmen followed on the 3d of July. The American Smelting and Refining Company immediately applied for police protection and later secured an injunction, notwithstanding the fact that this company had not complied with the laws of Colorado and were not entitled to equity in the courts of the State. In substantiation of the statement we submit the following:

"SEC. 11. Every corporation, joint stock company, or association incorporated by or under any general or special law of this State or by any general or special law of any foreign state or kingdom or of any State or Territory

of the United States, beyond the limits of this State, shall, within sixty days after the 1st day of January in each year, commencing with the year 1902, make and file an annual report in the office of the secretary of state."

DENVER, COLO., July 16, 1903.

This is to certify that the American Smelting and Refining Company, a foreign corporation, capitalized for \$100,000,000, has not paid their annual State corporation license tax for the years 1901, 1902, and 1903.

[SEAL.]

JOHN A. HOLMBERG,
Auditor of State.

STATE OF COLORADO,
Office of the Secretary of State.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, State of Colorado, ss:

I, James Cowie, secretary of state of the State of Colorado, do hereby certify that I have caused the indexes of this office to be carefully examined, and do not find that the American Smelting and Refining Company has filed an annual report for the year 1902.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the great seal of the State of Colorado, at the city of Denver, this 16th day of July, A. D. 1903.

JAMES COWIE, Secretary of State.
By TIMOTHY O'CONNOR, Deputy.

In order to prove that the American Smelting and Refining Company was one of the chief factors in bribing the legislature and defeating the enactment of an eight-hour law, we submit the following:

DENVER, COLO., February 3, 1903.

DEAR SIR: Pursuant to your request that you be kept advised of the situation in Colorado State legislature in regard to proposed legislation, we beg to inform you that the Senatorial contest being now out of the way, both branches of the legislature have settled down to the other business of the session.

Several bills have been introduced providing for an eight-hour law in respect to labor employed in smelters and underground mines. These bills are being vigorously contested by the American Smelting and Refining Company, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and other corporations more directly interested in defeating the measure than is the Union Pacific Railroad Company. We think the contest will be a close one in respect to these measures, as the labor element is still very powerful in the politics of this State. We think the bills above mentioned are all so far introduced which are prejudicial to the company's interests, directly or indirectly.

Very truly, yours,

TELLER & DORSEY,
General Attorneys.

HORACE G. BURT, Esq.,
President, Omaha, Nebr.

We make the claim that the American Smelting and Refining Company is in a better position to-day to accede to our demands than it has been for several years. The perfecting of machinery and the displacement of labor which has been brought about through inventive genius has enabled the smelting trust to treat ores cheaper than ever in the history of the country.

On Monday, August 10, the miners of the Cripple Creek district responded to the call of the district union and threw down the implements of their hazardous vocation. The walkout in the Cripple Creek district has been the result of the arbitrary action of the United States Reduction and Refining Company in the treatment of members of the Western Federation of Miners.

The commission, together with the business men of the Cripple Creek district, made eloquent pleas to the committee who had charge of the strike to place the manager of the mill trust on probation, actuated by the belief that Mr. MacNeill would grant ultimately the demands of the Western Federation of Miners. President Moyer declared an armistice until the 15th of May. When the delegates met in the eleventh annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners on the 25th of May, the situation was minutely surveyed, and the consensus of opinion was unanimous that the mill trust antagonized every principle of organized labor, and that Manager MacNeill had no intention of giving the slightest recognition to the demands of the federation.

The members of the Cripple Creek District Union No. 1 exhausted every effort to bring about an amicable adjustment of differences that would be fair and honorable between employer and employee, but failed to clear the sky of the storm that was gathering and which has now burst between organized labor and organized capital.

The Denver Post, in its issue of August 11, under the caption of a "Page of history that won't stay turned down," has the following to say:

"Impending in Colorado is what is believed to be the greatest fight ever waged between the mining interests and their employees."

"Many blame this condition of affairs to corporate interests whose influence prevented the enactment of an eight-hour law by the fourteenth general assembly in response to the demand of more than 70,000 voters of Colorado. By a majority of more than 40,000 the people of Colorado demanded of the legislature an eight-hour bill in mine and smelter and kindred industries.

"The political platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties declared in favor of an eight-hour law, and on this platform every one of the sixty-five members of the house and thirty-five members of the senate was elected.

"In both house and senate the corporations got in their work in the beginning of the session. Although Stephens, a Republican, in the house, and Moore, a senator, introduced eight-hour bills—No. 1 in each branch—these bills were made light of and jobbed throughout the session of ninety days only to defeat the will of the people and obey the dictates of the corporations.

"In the two political State conventions and in the State election the corporations were idle. They bided their time. They knew it was not necessary to spend money either in conventions or elections. They knew that it could be done easier in the legislature. How well the representatives of the corporations had gaged the situation is apparent. They were successful in keeping down an eight-hour day.

"The Stephen bill included 'underground workings attending blast furnaces in smelters or ore-reduction works, stamp mills, chlorination or cyanide mills, leaching works, attending smelting furnaces producing metal or matte.' The Moore bill included 'underground mines and workings, smelters, chlorination or cyanide ore-reduction works, and blast furnaces.'

"The introduction of two bills, one in the house and one in the senate, was only for confusion and as an excuse to dicker and fight through ninety days, so that the eight-hour law would fail and the demands of the people of Colorado could be ignored and the demands of the corporations granted.

"While there is seemingly no connection between the various strikes and the labor troubles, all are traceable in a general way to this failure on the part of the legislature.

"First came the strike of the Colorado City mills, when the governor rushed the troops to that point. There was a partial settlement of this trouble and the men returned to work.

"Numerous minor strikes in scattered mines followed, including one in

the Sun and Moon in Idaho Springs, and then the men in the Globe and Grant smelters in Denver, numbering 1,000, walked out.

"Starting Monday was the walk out of miners in the Cripple Creek district, and now comes word from Telluride that the miners of the San Juan district, commenting on the mistakes of the legislature, have demanded that they be given an eight-hour day not later than September 1.

"There is no doubt that the demand of the San Juan miners will be refused, resulting in a general walk out of the men in that district. That the trouble will spread to every mine and kindred industry in Colorado there can be no doubt.

"This means idleness for thousands of men; loss of millions of dollars to the State; crippling of every business in Colorado.

"This demand for an eight-hour law dates back a dozen years, when the miners' and smeltermen's union requested an eight-hour day. Out of this request, indirectly, perhaps, grew the troubles in Leadville, the Cripple Creek district, the Telluride district, Aspen, and other districts, the smelter strikes, and other difficulties. It was to forever end these differences that the miners and smeltermen brought about the submission to the people for an eight-hour day that peace might be guaranteed. The request was endorsed by a majority of more than 40,000 votes, but the corporations defeated it in the legislature.

"Realizing now that they can not hope to secure from the legislature needed relief, the miners and smeltermen of the State have taken the matter in charge, the result of which will be the greatest struggle ever waged in this or any other State between the unions on one hand and the allied corporations on the other."

The document of the mine owners, introduced by Senator SCOTT, declares that "on account of the machinations and methods of the Western Federation of Miners, the metalliferous mining industry of the West has been in a chaotic state for a long period of years. That a person was operating his property one day under satisfactory conditions was no guaranty that he would be able to do so the next.

The Mine Owners' Association of the Cripple Creek district, on August 12, two days after the strike was called, issued a public statement, which contained the following:

"At the time this strike was called and, in fact, ever since the settlement of the labor difficulties of 1894, the most entire harmony and good will has prevailed between the mine owners and employees in the district. Wages and hours of labor have been satisfactory and according to union standards, and general labor conditions have been all that could be wished."

It is strange that there is such a contrast in the document framed by the mine owners to be considered by the United States Senate and the public proclamation that was issued on August 12. With reference to the strike of 1894 the document of the mine owners contains the following:

"The settlement was made, and the agreement of settlement has since been known as the 'Waite agreement,' as it was negotiated by Governor Waite on behalf of the miners' union. He was appointed by them for this purpose by power of attorney, and it is probably the only instance in the labor history of this country where the governor of a State has acted as the agent for the one party in a controversy of this character and has forced a settlement by virtue of his control of the military arm of the government.

"In addition to the provisions ultimately inserted in the agreement, Governor Waite insisted that only union men be employed in the mines and that all strikers who had been engaged in acts of lawlessness should be immune from arrest. These two points were resisted by the operators and were finally waived. The agreement ultimately entered into and signed by Governor Waite as the representative of the union provided that eight hours should constitute a day's work, that the minimum wage about the mines should be \$3, and that there should be no discrimination against union men in the hiring and discharge of labor. This agreement has controlled the Cripple Creek district with regard to hours and wages ever since.

This statement of the mine owners is silent upon the matter of discrimination, and this silence is probably due to the fact that the Strong mine, in which Senator SCOTT is largely interested, as well as other mines, including the Ajax, the Elkton, and El Paso, made a specialty of discharging union men. It is a well-known fact that it has required eternal vigilance on the part of the unions of the Western Federation of Miners to maintain the partially fair conditions which existed prior to the present strike.

Some three years ago the mine operators met in a secret caucus in Colorado Springs and formulated a plan to merge the various mining properties into a foreign syndicate, ask for the appointment of a receiver, then reduce wages, and call upon the Federal Government for troops to assist them in the infamous scheme of violating the agreement of 1894.

The present strike has been one of the most remarkable that has ever been waged in the history of organized labor. During all the present conflict there has been no violence on the part of union men, and at all times the civil authorities were amply able to maintain law and order until the advent of the State militia. President Moyer, in an address to the members of the Western Federation of Miners, on August 15, at Pinnacle Park, in the Cripple Creek district, counseled the miners in the following significant words: "I sincerely trust and advise that nothing be done during this trouble that will be in violation of the law. If men should feel it their duty to take a position against you who are striving to procure your rights you will do nothing but harm your position by resorting to violation of the laws."

Notwithstanding the fact that the strike had been in progress for nearly a month without any violation of law, yet the governor, on the 4th of September, dispatched Brig. Gen. John Chase, Lieut. T. E. McClelland, and the attorney-general of the State, N. C. Miller, as a commission to visit the Cripple Creek district and make known to him the findings of their investigations. The following, clipped from the Rocky Mountain News, will give an idea of the work performed by the commission:

"The hasty departure of the governor's commission this morning satisfied the striking miners that the visitors had come to a conclusion to advise calling out the troops. The commissioners arrived at Victor last night at 9:30 and were met at the train by a committee from the Mine Owners' Association. After a consultation of about one hour the commissioners came to Cripple Creek, arriving here at 11:40. They were met at the depot and taken to the Mine Owners' Association headquarters. One hour later Sheriff Robertson was notified that he was wanted, and remained in conference for about two hours. A special train was then engaged and the three commissioners went over the Short Line to Colorado Springs, leaving at 4:10 this morning."

Union men were not consulted. The following statement was issued by a unanimous vote of the board of county commissioners:

"Whereas the board of county commissioners of Teller County have been advised that the governor of the State of Colorado has sent the militia to this county for the pretended purposes of suppressing a riot that does not now and never did exist, and to protect property and individual residents of the county that are not in danger; and

"Whereas it has been falsely reported throughout the State that property and life were in danger in Teller County; Now, therefore, the board of county commissioners of Teller County do protest—

"First. That the property and individuals are as safe in this county as elsewhere in the State.

"Second. That the sheriff of Teller County is perfectly able to handle the situation here, and has been authorized by the board to employ any and all deputies necessary to protect property and life, which, in the opinion of the board, he is doing.

"Third. That there has been no unusual assembly of men and no more violence than at other times. That the parties guilty of the late assaults will be apprehended by the civil authorities and prosecuted. The State troops can in no way aid in apprehending these parties.

"Fourth. That the citizens of the county are law-abiding and are doing all in their power to avoid trouble.

"Fifth. That the governor of this State, without cause therefor, has sent the militia to this county, and by so doing engenders ill feeling, prolongs the strike, and does a great injury to the Cripple Creek mining district.

"Sixth. It is the judgment of the board of county commissioners that the commission sent by Governor Peabody to this county to investigate the strike situation was not sent for an honest purpose, but as a cloak to cause the people of the State of Colorado to believe that the law officers of Teller County were unable to handle the strike situation.

"This statement is made because the commission sent by the governor did not make an honest investigation of the situation. The commission reached here at 9.30 p. m. Thursday and left at 4 o'clock Friday morning, remaining in the camp less than eight hours."

Sheriff Robertson issued the following statement:

"The commission sent by the governor of the State of Colorado to investigate the strike situation in Teller County called on me at midnight Thursday, the 3d instant. I went to the National Hotel, at Cripple Creek, reaching there at about 12.30 a. m. Friday. I was with the commission about two hours, and fully explained the situation. I stated to the commission that I had authority to employ all the deputies I needed, and that I had the situation in hand; that I had made arrests, and was going to make more; that there was no trouble, and that I had every assurance that there would be none. But in three hours after I left the commission the members thereof departed for Denver, and I believe there is no occasion for the militia here, as I can handle the situation.

"There is no trouble in the district, and has been none, as well as no unusual assembly of men. Saloons are closed at midnight. The sending of troops here is a usurpation of authority on the part of the governor. The action of the governor will have much to do toward injuring the district to such an extent that it will be a long time before recovery will be had. As sheriff of Teller County I do solemnly protest against the militia being sent here at this time.

"H. M. ROBERTSON, Sheriff."

On the afternoon of September 5 a mass meeting was held by the citizens of Victor, and, after listening to addresses, the following resolutions were adopted and circulated for signatures, to be forwarded to the governor:

"Whereas a certain detachment of the Colorado State Militia has already been landed in the Cripple Creek district, with others to follow; and

"Whereas according to published statements of Adjutant-General Bell, printed this morning, martial law is threatened in every incorporated and unincorporated town of Cripple Creek district; and

"Whereas the vilest sort of misrepresentation has been employed in the effort to have the camp invaded by military: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the people of Victor and the entire Cripple Creek district, That we deplore the action taken by Governor Peabody in sending troops to Teller County, and condemn the same as unwarranted by the facts and as anarchistic in its inception, spirit, and consequences.

"We do hereby most emphatically protest against the threatened declaration of martial law in the community of Cripple Creek district as a further invasion of our rights and liberties as American citizens.

"We protest that Mayor French, Postmaster Beardon, and Banker Rolleston, who corralled the governor's advisory commission while the same was on its brief and stealthy visit of 'investigation' night before last, do not represent the people of Victor in asking for the State soldiery. The necessity has not existed for troops, and the people have not asked for them. Instead of being a lawless community, as a few high-toned anarchists seem to want, the outside world to believe, the Cripple Creek district is one of the quietest and most peaceable of its size of any community in the country.

"Two comparatively trifling instances of lawlessness have occurred in the home camp since the miners' strike was declared, but these all fair-minded people will agree are liable to happen at any time and at any place.

"We deplore the strike that is now on, and upon this occasion do not wish to go into the merits of the unfortunate controversy, but we do wish to express our confidence in the ability of our county and city officials to maintain law and order and protect life and property."

In the Denver Post of September 5 the following statement was made:

"Members of the Cripple Creek District Mine-Owners' Association guaranteed the expenses of the troops ordered to the Cripple Creek district before Governor Peabody would agree to sign the order. He was not willing to order out the troops, despite the seeming urgency of the case, because of the financial condition of the State. He stated his position frankly, and the mine owners finally agreed to bear the expense of calling out the troops. They will ask the State to reimburse them later.

"The estimate of the daily expense made yesterday is said to be far too low. During the first ten days the soldiers are entitled to \$2 per day. During that period, therefore, the average daily expense is expected to exceed \$2,000 and it may be as high as \$2,500. After ten days the daily expense will be reduced to from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a day.

"Certificates of indebtedness will be issued drawing 4 per cent interest. They will be drawn against the military fund, and the mine owners will cash them and carry the State—it may be for years and it may be forever."

"E. A. Colburn, president of the association, and W. A. Bainbridge, treasurer, made the agreement on behalf of the mine owners. Governor Peabody admitted yesterday that such an arrangement had been made, and said that inasmuch as no class of persons would derive more benefit out of the restoration of normal conditions in the district than the mine owners, he did not consider it unreasonable for them to pay the expense of the militia.

"The mine owners do not relish having to pay the freight, believing that the State is required to maintain peace within its borders and protect the lives of its citizens and the property which they own. However, they decided that it would be better to pay the cost and resume production in their mines than to wait indefinitely and take chances on their property being damaged.

"What the total cost will be is problematical. It is not likely to be less than \$40,000, and it may be much more than that."

Here is an open and direct confession from the governor of the State to the effect that if the mine owners were willing to pay for the use of the State militia the armed power of the State was at their service. The governor, in his shameless disregard of the rights of the laboring classes, unqualifiedly and brazenly admitted that inasmuch as no class of persons would derive more benefit out of the restoration of normal conditions in the district than the mine owners, he did not consider it unreasonable for them to pay the expense of the militia.

The citizens of the city of Cripple Creek held a meeting on September 6, and after listening to able addresses in denunciation of the action of the governor, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas a detachment of the Colorado State militia have already been landed in the Cripple Creek district, with others to follow; and

"Whereas, according to public statements of Adjutant-General Bell, martial law is present in every incorporated town in the Cripple Creek district; and

"Whereas the greatest misrepresentation has been employed in the effort to have the camp invaded by the soldiery:

Resolved, By the people of Cripple Creek and the entire Cripple Creek district in mass meeting assembled in Cripple Creek this 6th day of September, 1903, that we deplore the action taken by Governor Peabody in sending troops to Teller County and condemn the same as unwarranted by the facts and most anarchistic in its inception and spirit, and consequently we do hereby most emphatically protest against the present declaration of martial law in the communities of the Cripple Creek district as a further invasion of our rights and liberties as American citizens.

"We protest that those people who corralled the governor's advisory commission while on its brief visit of 'investigation' Thursday night, do not represent the people of Cripple Creek in asking for the soldiery. The necessity has not existed for troops, and the people have not asked for them. Instead of being a lawless community, as a few high-toned anarchists seem to want, the outside world to believe, the Cripple Creek district is one of the quietest and most peaceable for its size of any community in the country.

"Two comparatively trifling incidents of lawlessness have occurred in the whole camp since the strike was declared, but these, all fair-minded men agree, are liable to happen at any time and at any place.

"We deplore the strike that is now on, and upon this occasion do not wish to go into the merits of the unfortunate controversy, but do wish to express our confidence in the ability of our county and city officials to maintain law and order and to protect life and property."

In addition to the protests of the sheriff of the county, the board of county commissioners, the city council of Victor, the citizens in mass meetings at Victor and Cripple Creek, a petition was circulated and signed by 3,000 citizens, which was presented to the governor, calling for the withdrawal of the military, but the petition was denied, as the mine owners were paying for the use of the soldiers, and the governor seemed to be under obligations to fulfill his contract. On September 10 two arrests were made without charges, warrant, or process of law. From this time dates the reign of military mob rule in the State of Colorado which has called forth the resolutions introduced by Senator PATTERSON.

Even the chairman of the board of county commissioners, P. J. Lynch, who is a member of the Western Federation of Miners, was forced to suffer the humiliation of being taken from his home and brought to the military camp of Generals Chase and Bell to explain his conduct for daring to express his opinion as an American citizen. The liberty of every citizen who has not been in accord with the brutal programme of the Mine Owners' Association has been threatened. The judiciary, which law and all established precedent have declared shall be free and untrammelled, has been invaded by the military power of the State, and the judge upon the bench has been forced under protest to submit to the arrogant decrees formulated by the mine operators and enforced by the militia under the command of an executive who has subverted the highest office in the gift of the people of the State to serve the corporations in their brutal persecution of men for no crime save that they were members of the Western Federation of Miners and loyal to the principles proclaimed by that organization.

During the session of the district court the city of Cripple Creek bristled with bayonets, and even a Gatling gun was taken from Camp Goldfield and placed in close proximity to the court-house, commanding all approaches. The roofs of buildings became the camping ground of sharpshooters, and the court room was filled with detachments of militia for the purpose of having an influence upon the decision of the court in the trial of the four men on writs of habeas corpus. John H. Murphy, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, and ex-Attorney-General Eugene Engley protested in vain against the presence of an armed soldiery in the court room, but their protests were fruitless and they finally withdrew from the court, refusing to remain while the court was stacked with the implements of war. Judge Seeds, after listening to the lengthy argument of Attorney Crump in support of the position of the military authorities, took the same under advisement, and the next day rendered his decision, which denied the right of the militia to subordinate civil law or arrest citizens without warrant or process of law.

When the judge had finished the reading of his decision and ordered the military authorities to release the four men who were held as prisoners, General Chase arose in the court room and refused to comply with the order of the court. The prisoners were taken back to the military "bull pen," and in the meantime Governor Peabody called into consultation with him Judges Hayt and Helm, both of whom have occupied seats on the supreme bench of the State. After several hours of consultation an order was issued by the governor to the military authorities in the Cripple Creek district to comply with the order of the court, and the prisoners were released and permitted to return to their homes.

The State militia on the night of September 29 committed an outrage that is without precedent in the history of this country. The Victor Record, a daily paper published in the heart of the Cripple Creek district, championed the cause of the miners, and gave space in its columns for the publication of the official statements issued by the members of the executive board.

The printing establishment was raided by a band of arrogant militarists, and the editor and manager, George E. Kyner; Walter Sweet, circulator; H. J. Richmond, foreman; Frank M. Langdon, linotyper, and George Basham were "bull penned" by the Cossacks, whose dignity had been wounded by the publication of the truth. They were kept in the "bull pen" for a period of twenty-four hours before being delivered to the civil authorities on writs of habeas corpus.

During the latter part of the month of November military authorities in the Cripple Creek district practically placed the towns of Independence and Altman under martial law. Following the Vindicator explosion the following-named parties were arrested and placed in the military "bull pen": Charles G. Kennison, W. F. Davis, John Schoolcraft, Gus Johnson, J. B. Isbell, Bob Rowland, Victor Poole, Harry Williams, Ed Fleming, H. P. Jones, Sherman Parker, Frank Chase, and Bob Adams. No one was allowed to enter or leave the towns of Altman and Independence and civil process was suspended.

The imprisonment of these men took place previous to the proclamation issued by the governor declaring qualified martial law in Teller County. On December 4 the following came from the executive chamber of the State:

SPECIAL ORDER NO. 543.

DECEMBER 4, 1903.

Maj. H. A. NAYLOR,
Commanding Officer Troops, Cripple Creek District,
Teller County, Colo., Camp Goldfield, Victor, Colo.:

You will proceed with a cavalry escort of fifty men and have Maj. Tom E. McClelland accompany you and read aloud the following proclamation in the

city of Victor first, Goldfield second, Independence third, Altman fourth, Cripple Creek fifth, and Anaconda sixth, namely:

STATE OF COLORADO, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, Denver:

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas it appearing to my satisfaction that there exists in Teller County, Colo. one or more organizations controlled by desperate men, who are intimidating the civil authorities, and who are setting at defiance the constitution and laws of the State of Colorado, and that the citizens of said county of Teller by reason of the threats, intimidations, and crimes committed by certain lawless persons in said county are unable to enjoy their civil rights; and

Whereas the civil authorities of said county of Teller do not appear to be either able or willing to control such bodies of men, or prevent the destruction of property and other acts of violence; and

Whereas on Saturday, the 21st day of November, A. D. 1903, in said Teller County, State of Colorado, certain persons, at present unknown, did then and there blow up the shaft of the Vindicator mine, and thereby wantonly destroyed property of great value; and

Whereas at said time and place two employees of said mine were instantly killed by said explosion; and

Whereas but a few days previous thereto an attempt was made by certain lawless persons to derail and wreck a passenger train of the Florence and Cripple Creek Railroad by the removal of spikes and the loosening of rails, thereby endangering life and property; and

Whereas said destruction of property, with attendant loss of life by mob violence as above set forth, is but a repetition of outrages covering a long period of time just passed in said county, during which time citizens have lost their lives without the offenders being apprehended or punished therefor; and

Whereas the civil authorities have shown themselves either unable to deal with these criminals and to bring them to punishment or else are unwilling to perform their duty by reason of threats and intimidations or through fear or subservience to such body of lawless and armed men, so that a state of lawlessness exists in said county of Teller, the laws are set at defiance, and the citizens are unable to enjoy the rights guaranteed them by the constitution and laws of this State, and by reason of these conditions it appears that life and property are unsafe in said county; and

Whereas I have reason to believe that similar outrages may occur at any time, and believing the civil authorities of said county of Teller are utterly unable, unwilling, and making no practical attempt to preserve order and to protect life and property:

Now, therefore, I, James H. Peabody, governor of the State of Colorado, by virtue of the authority in me vested, do hereby proclaim and declare the said county of Teller, in the State of Colorado, to be in a state of insurrection and rebellion.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State in the city of Denver, the State capital, this 4th day of December, A. D. 1903.

[SEAL.]

By the governor. Attest:

JAMES COWIE, Secretary of State.

JAMES H. PEABODY.

SHERMAN M. BELL,

Brigadier-General, Adjutant-General, State of Colorado.

By command of James H. Peabody, governor and commander in chief.

Previous to the issuance of the above proclamation the following telegram was sent to the President of the United States:

DENVER, December 1, 1903.

His Excellency THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

At the present time officers of the State of Colorado, under the guise and pretext of enforcing law, have ordered a large number of reputable and self-sustaining citizens and residents to leave Telluride, Colo., under penalty of being imprisoned or otherwise severely dealt with. These citizens and residents are not guilty of any crime against the laws of the State or United States. The Constitution and laws of the United States pertaining to civil rights are being flagrantly violated, and we call upon you, under the civil rights statutes and under section 1988 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to investigate conditions prevailing there and give to these persons who have been so outraged the protection guaranteed to them by the law of the land.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS,
By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, Secretary.

The section of the Revised Federal Statutes referred to in the telegram reads:

"Sec. 1988. Whenever the President has reason to believe that offenses have been, or are likely to be, committed against the provisions of chapter 7 of the title 'Crimes,' within any judicial district, it shall be lawful for him, in his discretion, to direct the judge, marshal, and district attorney of such district to attend at such place within the district, and for such time as he may designate, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons so charged, and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer when any such requisition is received by him to attend at the place and for the time therein designated."

The following appeared in the press dispatches in reference to the telegram forwarded to President Roosevelt by the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners:

"WASHINGTON, December 2.

"President Roosevelt to-day received a telegram from the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners strongly urging him to protect the rights of the miners who have been ordered to leave the Telluride district in Colorado on penalty of imprisonment. The matter is in the hands of the State authorities of Colorado, and it does not appear at this time that the Federal Government, through the President, can properly take action on it. The Secretary of War, who was consulted by the Colorado authorities, has expressed the opinion that the Government can not interfere legally in the trouble in the Telluride district at the present juncture. Among officials who have considered the subject, it is believed that the rights of the miners will be protected fully by the courts."

Secretary-Treasurer Haywood was likewise instructed to send the following telegram to the president of the Telluride Miners' Union:

DENVER, December 1, 1903.

GUY E. MILLER,

President Telluride Miners' Union, Telluride, Colo.:

Advise all men who were ordered to leave town as a result of alleged vagrancy trials to remain in Telluride. The justice of the peace, nor any other official of the county or State, can not compel persons to leave any place where they choose to live. The Constitution and statutes of the United States concerning civil rights make it unlawful for officers to deny these rights. Howe, Rutan, and others are subject to punishment in the United

States courts, and the law will be duly invoked. You are assured of the hearty support of the Western Federation of Miners.

EXECUTIVE BOARD,

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, Secretary.

The Western Federation of Miners has at all times courted the fullest investigation of conditions, as the following telegrams will show:

DENVER, COLO., December 5, 1903.

HON. HENRY M. TELLER,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

In behalf of the metalliferous miners of the State of Colorado, will you personally request President Roosevelt to immediately investigate conditions in the San Juan and Cripple Creek districts, Colorado?

EXECUTIVE BOARD WESTERN FEDERATION MINERS,
By CHARLES H. MOYER, President.

DENVER, COLO., December 5, 1903.

HON. T. M. PATTERSON,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

In behalf of the metalliferous miners of the State of Colorado, will you personally request President Roosevelt to immediately investigate conditions in the San Juan and Cripple Creek districts, Colorado?

EXECUTIVE BOARD, WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS,
By CHARLES H. MOYER, President.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 6, 1903.

Mr. CHARLES H. MOYER,

President Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Colo.:

Yes; will see President early to-morrow and urge him to immediately personally investigate as you request. Will wire his response.

T. M. PATTERSON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 7, 1903.

CHARLES H. MOYER,

President Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Colo.:

Senator TELLER and I called upon the President this morning, presented your dispatches, and approved the request. The President stated that under present conditions he had neither the power nor the right to take such action as you request.

T. M. PATTERSON.

While the President declined to investigate conditions at the request of the miners, yet Maj. Gen. John C. Bates, at the instance of the President, came to Colorado and examined into the conditions surrounding the Cripple Creek and Telluride mining districts. He reported to Lieutenant-General Young, Chief of Staff of the Army, in part as follows: "I find that the disturbances at Cripple Creek and Telluride amounted to insurrection against the State of Colorado, in that mining, milling, and other business was suspended there by reason of intimidation, threats of violence, and that the civil officers were not able to, or did not, maintain order."

It is strange that another officer of the United States, Capt. H. M. Burge, of the Navy, discovered an insurrection in the district and donated \$500 to the striking miners. It is a well-known fact that while Major-General Bates was on his tour of investigation in Colorado he was the guest of the Mine Owners' Association. General Bates states that the civil officers were not able to, or did not, maintain order. There is no better way to refute the above statement than to introduce the signed statements of the Hon. Judge William P. Seeds and the sheriff of Teller County.

William P. Seeds, the district judge of Teller County, in reply to the statements published in the press as coming from the governor and attorney-general, casting reflections upon the civil authorities, issued the following signed statement to the public:

"My attention having been called to certain interviews of the governor and the attorney-general of this State, so generally reported to the public press, that I am constrained to believe those officers to be correctly quoted. I realize fully the delicacy of one occupying a judicial position in making public comment as to official acts. However, when the chief executive and the attorney-general of the State, particularly in times of public excitement, make declarations so flagrantly opposed to the recorded truth, it becomes my duty, both to myself and to the public, to make a statement of the facts.

"It is not my desire nor within my province to publicly discuss the conditions prevailing in Teller County, and I have refrained from commenting as to the wisdom of the acts of the governor acting within the purview of his authority.

"It is reported in these papers that the governor has issued the following orders:

"Rearrest the men as soon as they are given their liberty on habeas corpus and hold them at Camp Goldfield until further instructions. I am determined that these men shall not go free without trial."

"Further, that the General is reported to have said: 'The chief executive is of the opinion that it will be impossible to have miners' union officials tried on the information filed against them while Judge Seeds holds court in the district.'

"Again: 'If these men are given their freedom without a trial, radical steps will have to be taken.'

"Again: 'There seems no special reason why these cases should be rushed through. It will be impossible for them to be properly presented, and when they are fairness will not be done, judging from the present status of affairs.'

"I find also the following language attributed to Attorney-General Miller: 'The governor and his attorneys will try to prevent an immediate hearing of the cases, as they say, to permit the people to become composed. Their hope lies in the fact that Judge Seeds will leave the district January 1, giving up his seat temporarily to Judge Lewis.'

"It is inconceivable that these officials can make declarations of this character and at the same time be advised as to the truth, and I must believe that the facts and circumstances connected with the habeas corpus proceedings must have been misstated and misrepresented to them. In order that the exact truth may be known, I give the following verbatim report of the proceedings had and done at that time:

"Mr. CRUMP. In cases 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, and 2450, being six writs of habeas corpus issued on behalf of the various petitioners against the military officers, Colonel Verdeckberg, Major Naylor, and Major McClelland, I have filed returns on behalf of all the respondents generally in the six cases. Cases 2048, 2446, and 4450 being the petitions of Patrick Mullaney, Victor Poole, and W. B. Easterly, the respondents are here in court with the bodies of those respective petitioners. The answer in each one of those cases to the writ is substantially as was made in a prior case here, and which your honor held to be insufficient to authorize the military authorities to longer hold the petitioners. Mr. Hangs has appeared for the petitioners and has filed to each one of these three returns a demurrer, or perhaps a motion to quash.

"Mr. HANGS. A motion to quash.

"Mr. CRUMP. It is also the same motion which your honor sustained on a

prior case. I don't desire to argue the questions of law which are presented in these matters, and under the precedent which your honor has established and which is the law in this district—at least now—I assume that orders will go directing the respondent to release each of these petitioners, and I only desire upon the entry of that order to reserve an exception in each case, and I will say to your honor that as soon as that order is made it will be complied with by the respondents.

"Mr. HANGS. I presume the order will be to sustain the motion to quash?"

"The COURT. Motion to quash will be sustained and the petitioners will be discharged."

"Mr. CRUMP. Respondent excepts."

"The COURT. That is, in those three cases; that is the order; in the case of the three petitioners' names—Easterly, Poole, and Mullaney."

"Mr. CRUMP. In the other three cases—namely, Kennison, Davis, and Parker cases—under my instructions they have not presented the bodies of the petitioners in court, but in lieu I have filed answers, returns to the several writs, setting forth in addition to the matters in the other cases just disposed of the fact that the district attorney has been presented with affidavits charging each of these petitioners with crimes under the laws of the State. I am informed by the clerk of the court and by the district attorney that these informations charge murder, conspiracy to murder, and conspiracy to derail a railroad train, and have been filed by your honor. Is that correct?"

"The COURT. That is correct. Bring those informations, Mr. Clerk."

"Mr. CRUMP. No question being made on the record, I desire to move in those three cases that Mr. HANGS's motion be denied and that the respondent in these three proceedings be discharged, and that an order directing the capias to be delivered to the sheriff of this county, to whom we will forthwith deliver the bodies of these respective prisoners upon those capias."

"Mr. HANGS. We object to that order at this time. It is no defense to a petition for habeas corpus that an information has been placed in the hands of the district attorney which might lead to the filing of criminal informations, and we will say this, that we will not object or not insist upon the petitioners being brought in here, but we do insist that the capias issue and they turn them over to the sheriff prior to the dismissal of these petitions for habeas corpus. They have signified their willingness to do that. In order to comply with the writ they must actually deliver the custody to legal authorities or they must turn them loose to comply with the writ."

"Mr. CRUMP. We are not going to turn them loose, of course."

"Mr. HANGS. The court would have the right to put them under bonds at once or command them to the custody of the sheriff. We think these matters should not be passed up until the prisoners are delivered to the sheriff. Then we consent to the cases being dismissed. That is in reference to Parker, Davis, and Kennison."

"Mr. CRUMP. There is no necessity for that. This order was made in prior cases in this manner and as the court has already held in the other cases. We have justified and performed now all these respondents had to do, and it is with the district attorney to perform his duty, which has been done. The sheriff can have these prisoners either at the camp, or if the sheriff of this county desires it the officers in charge will deliver the bodies of these prisoners to the sheriff here. That will be done on the desire of the sheriff."

"The COURT. I will pass the matter for the present and suggest that the officers deliver these respective petitioners to the sheriff at the jail of Teller County, and upon the sheriff phoning the clerk or informing him that he has the parties in custody, the order will be made discharging the respondents. You understand that, gentlemen, officers?"

"SOME OFFICERS. We do."

"The COURT. And that these suggestions on the part of the court be complied with forthwith on the part of the officers."

"Mr. CRUMP. During the afternoon?"

"The COURT. All right."

"At no time since the advent of the military into this district has any prisoner charged with crime by that authority been discharged or released by this court under a habeas corpus proceedings or otherwise, and in all cases where discharge has been granted by habeas corpus it has been purely for the lack of any information authorizing or even suggesting to the court the commission of any offense or the violation of any public law on the part of the individual detained. In all other cases where either affidavit or information has been filed against such individual for the commission of any offense he has been remanded to the custody of the sheriff of Teller County and bail fixed commensurate with the offense charged."

"It will be observed in the proceedings just had that neither the military nor the legal representative of the governor offered or presented complaint as to the commission of any offense upon the part of any of the prisoners. Wherein any complaint was made the prisoners were arrested and committed under capias issued from this court. As to the State suggesting the rushing of trial of these cases, I desire to say that in all cases the bonds are made returnable on the first day of the next term of court, which convenes the first Tuesday in February next. This is true in all these cases without exception, and there has not been an intimation on the part of the counsel for the State, or the legal representative of the governor, or the defendants, or anyone in their behalf, suggesting a trial prior to that time."

"It will be seen from this statement of facts that there could be no foundation for the quoted comments of the State officials unless it be the decision of the court in the habeas corpus cases of some weeks since, and my conviction and conclusion at that time I must reaffirm and reiterate."

"WILLIAM P. SEEDS."

After martial law was declared by the governor Sheriff Robertson was interviewed, and spoke as follows:

"I still hold that the law has been enforced by the civil authorities of the district. Never at any time have I hesitated when a warrant was placed in my hands, and I have done everything in my power to apprehend those who have committed crimes. I did not ask for the militia, and when I was told this afternoon that martial law would be declared, I did not believe it. I have known since the strike started that it was the object and intention, if it could be brought about by the governor's advisers, to declare martial law, and from present indications they have succeeded."

After the governor had ordered the State military to Telluride he declared that they were sent there on the conditions that agitators, idlers, and trouble breeders would be driven from the camp and that he would use the blanket warrants to that end. The wholesale arrests of members of the Telluride unions followed. Members of the union were arrested and convicted of vagrancy and worked upon the streets because they refused to return to work in the mines on the terms dictated by the Mine Owners' Association. These men were property owners and had visible means of support. The union at Telluride maintains a splendidly equipped hospital, which was erected by the union at a cost of \$32,000. The soldiers battered down the doors of this building and forcibly compelled the members of the union to leave the meeting that was in session. The men were thrown in jail and next day were deported to the adjoining county and warned never to return.

Approximately seventy-five members of the union were exiled from their homes and are still refused admission to the county. Vice-President J. C. Williams, of the Western Federation of Miners, a citizen of California, was among the deported, and Hon. Eugene Engley, former attorney-general of

the State and attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, came under the ban of the Mine Owners' Association and was forced to leave the county. A Mrs. Mahoney, who had been employed as a cook at the union hospital at Telluride, was taken from the train at Montrose and refused the right to return to her home at Telluride. The actions of public officials under the administration of Governor Peabody prove that the men who are supposed to be the "servants of the people" have been in league with the corporations of the State to shatter and destroy organized labor.

The following letters, which we submit, will demonstrate how Colorado's public officials place themselves under obligations to serve the interests of the corporations:

STATE OF COLORADO, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Denver, May 25, 1905.

GENTLEMEN: If consistent with your rules please furnish me transportation for my son, James C. Peabody, from Denver to Cheyenne and return, good until June 10, and oblige.

Yours, very truly,
JAMES H. PEABODY,
Governor.

Messrs. TELLER & DORSEY,
Attorneys Union Pacific Railroad Company, Denver, Colo.

DENVER, COLO., May 12, 1905.

DEAR SIR: Next attached you will find a request from Sherman M. Bell, adjutant-general of the State, for annual transportation over the lines of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. The adjutant-general is in a position to be of benefit to the railroad company in case of labor troubles or similar occurrence, and we understand that it is customary for the other railroads in this State to furnish him with such transportation.

His office is an appointive one, and at the time we sent in this year's pass list the present incumbent had not received his appointment. We recommend the issuance of this transportation, if it seems proper to you.

Yours, very truly,
TELLER & DORSEY.

Hon. W. R. KELLY, General Solicitor, Omaha, Nebr.

STATE OF COLORADO, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Denver, Colo., May 27, 1905.

GENTLEMEN: I herewith acknowledge receipt of annual transportation No. B2501, good on lines of the Union Pacific Railroad Company in Colorado and Nebraska for the ensuing year.

Kindly accept my thanks for same, and with kind regards, I am,
Very respectfully,

SHERMAN M. BELL,
Adjutant-General State of Colorado.

Messrs. TELLER & DORSEY,
Attorneys Union Pacific Railroad Company,
207 Boston Building, Denver, Colo.

DENVER, COLO., July 10, 1905.

GENTLEMEN: Will you kindly let me have a round-trip pass, Denver to Greeley, for my wife, to be used next Tuesday? I will be much obliged to you for the favor.

Yours, truly,
N. C. MILLER, Attorney-General.

Messrs. TELLER & DORSEY.

STATE OF COLORADO, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Denver, August 31, 1905.

GENTLEMEN: Finding myself wholly unable to enjoy the privileges extended through the Southern Pacific pass from San Francisco to Ogden, I have the honor to return to you herewith, and thank you sincerely for your trouble in the matter, which I may at some future time invoke in my behalf.

Respectfully, yours,
JAMES H. PEABODY, Governor.

Messrs. TELLER & DORSEY,
Attorneys Union Pacific Railroad Company, City, Boston Building.

STATE OF COLORADO, SUPREME COURT CHAMBERS,
Denver, August 29, 1905.

GENTLEMEN: Please accept thanks for transportation inclosed in your favor of to-day.

Yours, sincerely,
W. H. GABBERT.

Messrs. TELLER & DORSEY, City.

DENVER, COLO., June 13, 1905.

DEAR SIR: Mr. J. B. Cooke, deputy clerk of the supreme court of this State, has requested trip transportation, Denver to Council Bluffs and return, and half rate from Council Bluffs to Chicago and return, good for sixty days. He desires to go East, leaving here on Wednesday next.

We are anxious to accommodate Mr. Cooke if it can be done consistently with your rules under the present condition of affairs. Mr. Cooke's position is such that he has frequently been able to and has rendered us valuable services in connection with matters in which the railroad company was interested, especially in connection with the tax litigation of a year or two ago.

If you think it proper to give Mr. Cooke what he asks, kindly so advise us by wire upon receipt of this, and we will obtain the transportation and the half-rate order from Superintendent Deuel.

Yours, very truly,
TELLER & DORSEY.

Hon. W. R. KELLY,
General Solicitor, Omaha, Nebr.

STATE OF COLORADO, SUPREME COURT CHAMBERS,
Denver, Colo., June 16, 1905.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you most sincerely for your favor. I asked Mr. Rogers to speak to you, because he knew better than anyone else what I had done for the railroad attorneys and stand ready to do whenever I can. I hope to be able to prove my appreciation of this favor.

Yours, very truly,
JOHN B. COOKE.

C. C. DORSEY, Esq.

These are but a few of the many letters which might be submitted to show the system of bribery which places the corporate collar on the necks of public officials. We have presented the facts as they have and do exist in Colorado. The ablest constitutional lawyers of the State, Platt, Helm, and Riddell, have rendered an opinion that martial law can not be lawfully declared in this State. The Army and Navy Journal, a recognized authority on military and naval affairs, has the following to say on the Colorado situation: "Assuming the correctness of newspaper reports concerning the recent

clash between the civil authorities and the militia authorities in the State of Colorado, there is a curious condition of affairs in that State resulting from the unwise neglect to properly provide for the military forces of the State. * * * As there were no State funds available for the pay, transportation, and maintenance of the troops, the mine owners agreed to advance to the State the money required for the purpose indicated.

"CIVIL PROCEEDINGS SUSPENDED.

"From the hour of their arrival civil processes were suspended. Arrests were made without warrants, alleged disturbers of the peace were cast into prison without process of law, and the sheriff's request that the prisoners be surrendered to him was denied. Finally an application was made to Judge Seeds for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of two miners who had been locked in the military guardhouse. When the men were brought into court 300 troops were posted around the court-house, two gatling guns placed in a commanding position, and sharpshooters placed on the roofs of neighboring buildings. When the matter came up for a hearing, General Chase contended that while martial law had not been formally proclaimed, its existence was implied in the governor's order commanding the troops to maintain order. He held, therefore, that the court was without jurisdiction.

"PRESIDENT JACKSON WAS FINED.

"The experiences of Colorado are an illustration of what may happen when the enforcement of military authority is entrusted to men not trained in its exercise. As the employment of martial law is analogous to the exercise of the right of self-defense by an individual, it is difficult to fix a limit to it when the extremity is sufficient to clearly demand its exercise. But a soldier who undertakes to exercise it assumes the very gravest of responsibilities and subjects himself to penalties against which there is no protection.

"During the war of 1812 Gen. Andrew Jackson declared martial law in New Orleans, which was then threatened by the advancing British army under General Pakenham. Jackson arrested a local civil judge who questioned his authority and confined him in the barracks. When the war was over the judge in his turn arrested General Jackson and fined him \$1,000 for gross contempt of court. This was a good deal of money in those days, but Jackson had to choose between paying it and going to prison. Pay it he did, and it was not until thirty years after that Congress provided for its repayment with interest.

"WHEN MARTIAL LAW IS PERMISSIBLE.

"There has always been a dispute whether there is any authority for the declaration of martial law without the action of Congress, it being held by the strict constructionists that the authority to proclaim it belongs strictly to the National Legislature. Halleck holds, however, that in a case of public danger at once so imminent and grave as to admit of no other remedy the maxim "Salus populi suprema lex" should form the rule of action, and that a suspension of this writ (habeas corpus) by the executive and military authorities of the United States would be justified by the pressure of a visible public necessity; if an act of indemnity were required it would be the duty of Congress to pass it. * * *

"PEABODY ABUSED POWERS.

"A proclamation of martial law is proper and customary, though it is not essential when the necessity is imminent. A suspension of the writ of habeas corpus is per se substantially a form of such declaration, but the mere presence of troops to assist in maintaining order does not justify such a departure from the ordinary methods of enforcing law. The soldiers are called upon to assist the civil authorities and not to defy them and to obstruct the exercise of their authority, as these Colorado guardsmen seem to have done. The governor's action in ordering the troops to the scene of the strike, in spite of the sheriff's denial that any trouble existed, while it did not exceed his powers, was a step of questionable wisdom. But that he should virtually borrow money from the mine owners to maintain the troops whom he had assigned to guard their property was a serious reflection upon the authorities of the State.

"That virtually placed the troops for the time being in the relation of hired men to the mine owners, and morally suspended their function of State military guardians of the public peace.

"It was a rank perversion of the whole theory and purpose of the National Guard, and far more likely to incite disorder than prevent it. The assumption that the mere ordering of the National Guard to a given point amounts to a proclamation of martial law was a lamentable display of ignorance.

"This affair in Colorado is of importance to the whole country, for it is just such abuses of military authority by ignorant and reckless officers of State organizations that nourish the superstitious dread and prejudice with which the unthinking are taught to regard every move looking to the development of our military resources and the maintenance of the national defenses in the required state of efficiency."

The people of this nation for a century and a quarter have celebrated the anniversary of that great epoch in American history, and dedicated with parade and speech the memorable 4th day of July in commemoration of the notes of liberty that rang from the old casting suspended in the tower of Faneuil Hall, signaling the birth of a Republic whose people had groaned beneath the yoke of king rule. Each succeeding year the people have gathered in city, town, and hamlet and boasted of the justice and freedom contained in the Declaration of Independence. The eloquent tongue and the poetic pen have paid tributes to our liberty and made us feel that here in this land where Columbus planted the cross—the emblem of Christianity—men were kings and women were queens, armored and shielded with a panoply of sovereignty that proclaimed defiance to every species of despotism.

Hearts that beat for a broader liberty in the kingdoms and monarchies of the Old World longed to leave the crumbling dynasties of regal oppression and tyranny and cross the trackless deep and build homes upon the bosom of a nation whose Constitution was built upon the shattered ruins of deposed imperialism. The scourged and downtrodden of bayonet-bristling Europe, as they trod the decks of ocean steamers mounting wave after wave, bearing them nearer and nearer to the land of promise, felt and believed that here in a New World, where royal domination was strangled to death, manhood would develop, and citizenship would be forever fortified by the inalienable right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The great mass, upon whose shoulders rest the stability of this nation, have been lulled to sleep, and while they slept, in the belief that human liberty was safe, a silken thread was woven, which to-day has become a mighty cable which the power of a Hercules or a Samson can not break. On the soil of boasted freedom has risen an oligarchy of wealth that knows no law, that recognizes no liberty save the unbridled licenses of the mercenary brigand. The charter of '76 is as lifeless as the dust of the patriots that sleep in the voiceless tomb, and that document, which called to arms the pioneers who consecrated its every word in a baptism of blood, has been torn from the hand of the subjugated slaves in the isles of the Pacific and stamped with the brand of sedition and treason.

The sacred souvenirs of American liberty have been desecrated by the polluted and sacrilegious hand of lawless monopoly, and individual liberty, clothed in the shoddy fabric of wage slavery, has been sentenced to death. For more than half a century the domain of human rights has been contracting under the arrogant and untrammelled sway of corporate might, and

pirates on the sea of commercialism, drunk upon the wine of opulence, have no vision for the flecks of foam that can be seen upon the rising billows of hungry desperation, threatening to engulf a world in an ocean of blood. We have thrown wide the gates of this Republic and beckoned to the millions of European brawn and brain, who were chanting requiems over the grave of buried liberty, to come to our shores and dwell in this paradise where humanity has been taught that "all men are created equal," but now in the morning light of an infant century, liberty is a corpse, assassinated by the dagger of military anarchy.

Upon the industrial battlefield for a quarter of a century in this nation has been heard the dying wails and groans of labor's victim. The pistol of the hired corporate murderer and the rifle of the uniformed soldier have poured their missiles of death into the ranks of labor, and moneyed nobility has applauded with cheers the wanton slaughter. The soil of every State in our Union has been wet with the blood of labor's martyrs to appease the thirst of soulless greed. The commandment "Thou shalt not kill" has found no place in the lexicon of commercial avarice. The "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" has become the government of trusts and corporations, and citizenship without property has no protection under the constitution of State or nation.

The labor history of Pittsburg, Homestead, Latimer, Chicago, and Coeur d'Alene, and the usurpation of civil liberty in the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts of Colorado, proclaim beyond the question of a doubt that the reign of justice has passed away and that corporate wealth, backed and supported by all the awe and intimidation concentrated in the machinery of military power, are to be used in crushing the rebellion of organized labor against the invasion of solidified commercialism. The Dick military bill, which was written upon the Federal statutes appropriating to the President of the United States far more power than was ever enjoyed by a Russian Czar, might well cause the people to ponder and ask themselves, "Whither is the Republic drifting?"

A civilization that demands the implements of war to protect it is doomed, and the great mass whom plutocracy has destined to bear the brunt of conflict will not be carried off its feet by a patriotism that establishes commercial supremacy at the expense of human life. That nation is only strong whose yeomanry bask in the sunlight of a liberty that is free from a noxious effluvia of an atmosphere that breeds in the human heart the germs of murder. Wrong was never righted by the bullet or the sword. The savage and the barbarian who use the club and spear have as high a conception of justice as so-called "civilized society" that slakes its thirst in blood through the polished steel of Gatling gun and cannon.

Wrong maintained and perpetuated by all the modern machinery of war may have a temporary triumph, and right may be put in prison, but the spirit of justice that will be as eternal as humanity itself shall repeat its demands until the thundering voice of the mighty millions shall shake the pillars of a system that has molded and invented the machines of blood and carnage. The poverty of the world born in greed shall weld together the links of a chain that shall circle the globe, and the plebeian disinherited mass shall come together in a fraternity whose brotherhood will sweep from the face of our planet the last vestige of that tinsel pageantry that marked the era of war.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS,
CHARLES MOYER, President.
WM. D. HAYWOOD, Secretary-Treasurer.

Development of the American Merchant Marine.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARTIN J. WADE,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 25, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 7066) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes—

Mr. WADE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am opposed to this ship-subsidy scheme. It is true that all that is now asked is the appointment of a commission to investigate as to the advisability of establishing a system of subsidy; but we all know that we are taking the first step in a course which will just as surely fasten upon the American people a subsidy burden as it is certain that the sun will rise upon the morrow.

I am opposed to this scheme, as I am to every subsidy scheme, whether the beneficiary be a person or a corporation. I am opposed to it as I am opposed to every project by which the many are taxed for the benefit of the few.

Mr. Chairman, what is meant by a ship subsidy? The ownership and the operation of seagoing vessels for the transportation of freight across the ocean is a business conducted by private individuals or private corporations, just the same as any other business is conducted; just as the railway business is conducted; just as the mercantile or the manufacturing business is conducted; just as stock raising or farming is conducted. Behind every business enterprise is the desire and the hope of gain. No man establishes a business in which he expects to lose money. We are a charitable people, but we find no one who enters upon a business enterprise out of love for his fellow-man.

All through the ages a noble selfishness which inspired men to labor and to save has been the mainspring of progress. In every civilized portion of the world individual men have planned work which they hoped would produce as a result of their efforts the means of sustenance for themselves and their families. It was thus that the little stores were first established in the hamlet. It was thus that the fearless pioneer entered the forest and carved

out for himself a home. It was thus that the farmer of the West broke up the prairie, and in defiance of storm and privation and solitude turned it into a garden. These pioneers in mercantile and agricultural effort met many disappointments and many failures. Thousands fell by the wayside, broken in body and spirit, borne down by blasted hopes. Thousands entered occupations which, under the conditions, would not pay, and disappointment came.

Many a man has put his all into a business enterprise and has seen it fade away and leave him as poor as when he started as a boy. Many a man has taken his little family out upon the prairie of Iowa or Dakota and has labored manfully against the misfortunes of rain and drought and grasshoppers, only to be compelled in the end to gather his children into the "prairie schooner" and turn his face back to his old home to begin life anew.

Many a man has taken up life's work as a laborer in the shop or upon the railway and sickness has come and strikes have occurred and failure has darkened his home. All along life's highway are strewn the wrecks of business enterprises which would not pay.

And who has ever arisen in Congress with a proposal that these men—the merchant, the farmer, the laborer—struggling against the tide of adversity, should receive Government aid? Who has ever thought of subsidizing any of these common mortals who have followed those ordinary activities which, after all, have been the source of all stable progress in the world?

And yet, men prominent in political life—men who are to-day shaping the sentiments of the people—advocate a system which will provide for paying to the shipowners of the country a certain amount of money each year, so that they can make a profit in their business. This is a plain statement of what lies behind the measure now before this House. And yet it is not much of a departure from methods which have been employed for years to build up special interests at the expense of the people. The whole theory of protection is that there is a certain class—to wit, the manufacturers—who can not conduct their business with profit unless they are protected against the competition which is inherent in the ordinary laws of trade.

Competition is prevented by high tariffs, which enable the manufacturer to maintain high prices. The people pay these high prices, knowing that if competition were permitted by lower tariffs the prices of the goods would be lower. Hence the people contribute in the price paid for nearly everything purchased a part thereof, great or small, to aid the manufacturer to make a profit in his business. The only difference between this system and a subsidy is that in a subsidy the Government collects the money from the people and pays it directly to the favored beneficiary (the shipowner in this case), while under the protective system the people pay directly to the manufacturer their contribution to his profit in the increased price of goods, which price could not be maintained without the high tariffs.

So that the people are accustomed to bear burdens for the upbuilding of others. They have been liberal, indeed. They have consented to live in modest houses, while the men to whom they paid tribute have builded palaces. They have been content to spend their lives in the quiet of the neighborhood in which they were born, while the objects of their generosity have traveled in luxury in foreign lands. They have seen the little factories, which were struggling a few years ago—just as the merchant was then struggling, just as the farmer was then struggling—grow into giant industries, strong enough to control the markets of the world, and still they pay tribute greater in amount than ever before.

The people have been liberal indeed, but I do not believe that they are ready to bend their backs to the additional burden contemplated by this measure. I do not believe that they are ever going to vote upon themselves a ship subsidy in order to build up a new industry which after years of benefits will, like the other trusts, turn upon its benefactors and bleed them for high prices, while foreigners will be the objects of their favor.

If the Treasury is so overflowing that we can afford to take therefrom for aid of shipbuilders and shipowners, I think we should reduce the tariff, and thus reduce the income.

The truth is that there are many opportunities for spending any money which can be spared in matters of great public interest. This session of Congress finds itself unable to appropriate a single dollar for the improvement of the great Mississippi, the Father of Waters, which flows through the heart of the richest agricultural region in the world. Meetings have been held and representative men have appeared here and have presented the needs of the great body of people living in the territory tributary to the Mississippi. The fact is that this river to-day ought to be a great highway of commerce. It ought to be white with vessels carrying the products of the farm and the factory out to the sea. The Iowa farmer should not be compelled to pay freight upon his produce over railway lines to the Atlantic coast. He should have

boats upon the Mississippi ready to receive it and carry it to the Gulf.

If this great waterway was improved as it should be, it would be worth all the interstate-commerce commissions and railway commissions and State legislatures in the country to insure just freight rates and just treatment by the railways. The great railway interests are clearly combining, they are fixing freight and passenger service; legislation does not seem to obstruct the movement.

Let us have the Mississippi as a competitor and this will compel fair treatment, which is all the farmer or the business man demands. The truth is that a large number of the Members of this House know little of this great territory and little of this great stream. To a large number of the Members of this House the expenditure of a dollar for public improvements west of the Allegheny Mountains is a public calamity, while every dollar put in upon the eastern coast is a blessing.

I protest against this discrimination, and I urge upon this House the importance of taking up this project of improvement of the Mississippi River at its next session, and I appeal for just treatment of the same.

Give to the merchant and the farmer and the manufacturer lower rates of transportation for their produce instead of contributing by way of subsidies to an industry which is fast acquiring power which will force these producers to pay exorbitant rates for transportation. Let us turn our attention from special interests to measures of general good which will bring prosperity, not to one man or one body of men, but to the whole country. Let us spend public money for public purposes and ignore the demands of private interests. Let us make markets for our produce by fair treatment of the producers of other nations who are the consumers of our products. In this way, and in this way alone, can we have a prosperity which is genuine and which will bring happiness to the cottage as well as luxury to the homes of the few. [Applause.]

Is the House of Representatives Decadent?

REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. PERKINS,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to create and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. PERKINS said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to avail myself of the general leave to print, in order to put in the RECORD a few suggestions as to the body of which I have the honor to be a member.

The interesting speech of the Member from New York [Mr. COCKRAN] on the decline of the House naturally invites discussion as to the position of the House of Representatives and whether it is really losing in power and good repute. While we sympathize with his eloquence, we may feel some doubts as to the accuracy of his positions: a fervid imagination and a forcible diction often lead one astray from the prosaic path of plain facts.

Doubtless in some respects the Senate of the United States exerts a greater power than the lower House. It always has done so and it always will. But it is doubtful if there has been any decline in the influence of the House of Representatives. It is doubtful whether, in Mr. COCKRAN's eloquent phrase, we should sing a dirge over its lost prestige, or resign our seats as Members in order to obtain what he declares to be the equally important position of Presidential elector. We are all prone to think that the evils which we lament in the present were unknown in the past; that what is wrong in our days was right in the days of our grandsires.

A student of our history will find nothing to make him believe that in the relative position of the Senate and the House there is any difference between the present and fifty or a hundred years ago.

Then, as now, the prominent figures in our national politics for the most part got into the Senate; it is still true that many leading Members of the House of Representatives in due time are transferred to that body. Probably neither their characters nor their abilities

Suffered a sea change
Into something rich and strange,

by their transfer from the south to the north end of the Capitol. That the Senate has certain advantages is manifest to all.

These are created by the Constitution, and they can not be changed, though every Representative should gather round Mr. COCKRAN and assert loudly the prerogatives of the House. The right of the Senate to confirm nominations and approve treaties is of vast political importance. Still more important is the fact that Senators are elected for six years. If the House of Representatives does not entirely fill the position that should be occupied by the popular branch—a question as to which something can be said on both sides—the fatal trouble is not in the rules of the House nor the conduct of the House, but in the fact that its Members are elected for only two years.

It would be a more useful body and membership in it would be more valuable and more prized if the term were for four years. To be sure, there is not as yet any trouble in obtaining gentlemen of prominence who are willing to occupy seats in the House of Representatives, notwithstanding the depths into which Mr. COCKRAN thinks it has fallen. He himself, a gentleman of national prominence, has been willing and even anxious again to become a Member of that degraded and prostrate body.

But it is a serious misfortune that the term of a Member is for only two years, and a further misfortune that the long session begins more than a year after a man's election. Members are mortal. They have hardly arrived in Washington before they have to give their time and attention to obtaining a renomination and a reelection. The proximity of an election undoubtedly influences their votes. It makes some of them timid where they should be bold, and eager to dodge a question which they ought to face. The Senator, who holds his term for six years, is not concerned in temporary ebullitions of mistaken public feeling. He has before him years in which his conduct on any question can be calmly judged, not to speak of the comfortable fact that when his mandate expires he seeks its renewal, not from a popular election, but from a small body of politicians.

But this trouble can not be remedied by any change in the rules of the House or the conduct of its Members. It was the wisdom of the fathers that fixed the term of a Representative at two years. If they had to do it over again, they would make the term longer, which only shows that the fathers of the Constitution could make mistakes as well as everyday Members of a fallen House of Representatives.

Mr. COCKRAN, like many others, goes far astray when he thinks that the rules of the House make any difference in its influence or its authority. The rules of the House are required because the body is so large that without them it would be impossible to pass the required legislation.

After all, the primary object of a legislative body is to pass laws. To legislate, and not to talk, is the purpose for which it was created. The ideal of a great parliamentary body is not attained when some venerable Senator, surrounded by three or four sleeping associates, is making a six days' speech in order to kill a bill. It is idle to suppose that the Representatives of the House go into a conference committee clothed with any less authority because a bill has been passed by it after a debate of four hours instead of a rambling discussion of four days or four weeks.

And what is there, after all, that shows the Senate has usurped legislative functions at the expense of the House? It still does business under a system which practically requires unanimous consent for the passage of most bills. In this its position is unique in the world, but it is not therefore admirable. Everyone knows that on the appropriation bills, which form the most important branch of legislation, the House committees give to their consideration vastly more time than the Senators, and that it is the House that finally regulates nine-tenths of the items.

To the most of these a very cursory examination is given on the other side. By reason of the lack of rules, by an absurd system, miscalled "Senatorial courtesy," any Senator can usually get some pet item added. The influence of the Senate is shown almost exclusively in increasing appropriations. It is not certain that this is the exercise of a higher power, or that it excites popular esteem and admiration, or that the House of Representatives is in a decadent condition because its activity is displayed by a reasonable restraint upon national expenses instead of by the addition of unnecessary items to placate individual Members.

Mr. COCKRAN fears that a great national tragedy is foreshadowed because the newspapers devote less space to Congressional proceedings than they did formerly. They reported his speech fully, and this may be a sign of returning prestige in the House. But it is doubtful if newspaper publicity is the highest object of Congressional debate. At all events the proceedings of the Senate receive little more attention than those of the House, and so, apparently, if speeches are less fully reported than of old, it is due to a change in the taste of newspaper readers rather than any decline in the influence of the lower House.

It is strange that a gentleman of Mr. COCKRAN's intelligence should complain of the wholesome rules by which general legislation can not be added on appropriation bills, nor items increased

without authority of existing law. There are no more wholesome provisions in all legislation. There is no worse abuse than to insert in an appropriation bill, that must be passed to supply the needs of the Government, general legislation that should be considered upon its own merits. Mr. COCKRAN says that such rules show we distrust ourselves. It is the wise man who distrusts himself, who restrains his power to do evil, and prays to be delivered from temptation.

It is at the other end of the Capitol that no distrust is felt in the wisdom of every member, and it is a moderate estimate that this childlike confidence costs the nation \$20,000,000 a year. Mr. COCKRAN does not really believe that the respect in which a parliamentary body is held by the nation is diminished because it is impossible for any one of 380 Members to check legislation or to insist that his own district shall receive favors in order that an appropriation bill may not be talked to death.

General Grant did much and talked little, yet was he much esteemed. The House of Representatives disposes of much important legislation with less talk than some other parliamentary bodies. It is not a proof of decrepitude. There are in this world many legislative bodies and legislative members who talk much and accomplish little.

Development of American Merchant Marine.

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT ADAMS, JR.,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 70056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. ADAMS of Pennsylvania said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The very conservative bill before the House, on what, in my judgment, is the most important economic question before our people, deserves the support of every well-wisher of our country to remedy the one glaring defect in the economic development of our industries. Presenting to the world the leading position in agriculture and manufacturing products, the development of railroad systems, ingenuity in invention, enlargement of the public press, and in our institutions of learning the most fully developed system of education for the masses of the people, and in a healthy and well-sustained coast navigation, we also present the astounding spectacle of the steady decadence of our foreign merchant marine.

When we contemplate that in the fiscal year of 1902 the Department of Commerce and Labor reports that of our exports to European nations to the value of \$997,614,762 only 1½ per cent was carried in American vessels, and 98½ per cent was carried in the ships of other countries; of our imports, amounting to \$474,927,159, only \$30,000,000 was carried in American ships, or 3½ per cent, and had it not been for the existence of the American Line, sustained by postal subsidy, the total of our trade with Europe carried under the American flag would not have exceeded one-sixth of 1 per cent.

Congress has not been unmindful of deepening our harbors and protecting them with fortifications, with the purpose of facilitating our foreign trade, and yet the sad fact remains that our shipping has steadily declined. Not for two and a half years has a keel been laid in any American shipyard for one steel steamship to be built for the purpose of foreign commerce. There has never been a period in our history when ocean-ship building was in such condition of absolute stagnation. Surely such a state of things is worthy of the most careful consideration of the representatives of the people.

It has been estimated by reliable authorities that \$200,000,000 for freight is paid annually to foreigners and in the same time for interest on investments in ships and for labor of foreign workmen. It can readily be seen that with our own ships this amount of money would be turned into the pockets of our own people.

That this country believes in the doctrine of protection has been fully demonstrated by the votes of the people. In my mind subsidizing steamship companies is but another form of protection to what ought to be one of the great industries of our Republic; and yet, strange to say, owing to a popular prejudice against this system, spread generally among the people by the literature and agents of foreign countries and foreign steamship companies, there is great diversity of opinion in our country on this subject.

Even more than this, Mr. Chairman, the very advocates and

believers in the propriety of Government subsidies to steamship lines—great divergence of opinion exists among even these as to the proper amounts and the proper application to the different classes of vessels to be made by the subvention.

Personally I became a convert to the necessity of Government aid to its merchant marine in building up its foreign commerce by my observations while representing our country in the Empire of Brazil as minister to that country. It was a regrettable fact that our trade with that country had greatly fallen off. Secretary Blaine, with his pan-American scheme to revive our failing commerce with our sister republics, instructed me to inquire into the causes. Looking out upon the harbor of Rio Janeiro one could observe lines of steamships coming in from all European countries flying their respective ensigns, while from the United States the lone steamship company—the United States and Brazilian Steamship Line—with vessels only once a month, were struggling to keep alive.

With a subsidy of \$100,000 from the Brazilian Government, it received nothing from our own, not even a sufficient freight compensation for carrying the mails to warrant their acceptance at all, hoping that the Government in time would see the necessity for giving some aid of that nature. It was demonstrated that even during the short time of the existence of this line, established by the patriotism of some of our citizens, the trade to Brazil in flour, agricultural implements, electrical appliances, locomotives, and railroad supplies had greatly increased. It had been but a few years that our country had had the monopoly of the cotton-goods trade, including blue jeans, to that country, but with the increased facility by the European steamship lines, with frequent voyages and good passenger accommodations, our trade had been almost entirely lost. I inquired carefully as to how these steamship lines had been established originally, and how they were made to pay, and I found that most of them were aided in one form or another by their several governments. So successfully had this system worked that in the course of time additional steamers were added, but being on a paying basis no further subsidy had been asked for from their governments. A report was made to the State Department on these facts, which I will add as an appendix to these remarks.

Mr. Chairman, that was fifteen years ago. The trade of Europe with Brazil has steadily increased. To-day ours is less than it was then, our line of steamers having failed to pay and were withdrawn. I present these facts to show what could be accomplished by this proposed commission. I feel confident that with a full investigation on their part and with the submission of the facts as the result of their labors submitted to Congress, and with the probability of some legislation being suggested by them, that the importance of this question will be brought to the attention of the Members of Congress and that the differences that exist unfortunately among the supporters of the doctrine of subsidizing our lines will be reconciled, and that at the next session of Congress something will be done to rehabilitate our merchant marine. It is for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that I give my hearty support to the proposition for the creation of this commission, and I trust that the bill will pass.

APPENDIX.

BRAZIL.

[Report by Minister Adams, of Rio de Janeiro.]

On receipt of Department's instructions I sent a note to the foreign office here seeking the information requested therein. Receiving no reply as yet, I have made personal effort to obtain it, and am greatly indebted to Mr. W. C. Peck, an American citizen engaged in the shipping business here for twenty years. I have the honor to inclose his statement. If I receive an official reply from the foreign office, I will forward it at once.

Owing to a change in the direction of the mint, I have not been able to answer interrogatory No. 7 as yet.

ROBERT ADAMS, JR., Minister.

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
Rio de Janeiro, October 9, 1889.

BRITISH FLAG (EIGHT LINES).

(1) *London and Antwerp direct line to Brazil.*—This service is performed by steamers chartered for the purpose, having none of their own. Arrivals here are four and five per month. They generally sail from this port or Santos in ballast homeward, seeking employment. Cargo capacity, 2,000 to 3,000 tons. No passengers. No State aid. Freight rate, 20 to 30 shillings per ton.

(2) *Direct line to Brazil from London, Hamburg, and Antwerp.*—This service is about equal in all respects to that of the above-mentioned company. The steamers of both lines sometimes go as far as Rio Grande do Sul and Porto Alegre. Freight rate, 20 to 30 shillings per ton. No State aid.

(3) *Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.*—From Southampton to River Plate; fortnightly sailings from each end, touching both ways at Brazilian ports; sailing dates strictly observed. This company have a large and magnificent fleet of fast passenger and cargo steamers, also employ the requisite number in this trade to make fortnightly sailings, also giving extra voyages when required. Passenger accommodation, 200 to 250 first class, 150 second class, and 500 to 700 third class; cargo space, about 3,500 tons each. The steamers now on this route are nearly all new, and make very rapid voyages. Freight rate, 25 to 40 shillings per ton. The company operates in other directions also. Receives State aid.

(4) *Liverpool, Brazil, and River Plate Steam Navigation Company (Limited).*—From Liverpool, London, and Antwerp to Brazilian ports, as far as

Santos, and direct to River Plate. Regular arrivals in Rio de Janeiro from Europe, six to eight per month; extra voyages as required; also direct to River Plate ports without calling here. This company has a fleet of over fifty steamers, and have, in addition to these, a great many chartered steamers. It is impossible to give more than a bare outline of their operations. The steamers arriving here and in Santos from Europe are generally sent homewards via United States ports in the absence of cargo in the Plate. Other steamers of the direct service are sent here also to be loaded for United States ports; if no cargo is obtainable, these latter proceed homewards in ballast. In addition to the above service a line subsidized by Belgium (fortnightly sailings) is run from Antwerp direct to the Plate, touching here on the homeward voyage. This line is intended for passengers, and can accommodate 50 to 60 first class, 30 to 40 second class, and 60 to 100 third class. But few of the other steamers have passenger accommodation, and in these it is limited. The cargo capacity of the steamers is from 2,500 to 5,000 tons. The company also operates coastwise from Rio de Janeiro to Rio Grande do Sul, Pelotas, and Porto Alegre, weekly sailings each way. No State aid except to the Belgian line. Freight, 25 to 40 shillings per ton.

(5) *Pacific Steam Navigation Company.*—From Liverpool to the west coast of South America, touching at Brazilian and River Plate ports both ways. The service is fortnightly from each end; sailing dates strictly observed; extra voyages as required. Their fleet is composed of nearly all new and magnificent steamers, and are larger than those of the Royal Mail Company. They operate on the west coast, coastwise, and to Australia also. Freight rate, 25 to 40 shillings per ton. Receives State aid.

(6) *Shaw, Savill & Albion Company (Limited).*—Monthly service from New Zealand to London, calling at Rio de Janeiro. These steamers are very fine and fast. Accommodation for 120 first-class, 100 second-class, and 300 third-class passengers; cargo, about 4,000 tons each. Freight rate, 50 to 40 shillings per ton. Receives State aid. Extra voyages when required.

(7) *New Zealand Shipping Company (Limited).*—Monthly service from New Zealand to London, touching at Rio de Janeiro. Steamers, etc., same as those above described. Freight rate, 30 to 40 shillings. Receives State aid.

(8) *Gulf line of steamers.*—From Liverpool and Antwerp for west coast of South America, touching here once or oftener per month as required. Small passenger accommodations. Cargo space, 3,000 to 3,500 tons each. No State aid.

GERMAN FLAG.

Hamburg-Südamerikanische Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft.—Weekly sailings from Hamburg, calling at Brazilian ports as far as Santos; extra voyages as required; also six to eight sailings monthly direct to Plate ports; these latter call at Rio de Janeiro on the homeward voyages, thus giving from nine to twelve monthly homeward sailings from Rio de Janeiro. Fleet consists of thirty-five steamers, with cargo capacity of 2,000 to 3,000 tons each. Accommodations for 40 to 60 first-class, 30 second-class, and 100 to 200 third-class passengers. Freight rate, 25 to 30 shillings per ton. No State aid.

Robert Sloman line, Hammonia.—From New York and Baltimore to Brazilian ports as far as Santos, returning to United States, calling here and at other ports. Fleet consists of steamers with cargo capacity of 2,500 to 3,000 tons each; voyages each way as frequent as possible. No passenger accommodation. Freight rate, 25 to 35 shillings per ton. No State aid.

North German Lloyds.—Monthly and fortnightly sailings from Bremen and Antwerp, as demand requires, for Brazilian ports as far as Santos, and direct service to the Plate, the latter calling here on homeward voyages, thus giving two to four homeward sailings per month from Rio de Janeiro. Steamers accommodate 50 to 100 first-class, 50 second-class, and 200 to 300 third-class passengers. Cargo capacity, 2,000 to 3,000 tons each. The company have a very large fleet, and operate in other directions also; they put extra steamers in this service as required. Freight rate, 25 to 30 shillings. Receives State aid.

ITALIAN FLAG.

Navigazione Generale Italiana Societa Reunita, Florio e Rubatino.—This company operates from Mediterranean ports in many directions. The service to Brazil and the River Plate is carried on by a very large fleet, which run direct to the Plate. Arrivals here from Europe are three to six per month, as required. Their fleet consists of about 100 steamers. Can accommodate 50 to 200 first-class, 60 second-class, and 500 to 1,500 third-class passengers. Cargo capacity, 1,500 to 3,500 tons each. Freight rate, 20 to 30 shillings per ton. Receives State aid.

Company La Veloce.—From Mediterranean ports as far as Santos; also direct to Plate. Voyages, two to four per month both ways, as required. Accommodations for 60 to 70 first-class, 50 second-class, and 600 to 1,500 third-class passengers. Freight rate, 20 to 30 shillings per ton. No State aid.

AUSTRIAN FLAG.

Austro-Hungarian Lloyds.—From Trieste as far as Santos. Regular monthly sailing, fortnightly when required, touching at Brazilian ports both ways. Can accommodate 40 to 100 first-class, 50 second-class, and 100 to 200 third-class passengers. Cargo capacity, 2,500 to 3,500 tons each. Freight rate, 25 to 35 shillings per ton. The company has a large fleet, and puts on steamers as needed. Receives State aid.

Adriatic Navigation Company.—From Fiume as far as Santos, regular monthly voyages, calling at Brazilian ports both ways; extra voyages when required. No passengers. Cargo capacity, 2,000 to 3,000 tons each. No State aid.

FRENCH FLAG.

Messageries Maritimes.—From Bordeaux to River Plate, fortnightly sailings from each end; sailing dates strictly observed; touching at Brazilian ports both ways; also direct service to the Plate. The fleet is composed of magnificent steamers making very rapid voyages. Can accommodate 200 to 300 first-class, 150 second-class, and 700 to 800 third-class passengers. Cargo space, 2,500 to 3,500 tons each. Operate to other parts of the world also; extra voyages as required. Freight rate, 30 to 40 shillings per ton. Receives State aid.

Compagnie Chargeurs Réunis.—From Havre as far as Santos, fortnightly sailings from each end, calling at Brazilian ports both ways; also direct to the Plate, these frequently calling here on homeward voyage; extra voyages as required; operate also to other ports. Can accommodate 50 to 70 first-class, 30 to 40 second-class, and 100 to 200 third-class passengers. Cargo capacity, 2,000 to 2,500 tons each. Freight rate, 25 to 35 shillings per ton. Receives State aid.

Société Générale des Transports Maritimes.—From Marseille and other Mediterranean ports to the River Plate, calling at Brazilian ports outward and homeward; also direct to Rio de Janeiro and Santos. This company make voyages as frequently as possible, say, two to four times per month, and at times a greater number; they operate to other parts of the world also. Can accommodate 50 to 70 first-class, 24 to 40 second-class, and 700 to 1,500 third-class passengers. Cargo capacity, 2,000 to 3,500 tons each. Freight rate, 25 and 35 shillings per ton. Receives State aid.

BRAZILIAN FLAG.

Companhia Transatlantica Brasileira.—Just organized; will trade from Brazil to north of Europe and Mediterranean ports. Receives State aid.

Companhia Brasileira de Navigação a Vapor.—Three voyages per month as

far as Manaus. Very fine and fast steamers; nearly all new. Receives State aid.

Companhia Nacional de Navegação a Vapor.—Frequent regular voyages to southern ports of Empire and as far as Montevideo, also river service thence to upper Brazil; are constructing a number of new steamers. Receives State aid.

In addition to the three lines the Government subsidizes a great number of smaller coast lines operating from here and other ports of the Empire.

AMERICAN FLAG.

United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company.—Voyages from New York to Santos, calling at Brazilian ports both ways. Number of sailings is about fifteen per annum. Fleet, three steamers. Cargo capacity, 2,500 to 3,000 tons each. Can accommodate sixty to eighty first-class and sixty third-class passengers. Freight rate, 25 to 35 shillings per ton. Receives State aid.

SUBSIDIES.

The amount asked for by the minister of agriculture for the year 1890 is 3,061,240 milreis, divided as follows, per annum:

	Milreis, a
Companhia Nacional de Navegação por Vapor	651,000
Companhia Bahiana	155,000
Companhia Pernambucana	140,000
Companhia Maranhense	170,000
Companhia Brasileira	583,200
Amazon Steamship Navigation Company	468,000
Companhia Rio Parahyba	68,000
Companhia Itaperiua	12,000
Companhia Lower San Francisco	40,000
Empuza de Navegação dos Rios Aragnay, etc	125,000
Foreign service:	
American flag, United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company	190,000
Brazilian flag, Companhia Transatlantica	300,000
Total	2,911,000

The balance, 150,150 milreis, being for different smaller services.

SUBSIDIZED STEAMSHIP LINES.

Royal Mail Company, British Government, £96,000; Pacific Steamship Navigation Company, Chile, uncertain; Shaw, Saville, Albion Company, New Zealand, uncertain; New Zealand Shipping Company, New Zealand, uncertain; North German Lloyds, German, uncertain; Navigazione Generale, Italian, uncertain; Austro-Hungarian Lloyds, Austrian, uncertain; Messageries Maritimes, French, 18,000,000 francs; Chargeurs Réunis, French, uncertain; Société Générale, French, uncertain; Companhia Transatlantica, Brazilian, 800,000 milreis; United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company, Brazilian, 190,000 milreis.

TRAMP STEAMERS.

In addition to the regular lines mentioned, this port is very much frequented by vast numbers of steamers arriving from many ports of the world, principally from Europe; recently quite a number have been coming with cargo from New York and Baltimore. These steamers are vulgarly known as "tramps" and all are without exception under the English flag.

I may here mention that the expenses of discharging cargo in this port, which is paid by steamers, amounts to 10 shillings upward per ton.

Rates on coffee, which is about the only article shipped hence to the United States, will average about 25 cents per bag of 60 kilograms weight, and the expenses of loading same (for steamer's account) is about 14 cents per bag, this quite apart from charges in United States.

EXPORT DUTIES.

The treasury estimate of revenue to be derived from export taxation for 1890 is fixed at 15,000,000 milreis.

Sugar is about the only article of export from Brazil that does not pay the General Government export duty; the provinces still continue collecting the provincial export duty on sugar, that of Rio de Janeiro being 4 per cent on the custom-house valuation.

IMPORTS FROM AND EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Exports from Rio de Janeiro to the United States during the crop year July 1, 1888, to June 30, 1889: Coffee, 2,344,796 bags; by American steamers, 119,748 bags; by American sail craft, 221,444; total by American steam and sail, 341,192 bags. The balance was carried by foreign flags—2,003,604 bags—showing 14.5 per cent per American flag. Coffee is about the only article worth mention exported from Rio de Janeiro.

Imports from the United States via Europe are now about 3 per cent.

The Tobacco Industry and the Trusts.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN LAMB,

OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 23, 1904.

Mr. LAMB said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Having obtained unanimous consent to print remarks in the RECORD touching the operations of the American Tobacco Company, I desire to call the attention of Congress and the country to this grinding and oppressive monopoly that has brought ruin to many private enterprises and distress to many homes in Virginia, while its operations have been more disastrous in other States, perhaps, owing to conditions that I will explain further on.

Three years ago we had in Virginia sixty-eight private firms manufacturing tobacco. To-day we have only twenty-four. The American Tobacco Company has absorbed the forty-four independent establishments. At this rate how long will it take them

^a1 milreis equals 54.6 cents.

^bAre paid by the bounty system.

to destroy those that remain? Then with only one buyer in the field the farmer will be at the mercy of the American Tobacco Company and its agents.

I am informed by a colleague in North Carolina that nearly every independent factory in his district has been closed, and that a large number of persons have ceased to cultivate tobacco. Think of the loss to workmen who have been raised to do this work and are not suited to any other, after spending years in the factory. This applies with force to the laborers of all the States where tobacco is manufactured. It affects the farmer even more seriously, for in many sections tobacco is the only money crop. In North Carolina cotton may take its place; not so, however, in Virginia and Kentucky. Every factory absorbed by this gigantic scheme to levy tribute upon the citizen lessens the number of buyers on the market and enables the American Tobacco Company to name the price to the farmer.

An earnest effort was made in the Fifty-seventh Congress to checkmate this monopoly by the passage of the Otjen bill. This bill proposed to strike at the methods employed by this monopoly and prevent the coupon feature and gift-giving scheme by which they overreached the independent manufacturer and deluded the public. By a large majority of both parties this bill passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass the Senate. The reasons for the failure will doubtless be shown in the next session of Congress.

The failure of this bill to pass was a complete triumph for the American Tobacco Company, and enabled it to pursue its grinding policy and objectionable methods with a bold and free hand.

During the session of Congress that comes to a close this day the friends of the independent manufacturers failed to secure a favorable report on a bill presented and urged before the Committee on Ways and Means by Mr. TAWNEY, of Minnesota, having for its object the restraining of this company in its oppressive and outrageous methods.

It seems to be difficult to arouse the indignation of the representatives of the people to the enormity of the evil of this and kindred trusts. While only eleven States are involved, the extent of the trade and the income to the Government in the way of taxes should warrant such relief as the American Congress can surely give if all its powers are firmly and wisely exercised.

Under the Sherman antitrust law this monopoly should be suppressed. Many of the best lawyers in the country think this can be done. Where such an evil exists the law should find a remedy. The American people in their majesty and power can compel the framing of a law that will reach the desired result. In the interest of the private enterprises of the citizens of eleven States of this Union we demand that relief be given.

In the interest of labor and in behalf of those farmers of the United States who raise tobacco and rely upon a fair price to maintain themselves and families, we demand that something shall be done to relieve them from a heartless and soulless corporation, whose selfishness was not exceeded by the robber barons of the Rhine, who bow with eastern devotion at the shrine of Mammon and pursue these aims with a step as steady as time and an appetite as insatiable as the grave.

When Governor Flower, of New York, published his able defense of the trusts he had not conceived of the extent to which this monopoly has carried its operations. Were he living to-day he would most likely, as have many other able men, change his views after seeing that time and their own weight had not tended to the destruction of these monopolies.

I recall meeting on the streets of Richmond a thoughtful and cultivated gentleman a few days after the publication of Governor Flower's paper. He asked me what I thought of it. I replied: "The paper is very strong, and proves too much." "What do you mean?" said he. I answered: "The article shows that trusts are a good thing for a few people. Then they must be a good thing for all the people. And do you not see that this is long step toward socialism?" Thoughtful men are taking this view to-day. This idea is clearly brought out in the able paper by William L. Royall, of Richmond, that I publish by permission with these remarks. I express the hope that this paper will receive the careful attention of every Member of the Fifty-eighth Congress, so that when we meet in December we may proceed calmly and determinedly to consider the best remedies for the destruction of the commercial brigands who, following the example of their ancient prototypes on the Rhine, are plundering at will and without mercy their innocent and helpless victims.

The Virginia sun cured has not yet fallen completely under their control, thanks to the skill and energy of a people who have always shown that human endurance was equal to any adversity. A small area of old Virginia produces this sun-cured tobacco which brought Sir Walter Raleigh his name and fame.

The method of curing and handling is the same it was two hundred and fifty years ago. The independent manufacturers control the sun cured, so far; but no man can tell how soon this giant

hand will be laid on these as on every other brand. Let me plead with my colleagues on both sides, as I have done in other Congresses for the mother of some of the rich Commonwealths that make up the mightiest Government on which the sun shines to-day.

Forty years ago Richmond lay in ashes, her people disconsolate and suffering; 37,000 people without capital and many without shelter. To-day they number, with the sister city of Manchester, fully 100,000, and have over 1,000 manufacturing establishments, small and great. One after another their independent tobacco manufactories have been falling into the hands of the trust. Having arisen superior to misfortunes that would have crushed a people less heroic, they do not propose to surrender to the Shylocks of rapacity and greed without a struggle worthy of their history and ancestry. They ask the American Congress to help them as well as their State and country by laying its strong arm on this giant monopoly that has no pity for the weak and is unscrupulous in its methods.

In October, 1901, the National Tobacco Association met in the city of Richmond. Five States were represented. The tobacco interest in every phase was discussed. I had the honor of addressing them, and quote in part from the speech as it touches on one question of interest to every tobacco State in the country—the attitude of the Regie governments:

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL TOBACCO ASSOCIATION.

I congratulate you on the formation of this association. This is a day of cooperative enterprise. Intense competition meets you in every line. The world is fast becoming one neighborhood. Isolation is a thing of the past. No man lives unto himself. We are in a material no less than moral sense our brother's keeper. Whether the application of this principle shall be temporarily checkmated by avarice and greed or through combined efforts such as you now propose a generous reciprocity shall obtain remains to be seen.

You meet as the representatives of the great tobacco manufacturers of five of the Commonwealths of this Republic. Your intelligent action here and at your future meetings means a great deal, not only for you and the immense interests you represent, but for the producers of the article you manufacture.

I am fully persuaded that you can, with your thorough knowledge of the trade and the means best to be employed to advance its interests and find new markets, not only add to your own wealth, but bring great relief to the small farmers of the States you represent. You can easily reach your immediate representatives in Congress. Proper legislation can do a great deal for the great agricultural products of this country. It can open the avenues of trade. It can give us new markets where we can sell without restrictions the surplus products of our soil. I can not pursue this line of thought too far lest I touch on politics, which of course you here eschew. However, it may not be inappropriate, and is certainly germane, to quote the last words of our lamented President, over whose open grave a sorrowing people but a few days since poured out their grief. He said at Buffalo, September 5, 1901:

"What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and production, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times."

There are two points worthy of your serious attention that you will doubtless materially consider through your standing committees, so that the whole subject can be brought to the attention of your representatives in Congress.

If the tariff on the manufactured article is removed, would not the English, Cuban, and other tobacco-manufacturing countries meet the American tobacco countries on their own ground?

The great English manufacturing companies—well known to you—sell their product in Australia, China, Africa, and the islands, and their raw material is all purchased from the United States, giving employment to thousands—farmers, dealers, factory hands, railroads, etc.

England imports about 90,000,000 pounds of leaf tobacco a year, made up of about 30,000,000 pounds Virginia brights, 5,000,000 pounds Virginia darks, and 55,000,000 pounds of Kentucky, and the balance from Ohio, Maryland, Cuba, etc.

England puts a tax of 76 cents a pound upon all the tobacco that goes into the Kingdom from this or any other country, thus realizing about \$70,000,000. We are perfectly willing that France and other countries shall do the same. All we ask is that our citizens shall have the same privilege in respect to the sale of tobacco in the Regie countries that their citizens have in this. You can see the French, Spanish, and Italian citizens in almost every town and can see the French, Spanish, and Italian citizens in their native lands. I heard a Representative from Kentucky say with great force in the House of Representatives during the session of the Fifty-sixth Congress discussing this point, "if there is anything in reciprocity, if there is anything in the principle, here is the place to apply it."

The Hon. John D. Clardy, a Representative from Kentucky, introduced a bill (H. R. 1130) that was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. That committee made the following report (No. 14):

"The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1130) entitled 'A bill to secure open and unrestricted markets in foreign countries for American tobacco,' beg leave to submit the following report, and recommend the passage of a joint resolution as a substitute for the bill.

"This is a bill proposing to enact that the President be authorized to make such investigations as will elicit all the facts in reference to the restrictions put upon the sale of American tobacco in foreign countries under what is known as 'regie contracts' and otherwise.

"The present law authorizes the President to make such investigations, and in the opinion of the committee further legislation in that direction is not necessary. But there is such urgent necessity for such investigation the committee recommend the passage of a joint resolution which limits itself to requesting the President to make the investigations mentioned therein."

We hope the day is not far distant when our Government will be able to induce the regie governments to abolish government ownership of factories and allow them to be run by their citizens.

When this desirable end is reached, the demand for the raw material, as well as the finished product, will add millions to the wealth of the States you

represent, and Richmond, Danville, Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Farmville will double their business. Thousands of homes scattered through the broad territory you represent will be made happy. Toiling men, patient, suffering women, and helpless children will call down Heaven's blessing upon those who are instrumental in removing the restrictions put upon the sale of American tobacco by the regie governments. In years to come our descendants will regard these restrictions, as well as our domestic laws, in the same light we now view the burdensome laws of the colonial days. These went so far as to limit the quantity that should be produced, requiring that each individual should plant so much and no more. We Virginians are given to boasting of our Commonwealth as the Mother of States and Presidents.

We also refer with pride and pleasure to the period of her supremacy in the trade in man's greatest comforter—woman excepted—tobacco, which, like her illustrious sons, has been transplanted north, south, east, and west.

You are here to originate ideas and formulate plans that will benefit your trade. Whatever suggestions you may make will receive the careful attention of your representatives. As one of these, I promise to cooperate with you and my colleagues in any plan that will inure to the benefit of the whole people, and not leave them to the tender mercies of grasping monopolies, foreign and domestic.

I now enter the remarks of W. L. Royall, of Richmond, Va., that I recommend to the careful consideration of my colleagues in Congress:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: In treating the subject of trusts I have determined to deal with it from the standpoint of elementary principle, without the slightest regard to what has been so far said of the subject by either writers or courts. If what I say proves to be sound, it is of no consequence that it is in conflict with what has been said by others. If it is unsound, I shall be the one to incur the ridicule, and I am perfectly content to face that.

If you will observe the habits of the ant and the bee, you will perceive that they exist for the community only. The idea of individualism—of something pertaining to the particular ant or bee that is his apart from the community has no existence whatever in the organization and structure of the ant and bee. They live for the public alone, and serve and slave and fight as the public interests require, with no thought of themselves except for that amount of food and drink which the necessities of nature call for.

We see the counterpart of the ant and bee in the people of Japan. The individual Japanese knows nothing whatever of individualism. All his interests are communal, like those of the ant. He lives for the State, he fights for the State, he dies for the State. The State is to him everything; he, in his own estimation, counts for nothing.

The development through evolution of such a nature in man is a striking testimony in behalf of the theories of Spencer and Darwin. Locked up by the sea for thousands of years within the narrow confines of their islands, the Japanese have developed along the lines of socialism until they have evolved a civilization of a very high order, but it is a civilization whose corner stone is socialism, with citizens who live for the State alone, without a thought for themselves.

If the trust is left to itself, it will lead us logically to the same result. If left unrestrained, it will end Anglo-Saxon Christian civilization and will produce in America the civilization of Japan.

Are you prepared for the change, or will you put upon the trusts the restraints that are necessary for preserving the civilization that we have?

What have we to complain of in connection with trusts? And that suggests the question, What do we mean when we speak of trusts? The trusts that we complain of are nothing in fact but ordinary corporations grown very rich and powerful. But have we a right to complain of a corporation merely because it has become very rich? I utterly deny that rich men are a natural grievance. Upon the contrary, I assert that a country's greatness and strength depend upon its rich men. It is they who employ labor and furnish the opportunities for enterprise. It is only when the rich corporations abuse the powers that their wealth gives them that we have a right to complain of them, but when they do abuse their power we have a right to complain of them. The injury that the trusts do us, that we have a right to complain of, is in giving away their goods to destroy weak rivals, but that is a most grievous injury, and it is one with which the legislator has a perfect right to deal.

When within the last quarter of a century this subject first forced itself upon public attention, the popular mind jumped to the conclusion that it was to be dealt with from the standpoint of monopoly and restraint upon trade, and all of the measures that have been applied to it have treated it from those standpoints. That is the basis of the Sherman antitrust law; that is the theory upon which the trusts have been attacked in the courts. Yet I insist that the theory is erroneous, and in consequence of that error we see to-day that nothing practical has so far been done either in the way of satisfying the public or in the way of controlling the trusts. A word here upon this theory, to show that it is erroneous, may not be out of place.

Many writers and many courts have declared that the common law is opposed to monopoly. But is it clear that it is so? The case of the monopolies in the reign of Queen Elizabeth is always cited in support of the proposition, but that held nothing but that the sovereign had no power to grant to a subject an exclusive right to sell an article in ordinary use among the people. It has no bearing whatever upon the point in issue.

Upon the other hand, if, when coal was discovered in England, it had turned out that all of it was under the ground of one man, would any one say that the common law would have taken this man's property away from him because he had a monopoly of coal? It can not be maintained that a monopoly is necessarily opposed to the common law, so that when the trusts were attacked as tending to monopoly, they were attacked for something which might be in entire harmony with the elementary principles of our institutions.

What then is the common law in respect to restraints upon trade? It is that those restraints upon trade which are unreasonable are opposed to the common law, but such restraints upon trade as are reasonable, all things bearing upon the subject being considered, are in entire harmony with the common law.

Yet the attacks upon the trusts that have been made, notably the Sherman antitrust act, all proceed upon the theory that every restraint whatever upon trade must be opposed to the elementary principles of our institutions when those elementary principles freely concede that there may be restraints upon trade which are not only reasonable but conducive in the highest degree to the life of trade. Is it to be wondered at, then, that the measures so far addressed to the trusts have proved absolute failures and have only made confusion worse confounded? Figures not gathered from thistles, and no difficult problem was ever yet successfully dealt with when approached from an erroneous standpoint.

The difficulty that hedges this subject around has grown out of the fact that men have felt that under the modern improvements in steam, electricity, and the like some curb had to be put upon the joint action of men combined together, while at the same time they have equally felt that competition must be left absolutely free. How to put the necessary curb upon joint action and yet leave competition its freedom has been the perplexing subject that has occupied men's minds.

The true test of whether action is what may be complained of or whether it is not lies in the question, What is the purpose and intention with which the particular action is taken?

If it be action taken bona fide for the welfare and benefit of the party acting, it is legitimate action, of which no one has a right to complain. But if it be action taken for a sinister purpose to injure another, it is reprehensible action, even though clothed in the disguise of action taken for the welfare of the actor.

My attention was first directed to the vital character of this distinction by the following passage in Mr. Jevons's book on "The State in relation to labor." That great political economist says, at page 129 of that book:

"What is conspiracy? That confident but often mistaken economist, MacCulloch, has touched the point of the matter when he says, in his little treatise on wages (2d ed., p. 90): 'A criminal act can not be generated by the mere multiplication of acts that are perfectly innocent.'

"This statement may be true as it stands, but it has no reference to conspiracy. To ask for more wages is a perfectly legal act, and if a thousand men were to be struck independently with a wish for higher wages and were to go and ask separately there would be no conspiracy in the matter; but if a number of men meet together and agree jointly to ask for more and then persuade others to do likewise, it is not a mere multiplication of requests; it is that plus an agreement and an organized agreement. The difference is even greater than this. The act becomes different in nature by reason of the concert and the purpose implied in that concert.

"It is, for example, a perfectly legal action to walk along a highway, and no multiplication of such acts in the ordinary course of life or business can render them illegal.

"If so many men happened some day to walk through Throckmorton street that the street became entirely blocked up, there would still be no legal offense. The concourse would be fortuitous, and each man would simply be exercising his legal right under difficulties. But if a number of men were to agree together that they would walk up and down Throckmorton street on a particular day the complexion of the act would be entirely changed. The act, no doubt, physically the same, but being accompanied with knowledge that other people would do the same thing and that a block would be occasioned there would be reason to presume some special purpose as, for instance, the obstructing the business of the stock exchange or occasioning alarm, perhaps a panic, in the city. The act would be illegal in respect to the intention to block up the Queen's highway."

In 1885 a case arose in England which made it necessary for the courts of that country to define how far that free competition which is necessary to trade permitted combinations to go without trenching upon the fundamental rights absolutely essential to the liberty and the progressive action of the citizen, and it was finally disposed of in the House of Lords in 1891. The case is *Mogul Steamship Company v. McGregor* (App. Cas., 1891, p. 25).

The principle adopted in that case was substantially what Mr. Jevons had said, that according to natural justice and the elementary principles of the law an individual man, or any number of men acting in combination, may do any act whatever which is bona fide intended to be no more than an attempt to better their condition, even though the effect of the act be the destruction of some one else. This is competition, and the destruction of that other is nothing but that sort of death which attends the survival of the fittest and the strongest in the process of evolution. But that when one man or combination of men are actuated by a malicious purpose and intention to do another a willful injury they act in violation of the elementary principles of our laws and subject themselves to an action by the party injured. I can not pause here to elaborate this idea, but must content myself with the simple statement of it, adding merely that the malice spoken of need not be personal ill will.

Wanton disregard of another man's rights is malice in the eye of the law, and there need be no more than a wanton disregard of another man's rights. When these doctrines were put out by the House of Lords it seemed that we had a philosophical and intelligible basis upon which the subject of combinations and trusts could be dealt with, and if those principles had been left unmolested, I believe that by this time they would have worked through the courts a cure of all the trust evils. But, by one of those curious accidents that so often interrupt the regular and natural flow of events another case, *Allen v. Flood* (App. Cas., 1898, p. 74), came before the House of Lords in 1898, and that body held that malice was of no importance as determining the character of a transaction. This decision produced consternation and threw everything back into confusion. Fortunately, however, the subject has been again before the House of Lords in *Quinn v. Leathen* (App. Cas., 1901, p. 534), and that body announced in that case that *Allen v. Flood* is misunderstood, so that we may fairly assume that the doctrines of the *Mogul Steamship* case still prevail. On the 11th day of August, 1903, the court of appeals decided the two cases of *The Glamorgan Coal Company v. The South Wales Coal Company* and *Giblan v. The National Union*, and it is very plain from what the judges say in those two cases that in spite of *Allen v. Flood* they understand the principles of the *Mogul Steamship* case to be the law. I repeat, then, that but for the unfortunate contretemps of *Allen v. Flood* the courts might have worked through the difficulties of this matter without the aid of the legislature, but it is too late to look for that now. The legislator must now act.

There is a chapter belonging to this head also in this country. In March, 1897, I had prepared a pamphlet, which I subsequently published under the style of "The Pool and the Trust; Their Side of the Case," in which I undertook to show the relation of evil intent to this subject as I have indicated it here, and I contended that if the motive was good the citizen's right to make any contract was one of those liberties protected by the Constitution of the United States, and that any act of Congress that sought to deprive him of that liberty was repugnant to that instrument. Just as I was about to place it in the hands of the printer the decision of the Supreme Court in *United States v. Trans-Missouri Freight Association* was announced. I saw at once that decision ignored my propositions if it did not negative them. I at once went to Washington and examined the briefs in that case and saw there was no hint of my propositions in them.

As the same case identically was to be argued in the coming fall, I determined to publish my pamphlet in the hope that it might have some influence in the discussion of the case that was coming on. I published the pamphlet in April, 1897, and at once put a copy of it in the hands of all the counsel in the approaching case. Mr. E. J. Phelps incorporated the essential ideas of my pamphlet into his brief in the approaching case without any acknowledgment whatever that he got the idea from me. When the case was decided, in the winter of 1898, there was no retraxit of the doctrines announced in the preceding case, but equally there was no condemnation of my propositions as presented by Mr. Phelps, the case being decided upon a side issue. But the court had this to say of what Mr. Phelps had advanced. I quote from page 565 of 171 United States Reports, *United States v. Joint Traffic Association*. The court says:

"Regarding the two agreements as alike in their main and material features, we are brought to an examination of the question of the constitutionality of the act, construed as it has been in the *trans-Missouri* case. It is worthy of remark that this question was never raised or hinted at upon the argument of that case, although, if the respondent's present contention be

sound it would have furnished a conclusive objection to the enforcement of the act as construed. The fact that not one of the many astute and able counsel for the transportation companies in that case raised an objection of so conclusive a character, if well founded, is strong evidence that the reasons showing the invalidity of the act as construed do not lie upon the surface and were not then apparent to those counsel."

Who can say what the effect would have been if my proposition had been properly presented to the court when the *trans-Missouri* freight case was before it? The whole course of our law might have been different from what it is.

After the decision, in 1898, of the case last mentioned, the subject fell into what may be termed a condition of "innocuous desuetude," and little more was heard of it until the spring of 1904. But in March of that year the Supreme Court decided the *Northern Securities* case, and as the result of it we are now confronted with what is little short of chaos. It is true that it is practically impossible to extract from the conflicting opinions of the justices who sat in that case any definite principle which we can feel confident is to rule all cases in the future. But enough was said and done in it to make the country stand aghast and inquire, "What next?" To what limit will the pernicious doctrine relative to combinations in restraint of trade be pushed? Will not that doctrine, as announced, lead logically to the dissolution of every business combination in the country? I am not criticising the court. I found the act of Congress denouncing "every" combination in restraint of trade, whether the restraint was reasonable or unreasonable, and the court is not to be blamed if it took Congress at its word and declared that the act meant what its terms imported.

But a fearful blunder has been made by Congress, and unless some modification is made in the language of the Sherman antitrust act an injury may be inflicted upon the business of this country that a half a century may not efface. It is monstrous to denounce every combination that restrains trade. There can be no business conducted by two or more men acting in concert if all of their action that restrains trade is to be denounced as illegal. There is no business transaction that does not restrain some trade somewhere, and reasonable restraints upon trade are the very life of trade. A and B, in Lynchburg, Va., go into partnership to sell tobacco in New York. A makes B agree that he will confine his attention to tobacco and that he will have no transactions in wheat or corn. This is a restraint upon the wheat and corn trade, but it is a most healthy stimulus to the tobacco trade.

I have now reached the point at which I should indicate to the committee the theory upon which my bill is framed. It is framed upon the theory suggested by the decision in the *Mogul Steamship* case. It proposes to allow trusts to become just as rich as they please so that they acquire their riches by a proper use of their own resources, but it proposes to interpose the entire power of the Government between them and their weak rivals and prevent them from crushing out those weak rivals, not by open and fair competition, but by malevolent or wanton assaults upon their weak rivals. This the Government has the right to do, and if it does this it will do all that can rightfully be done in the way of restraining the trusts and it will do all that is necessary for ending every complaint of the trusts.

As I have already said, what we call trusts are no more than ordinary corporations grown rich and powerful. But all trusts are not so operated as to give ground for complaint. The United States Steel Corporation, the greatest and most powerful of trusts, has been so operated that no one has ever made the smallest complaint of it. This is an illustration of a trust that may be of unmitigated public advantage. Upon the other hand, the American Tobacco Company has been operated as a tyrannical, grinding monopoly. Bent and determined on crushing every man who does business in competition with it, it has crushed out all who got in its way, and the path it has left behind it is strewn with the wrecks of happy homes and contented industry.

The United States Steel Corporation is a trust that, so long as it continues to be operated as it has been operated, the public may leave alone. The American Tobacco Company is a trust that may well invoke the powers of the legislator for its control.

Carrying this idea a stage further, I say that the public has no right to complain of Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Morgan, at the head of their trusts, so long as they confine themselves to fair dealing. They have the right to grow just as rich as they can grow by fair dealing, and the country is all the better off for their accumulation of riches. A country's rich men are its strength. They furnish the capital necessary to large operations that develop the country and supply employment for labor.

But when Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan use their vast wealth and resources to crush out their weak rivals by unfair and dishonest competition, which is not competition at all, but the use of brute force simply, in the name of competition, then a case has arisen with which the legislator may properly deal.

What happens in the operation of trusts that we have a right to complain of, and that their thousands upon thousands of victims do complain of, is that they follow the track of their weak rivals and, under the pretense of competing with them in the sale of goods, give their goods away or sell them far below cost in order to drive their rivals out of business, with the intention of taking the whole business when the rival is destroyed. That is the method, under one guise or another, by which each bad trust has secured its monopoly. The American Tobacco Company has pursued those methods openly and above board, with no attempt at concealment. The Standard Oil Company secured its monopoly by combinations with the railways for rebates in freight. (See account of this in *McClure's Magazine* for December, 1903, p. 127.) But both at bottom are the same thing. Both rest upon the principle of unfair and dishonest competition. The purpose is to ruin and destroy a rival by pretense of selling goods which they do not sell, but give away until the rival is destroyed.

I say that the legislator has no right to interfere with the citizen in the sale of his goods so long as he is really and bona fide selling them. He may sell them at as low a price and as small a profit as suits him, so long as he is selling with them for more than they cost him. He may give them away, if the transaction is really and bona fide a gift. He may give them away as an advertisement, if the transaction is bona fide an advertisement. He may have bargain counters where old stock is disposed of at less than cost, if the transaction is really a sale of old stock that the merchant wants to get off his hands. He may do any of the things customary in business so long as the transaction is really and bona fide one of those customary transactions or operations of business.

But I say that the legislature has the right to deal with fraud in this kind of transaction as well as in any other transaction. And when a powerful trader follows in the track of a weak trader and gives his goods away or sells them below cost, which is, pro tanto, the same thing, for the wicked purpose of destroying the weak trader, he is engaged in unfair and dishonest competition—he is engaged in what is not competition at all—and a case has arisen with which the legislature may properly deal, as it may deal with all cases of fraud or imposition. And as the legislature may properly deal with that case, I now say that if Congress will deal with it effectively and suppress and prevent that sort of unfair and dishonest practice it will end the trust evil and leave the trust to make all the profits that it has any right to make.

The small trader has nothing to fear from the trust if the trust sells its goods in competition with his upon the merits of the goods only, and the rea-

son why he has nothing to fear is this: A great part of the trust's stock is water, whilst solid gold dollars represent the entire capital of the weak trader. The trust must sell goods above the normal to earn dividends upon this great volume of water, while the weak trader can sell at the normal and still make a satisfactory profit upon his gold dollars. The trust is compelled, therefore, to crush out its rival or sell at the normal and fail to pay dividends upon its watered capital.

THE BILL.

The bill which I have drawn is intended to suppress and prevent the unfair and dishonest competition in trade that the trusts resort to to crush out their weak rivals.

It commences by enacting that unfair and dishonest competition in trade in the United States and its Territories shall be unlawful and the same is forbidden, and it declares that giving away goods by one trader for the purpose of driving a rival trader out of business and selling goods below cost for the same purpose are unfair and dishonest competition in trade though unfair and dishonest competition in trade may exist in other conditions of fact such as rebates by railroads and other transportation companies. The commissioners to be appointed under the bill are to judge of all cases of unfair and dishonest competition in trade brought before them with their minds carefully guarded against fraud and attempts to palm off tricks and false pretenses upon them. It authorizes the commissioners to make the officers, directors, clerks, and agents of corporations charged with unfair and dishonest competition in trade come before them from any part of the United States and bring all their books and papers, and it absolves all such from all penalties for disclosing what might subject them to criminal prosecution, and the commission may fine and imprison such parties who fail to attend with documents when summoned.

There is to be a commission of three members appointed by the President and paid \$5,000 each per annum for each State and Territory with a clerk and a deputy clerk, if a deputy be necessary. The marshal of each judicial district is to be made executive officer of every commission, and, under penalties, he must execute all orders. This enables each commission to extend its arm into every State and Territory. To prevent the trusts bribing these commissioners they are removable by the President at pleasure, and their removal when the President stated they were not honest would be a most popular act. I really think they should each be paid \$10,000, so as to cause men to seek the place that could not be bought.

Upon written complaint of anyone, verified by oath, that a person or corporation is engaged in unfair and dishonest competition in trade, the commission for the State or Territory where the act is charged to have been committed shall summon the party and try the case. If he is convicted, the commission shall fine him whatever amount it thinks necessary to make him desist from dishonest dealing. The party is given an appeal to the circuit court of appeals, and thence to the Supreme Court of the United States if that tribunal thinks an appeal should be allowed on a copy of the record being presented to it. The commission may fine a complainant if it thinks the complaint was wantonly or maliciously made.

The commissions are to prepare and print rules of procedure, and witnesses residing within 100 miles may be summoned. The depositions of witnesses living farther away may be taken. The judgment of one commission may be recorded with another commission, and thereby become the judgment of the latter commission, and may be executed by it.

The Secretary of the Treasury shall keep each commission supplied with a fund of \$1,000, which is always to be kept up to \$1,000, to be spent as the commission chooses, and each commission must file with the Secretary each month an account of its expenditures. The commissions may employ counsel, stenographers, and accountants. This provision is the very life of the act. A small dealer can not maintain a contest with the Standard Oil Company, but if the commission can furnish him the best of counsel and the best accountants he will always be ready to complain, and with such counsel and accountants and the injured party to guide them, the fraud will inevitably be exposed. Every manufacturer must keep a cost sheet or he is lost in a wilderness. Intelligent counsel and accountants, with a rival to guide, can always get at what ought to be on that cost sheet.

The design of the bill is to interpose the whole power of the United States Government between the powerful trader and his weak rival, so as to protect that weak rival from tyrannical and despotic action upon the part of the strong trader. It allows the strong trader to make everything that fairness and equity entitle him to make, but it forbids him to trespass upon the weak man because he is powerful and the other weak. It rests upon the same foundation that the whole criminal jurisprudence rests upon.

The recent depression in the securities of the trusts has made sanguine men think that natural laws will suffice for the control of this evil. But this is a surface view of the case. The depression in stocks has not had the smallest influence in the direction of making those trusts that are establishing monopolies release any part of their despotic control. The American Tobacco Company, for instance, has marched straight along all through the stock depression in its crushing and destroying course. Many other trusts are perfecting their machinery for reaching the same ends as conditions become favorable. The evil must be reached at its source before the people will ever get any relief.

I have discussed the scheme of this bill with many intelligent persons, and I have never heard but one argument against it that I thought worth considering, and that was that the trusts will evade its provisions and make it impossible to detect them in their forays upon weak rivals. The answer to this has already been made in the suggestion that with an intelligent commission bent on finding out the truth, with a competent lawyer aided by a skilled accountant, and the rival to guide them, it will be impossible to cover up fraud. But suppose some evasions remain undiscovered? Are we to be deprived of the immense relief that would come from suppressing dishonest competition in the gross because some special instance might escape us? The suggestion recalls Dr. Johnson's remark on the orchard: "A man comes to an orchard," said he, and remarks, "there is no fruit here." "Oh, yes," says a prying companion "there is an apple and there is a pear." "But that is not to the purpose," said the doctor.

If I am asked where in the Constitution I would find authority for this act, I reply, in the commerce clause. It is perfectly clear that clause would authorize this act so far as it concerns interstate commerce, and that might give us the practical relief necessary. I would pass the act, though, in its present terms, leaving it to be ineffective as to local concerns if the Supreme Court should hold that it could not be applied to them. But who will say that the court will so hold? Trade, in its nature, is interstate and universal. A box of tobacco is manufactured in Jersey City, but it is for consumption in San Francisco. The farmer who raises wheat intends it for that market that will give him the highest price. There is a vast unexplored field in the commerce clause of the Constitution, and no man can say the Supreme Court would declare any part of this act unsanctioned by it. Pass the bill, therefore, in its present form, let it go into operation, and thereby make the people acquainted with its purpose and machinery. They will very soon thereafter confer upon Congress all the power it may need to enact such a law.

Since the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, announced

February 23, 1904, in the case of *Montague & Co. v. Lowry*, he would be a bold man indeed who would undertake to say at what point the authority of Congress to control trade and commerce ended. The facts of that case are as follows: All the manufacturers of tiles live in the East—in Boston, New York, etc. The jobbers of tiles in San Francisco entered into a combination by which they agreed they would sell to local dealers in tiles who were not members of the association at list prices only, and these list prices were 50 per cent higher to persons not members of this association than to those dealers who were members of this association. All the manufacturers in the East became nonresident members of the association, and all of the manufacturers in joining it agreed that they would sell tiles in California to members of the association only. The court held that this was an agreement in restraint of trade between the States and condemned by the antitrust act of Congress.

A dealer in tiles, of San Francisco, who was not a member of the association, sued those dealers in San Francisco who were members, under the act of Congress, for treble damages for cutting him off from his supplies of tiles except at this outrageous price. The point was made that the transaction between the seller and the buyer was one wholly between citizens of San Francisco and that Congress therefore could not deal with it. But the court held that the thing had its inception in the purpose of the outside manufacturers to effectuate this unlawful restraint of trade between the States, and that that purpose remained impressed upon the tiles even in the dealing between the confederates of the manufacturers and their local customers. This decision will uphold every proposition of the bill.

I have prepared an amendment to the Constitution in the following terms: "Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to suppress and prevent unfair and dishonest competition in trade in the United States and its Territories."

Mr. LAMB has introduced this amendment into the House of Representatives and it is now before this committee. Report that amendment along with the bill, but report the bill just as drawn, whether you report the amendment or not. If the people once get a taste of the bill they will do the rest.

Now, gentlemen, you may differ with me as to whether I have proposed the best and most effective measure for regulating the trusts, but I have not the slightest doubt that you will agree with me in thinking I have put my finger upon the raw spot. I believe the measure I propose is the most effective one, though you may determine that some other measure will be more effective. But whatever measure you determine on, it will be a measure to deal with the evil as I have defined it; it will proceed along the lines I have discussed.

What President Roosevelt Has Done For Irrigation.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH M. DIXON,

OF MONTANA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 25, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13356) providing for the election of a Delegate from the Territory of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States and defining the qualifications of electors in said Territory—

Mr. DIXON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: During the decade before Theodore Roosevelt became President the subject of national irrigation had been under discussion, and there was growing throughout the country a sentiment in favor of something being done by the National Government to bring about the use of the vast areas of vacant land in the West. There was, however, wide diversity of opinion as to the methods to be employed. The forces which, working together, might have accomplished great results were divided into many camps.

No settlement of this important question was in sight; at most it was hoped that Congress might authorize the construction of some one important work which could not be profitably undertaken by private enterprise, or which, though of great public importance, might not be constructed even under State auspices. Constant agitation and work, it seemed, might possibly result in some achievement during the next ten or twelve years.

Then consider the change. One of the first acts of President Roosevelt was to send for the men who had been working for national irrigation. He discussed the conditions with them, and told them of his belief in action by the National Government and his intention to make irrigation one of the topics of his first message to Congress. No President had ever mentioned irrigation in the United States in a message before. At once affairs assumed a far more promising aspect; the friends of western development took courage, redoubled their efforts, and began a vigorous campaign of education. The President's message more than met their anticipations and strengthened the hands of all of the workers. In short, the President rallied the disorganized forces and gave them the definite policy which they followed to victory.

President Roosevelt's first message, sent to Congress December 3, 1901, sounded the keynote of the Administration on irrigation. It not only foreshadowed, it actually brought about, the successful legislation passed by Congress during the succeeding spring

months. After speaking of the use of the forests as natural reservoirs, the President said:

The forests alone can not, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved, and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the National Government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control, under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.

The Government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow.

The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the Government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build homes upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within their reach.

The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private enterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the National Government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the Government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should, so far as possible, be repaid by the land reclaimed. The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves, in conformity with State laws and without interference with those laws or with vested rights. The policy of the National Government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in such manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves and as will stimulate needed reforms in the State laws and regulations governing irrigation.

The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent western competition with eastern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful home making is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot be safely attempted, by the early efforts, which must of necessity be partly experimental in character. At the very beginning the Government should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No reservoir or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish personal or local interests, but only in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the work most needed and fraught with the greatest usefulness to the community as a whole. There should be no extravagance, and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that it is free from the least taint of excessive or reckless expenditure of the public moneys.

Whatever the nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with and tend to improve the condition of those now living on irrigated land. We are not at the starting point of this development. Over two hundred millions of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works and many million acres of arid land reclaimed. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself, but as much can not be said in reference to the laws relating thereto. The security and value of the homes created depend largely on the stability of titles to water, but the majority of these rest on the uncertain foundation of court decisions rendered in ordinary suits at law. With a few creditable exceptions, the arid States have failed to provide for the certain and just division of streams in times of scarcity. Lax and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights to water in excess of actual uses or necessities, and many streams have already passed into private ownership, or a control equivalent to ownership.

Whoever controls a stream practically controls the land it renders productive, and the doctrine of private ownership of water apart from land can not prevail without causing enduring wrong. The recognition of such ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give way to a more enlightened and larger recognition of the rights of the public in the control and disposal of the public water supplies. Laws founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify hoarding it, have no proper application in a dry country.

In the arid States the only right to water which should be recognized is that of use. In irrigation this right should attach to the land reclaimed and be inseparable therefrom. Granting perpetual water rights to others than users, without compensation to the public, is open to all the objections which apply to giving away perpetual franchises to the public utilities of cities. A few of the Western States have already recognized this and have incorporated in their constitutions the doctrine of perpetual State ownership of water.

The benefits which have followed the unaided development in the past justify the nation's aid and cooperation in the more difficult and important work yet to be accomplished. Laws so vitally affecting homes as those which control the water supply will only be effective when they have the sanction of the irrigators; reforms can only be final and satisfactory when they come through the enlightenment of the people most concerned. The larger development which national aid insures should, however, awaken in every arid State the determination to make its irrigation system equal in justice and effectiveness that of any country in the civilized world. Nothing could be more unwise than for isolated communities to continue to learn everything experimentally, instead of profiting by what is known elsewhere. We are dealing with a new and momentous question, in the pregnant years while institutions are forming, and what we do will affect not only the present but future generations.

Our aim should be not simply to reclaim the largest areas of land and provide homes for the largest number of people, but to create for this new industry the best possible social and industrial conditions; and this requires

that we not only understand the existing situation, but avail ourselves of the best experience of the time in the solution of its problems. A careful study should be made, both by the nation and the States, of the irrigation laws and conditions here and abroad. Ultimately it will probably be necessary for the nation to cooperate with the several arid States in proportion as these States by their legislation and administration show themselves fit to receive it.

Aided and directed by this vigorous and historic message, the friends of irrigation held conferences and discussed the measures calculated to put these ideas into practical effect. But still there were serious troubles and differences. When these differences threatened to become irreconcilable and there was danger that land speculation under the proposed terms of the law would rob the settler of his right, the President called together some of the men principally interested. By his personal influence he quieted the differences and eliminated the dangerous provisions. The direct result of his action was the passage of the reclamation act.

The reclamation act sets aside the proceeds of the disposal of public lands in thirteen Western States and three Territories for national irrigation. The fund thus created is placed at the disposal of the Secretary of the Interior for surveys, examination, and construction of works. It is not a donation, but the money must ultimately be returned to the Treasury by the persons benefited, to be used over again in the construction of other works. There is nothing in the act which tends to paternalism or the pauperization of the settler. On the contrary, he is given an opportunity to make a home for himself and is required to pay for the water which the Government irrigation works supply.

The law is general in its terms and leaves most of the details to the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. The object to be attained is the creation of the greatest possible number of homes upon the public domain, allowing each man a sufficient area for the support of his family, but not permitting speculation or any loss to the fund. Every possible safeguard is thrown around the work to prevent land or water monopoly and to give a man in moderate circumstances who is seeking a home an opportunity to support himself and his family. Residence upon the land and actual cultivation are required; the land itself is given away, but the water—without which it is useless—must be paid for at actual cost in ten annual installments.

When a reclamation project is in view, the public lands which are to be reclaimed are at the outset withdrawn from entry, except under the homestead act, in order to prevent speculation. The lands not needed are eventually restored to the public domain, while the reclaimable lands are divided into small tracts of from 40 to 160 acres, sufficient to support a settler and his family.

The reclamation law provides for the irrigation of lands in private ownership as well as for public lands. In every part of the arid West there are lands already taken up by settlers, frequently in small tracts, and surrounded by public lands which should be reclaimed. These tracts in private ownership can not be left as desert areas in the midst of prosperous farms. Accordingly the law provides that water for not to exceed 160 acres can be sold to persons owning land and living upon it. The law itself requires that it shall be administered, so far as water rights are concerned, in conformity with State laws, and that vested rights acquired under existing laws shall be respected. It does not interfere in any way with State control and distribution of waters already appropriated.

Upon the passage of the reclamation law a body of engineers was organized at once to put the law into effect. The Geological Survey had been authorized in 1888 to investigate the extent to which the arid region might be reclaimed by irrigation, and had since that time been carrying on systematic surveys of the rivers, of their drainage areas, and of the irrigable lands, and making measurements of the flow of water in the streams. There was then already a small corps of hydraulic or irrigation engineers, constituting what was known as the "division of hydrography." To this small force were added other men skilled in the construction or maintenance of systems of irrigation, and the reclamation service was created. For administrative purposes it was attached to the Geological Survey.

The President took an active personal interest in the reclamation service and its work, and he saw to it that investigations were pushed forward energetically during the summer of 1902. In his second message to Congress, in December of that year, he said:

Few subjects of more importance have been taken up by Congress in recent years than the inauguration of the system of nationally aided irrigation of the arid regions of the far West. A good beginning therein has been made. * * *

So far as they are available for agriculture and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder, the settler who lives on his land, and no one else.

During the succeeding year the President made his western trip and devoted much thought and attention to national irrigation. His speeches from day to day were full of it. Not only

did he show his deep interest by his speeches, but he also gave practical direction and point to the policy to be pursued in the actual work of building the great irrigating systems. At Denver he said:

To my mind one of the best pieces of legislation put on the statute books of the National Government in recent years was the irrigation act, an act under which we declare it to be the national policy that exactly as care is to be taken of the harbors and along the lower courses of the rivers, so in their upper courses care is to be taken by the nation of the irrigation work to be done in connection with them.

Under this act a beginning has been made in Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, and the Territory of Arizona. There is bound to be disappointment here and there where people have built hopes without a quite sufficient warranty of fact behind. But good will surely come at once, and well-nigh immeasurable good in the future from the policy which has thus been begun. * * * With the aid of the Government far more can be done in the future even than has been done in the past. The object of the law is to provide small irrigated farms to actual settlers—to actual home makers. The land is given away ultimately in small tracts under the terms of the homestead act, the settlers repaying the cost of bringing water to their lands in ten annual payments, and lands now in private ownership can be watered in small tracts by similar payments, but the law forbids the furnishing of water to large tracts, and the aim of the Government is rigidly to prevent the acquisition of large rights for speculative purposes.

The purpose of the law was—and that purpose is being absolutely carried out—to promote settlement and cultivation of small farms carefully tilled. Water made available under the terms of this law becomes appurtenant under the law to the land, and can not be disposed of without it, and thus monopoly and speculation in this vitally important commodity are prevented, or at least their evil effects minimized so far as the law or the administration of the law can bring that end about. This is the great factor in future success. The policy is a policy of encouragement to the home maker, to the man who comes to establish his home, to bring up his children here as citizens of the Commonwealth, and his welfare is guarded by the union of the water and the land.

The Government can not deal with large numbers individually. We have encouraged the formation of associations of water users, of cultivators of the soil in small tracts. The ultimate ownership and control of the irrigation works will pass away from the hands of the Government into the hands of those users, those home makers, who through their efforts do the necessary business of their associations. The aim of the Government is to give locally the ultimate control of water distributed and to leave neighborhood disputes to be settled locally, and that should be, so far as it is possible. The law protects vested rights; it prevents conflict with established laws or institutions, but of course it is important that the legislatures of the States should cooperate with the National Government. When the works are constructed to use the waters now wasted, happy and prosperous homes will flourish where twenty years ago it would have seemed impossible that a man could live.

It is a great national measure of benefit, and while, as I say, it is primarily to benefit the people of the mountain States and of the great plains, yet it will ultimately benefit the whole country. For, my fellow countrymen, you can never afford to forget for one moment that in the long run anything that is of benefit to one part of our Republic is of necessity a benefit to all the Republic.

The local conditions in each of the States he passed through were touched upon by the President from time to time, and the broad general policies were given local application. In his speech at Carson City, Nev., he said many things of great value, both to the western interior country, of which Nevada is a representative, and to the nation at large.

I want to say one special word to-day here in Carson City on a subject in which all of our people, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, take an interest, but which affects in especial the people of the States of the Great Plains and mountains, and affects no State more than it does Nevada—the question of irrigation. Now, as I say, I do not regard that as in any way merely a question of the Rocky Mountain States, of the Great Plains States, because anything which tends for the well-being of any portion of the Union is therefore for the well-being of all of it, and it was for that reason that I felt warranted in appealing to the people of the seaboard States on the Atlantic, to the people of the States of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley, to say that it was their duty to help in bringing about a scheme of national irrigation, because the interest of any part of this country is the interest of all of it, and no man is a really good American who fails to grasp that fact.

The National Government is still, as you all well know, but as many Easterners do not know, the greatest landowner in the Western States, and among all those States Nevada holds the greatest proportion of vacant public land, and the need of Nevada for Federal assistance was one of the strongest arguments used in the discussion which preceded the reclamation act of June, 1902, the irrigation act of a year ago. The great extent of the vacant public lands in the State, the fact that its water supply came chiefly from streams rising in the adjoining State of California, and the overwhelming difficulties which, for these and other reasons, prevented the people of Nevada from efficiently acting in their own interest, made, in my judgment, and, as it proved, in the judgment of the Congress, Federal interference absolutely imperative. It is a matter for the strongest congratulation, not only for the West, but for the whole nation, that the policy went into effect. It is a matter of special congratulation to Nevada that the Secretary of the Interior, guided in his choice wholly by actual conditions on the ground, has been led to undertake one of the five sets of works which have been first undertaken here in Nevada, particularly near Reno, on the Truckee River, as one of the national projects for the starting and working of the methods of the law. Extensive surveys have already been made, and the projects for water storage and water distribution are at a point which warrants our belief that immediate action is in sight.

There are vast tracts of excellent land still in the ownership of the General Government here in Nevada and elsewhere to which the reclamation act will bring the flood waters that now annually go to waste. For Nevada most of these waters originate in the high mountains lying in sight of Reno, largely just across the State line in California. Some of these mountains have been included in the forest reserves, and your interests and the interests of the irrigators in California imperatively demand the extension of the forest-reserve system, so that the source of supply for the great reservoirs and irrigation works may be safe from fire, from overgrazing, and from destructive lumbering. I ask you to pay attention to what I say when I use the words "destructive lumbering"; no one can desire to prevent or do anything but help practical and conservative lumbering. In other words, my fellow-citizens, we have reached a condition in which it must be the object of the nation and the State to favor the development of the home maker, of the man who

takes up the land intending to keep it for himself and for his children, so that it shall be even of better use to them than to him.

The opportunities for the development of Nevada are very great. Until recently Nevada was only thought of as a mineral and stock-raising State. Much can be done yet as regards both the mineral exploitation and the raising of stock within the State; but now, under the stimulus of irrigation, it is probable that irrigated agriculture will come to the front, and when it does the population will increase with a rapidity and permanence never before known. The State of Nevada has led the way not only in the strength of its plea for national aid in irrigation, but also in its willingness to assist in the work. I wish to lay emphasis on the fact that in Nevada the authorities have been anxious to help in every way in working out the problem of irrigation, and to pay all acknowledgment to them now.

The recent legislature passed laws which in many respects should serve as models for the legislation of other States. The union of land and water under the national law has been recognized and as the fundamental proposition which necessarily underlies the prosperity of all communities in which irrigated agriculture is the chief industry, namely, that the water belongs to the people and can not be made a monopoly. The public appreciation of this fundamental truth that the water belongs to the people, to be taken, and put to beneficial use, will wipe out many controversies which are at present so harmful to the development of the West. And the example of Nevada will be of material aid in bringing about this fortunate result.

As I said of the forests, so it is even more true of the water supply. It should be our constant policy by national and by State legislation to see that the water is used for the benefit of the occupants of the soil, of those who till and use the soil, that it is not exploited by any one man or set of men in his or their interests as against the interests of those on the land who are to use it. It is a fundamental truth that the prosperity of any people is simply another term for the prosperity of the home makers among that people. Our entire policy in irrigation, in forestry, in handling the public lands, should be in recognition of that truth, to favor in every way the man who wishes to take up a given area of soil and thereon to build a home in which he will rear his children as useful citizens of the State.

In a speech at Salt Lake, Utah, which is near the geographical center of the great arid region, President Roosevelt referred to the efforts of the pioneers and the wise provisions made by them for developing their country. In particular he said:

One word as to the greatest question with which our people as a whole have to deal in the matter of internal development to-day—the question of irrigation. Not of recent years has any more important law been put upon the statute books of the Federal Government than the law a year ago providing for the first time that the National Government should interest itself in aiding and building up a system of irrigated agriculture in the Rocky Mountains and plain States. Here the Government had to a large degree to sit at the feet of Gamaliel in the person of Utah; for what you had done and learned was of literally incalculable benefit to those engaged in framing and getting through the national irrigation law.

Irrigation was first practiced on a large scale in this State. The necessity of the pioneers here led to the development of irrigation to a degree absolutely unknown before on this continent. In no respect is the wisdom of the early pioneers made more evident than in the sedulous care they took to provide for small farms, carefully tilled by those who lived on and benefited from them; and hence it comes about that the average amount of land required to support a family in Utah is smaller than in any other part of the United States. We all know that when you once get irrigation applied rain is a very poor substitute for it. The Federal Government must cooperate with Utah and Utah people for a further extension of the irrigated area. Many of the simpler problems of obtaining and applying water have already been solved and so well solved that, as I have said, some of the most important provisions of the Federal act, such as the control of the irrigating works by the communities they serve, such as making the water appurtenant to the land and not a source of speculation apart from the land, were based upon the experience of Utah.

Of course the control of the larger streams which flow through more than one State must come under the Federal Government. Many of the great tracts which will ultimately so enlarge the cultivated area of Utah, which will ultimately so increase its population and wealth, are surrounded with intricate complications because of the high development which irrigation has already reached in that State. Necessarily the Federal officers charged with the execution of the law must proceed with great caution so as not to disturb present vested rights; but subject to that, they will go forward as fast as they can. They realize, and all men who have actually done irrigating here will realize, that no man is more timid than the practical irrigator regarding any change in the water distribution. He wants to look well before he leaps. He has learned from bitter experience what damage can be done from well-meant changes hastily made.

The Government can do a good deal; but your experience here in Utah has shown that the greatest results which are accomplishing most spring directly from the sturdy courage, the self-denial, the willingness with iron resolution to endure the risk and the suffering of the pioneers; for they were the men who sought and found a livelihood in what was once a desert, and they must be protected in the legitimate fruits of their toil.

One of the tasks that the Government must do here in Utah is to build reservoirs for the storage of the flood waters, to undertake works too great to be undertaken by private capital. Great as the task is, and great as its benefits will come, the Government must do still more. Besides the storage of the water there must be protection of the watersheds, and that is why I ask you to help the National Government protect the watersheds by protecting the forests upon them.

The President's thorough discussion of national irrigation and his great personal interest in it attracted attention throughout the United States, even where its importance had never before been appreciated. The daily press repeated his utterances and familiarized the people of the whole country with the subject. The nation came to understand as never before that national reclamation is not a fad or a local issue, but one of the greatest and most beneficent undertakings of the Government. Now that the work was undertaken there could be no turning back.

In a letter to the National Irrigation Congress, held at Ogden, Utah, in September, 1903, the President said, addressing the chairman of the executive committee:

Permit me to express through you to the Irrigation Congress my hearty congratulations upon what has been accomplished in the year that has just passed, especially because I regard this as opening a new era in the treat-

ment of irrigation from the national standpoint. None of our internal policies will be of more consequence to the future of the country during the next few decades than this matter of irrigation. It is of vital consequence to the intermountain States and to the entire semiarid region, and what is of vital consequence to one portion of our country is of vital consequence to the whole country.

The congress at Ogden was attended by representatives from all parts of the country. It was a meeting so important as to draw from the President the following message, in which he defined his policy and showed how the work should and would be done. He said:

The passage of the national irrigation law was one of the great steps not only in the forward progress of the United States but of all mankind. It was the beginning of an achievement so great that we hesitate to predict the outcome. But it was only the beginning. Now that the law is an accomplished fact, it must be given effect. To that end the reclamation service, organized under the national irrigation law of June 17, 1902, has been pushing its surveys and examinations of possible irrigation projects energetically in each of the thirteen States and three Territories named in the act. Some of the projects which promised well at first are found on careful study to be impracticable, either because of scanty water supply or of great cost, others must await higher values in land, while still others stand the test and are ready for immediate construction. The feasible projects are always large and costly, because private enterprise has already seized upon the smaller and less expensive ones, leaving to the Government the great works which are to bear so essential a part in bringing the nation to its full development.

Great care and highest engineering skill are required to plan and build such works, which are among the most difficult undertakings of mankind. They must be built for permanence and safety, for they are to last and spread prosperity for centuries. To design and build such works a body of engineers of the highest character has been brought together in the reclamation service, for only men impartially selected for capacity alone are capable of creating these great structures.

Merit must govern not only in the selection of the men, but still more in the selection of the projects. Every reclamation project selected for construction must possess the qualities which commend it as a national undertaking, certain to reclaim large tracts of arid land and to support in well-being a dense and vigorous population.

Vast though the benefits of the reclamation law will be, many disappointments necessarily await both the advocate of special projects and the men whose desire for accomplished results outruns the slow and steady development of these great undertakings. It should be borne in mind that a broad survey of all possible projects gives new conception of their relative value, and that a work of prime importance to one group of men may seem less desirable in the light of wider knowledge. Nor is it wise in large affairs to begin construction first and elaborate details afterwards. Each important point must be carefully studied in advance and the whole plan tested and approved before the work can begin. Yet if we proceed both cautiously and persistently under this beneficent law we may confidently expect the largest possible development of our arid lands and their settlement by industrious, prosperous, self-respecting men and women, who will exchange the products of irrigated agriculture for the products of mills and factories throughout the United States. Such communities, flourishing in what is now the desert, will finally take their places among the strongest pillars of our Commonwealth.

The irrigation development of the arid West can not stand alone. Forestry is the companion and support of irrigation. Without forestry irrigation must fail. Permanent irrigation development and forest destruction can not exist together. Never forget that the forest-reserve policy of the National Government means the use of all the resources of the forest reserves. There is little profit in destruction compared with use. The settlement of the great arid West by the makers of homes is the central object, both of the irrigation and the forest policies of the United States. In forestry as in irrigation the immediate private interest of some individuals must occasionally yield to their permanent advantage, which is the public good. The benefits of forestry are not only for the future but for the present.

The forest reserves are for all the people, but first for the people in their immediate neighborhood, for whom supplies of wood and water are among the first necessities of life. The wiser and more skillful the management of the reserves by trained men the greater, obviously, will their usefulness be to the people. We must never allow our chagrin at temporary defects and difficulties in the management of the forest reserves to blind us to the absolute necessity of these reserves to the people of the West. Support of the forest-reserve policy has grown with wonderful rapidity in the West during the last few years. It will continue to grow till the last vestige of opposition, now almost gone, has wholly disappeared before a true understanding of the object and effect of forest reservation. The greater the support of the forest reserves by the people of the West the greater the assurance that the national irrigation policy will not fail, for the preservation of the forests is vital to the success of this policy.

In his third message to Congress, sent last December, at a time when the reclamation act had been in effect for a year and a half, the President commented briefly upon the progress of the work:

The work of reclamation of the arid lands of the West is progressing steadily and satisfactorily under the terms of the law setting aside the proceeds from the disposal of public lands. The corps of engineers known as the "reclamation service," which is conducting the surveys and examinations, has been thoroughly organized, especial pains being taken to secure under the civil-service rules a body of skilled, experienced, and efficient men. Surveys and examinations are progressing throughout the arid States and Territories, plans for reclaiming works being prepared and passed upon by boards of engineers before approval by the Secretary of the Interior.

In Arizona and Nevada, in localities where such work is preeminently needed, construction has already been begun. In other parts of the arid West various projects are well advanced toward the drawing up of contracts, these being delayed in part by necessities of reaching agreements or understanding as regards rights of way or acquisition of real estate. Most of the works contemplated for construction are of national importance, involving interstate questions or the securing of stable, self-supporting communities in the midst of vast tracts of vacant land. The nation as a whole is of course the gainer by the creation of these homes, adding, as they do, to the wealth and stability of the country and furnishing a home market for the products of the East and South. The reclamation law, while perhaps not ideal, appears at present to answer the larger needs for which it is designed. Further legislation is not recommended until the necessities of change are more apparent.

This short and simple statement of what President Roosevelt

has said and done for national irrigation, which is the great new hope of the West, shows clearly and conclusively that the reclamation act was passed by his assistance when it could not have been passed without it. The new homes which will cover the western deserts, the new home markets for eastern manufactures which these homes will create, the new prosperity and well-being which national irrigation is bringing to the whole country—these are the direct result of the farsighted action of President Roosevelt.

No Subsidies, Direct or Indirect.

SPEECH

OF

HON. IRA EDGAR RIDER,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. RIDER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is my wish and purpose on this occasion to make clear my position in regard to the proposed American shipping commission, and in regard to what is evidently behind that proposition—ship subsidy.

It is in no captious spirit that I approach this subject. I am as willing as any other Member of the House to do anything that is constitutional and equitable to each and all sections of the country and classes of the community tending to develop the American merchant marine. I am as willing as any other Member or citizen to incur any reasonable sacrifice for the upbuilding of our foreign commerce and carrying trade. In all doubtful details of legislation relating to that subject I am willing to give its promoters the benefit of the doubt. As a rule I am in favor of projects for the improvement of the country and its citizens so long as those projects are general in their application and constitutional in their character. I have already announced on this floor that I am in favor of liberal appropriations for internal canals and public works of that sort, and also of a service-pension list.

But the subsidization of some special interest or enterprise by contributing to its support by grants of public money taken from the Treasury seems to me to be clearly unconstitutional and grossly inequitable, and I can not approve of any such proposition.

It may be said that that is not the proposition; that it is simply a proposition to create a commission to investigate and report. Yes, it may be said, but the saying will be a mere waste of breath. The promoters of the commission are all old subsidy champions and promoters. In their report accompanying the bill they argue that all other plans except the subsidy plan have been discarded, leaving the evident deduction that there is nothing left for the commission to report on except the subsidy plan, and making it at first seem rather singular that there should be any commission at all.

All things, however, no matter how obscure, are capable of explanation. The commission is wanted by the friends of subsidy simply as a means for tiding over the subsidy enterprise until after the next election. It is said—and it looks extremely plausible—that they do not care to stir up the subject during this session; least of all do they wish to risk a decisive vote upon it at this time and under these critical circumstances. But they are quite willing, nay, anxious, to leave the whole matter to a commission of their own choosing and appointment, which commission should brood over the momentous matter long enough to prepare a report favorable to subsidy, and after said period of brooding—probably not excessively protracted in duration—to be free to engage in other pursuits for the remainder of the year, meanwhile not forgetting to draw their modest allowance of \$20,000 for necessary expenses.

Then, after the campaign had been fought out and the election held, and after the people had quieted down again, there would be a fine little opportunity to bring in the commission's report and say to Congressmen and to the public: "See what these wise and patriotic men have to show you as the result of their year's arduous and unselfish labors. After thoroughly examining the subject on all sides with a microscope they have decided that on the whole the best way to build up the merchant marine is by giving large subsidies to shipbuilders and shipowners for vessels constructed and for miles sailed, and by paying fabulous prices to our steamship companies for carrying the mails. What profound research!

What wisdom! How can we sufficiently thank these self-sacrificing and judicial-minded patriots for their exertions in our behalf? The least we can do is to adopt their recommendations without further delay. Are you ready for the question? Let it be recorded!"

But, supposing for a moment that the commission's suggestion is sincere, I am opposed to it because it is entirely unnecessary and superfluous. The subject is perfectly well understood already, not only here, but among the people at large. It is the best understood public question before the people to-day. We are entirely qualified to vote upon it here and now—just as well qualified as we should be after perusing the illuminating report of a special commission. Under all the circumstances, the idea of farming out this perfectly clear question to a commission for the purpose of receiving instruction therefrom as to our duty in the premises is not only ridiculous, but amounts almost to an insult to the Congress of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, the measures of general legislation that have been seriously pressed at this session of Congress have been comparatively few in number. Of course there have been the regular appropriation bills and the usual collection of private bills. Aside from these our attention has been focused on two or three matters by the logic of events—such matters, I mean, as the Panama Canal treaty, Cuban reciprocity, and the Post-Office Department scandals. But so-called "general legislation" has been almost entirely neglected, with one exception. That one exception has to do with the subject of ship subsidies. The vitality of this subject, Mr. Chairman, is simply amazing. It has survived a dozen defeats and rebuffs, but still it reappears annually. It has more shapes than Proteus, and more lives than a Kilkenny cat. So here it is again this year, the same old subsidy, in at least three different propositions and nobody knows how many individual bills. It is not only behind the commission bill, but lurks in the shadow of the bills relating to our commerce with the Philippine Islands.

Hitherto subsidy has come out into the open, standing on its own feet and carrying its own true colors, and has fought for its own interests fairly and squarely; but now it is trying to "sneak" a victory under false colors and false pretenses.

All these propositions, which are nothing more or less than ship subsidization in disguise, should be rejected by an overwhelming vote.

There is no direct subsidy bill before Congress or to be brought before Congress at this session. That much is known and agreed upon on all sides. But if the pending commission bill should pass this House, it would be equivalent to our pledging ourselves to go through a formal contest with the subsidy men in the short session of Congress next winter, and I for one am opposed to this. I would much rather fight it out in the present session; and we who are against subsidization can do our portion of the fighting, and do it effectively, too, by "knocking out" this commission bill.

This can be done, and will be done, if all Members of the House pay proper attention to the matter and give it due study and consideration, which can not fail to result in showing them that a vote for the commission is a vote to advance the interests of subsidy hunters and that subsidy legislation of all sorts should be avoided. If the commission is defeated, that would throw the subsidy champions back again into their own intrenchments and they would have to begin de novo, and the probability would be that nothing more would be done in that direction during the Fifty-eighth Congress and that the country would have rest for the space of one year at least.

All opponents of subsidy should by all means unite for the defeat of all the bills touching the application of our coastwise carrying trade to foreign commerce.

The Senate has just passed a bill providing that after a certain date all supplies sent abroad by our Government must be carried in American bottoms. A sister bill applying our coastwise navigation laws to our Philippine commerce after a certain date has already passed this House. Is it not easy to see, is it not quite evident, that both these bills are really subsidy measures for the benefit exclusively of a few American shipowners? If we had enough American vessels fit to engage in such oceanic transportation and enough to handle all our large and rapidly increasing American-Philippine commerce to the satisfaction of shippers and receivers, that would be a different matter. But we have not enough, or anywhere near enough, nor shall we have enough by July 1, 1906, or by 1909, probably, for that matter.

What is the inevitable consequence? The few American carriers will of course put their freight charges up to the highest notch that the trade will bear, and in the case of the transportation of Government supplies that would be no limitation whatever to the exorbitance of their charges. Of course it may be provided that the President shall have power to decide when the carrier's charge is exorbitant, and in such a case to give the job to an outsider; but who honestly believes that such a provision would

"work" practically? The President has a thousand other things to attend to, more important than sitting in judgment on an alleged overcharge, like a police court justice. Such adjudication he would perforce have to depute to a subordinate and they would soon become entirely perfunctory.

Besides, what would constitute a "reasonable" charge and by what right would it be established as "reasonable" or "unreasonable?" One might suppose that if the American carrier charged 100 per cent more than a foreign carrier bid that would be an unreasonable overcharge, but the Senate by a decisive vote refused to sanction that supposition. In other words, so far as the Senate is concerned, the American carrier may charge 100 per cent more than the foreigner and still may get the job.

Does not this show conclusively that this bill is in effect a bill for granting a subsidy to American shipowners at the expense of American taxpayers as represented by the Government? And the other bill is like unto it. It is a bill for subsidizing American shipowners at the expense of American shippers, importers, merchants, and producers.

It has been strongly opposed by many of the most respectable and influential business interests in the North. They have clearly proved that the bill will work a great injury—perhaps a fatal injury—to the American-Philippine trade in our Eastern States. Both bills have been opposed by such authorities as Secretary Root and Secretary Taft. But no matter; the bills will help along the cause of ship subsidy. One has already been pushed through. They should all be consigned to the limbo of unsuccessful measures, there to rest where they belong, alongside the extensive collection of deceased subsidy bills.

The touchstone to apply to this: Will these bills be of advantage to all sections and all our people alike or will they benefit only a few and militate against the many? I commend to the careful consideration of the Members of the House the terse statement made the other day by the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MITCHELL], who, in discussing the so-called Philippine coastwise bill, declared that he approved in general of efforts to build up American shipping, but he added:

I am not in favor of moving so rapidly in that direction and by means the effect of which will be—and that will be the effect of this bill if it becomes a law immediately—to discriminate very largely in favor of certain special interests and certain special ports to the absolute destruction of other more general interests and the trade of other equally important maritime ports.

In other words, what the Senator meant—what he said, in fact—was that the bill would benefit Californian and Washingtonian ports and injure Oregonian ports, from which latter ports shipments across the Pacific are customarily made in foreign bottoms. From the Senator's standpoint, and from a broad national standpoint, he was undoubtedly right. The benefits flowing from ship subsidy would inure to the advantage of a comparatively small special industry and to a comparatively few small, isolated industrial plants. They would not inure to the advantage of the community at large, as does the rural free-delivery system, or the improvement of internal waterways or roadways, or our railway system, or our river and lake and coastwise navigation system.

But it is said: "How magnificent it would be if we could carry all our foreign commerce, the same as we carry all our coastwise and internal commerce, and as we used to do a hundred years ago." Indeed it would, if the ability so to do were to be gained by our shipping people without mulcting the community at large for it. In that case, it is contended, we would keep \$300,000,000 or so annually at home. Yes, at home, in the pockets of the shipping people, and after having extracted a goodly quantity of subsidy money from the pockets of the people in the first place. In the days when we carried 92 per cent of our foreign commerce, one hundred years ago, we did it without giving our shipping people any subsidies. We had a system of discriminating duties then, which is quite another matter; and certainly, whatever may be said for or against discriminating duties, it can not be denied that they are constitutional and that they apply equitably to all sections and classes of the home community alike.

But it is said further: "Subsidy is for the benefit of the whole community alike. It will carry all the exported products of all our States to all parts of the world; it will give employment to thousands of shipwrights and other workers; it will carry our foreign mails under the American flag; it will furnish auxiliary cruisers for the Navy; it will develop American sailors, etc." You all know this by heart. You have all heard it before, at least once, no doubt.

When the farmer of Iowa has sold his wheat and got the money for it what does he care what becomes of the wheat afterwards? What difference does it make to him whether it goes to Minneapolis to be ground up into flour or whether it goes to New York for shipment to Europe? And what difference does it make to him whether it goes abroad in an American or in a British ship? Or, in the case of the actual owner at the time of shipment, what does he care what flag a vessel flies? What he wants to know is which vessel will carry the shipment the cheapest.

Now, the subsidy advocates always insist that one of the greatest reasons why subsidies are needed is because it necessarily and inevitably costs a good deal more to build, equip, and run a vessel in America and under the American flag than under any foreign flag. In so contending, Mr. Chairman, they give away their whole game. If what they say is true, they in effect are asking the people to pay out of their own pockets the sum representing the difference between the cost of shipbuilding here and in Europe, and then to keep on by paying the difference in the cost of running our vessels as compared with foreign-built vessels. In other words, we can have our desired merchant marine by paying for it, which might be all well enough if it were to be owned by the Government, like our Navy, but the payments in this case would go straight into the pockets of a few shipbuilding and shipowning combines.

The next thing in order, Mr. Chairman, might be a bill compelling all our exports to be sent abroad in American bottoms, no matter how heavy the freight charges might be. That would be a perfectly logical sequence to the righteous and patriotic bill that has just been sent over to this House by the Senate.

No doubt a subsidy bill would stimulate shipbuilding in this country to some extent and give employment to many at present unemployed or insufficiently employed. So would the subsidization of tea culture stimulate the culture of tea. The funds in the National Treasury ought never to be bestowed for the benefit of partial or special interests. If the shipbuilding industry in this country can not stand on its own legs and win its way by the time-honored methods of open business competition, it shows simply that for one or another reason our people, who in the earlier times used to build so many vessels, have found out that they can utilize their money and time to greater advantage in other lines of activity and that it is more profitable to them to hire vessels for the ocean carrying trade than to build them for that trade.

If there were more trans-oceanic American "liners," no doubt the Post-Office Department would give them all as much mail as possible to carry—and that, too, at exorbitant rates. That has been the policy of the Department in the past—that is the policy now. Is it a policy in the interest of economy? Is it a just, equitable policy? Is it a businesslike policy? Is it a policy favored by the people? I think not, Mr. Chairman. I do not believe that this sensible, sagacious, hard-headed American people approve of building up an American merchant marine by paying our trans-Atlantic and Gulf lines three times as much money for carrying the mails as we would have to pay foreign vessels for doing the same service, and in quicker time, too. The American people are patriotic, but they are not ridiculously so. They are not patriotic to the point of making absolute fools of themselves.

We want additional cruisers, do we? The best way, then, the most sensible way, is to build them and add them to the Navy. Make-believe cruisers, like the *Yale* and the *Harvard* in the Spanish war, are better than nothing, but poor makeshifts for the real article. That pretext, as an argument for subsidy, will not do at all, Mr. Chairman.

By no method of argument, by no ingenuity in the formation of phrases, can the advocates of ship subsidy make it appear to be other than what it is—class legislation, in the strictest sense of the term. As such it is not only unjust and inequitable, but also unconstitutional. That is the main objection to the subsidy project after all, of course. Other objections besides that, and besides those previously touched upon by me, can very well wait until the appearance of some specific subsidy bill. Then there will be a proper opportunity for adducing at length the experience of other nations with and without shipping subsidies.

Then it can be shown how well this country has prospered in the navigation line without subsidies. Then the recent statistics as to the growth of our shipping interests and shipyards can be traced with edification. At present the emphasis should be laid, and is laid, on the advisability of defeating the proposed commission bill—this stalking-horse for the subsidy bill of next winter.

Let it be fully understood that the opponents of subsidy are by no means opponents of the rehabilitation of our merchant marine. They recognize the fact that there have been and are certain natural causes which have cooperated to induce a decline in the merchant marine of late years; but, in common with all good citizens, they would welcome the regaining of its supremacy if it could be accomplished also by natural causes and without injury or injustice to any portion of the body politic.

It has been said that in case of a war in which Great Britain or Germany or Norway might be involved it would at the present time and under the present circumstances place the United States in an awkward, if not perilous, position, because we should then be debarred from the use of the larger number of the freight-carrying ocean steamers that we are now in the habit of using for our ocean freightage; but this is not true, for the reason that in the event of a conflict between these nations their merchant marine would promptly enlist under the flags of neutral nations.

All these things are well understood by the people, who, as I have said already, are more familiar with this whole subject of ship subsidy than with probably any other public question of recent times, unless perhaps the tariff. It has been a leading feature of the deliberations of every Congress for twenty-five years or more, and the speeches and debates concerning it have gone all over the country, from Dan to Beersheba, time and time again. During the last few sessions of Congress it has formed the subject of more newspaper editorials than any other topic that can be mentioned.

The statement of the majority report that "until within the last few months there has been utter indifference manifested about this whole subject in a great section of the United States," and that the people of the Central West are only now "beginning to be interested by this legislation," is perfectly ridiculous. The western newspapers have been fairly teeming with allusions to the subject for years past, and the same is true of the southern and eastern newspapers. The manager of one of the leading clipping bureaus of the country has stated that during recent sessions of Congress the number of clippings concerning ship subsidy handled by his establishment has been far larger than the number of clippings on any other subject whatever. It may be added that four out of every five clippings will be found to have been emphatically unfavorable to the subsidy policy.

The public, not only through the newspapers, but on the floors of the Senate and House in former Congresses, has indicated very clearly its absolute disapprobation of the ship-subsidy policy. There has been no demand on the part of any State for a reopening of the question—no demand for the proposed commission. The people do not want ship subsidy; they do not want a commission. Why in the world should we insist in forcing upon them either the one or the other?

And so, Mr. Chairman, I leave the subject at this time, as I began it, with special reference to the question of public duty. I have tried to present to my fellow-members of the House what I conceive to be our duty in regard to this subsidy matter, as sworn and faithful representatives of the people and defenders of the Constitution. I believe that the people are against this subsidy policy and against any like policy. I believe that policy to be unconstitutional and wrong. So believing, I can not support any measures either directly or indirectly pointing toward such a subsidy. This, too, notwithstanding I am heartily in favor of the upbuilding of the United States merchant marine and the rehabilitation of our old maritime supremacy, which I hope to see accomplished by means that are constitutional, just, and equitable—the means which were so successful in the early days of the Republic; the plan of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe—discriminating duties in favor of American ships.

Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES L. BARTLETT,

OF GEORGIA.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 30, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 14416) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. BARTLETT said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: On the 28th of this month, the day before yesterday, in general debate upon this bill—at which time, owing to the fact of my engagement elsewhere under appointment of the House upon a special committee, it was impossible for me to take any part in the debate—the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET] felt called upon to make some remarks with reference to certain conditions which he alleged exist in the South, and to criticize and lecture that section of the country for certain alleged outrages and violations of the law. He undertook to read to the Members from that particular section a lecture on the observance of the law.

During that discussion, and during the speech of my friend the gentleman from Massachusetts, I asked him a question in reference to the enforcement of the law in Massachusetts and called his attention to a certain case—one which came to my mind among others—which might be readily cited or obtained by an investigation of those who desire to find out. I found the people of Massachusetts have recently shown as much disregard for, and been as prone to violate the law, as other parts of the country; though, in the estimation of some, they may be benighted and not

so refined and as well educated as the gentleman may think his particular State is. I asked him this question, which will be found on page 3999 of the RECORD:

I want to ask the gentleman, as a matter of information, whether there did not occur up in Massachusetts last year, or some time recently, a case where a mob tarred and feathered a man and a woman in one of the suburbs of Boston—I think in Marion.

And the gentleman from Massachusetts—a State whose citizens sometimes undertake to regulate its neighbors' business, neglecting to look nearer home for violations of law—said that he did not himself know of this incident, but I could give it in my own time.

I did not then have the time, but I have before me an account in the newspapers of that incident. I hold in my hand an account printed in the New York Herald of the trial of this case, and this is some of the testimony given by the man who was then assaulted and outraged:

McDonald, who has iron-gray hair, mustache, and imperial, testified that he was 54 years old. He kept a hotel for eight years. He came to Marion a year ago last May, and boarded at Potter's since February. On the evening of August 6 he was in the Potter house with Mr. and Mrs. Turner. He was in the kitchen with Mr. Turner. About 8 o'clock a crowd of men appeared. "They pulled me outdoors," he said, "and carried me to a gravel pit. Then they threw me down and tore my clothing off. They bandaged my eyes with a handkerchief. Then they threw tar over my back and feet. Somebody had a bag of feathers. One young fellow said: 'Give me the brush; my father is a painter, and I know how to put it on.' They led me out to the road, tied my hands and feet, and put me in a cart. Somebody asked for a nail. One man stuck his fingers in my eyes.

"They took me to Hiller's stable and halted. Two men took the rope with which I was tied and put it around my neck. They then threw the rope over the limb of a tree and pulled me off my feet."

McDonald's excuse for being in the Potter house was that he was in partnership with Mrs. Potter keeping boarders.

During his remarks the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] said:

I suspect there is a stronger natural repugnance toward the negro in the North than there is in the South. At the same time, we do not recognize this preposterous talk of "social equality" or inequality, which, coming from the South, rather amuses me, as if there were in this country social classes; as if there were such a thing as social superiority and social inferiority, and as if a man is injuring himself by associating with one man, or not injuring himself by associating with another. It seems to me that this feeling is one of the unfortunate growths of this whole problem.

I confess I'm somewhat at a loss to know what they mean by social equality, and I don't believe they know themselves. I had supposed that in this republican form of government all social grades and orders and precedents had been forever abolished and that there could be no social claims or distinctions.

The gentleman has summed up his views on this subject in the following, taken from his remarks, which he furnishes me and which I incorporate at his request in my remarks:

I had supposed that in this republican form of government all social grades and orders and precedence had been forever abolished, and that there could be no social classes or distinctions. The social qualities we value, the elements which entitle a man to distinction and popularity socially, are, I think, first, refinement and cultivation of mind and body, then a genial, kindly nature, then a power of brilliant or interesting conversation. That is, I think, a rare enough combination of qualities to entitle any man or woman who possesses them to social distinction.

I can not see how any accident of birth such as color of skin or hair or eyes can affect at all this title to social distinction. * * * While anyone has a perfect right to select his own companions according to his own whims, he has not the right to impose his individual tastes on others as a general social law. That law in this democracy must be admitted by all to be merit, and while you or I may choose not to associate with persons of a particular race or religion, or occupation, yet we have no right to impose our prejudices on others or to claim our social inclinations constitute a social code of law or caste.

If one man is superior to another socially in this country it is because he has greater refinement and courtesy and for no other reason. It matters not whether he lives in a palace or a hovel, whether he has the skin of a Caucasian or a Hottentot or a Chinese, if he has developed these qualities, which humanity the world over recognizes as making a gentleman, he is entitled to a gentleman's treatment. You are not obliged to associate with him—everyone can choose his own friends, but to pretend that you are socially his superior is to proclaim your ignorance or your insincerity.

Mr. Chairman, it has ever been the habit of those who might be justly called "world-regenerating saints and vanity-inspired busybodies" to overlook the crimes and faults that lie near their own home and single out the faults and shortcomings of others.

It is but a manifestation of that Puritan spirit and prerogative which has so often been in evidence in our country, especially in New England, to regulate other people's affairs—the same inborn passion of intermeddling that has been characteristic of the Puritan from the day when England vomited him forth to the Continent and the Continent in turn spewed him to the shores of the New World.

If my friend the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLETT] had been familiar with the occurrences of his own State, he would have found in the Boston Herald the account of the case I called his attention to and which I now insert by permission of the House.

[From the Boston Herald, August 7, 1902.]

MOB TARRED AND FEATHERED BOSTON MAN AT MARION—JAMES McDONALD GIVEN RIDE ON A RAIL, THEN THRASHED—THE NATIVES DISLIKED HIS ATTENTIONS TO YOUNG GIRLS AND OTHERS.

NEW BEDFORD, August 6, 1902.

The town of Marion was thrown into a fever of excitement to-night over the tarring and feathering of James McDonald, who has lived in town for

several months as a member of the family of C. F. Potter. McDonald is said to belong in Boston, where he was a bartender.

The neighbors objected to McDonald's position in the Potter household, which was not according to their ideas of what should be, and it was also suspected by them that McDonald had been dispensing liquor in Marion. There is also indignation at the attentions which Potter, who is about 40 years of age, has shown to several young girls in the village.

Last Saturday night there was a disturbance at the Potter house so great that the neighbors could not sleep. The townspeople took matters into their own hands to-night, and went after McDonald.

They secured him and, carrying him into the woods back of the town, stripped him of his clothes and gave him a coat of tar and feathers. Then they rode him on a rail through the center of the town to the Mattapoisett line, where, after administering a severe thrashing to him, they turned him loose.

All the members of the tarring and feathering party were masked, and McDonald's eyes were covered with a bandage that he might not recognize any of his assailants.

Some of the summer residents who tried to join the party out of curiosity were driven away by the angry citizens.

The following is substantially the evidence given at the trial:

[From the Boston Herald, August 29, 1902, page 9.]

James McDonald testified:

Have lived in Wareham two weeks; before that, eight weeks in Boston. Kept the Scituate House eight years. Later kept a boarding house in Scituate. Left Scituate in September of last year. Then went to the Castle Square Garden in Boston. In February came to Collins, in Marion, in the liquor and lunch business. Got acquainted with Marion people there. Oh, yes. In May went to Potters and hired a room of Mrs. Collins, who owns the house. Have known Potter a little over a year.

Got home at 8.30 the 5th of August, in the evening. Wednesday, was around the house all day. Mr. Turner, of Scituate, was in the house, and Mrs. Potter and the little boy. Turner stayed in the kitchen talking, and Mrs. Potter was in the sitting room. There were lamps in both rooms. Men came into the house. The first one was Bumpus. Noble Bates and William H. Potter were with him. Know Bumpus; saw him at Collins's and at Hiller's stable. They knocked. Know Bates; saw him at Collins's eight or ten times and on Hiller's barge. Have known William H. Potter three or four months. He came to Collins's. Thought he was on pleasant terms with his brother and Mrs. Potter.

Gave them a chance to sit down, and introduced them to Turner, and they began a conversation about Tom Lawson's place at Scituate. They talked ten minutes. In about five minutes Bumpus asked if I had anything in the ice chest. I told him that I did not do that kind of business. Noticed Bates tried to catch Bumpus's eye. They got up and went off. They sat looking at one another. I had no suspicion then. Just as soon as they went out Mrs. Potter came out to the kitchen and talked to me and then went into the dining room. Turner was there.

A knock came to the door. I opened it. Then masked men rushed right in. I counted three men in line, and then the outside door fell down from its hinges. I stepped back quick as they came toward me. I grabbed a chair and they had a rocker. I saw it was no use and gave up. They were disguised in cloth, white and red. I recognized Noble Bates. They pulled me out of the kitchen door. They pushed and pulled me around. I struggled a little. There must have been a half dozen had hold of me.

They hollered and called me names. One said: "Kill the ———." They took me through the gate. There was quite a big crowd there, about twenty-five or thirty. They took me right across to the sandpit. They threw me down at the entrance of the gravel road, and there they stripped me. When they had got me down they blindfolded me. I did not struggle much; thought it was no use. After that they walked me around through the woods for four or five minutes. They threatened me all the time. When they threw me down they rolled me over and stripped my shirt off.

Then they got their tar and feathers and put that on my back. They had small lights; these appeared like candles on poles—a half dozen of them. They blindfolded me with a handkerchief. One man put his hand across my neck, and I said, "Don't choke me," and one said, "Kill the ———." I said, "You're a pack of cowards." They said, "Shut your mouth." They led me back to a road. The cloth of the handkerchief began to work down. Bumpus had me by the shoulders. I stubbed my toe, and the handkerchief fell a little below my eyes. I recognized Bumpus by his voice.

When they got beyond Ryder street and put me in a wagon they discovered that the handkerchief had slipped down. I saw Noble Bates turn the wagon around. It looked like a Concord open wagon. I recognized this McLeod boy. He was doing a good deal of talking, cursing and swearing at me. He was one of the busy ones. He would give me a daub once in a while with his hand. They put me in the tail of the wagon and tied my hands and feet. There was a man on either side of me. One man said, "Look out, the fellow sees you!" They put their fingers into my eyes and forced the bandage up.

One man was on each side of the wagon, holding my leg and arm. They went down to the electric railway crossing. I saw the lights, the bandage coming down again. They had put another handkerchief on my eyes down at the waiting room. Finally they told me to get out of the wagon. I said: "How can a man get out with his hands and feet tied?" Andrews said, "Get a rail," and they got out. Andrews was not masked. Several went down the lane and got a rail. They called me and told me to get on it. I said: "How can a man get straddle of a rail with his feet tied?"

Andrews and three or four others got hold of the rail and lifted me up. He said: "The ——— is heavy; take hold there!" Others took hold. They rode me around there for a little while, and put me in the wagon and took me off down the street. One was Silva; another was Chester Briggs. They took me down the electric road and bound my eyes again. There was a crowd down at the crossing. They took me to a stable. I did not know where it was. They got a horse out. Noble Bates had charge of the horse; he was the driver. The light was dim.

I was still in the cart. They put the horse in it, and then they drove down toward Mattapoisett line. My bandage was fixed again at the stable, and I did not recognize who was there. They said the car was coming, and Bates said the horse was afraid, and then they drove in another direction, one saying, "Hold the horse." I recognized Bates and McLeod as I turned around to see, and McLeod struck me. The big Portuguese struck me, and told me to shut up. They had another big wagon, and that was full of people; it was following me. Finally some one said, "Dump the ——— here." Bumpus said, "Let's hang him." He wanted me to get up off the rope that was in the wagon under me. I saw the outline of Gifford down at the station. I believed it to be Gifford.

Cross-examined:

I sold Mrs. Potter an organ, and told her I would take it out in board. I paid her some. I paid her \$5 board. I am married; have a wife and family living in Scituate; have not seen them since I left there two years ago. I know Bumpus had come in the house without knocking. I handled liquor

there. Bumpus said, "Hang the ————" when they put the rope around my neck. I kept my right hand upon the rope on my cheek when they pulled it up. They hoisted me up. I held onto the rope when they hoisted me. There was a mark on my neck from it. I showed it to the officers. I did not recognize who held the rope.

Mrs. Clara Potter testified:
Have known James McDonald about a year. On the evening of August 6 I was at home. I heard a noise, and the door came off the hinges. I looked out to see what was going on. They had McDonald in the corner; a lot of masked men. He said, "Get a revolver!" I turned back, but did not get the revolver. Masked men took me out half way from the house to the woods. I saw McDonald. They had him down, and some one holloed, "Take her away." They tore my clothes off of me. I had two aprons on. I took off the white one. They took my underclothing off after they tore my skirt off. Then they gave me a talking to. They slapped my face and put hands over my mouth. I thought one of them was Will Potter. One had a dark lantern. I did not know who it was. The one who held me said, "Where is your husband? Where are your children?" I said, "My children are at Mr. McAllister's." I said, "You stop this; I have done nothing that you should act so." One of them said to the man who held me, "I leave her in your care;" and he said, "Don't you ever say anything about this, or I will kill you; I will hang you." I said nothing about it until the next week.

The defendants were ordered held for the grand jury in \$1,000 each by Judge Washburn. Bail was furnished.

In the Boston Herald of August 7 there is, in glaring headlines, an account of this same outrage, and on August 22 and 29 are accounts of the trial of this case in the courts of Massachusetts. All of them appear in the Boston Herald with startling display headlines that could not fail to attract the attention of anyone who might glance at the paper. The district attorney, Asa French, said:

This affair has caused great indignation. Southern papers have jeered at the Commonwealth. The citizens are aggrieved that an outrage has been committed. The good name of the State is at stake.

That case was tried near Boston. Soon thereafter, Mr. Chairman, although the woman was dragged from her own home, her clothing torn from her, and every outrage perpetrated upon her except tar and feathering—the testimony all came out in the trial at the court—the citizens of Massachusetts on that jury, notwithstanding the positive testimony of the witnesses that the men arraigned were the perpetrators of the crime, acquitted them, and the citizens of Marion were so gratified at the verdict that they carried the acquitted defendants and violators of the law through the streets in triumph in a carriage drawn by the citizens themselves.

Mr. THAYER. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BARTLETT. Yes.

Mr. THAYER. I would like to ask the date of the occurrence of the offense that these parties are assumed to have committed. It must have been an isolated case to have occurred in Massachusetts.

Mr. BARTLETT. I will give the date. If the gentleman will look in the Boston Herald of August 7, 1902, on page 1, he will find an account of the occurrence given in that paper.

If he will look under the date of August 14, 1902, page 1, he will find where they were arrested. If he will look at August 15, 1902, page 7, he will find where they were brought before the court and bound over. Under the date of August 22, page 8, he will find that they were tried and acquitted, as I have stated. The names of the defendants were given, and they were bound over in the sum of \$1,000, and then they were tried and acquitted. The gentleman can amuse himself by going into the Library of Congress and getting the Boston Herald of those dates and reading it.

Mr. THAYER. I should not be amused; I should be mortified that a thing of that kind took place in the Old Bay State. But the gentleman has not stated what the party did that caused him to be treated in this way.

Mr. BARTLETT. The woman who kept a boarding house was dragged from her place, and this man was tarred and feathered because he was a boarder there. "The neighbors disliked his attention to young girls and others" is the headline in the Boston Herald.

I have here a clipping from the New York Herald, showing that it was published all over the country, and the district attorney on that trial says:

Southern papers have jeered at the Commonwealth. The citizens are aggrieved that an outrage has been committed. The good name of the State is at stake.

Mr. PAYNE. Were the perpetrators of the outrage punished?
Mr. BARTLETT. No; they were tried, and although the testimony of disinterested witnesses showed conclusively that they were the guilty parties, they were acquitted by the jury, and they were paraded through that village.

Mr. PAYNE. Does not the gentleman think it is a step in the right direction that they tried to convict them?

Mr. BARTLETT. I do. I stand here and say that, as far as I am concerned, so far as the people I represent are concerned, so far as the people of the South are concerned, they stand for the enforcement of law and order in all cases and at all times.

Mr. PAYNE. I am with the gentleman on that. I am in favor of the enforcement of law against the rioters in all cases.

Mr. BARTLETT. So am I. There are certain cases that rouse the people beyond all control, and they always have since the foundation of the world. When a man invades and outrages the sacredness of virtue and the sacredness of a man's home, his life is demanded to be yielded up in order to protect the home, the foundation of government.

That is so in New York or Massachusetts or everywhere else; and it ought to be so. No law, no criticism, no power of man has yet been available, nor will it be, to bind the passions of an indignant and outraged community when its women are made the victims of the lust of brutes.

This is true, as I could demonstrate by innumerable instances that have occurred in the recent past, accounts of which I hold in my hand, which would fill many pages, and they embrace nearly every State in the Union; but I will not inflict their publication on the House or the country.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to proceed for five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia asks unanimous consent to proceed for five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Chairman, as against the charge of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET] in reference to the crime of lynching in the South, I desire to put in the RECORD a statement from Mr. J. L. Cutler, a graduate of Yale, who has been making a study of this particular subject and who presents his views upon it. That statement proves that lynching has gradually decreased in the South, and that 35 per cent of whites and 16 per cent of blacks were lynched for crimes against women, and that, contrary to the general belief, the majority of the lynchings for that aggravated cause were not in the South.

The following is taken from an editorial of the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution:

SOME LYNCHING STATISTICS.

Mr. J. Elbert Cutler, a Yale graduate with a bent for sociology, has been making a study of the peculiar American lynching habit and is prepared to present some authoritative conclusions from the unprejudiced viewpoint of the statistician.

Mr. Cutler has long been laboriously compiling statistics covering a period of twenty years, brought down to January 1 last. He finds that there were 3,233 recorded lynchings in that time, less than half of which occurred in the Southern States. Of that large number of irregular executions, 1,872 were lynchings of negroes and 1,256 of whites. The fact that more victims were colored than white can not be taken to argue that race prejudice is at the bottom of southern lynchings, for the criminal class of the South is largely colored, and colored criminality is a considerable factor in the judicial administration of nearly every State of the Union.

Quite a per cent of negro lynchings occurred outside the Southern States, particularly in Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. In further refutation of the notion that black men are lynched because of their race, it is interesting, if shocking, to learn that 105 women were among the lynched, and nearly all of them in the West and North.

Mr. Cutler finds that lynchings in the South have greatly decreased within the past ten years; that 35 per cent of the whites and 16 per cent of the blacks were lynched for crimes against women, and that, contrary to the general belief, the majority of lynchings for that aggravating cause were not in the South, half being credited to that section and the remaining half elsewhere.

In contradiction of the assertions of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET], I will insert the speech of Bishop W. M. Brown, of Arkansas, a Republican, a northern man by birth, a graduate of Harvard, delivered in the city of Boston before an assembly of ministers. The extracts from the address of Bishop Brown were published in the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, whose editor I personally know, and for whose accuracy and reliability I can vouch. I incorporate the editorial which embraces the address:

A NORTHERN BISHOP IN THE SOUTH.

It has often been said, and with truth, that in the days of slavery northern men made harder taskmasters than southern. It has often been said, and with truth, that the northern men who settle in the South in these later times develop a stronger antagonism and show less patience toward the negroes than southern white men. Confirmation, if any be needed, may be found in an address delivered last Monday by Bishop William M. Brown, of Arkansas, in the diocesan house of the Episcopal Church at Boston, Mass.

Bishop Brown is a northern man and a Republican. He did not come South until 1898, and yet at the time and place mentioned he surprised his hearers by defending lynching as the only means of checking the nameless crime and delivered himself of one of the most sweeping denunciations of the negro race ever uttered in public or in private. "I am a northern man," he said, "and lost my father in the cause of freedom. I was never south of the Ohio River previous to 1898, when I went to Arkansas as bishop coadjutor. I am a Republican, have never voted the Democratic ticket and probably never shall. But I do not vote the Republican ticket in the South and for the present I shall not vote at all."

Why a northern bishop resident in the South should take such a position will be made sufficiently plain by the quotations which are to follow, taken from the report of the Boston Herald of February 16. Bishop Brown says, for example: "The negro can never be qualified as a race to take a helpful part in the affairs of our Government. The giving of the suffrage to the negro was a great wrong to the white people of the South, and even a greater wrong to the southern negro himself."

"It can be affirmed without fear of contradiction that nine out of ten northern men or women who have lived in one of the black belts of the South have had my experience. The tenth person, who thinks no mistake was made in extending the suffrage to the negro, has in the majority of cases a political axe to grind."

Bishop Brown's utterances throw no new light on the subject, but they are important on account of their source. For this reason we give more space

to extracts from his address than would otherwise appear to be desirable. He says:

"The Southern negro, though increasing in numbers so rapidly, is not improving morally and intellectually. On the contrary, he has unquestionably deteriorated in these respects since emancipation. The typical negro in the black belts of the South to-day is morally and intellectually inferior to the negro of antebellum days. * * *

"Knowing the fatal tendency of African blood to physical and mental degradation, the southern branch of our race has especially guarded against the induction of it into its veins.

"It is true that many mulatto children bear witness to the shameful mixture of Anglo-Saxon and African blood, but they are all born of negro women who have prostituted themselves to impure white men. The white women of the South are pure. They are high-minded, proud, spotless race of heroines. If they were not, the Anglo-Saxon people of America would rapidly degenerate into a low-grade mongrel breed, and that would be the end of civilization and the beginning of barbarism.

"It has been said that the negro is totally lacking in the three cardinal essentials of truthfulness, honesty, and social purity. It seems to me that some colored people with whom I come in contact have just as good morals as the average white man or woman. Nevertheless, I am bound to say that those who impress me thus favorably are comparatively few, indeed.

"Speaking generally, the temporal and moral condition of the southern negro is almost incredibly deplorable. I have slowly reached the conclusion that the negro race as a whole is almost hopelessly degraded. I am convinced that no one who has not been in the black belts of the South can have any real conception of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual state of this most unfortunate people. It is positively indescribable. There is no tongue eloquent enough to so picture it that northern people can have any conception of its terrible character. We talk of darkest Africa, but I solemnly say it is impossible for me to imagine anything darker than what might be well called 'darkest America.' * * *

"There can not be any question that the negro race as a whole is in respect to natural endowments very much inferior to the Caucasian race. It is said by authorities that there never was a full-blooded negro who was a statesman. Anthropologists claim that the negro race is at least ten thousand years old. And yet it has never advanced beyond the stage of barbarism when left to itself. If there is anything in the survival of the fittest, the negro as the unfittest will surely perish from the earth.

"One of the discouraging features about the negro in which he unconsciously manifests and acknowledges his inferiority is his lack of race pride. Little girls become the easy prey of impure white boys, and it's the height of a colored girl's ambition to become the mistress of a white man. It is a terrible fact that only a comparative few of the colored women escape from both the black and the white libertine; and if the women are impure, the men are tenfold more so. And white women are at the mercy of these black brutes."

Having thus led up to the subject of lynching, Bishop Brown went on to say: "The crime which is the principle occasion for lynching, the only occasion for its existence—lynching would pass away in three years if it were not for that crime—is one which, as a rule, can not be dealt with in the civil courts, because the outraged woman would not, in nine cases out of ten, willingly appear as a witness, and she ought not to be compelled to do so. * * * You should remember well three things: First, that what is known as the 'lynch law' is an inheritance from the infamous reconstruction period, for the existence of which we and our fathers were responsible.

"And during that inexpressibly horrible reign of anarchy and crime, lynching was unquestionably necessary to self-protection. In the second place, the feelings excited by the nameless crime are maddening to an almost uncontrollable degree; and, finally, here in the North, where you can not plead the necessity of self-protection in extenuation of your conduct, when one of your families suffers the unutterable horror which always attends the commission of the outrage in question, its fiendish perpetrator suffers the same fate as in the South."

If a southern man had said all this before a Boston audience, he would probably have been denounced as a barbarian; but, being a northern man and a bishop, the speaker was listened to respectfully, though with displeasure. The Boston Herald evidently printed a faithful report of the speech, but saw fit to do so under the following misleading headline: "Southern bishop upholds lynching."

We have only to add that, although there is truth behind every statement made by Bishop Brown, his assertions are too sweeping. There are many negroes who never openly offend against the civil law, and surely there must be at least some who are living altogether moral lives.

As I say, I propose to put these matters in the RECORD. I have not time to call attention to them further at this time.

But I do want to say that if the sentiment uttered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET] on the subject of social equality of the races, that the Caucasian is no better than the African, is to be taken as expressing the true opinion in his section of the country, then I am not surprised that the condition exists in the cities and towns of Massachusetts, which I will show to be verified by the lamentable statistics compiled by officers of Massachusetts who have charge of that particular matter and which are to be found in a publication entitled "Social and Industrial Condition of the Negro in Massachusetts," being a part of the thirty-fourth annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1903.

I read from that publication, page 263:

The number of marriages in the 37 cities and towns in 1900 was 436. Of these, 384, or 88.07 per cent, were negro grooms and brides, and 52, or 11.93 per cent, mixed races. Of the 52 mixed marriages, 43 were negro grooms and white brides, and 9 were white grooms and negro brides.

In 1901, the aggregate number of marriages was 477, of which 433, or 90.78 per cent, were of negroes, and 44, or 9.22 per cent, of mixed races. Of the latter, 1 was an Indian groom and negro bride, 1 an Italian groom and negro bride, 1 a negro groom and Indian bride, and 41 negro grooms and white brides.

In 1902 the aggregate number of marriages was 451, of which 408, or 90.47 per cent, were of negroes, and 43, or 9.53 per cent, of mixed races. Of the latter, 1 was a Chinese groom and negro bride, 6 were white grooms and negro brides, and 36 were negro grooms and white brides. The mixed marriages decreased 8 in 1901 and 9 in 1902, as compared with 1900, and decreased 1 in 1902, as compared with the previous year.

More than one-half of the marriages occurred in the cities of Boston and Cambridge, in which 48.41 per cent of negro population of the State resided, and the majority of the mixed marriages occurred in the same cities in each of the years.

Commenting on the above facts, the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph has this to say:

THE MASSACHUSETTS NEGRO.

Such southern negroes as are so misguidedly ambitious and abnormally out of harmony with nature's laws as to desire white wives should promptly emigrate to Massachusetts. That is the best field—the cities of Boston and Cambridge especially—for the negro with this object in view. The following information on this subject is taken from Part III of the Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics on Labor:

"The number of marriages in the thirty-seven cities and towns (the names of which are given in the report) in 1900 was 436. Of these 384, or 88.07 per cent, were negro grooms and brides, and 52, or 11.93 per cent, mixed races. Of the 52 mixed marriages 43 were negro grooms and white brides and 9 were white grooms and negro brides.

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It is learned from the same source that more than one-half of these unnatural marriages occurred in Boston and its suburb, Cambridge—the center of Massachusetts culture. Men are scarce in Massachusetts in comparison with women, but whether this was in any way concerned in these marriages can be only matter of conjecture. The explanation offered of an occasional marriage of this sort at other points in the North is that the white woman was of low social status, and poor, while the black man was well off.

But further statistics rather suggest that these "negro grooms" in Massachusetts are by no means rich. For although the educational opportunities are equal, the negroes of Massachusetts with rare exceptions are shown to be engaged in menial employments. Only 3.42 per cent of them own their own homes and half of these homes are encumbered. While the negro of Massachusetts forms only 1.14 per cent of the total population, he commits nearly 3 per cent of the crimes in the State. Of crimes against the person in 1900, 10.37 per cent were committed by negroes, and of crimes against property 8.5 were committed by negroes.

After all its boasting in the past, and its lecturing of other sections, Massachusetts should certainly make a better showing than this. The negro evidently occupies the same relatively subordinate position there as elsewhere. It would appear that only in the matter of miscegenation have the teachings of Massachusetts reformers of the past really borne any fruit.

Now, if these facts are true, as published by an officer of the State of Massachusetts, they prove that chickens are coming home to roost, and the "blue blood" of Massachusetts is in danger of being corrupted. Here we have this disgraceful and lamentable record of these mixed marriages of negro men with white women in the city of Boston. I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, that the majority of the people of Massachusetts entertain the sentiments of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GILLET] or that they will reach them.

The people of Massachusetts and the descendants of the Puritans have peopled this country, the South as well as any other portion, and while they may have peculiar notions as to some things, while they may be stern in their convictions, the people of Massachusetts at this time, at least I believe, have awakened to the fact that the white people of the South are entitled to work out this great problem that they have upon their shoulders in their own good way as God shall will it.

I want to say to them and to the country, in the short time that I have to reply, that the white people of the South will work it out in God's time and in their own way, with the help of our brethren of the North, if we can have it, and without it if we must work it out alone; and to those who undertake to carp at us, to denounce us, to intermeddle, and stir up race prejudice and change the laws of nature and Providence to foist upon us their notions of social equality, we have but this to say, Your criticisms, your opinions, your intermeddling, your futile efforts will be consigned to the calm indifference of our contempt. [Applause on Democratic side.]

Our social system or local self-government will be preserved by the white people of the South for themselves and their posterity in spite of all that can be said or done by busybodies or intermeddlers from New England or elsewhere.

The immutable laws of God can not be changed or be made to bend to serve the ideas or purposes of would-be philanthropists or pretended reformers of nature and nature's laws.

These immutable decrees of Providence that make the Caucasian—the Anglo-Saxon—the superior race; that forbid its deterioration, by submission to an inferior race, have stood the test through the moral and physical convulsions of more than twenty centuries, and will stand the test of the centuries yet to come, till—

The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, and all which it inhabits, shall dissolve.

[Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

All efforts to place the negro on the plane of social equality with

the whites has failed: it will continue to fail. All such efforts will be as futile as the efforts to change the color of his skin.

The poet Thomas Hood has aptly described the efforts of some of our English kin in this direction in the following verses, which I commend to those in this country who are engaged in a like futile task:

A BLACK JOB.

"No doubt the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated as to cheat."—*Hudibras*.

The history of human-kind to trace
Since Eve, the first of dupes, our doom unriddled,
A certain portion of the human race
Has certainly a taste for being diddled.
Witness the famous Mississippi dreams!
A rage that time seems only to redouble.
The banks, joint stocks, and all the flimsy schemes
For rolling in Pactolian streams,
That cost our modern rogues so little trouble;
No matter what—to pasture cows on stubble,

To twist sea sand into a solid rope,
To make French bricks and fancy bread of rubble,
Or light with gas the whole celestial cope—
Only propose to blow a bubble,
And, Lord! what hundreds will subscribe for soap!

Soap! It reminds me of a little tale,
Though not a pig's, the hawbuck's glory
When rustic games and merriment prevail—
But here's my story:
Once on a time—no matter when—
A knot of very charitable men
Set up a Philanthropical Society,
Professing on a certain plan
To benefit the race of man.

And in particular that dark variety,
Which some suppose inferior—as in vermin,
The sable is to ermine,
As smut to flour, as coal to alabaster,
As crows to swans, or soot to driven snow,
As blacking or as ink to "milk below,"
Or yet, a better simile to show,
As ragman's dolls to images in plaster!
However, as is usual in our city,
They had a sort of managing committee,
A board of grave, responsible directors,
A secretary, good at pen and ink;
A treasurer, of course, to keep the chink,
And quite an army of collectors!
Not merely male, but female duns,
Young, old, and middle-aged—of all degrees—
With many of those persevering ones,

Who mite by mite would beg a cheese!
And what might be their aim?
To rescue Afric's sable sons from fetters—
To save their bodies from the burning shame
Of branding with hot letters—
Their shoulders from the cowhide's bloody strokes,
Their necks from iron yokes?
To end or mitigate the ills of slavery,
The planter's avarice, the driver's knavery?
To school the heathen negroes and enlighten 'em,
To polish up and brighten 'em,
And make them worthy of eternal bliss?
Why, no—the simple end and aim was this—
Reading a well-known proverb much amiss—
To wash and whiten 'em!

They looked so ugly in their sable hides;
So dark, so dingy, like a grubby lot
Of sooty sweeps, or colliers, and besides,
However the poor elves,
Might wash themselves,
Nobody knew if they were clean or not—
On nature's fairness they were quite a blot!
Not to forget more serious complaints,
That even while they joined in pious hymn,
So black they were and grim,
In face and limb,
They looked like devils, though they sung like saints.—
The thing was undeniable!

They wanted washing! Not that slight ablution
To which the skin of the white man is liable,
Merely removing transient pollution—
But good, hard, honest, energetic rubbing
And scrubbing,
Sousing each sooty frame from heels to head
With stiff, strong saponaceous lather,
And pails of water—hottish rather,
But not so boiling as to turn 'em red!

So spoke the philanthropic man
Who laid and hatched and nursed the plan—
And, O! to view its glorious consummation!
The brooms and mops,
The tubs and slops,
The baths and brushes in full operation!
To see each Crow, or Jim, or John,
Go in a raven and come out a swan.

While fair as Cavendishes, Vanes, and Russels,
Black Venus rises from the soapy surge,
And all the little niggerlings emerge
As lily white as mussels.

Sweet was the vision; but, alas!
However in prospects bright and sunny,
To bring such visionary schemes to pass
One thing was requisite, and that was—money!

Money, that pays the laundress and her bills,
For socks, and collars, shirts, and frills,
Cravats, and kerchiefs—money, without which
The negroes must remain as dark as pitch:

A thing to make all Christians sad and shivery,
To think of millions of immortal souls
Dwelling in bodies black as coals,
And living—so to speak—in Satan's livery!
Money—the root of evil—gross and stuff!
But, O! how happy ought the rich to feel,
Whose means enabled them to give enough
To blanch an African from head to heel;
How blessed—yea, thrice blessed—to subscribe
Enough to scour a tribe!

While he whose fortune was at best a brittle one,
Although he gave but pence, how sweet to know
He helped to bleach a Hottentot's great toe,
Or little one!
Moved by this logic, or appalled,
To persons of a certain turn so proper,
The money came when called,
In silver, gold, and copper,
Presents from "friends to blacks," or foes to whites,
"Trifles," and "offerings," and "widow's mites,"
Plump legacies and yearly benefactions,
With other gifts

And charitable lifts,
Printed in lists and quarterly transactions,
As thus: Elisha Brettel,
An iron kettle;
The Dowager Lady Scannel,
A piece of flannel;
Rebecca Pope,
A bar of soap;
The Misses Howels,
Half a dozen towels;
The Master Rushs,
Two scrubbing brushes;
Mr. T. Groom,
A stable broom;
And Mrs. Grubb,
A tub.

Great were the sums collected,
And great results in consequence expected.
But somehow, in the teeth of all endeavor,
According to reports,
At yearly courts
The Blacks, confound them, were as black as ever.

In fact, in his perennial speech,
The chairman owned the niggers did not bleach,
As he had hoped,
From being washed and soaped,
A circumstance he named with grief and pity;
But still he had the happiness to say,
For self and the committee,
By persevering in the present way,
And scrubbing the blacks from day to day,
Although he could not promise perfect white,
From certain symptoms that had come to light,
He hoped in time to get them gray.

Lulled by this vague assurance,
The friends and patrons of the sable tribe
Continued to subscribe,
And waited, waited on with much endurance—
Many a frugal sister, thrifty daughter—
Many a stunted widow, pinching mother—
With income by the tax made somewhat shorter,
Still paid implicitly her crown per quarter.
Only to hear, as every year came round,
That Mr. Treasurer had spent her pound;
And as she loved her sable brother,
That Mr. Treasurer must have another!
But, spite of pounds or guineas,
Instead of giving any hint
Of turning to a neutral tint,
The plaguy negroes and their pickaninnies
Were still the color of the bird that caws—
Only some very aged souls,
Showing a little gray upon their polls,
Like daws!

However, nothing dashed
By such repeated failures, or abashed,
The court still met—the chairman and directors,
The secretary, good at pen and ink,
The worthy treasurer, who kept the chink,
And all the cash collectors,
With hundreds of that class, so kindly credulous,
Without whose help no charlatan alive
Or bubble company could hope to thrive,
Or busy chevalier, however sedulous—
Those good and easy innocents, in fact,
Who, willingly receiving chaff for corn,
As pointed out by Butler's fact,
Still find a secret pleasure in the act
Of being plucked and shorn!

However, in long hundreds there they were,
Thronging the hot, and close, and dusty court,
To hear more addresses from the Chair,
And regular report.
Alas! concluding in the usual strain,
That what with everlasting wear and tear,
The scrubbing brushes hadn't got a hair,
The brooms—mere stumps—would never serve again.

The soap was gone, the flannels all in shreds,
The towels worn to threads,
The tubs and pails, too shattered to be mended—
And what was added with a deal of pain,
But as accounts correctly would explain,
Though thirty thousand pounds had been expended—
The Blackamoors had still been washed in vain!

"In fact, the negroes were as black as ink,
Yet, still as the committee dared to think,
And hoped the proposition was not rash,
A rather free expenditure of cash."
But ere the prospect could be made more sunny,
Up jumped a little, lemon-colored man,
And with an eager stammer, thus began
In angry earnest, though it sounded funny:
"What? More subscriptions! No, no, no, not I;
You have had time, time, time enough to try;
They won't come white; then why, why, why, why, why,
More money?"

"Why," said the chairman, with an accent bland
And gentle waving of his dexter hand,
"Why must we have more dross and dirt and dust,
More filthy lucre, in a word, more gold?"
The why, sir, very easily is told,
Because humanity declares we must.
We've scrubbed the negroes till we've nearly killed 'em,
And finding that we can not wash them white,
But still their nigritude offends the sight,
We mean to gild 'em.

**The United States Should Make no Discrimination Against
Indians Attending Catholic or Other Religious Schools.**

SPEECH
OF

HON. HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 22, 1904,

On House resolution No. 318, regarding Indian affairs.

Mr. BOUTELL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to call the attention of the House to a great injustice that has been done the Indians by the Government during the last few years—an injustice that will be put an end to by one of the provisions of the Indian appropriation act for the coming year, which was signed by the President yesterday. I refer to the discrimination by the Government in the distribution of rations against Indians attending other than Government schools. The magnitude of this injustice becomes apparent when we think of the great assistance which the Government has had from the religious schools and the inestimable benefits which these schools have conferred upon the Indians.

For three centuries the Catholic Church has been the constant and consistent friend of the Indians through all their trials and adversities. For more than fifty years religious schools have been maintained among the western tribes by the Catholic Church and by various denominations of the Protestant Church. The beneficent influence of these schools upon the Indians was wonderful and universally recognized. One of the best illustrations of the civilizing and uplifting influence of religious schools upon the character of the Indians may be seen in the results accomplished by the Jesuit schools that have had charge, for fifty years, of the children of the Flathead Indians.

Many years ago the Government, recognizing the great good that was being accomplished by the religious schools, encouraged their growth and increase by appropriating funds for the education of Indian children in those schools by contract.

In 1897, however, Congress, very unwisely, as I think, provided, in the act of June 7, that it is "the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school." Since then all Government support has been withdrawn from these schools, and those of them that have not been abandoned now depend for their support upon charitable contributions entirely.

Under this provision of the act of June 7, 1897, the Secretary of the Interior has for three years withheld from Indian children attending religious schools or any other private schools the rations due them from the United States under treaty agreements. In purchasing lands from many of the Indian tribes the United States, in part consideration for the lands ceded, agreed to furnish each Indian in the tribe subsistence in the way of regular rations, to be delivered at stated intervals. These rations have been withheld from children attending any school except a Government school, on the ground that it would be a violation of the provision which I have read from the act of June 7, 1897, to give rations to children attending sectarian schools.

If this is a correct view, then the act of June 7, 1897, is a repeal of the provisions of the treaties providing for the unconditional distribution of rations. Such a wanton violation of solemn treaty stipulations was certainly not contemplated when that act was passed. Legislation, therefore, became necessary to change the ruling of the Secretary of the Interior.

On January 29, 1903, when the Indian appropriation bill was

under consideration in the Committee of the Whole, I offered the following amendment:

Provided further, That in the distribution of subsistence or other supplies no discrimination shall be made against or on account of children attending private schools.

Mr. STEPHENS, a Democratic Member from Texas and a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs, made a point of order against the amendment on the ground that it was legislation on an appropriation bill, and the point of order being sustained, the amendment could not even be considered.

On the first day of the first session of this Congress, November 9, 1903, I introduced a bill known as "H. R. 4," and entitled "A bill to prevent discrimination against members of Indian tribes attending religious or private schools," which I will read:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act, in carrying out the provisions of treaties, contracts, or laws relating to the Indian tribes or the members thereof by the authorities of the United States, no discrimination in the distribution of rations or supplies, or otherwise, shall be made against any individuals on account of their attending religious or other private schools, or against the parents, guardians, or custodians of children or others attending such religious or other private schools.

I have received many letters from those interested in the welfare of the Indians, representing all religious denominations, in favor of the passage of this bill. I would like to read them all to the House, but will invite your attention only to a few. Here is one from Cardinal Gibbons:

BALTIMORE, January 13, 1904.

Hon. H. S. BOUTELL.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very grateful for the humane and enlightened interest you are taking in the welfare of the Indians, and for the bill you propose to bring before Congress in their behalf, a copy of which you kindly inclosed. I trust your efforts will meet with merited success.

Faithfully, yours,

J. CARD. GIBBONS.

Let me read now a letter from Mr. Woodbury, secretary of the American Missionary Association, a society of the Congregational Church:

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION,
New York, February 10, 1904.

Hon. H. S. BOUTELL,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter to the American Missionary Association was forwarded to me in the South, inasmuch as I have charge of our Indian missions. I brought it to the attention of our executive committee at its first session yesterday afternoon.

I am authorized and instructed to say that the American Missionary Association, which has carried on extended school work among the Indians for a great many years, most heartily sympathizes with the enactment which you propose, and wishes to indorse it fully. Our Indian schools are not denominational, but they place appropriate emphasis on morals and religion, and it seems very hard, indeed, that the pupils from the families of Indians who have been trained and civilized by our missionaries should be discriminated against by Government officials. We have again and again found that this discrimination counteracts to a great extent our efforts to elevate the Indian and make him a good American citizen.

Very respectfully, yours,

F. P. WOODBURY,
Corresponding Secretary.

Here is one from Bishop Hare, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a lifelong friend of the Indians:

PHILADELPHIA, PA., January 27, 1904.

Hon. H. S. BOUTELL,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have to thank you for letting me see your bill to prevent discrimination against members of Indian tribes attending religious or private schools. This discrimination has been very real and, as I see things, a great wrong, especially as the mission schools have generally done the work of breaking the ground and making Government schools possible; and, moreover, the vast expense involved in putting up mission schools and conducting them was incurred largely because of the urgent call of the Government under the Presidency of General Grant. Discrimination against the pupils attending these schools practically dooms them in many cases.

Yours, very respectfully,

WILLIAM H. HARE, Bishop.

The last letter which I will read is from Bishop O'Gorman, of South Dakota:

SIoux FALLS, S. DAK., January 21, 1904.

Hon. H. S. BOUTELL.

DEAR SIR: The bill introduced by you to prevent discrimination against members of Indian tribes attending religious or private schools has my entire sympathy. I have considered always the contrary policy as detrimental to those schools which seek and accomplish good to the Indians no less than to the Government schools, and as violating our treaties with the tribes. I can assert that that policy has caused great displeasure to the 7,000 Catholic Indians in South Dakota, and has crippled the efficiency of our mission schools.

Very sincerely,

THOS. O'GORMAN, Bishop of Sioux Falls.

I have also received numerous resolutions and petitions from different organizations, among them one from the Chicago branch of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, of which John C. Cremer is the captain; also one from the Sherman Council of the Young Men's Institute, of Chicago, of which Thomas B. Lantry is president.

This bill was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and its provisions embodied in section 7 of the Indian appropriation bill, which was yesterday signed by the President. The section is as follows:

SEC. 7. That no part of the moneys herein appropriated for fulfilling treaty stipulations shall be available or expended unless expended without regard

to the attendance of any beneficiary at any school other than a Government school.

This limitation will put an end to the unjust discrimination which we have been considering in the expenditure of the appropriation for the next fiscal year. Before the expiration of that period I trust that this provision will become a part of the permanent law of the land. Congress certainly did not intend to make nonattendance at religious schools on the part of the Indians a condition precedent to the fulfillment by the Government of its treaty obligations that were agreed to unconditionally. Neither do I think that Congress intended any affront to the Christian church, that has done more than all other agencies combined to save the American Indian from barbarism and to guide him along the paths that lead to civilization and enlightened self-government.

But in view of the interpretation put upon the act of June 7, 1897, by the Secretary of the Interior the enactment of the provision contained in section 7 of the appropriation act must become a law, or else the Attorney-General must render an opinion that the act of June 7, 1897, does not warrant the Secretary of the Interior in making discrimination against children attending other than Government schools. The wrong which we have remedied for this year must be permanently healed.

Improvement of the Public Roads.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN W. MADDOX,

OF GEORGIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. MADDOX said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am a Democrat, and don't believe in collecting from the people one cent of tax more than is absolutely necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, honestly and economically administered, but the party in power has seen fit to levy a tax without any regard for the real necessities of public expenditures. This policy has gathered together in our Treasury an enormous surplus. This money is collected from the people, according to the amount of goods consumed by them, by a tariff levied upon such goods.

The man who consumes most pays most tax, and, with the exception of a poll tax, comes nearer being a per capita tax than any other system in vogue in State or National Government.

A surplus gathered together in the National Treasury has always been a menace to good legislation. If there were only some law to dispose of this surplus in an equitable and fair manner so that all of the people could get some benefit from the taxes levied upon them, a great problem would be solved. After mature deliberation I have introduced the following bill for the purpose of improving the post-roads of this country:

A bill (H. R. 11353) to distribute the surplus in the Treasury of the United States to the several States, Territories, and the District of Columbia for the sole purpose of improving the roads therein.

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury at the end of each fiscal year to take an account of all the funds in the Treasury of the United States, and after deducting from said sum the amounts required by law to be kept in said Treasury, the remainder, if any, shall be declared a surplus.

SEC. 2. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to immediately provide for the distribution of said surplus, not exceeding \$25,000,000 annually during the continuance of this law, on a per capita basis to the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, to be computed from the last general census taken by the national authorities, and shall prorate the same accordingly for the sole purpose of improving the postal roads in said States, Territories, and District of Columbia, under such rules and regulations as the States, Territories, and District of Columbia may provide, and said Secretary shall immediately notify the governors of said States and Territories and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia the amounts due each, and that the same will be paid over to such person or persons as may be duly authorized by said States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, to receive and receipt for the same.

SEC. 3. That should any State, Territory, or District divert said funds for any purpose other than the improvement of the postal roads that they shall not be allowed to participate in any further distribution of said funds until said State shall show to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury that a like amount so diverted has been expended from the treasury of said State, Territory, or District so diverting the same in a judicious manner upon the postal roads of said State, Territory, or District diverting the same.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of the governors of the several States and Territories and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to make a full and complete report to the Secretary of the Treasury on the 15th day of November each year what legislation, rules, and regulations have been adopted for the expenditure of said funds upon the postal roads, the manner in which the same has been spent, and the results accomplished. And it shall be the duty of said Secretary to submit said reports to Congress on the first day of each regular session.

As our national taxes are collected from all the people, so it necessarily follows that all the people are interested as to how this money should be spent. Mr. Speaker, this bill has been drawn with the view of bringing it within the purview of the Constitution. No man will deny the fact that if we have the right to send our mail over the various roads of the country, we also have the right to keep these roads in repair. The bills introduced by Mr. BROWNLOW and Senator LATIMER are of doubtful constitutionality; besides, they provide for the establishing of a national bureau in this city which will cost millions of money and divert a large part of the funds intended for improvement of roads. I believe the people in the different States and Territories can use the money paid over to them by the Government to better advantage than the Government itself can do it.

A plan marked out for Maine in all probability would not suit Texas. I provide in this bill that the surplus is to be distributed to the States and Territories according to population. This is fair and just, and it will go to aid our farmers who live in the country, who contribute so largely to the support of the Government. If we had spent the millions on the public roads that we have thrown away on the Philippines, we would have the best roads on earth.

The farmers have uncomplainingly borne the burden of taxation, and we ought to do something for them.

It is true that we are giving them rural mail delivery, but they are entitled to good roads, and I believe the surplus in the Treasury should be devoted to this purpose. We have from time to time legislated in the interest of everybody except the farmer. Now is our opportunity. Let us help them. When it is once known throughout the country that the surplus in the Treasury will be devoted to improving the post-roads all over the Union, every Member of Congress will be held to a strict accountability for every cent appropriated. Every citizen will know that every dollar that can be saved will go to improve the roads, and the reckless and criminal expenditure of money gathered from the people will cease.

In some, I might say in many, of the districts the popularity of a Representative depends upon how successful he may be in looting the Treasury for the special benefit of his district. There is not a dollar in the Treasury that is not placed there by taxing the people, and if there remains a surplus in the Treasury after paying the expenses of the Government it ought in all fairness to be distributed to the people from whom it was collected equally and fairly, and I know of no better use or fairer manner of disposing of the surplus gathered together by Republican taxation than giving it to the States and Territories for the purpose of improving the post-roads throughout the country.

It is unnecessary for me to call the attention of this Congress or the country to the great benefit to be derived from the improvement of our post-roads. As I said in the beginning, I do not believe in collecting tax by the National Government from the people for any purpose except to pay the expenses of the National Government honestly and economically administered.

But the policy of the Republican party is to levy a tax without regard to the amount of money that it may wring from the pockets of the people. This sometimes results in accumulating a large surplus in the Treasury.

Then, if we had a permanent statute like the bill I present, which provides for the redistribution of this fund for road purposes, it would save the country of much vicious and unfair legislation, and could be devoted to no better use.

Shipping Between Ports of the United States and Ports in the Philippine Islands.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN H. SMALL,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, April 7, 1904.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 2250) to regulate shipping in trade between ports of the United States and ports or places in the Philippine Archipelago, between ports or places in the Philippine Archipelago, and for other purposes—

Mr. SMALL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The gentleman from Maine [Mr. LITTLEFIELD], in referring to the purpose of this bill, very candidly admitted that its object was to favor the interests of the American merchant marine. I think it will be apparent, especially to those who have made a study of this subject, that no benefit will come

to any other interest, or to the people of the United States or the Philippine Archipelago, but only to the owners of our vessels.

Speaking for myself, and I believe for the minority membership of this House, we recognize the decadence of our merchant marine, and we would be glad, along with the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. BIRDSALL], to participate in some legislation which could be sustained upon principle, sustained by the traditions of our party, that would tend to its restoration and to build it up again, so that our flag might go into every sea.

If we have to favor our merchant marine by such a sacrifice and cost as is involved in this bill, I believe gentlemen upon both sides of the House, upon mature consideration, will decide that the cost is too great.

Some of the evils of this bill, on which I desire to address the House, are, first, that it will violate the open-door policy which was the announced purpose of our Secretary of State in connection with the ratification of the Spanish treaty to maintain the trade in those islands.

If I had time I could read quotations from communications of Secretary Hay to the British minister, in which it was laid down as a distinct proposition that certainly until the 1st of January, 1909, the same benefits which the United States enjoyed in its trade in the Philippine Islands should be enjoyed by all other countries.

Now, the first effect of this bill will be to increase the freight rates, and upon this proposition I think it can be demonstrated, in spite of the subtle argument presented by the gentleman from Maine, that the result will be very materially to increase the rates of freight and thereby increase the price to the consumers of binding twine and other products of raw hemp which are imported from the Philippine Islands.

Another result of this legislation will be the incalculable injury which will come to the trade and the commerce and the development of the Philippine Islands. If the Philippine Islands are ours, which is admitted, and if it is our purpose, as so many gentlemen upon the other side of the House have proclaimed at various times, to do all acts and to enact all legislation which shall result in the development of the commerce and the manufacturing interests, the agricultural interests, and the education of the people of those islands, then, I take it, this House will go slow before it deliberately engages in any legislation which would destroy that commerce, arrest their development, and treat them absolutely as aliens not entitled to the protection and the support of our Government.

Now, first I desire to discuss the question as to whether it will seriously increase the freight rates. If this legislation is adopted, then after the 1st of July, 1905, all the oceanic trade between the mainland of the United States and the Philippine Islands must necessarily be carried in American bottoms. In addition, every passenger who goes between the United States and the Philippine Islands must go in an American vessel, at a penalty of \$200.

Now, as to the increase in freight rates, it was in evidence before our committee when this bill was under consideration that at the very lowest the freight rates would be increased \$3 per ton; and when this vessel owner was asked the question, "Would you be willing, on behalf of your company, to enter upon a contract to carry freight at a rate not exceeding this amount?" he very frankly declared that he would not do so.

When brought to a corner by some question submitted to him, he said he wished it distinctly understood that they were not in this business and they did not desire this legislation for their health, but for a profit.

In the last Congress, when a bill was pending here for transporting American supplies on American vessels, providing the increase did not amount to more than 10 per cent, this House defeated that bill because they were not willing to pay any additional amount for American supplies.

Will it increase the freight rates? Let me give to you what Secretary Root wrote upon this question in answer to a communication which was submitted to him recently. He replied in a letter to Senator FRYE, dated January 14, 1904, giving his opinion as to the bill for the transportation of American supplies in American vessels, from which I will quote this paragraph:

Your committee will observe, by examining the Quartermaster-General's report of January 13, that the average cost of transporting all classes of freight from New York to Manila during the calendar year 1903 has been \$11.91 per ton of 2,000 pounds, while the average cost of transporting all classes of freight by rail from New York to San Francisco has been \$28.70 per ton of 2,000 pounds; that is to say, it now costs two and one-half times as much to get freight from New York to the Pacific coast as it now costs to get it from New York to Manila. Under these circumstances, if we were confined absolutely to American bottoms for this business we would have no way of escaping from the payment of at least three times as much as we now pay for this class of transportation.

That is the opinion of the Secretary of War after a careful examination. Gentlemen may say that the Government is charged at higher rates than individuals or private corporations, and while there may be something in that contention, still it can not explain

the proposition advanced by the Secretary of War that it would increase freight rates three times over the present rates.

I would also like to quote from the present Commissioner of Navigation, Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain is an ardent friend of the merchant marine. He has gone as far as any gentleman in advocating propositions for the building up of our merchant marine, yet, in his last report for 1903, here is what he says:

Section 3 of the act of March 8, 1902, can not go into effect automatically on July 1, 1904, without almost destroying interisland trade and disturbing the trade between the United States and the archipelago. There are practically no "vessels of the United States," in the statutory sense, in the Philippines.

Now this bill does not extend to interisland trade, but exempts that. Listen again to what Mr. Chamberlain says:

The trade between the United States and the Philippines is now conducted almost entirely in foreign bottoms. * * * American vessels in 1903 thus carried only about 3 per cent of the merchandise transported in trade between the Philippines and the United States. To confine this trade entirely to American vessels after the 1st of next July will involve a complete reversal of existing carrying conditions. This reversal will disturb trade relations unless American tonnage can be adjusted promptly to this new line of trade.

Again, on page 45, he says:

Considerations of treaty obligations, of our general trade policy in the East, and our peculiar relations to the people of the Philippines raise this question considerably above the plane of an ordinary application of the coasting-trade law, such as was promptly and properly made in the case of Hawaii and Porto Rico.

These quotations are from two eminent gentlemen connected with the present Administration, and it can not be consistently claimed by gentlemen on the other side that they are inimical in the least degree to the upbuilding of our merchant marine. However, if anyone was capable of speaking intelligently upon this question it would seem to be the Philippine Commission, and in the report written by the eminent gentleman who was so long at the head of that commission, and who now fills the chair of Secretary of War.

In the report of the Philippine Commission, which has been to some extent quoted by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, I find this language:

So far as indications go, any law which prevented the continuance of that trade in foreign bottoms until an equal tonnage of cheaply operated American freighters are actually available to take up that trade and maintain healthy rate competition would result in a decided increase over the present rates of freight. This additional burden would fall on the already weakened resources of these islands, and such a result would be more than lamentable from every standpoint. The tonnage plying between these islands and the Pacific coast is about equal to the present freight supply, and no change in the present law seems desirable as far as trans-Pacific routes are concerned.

It is therefore earnestly recommended that the present laws, so far as they permit foreign bottoms to trade between these islands and the mainland territory of the United States, be not changed for a period of at least five years from July 1, 1904, and that positive legislation to that effect be had by Congress at an early date.

And I could read further from him. Here you have the opinion of Mr. Taft, but the distinguished gentleman from Maine says that he has changed his opinion. Let us see:

In the hearings before the Committee on Merchant Marine, when Mr. Taft was present, he was asked the question as to his attitude upon this bill. He stated that after a conference with the Senate committee and, I believe, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Senator LODGE, he had reluctantly agreed that if the date for this law going into effect could not be extended to a further time, as July 1, 1905, that he would yield to it, but in the same hearing he persisted in the statement that 1909 was the least time which should be given the Philippine Islands and our merchant marine to prepare for the application of our coastwise laws.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Will the gentleman permit me, Mr. Speaker?

Mr. SMALL. Certainly.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Where did the gentleman find that testimony in the hearing? I do not say it is not there, but I desire to know where it is.

Mr. SMALL. I will find it in one moment. I asked him this question—

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. What page?

Mr. SMALL. On page 101 of the hearings—

Then in your opinion the extension of the coastwise laws should be delayed until 1909, and in the meantime Congress could pass legislation reducing the tariff down to 10 per cent or removing the tariff.

Governor TAFT. I want to avoid this act going into effect until we have a chance at the tariff. I talked with Senator LODGE about it, whose bill this is, I think. I tried to get all I could, and said to him: "Give us until 1905, and give us an opportunity to make an appeal on the subject of the tariff, and we will try to be satisfied."

I do not want to be regarded as breaking any agreement that I may have had with him as to my attitude in the matter, if that has any importance at all, but what I am very anxious to do is to present to Congress—to both Houses—the fairness of a give and take proposition; that if you are going to apply the protection theory to us, that you give us the benefit of the protection theory. I am aware that gentlemen think that we will never get a reduction of tariff through Congress. I do not know whether it will or not, but I believe in the fairness of Congress and the American people, and we are going to keep agitating it from our Philippine standpoint as long as we can.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Let me call the gentleman's attention to the fact that he put 1909 into his question and the Secretary declined to answer to 1909, but answered as to 1905. That is an entirely different matter from his having answered as to 1909.

Mr. SMALL. I said that Secretary Taft reluctantly yielded to 1905. He says nowhere that he had abandoned his position which was contained in the report of the Philippine Commission, in which he stated distinctly that these coastwise laws should not apply until 1909, and the gentleman from Maine can not find anywhere where he has taken a different position.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. The gentleman from North Carolina can not find any statement in the hearings where Secretary Taft said he had not abandoned the position, either. If he can not find it now, he can take time to find it and put it in the RECORD.

Mr. SMALL. If it is conceded that the Philippine Commission and Secretary Taft, as president of that commission, advocated an extension until July 1, 1909, before the coastwise laws should apply, then I submit that it is incumbent on the gentleman to show where Secretary Taft has ever taken a different position, and if he can not do so, then to candidly admit his error. [Applause.]

Mr. NORRIS. Will the gentleman from North Carolina yield for an interruption?

Mr. SMALL. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. I would like to ask the gentleman his opinion if our coastwise laws will go into effect in the Philippine Islands in 1904 if we do not pass this act or some other legislation looking to that end?

Mr. SMALL. In my judgment, they will not. I agree in that position with the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LUCKING], and, as I understood, with the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. NORRIS. I would like to ask the gentleman, because he is on the committee, what the opinions or contentions are in the Department? What is Secretary Taft's opinion on that proposition?

Mr. LUCKING. He answered me that he had never looked up the question of law.

Mr. SMALL. The Secretary said that he had made no examination of it. To be entirely candid, I understand that there is a diversity of opinion in the different Departments, the Army and the Navy, in regard to it.

Mr. NORRIS. Has it been submitted to them?

Mr. SMALL. I do understand, however, that the Attorney-General has recently rendered an opinion that the coastwise laws do not apply automatically to the Island of Guam.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Has the gentleman got such an opinion?

Mr. SMALL. I have not.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I do not think he ever rendered such an opinion.

Mr. LUCKING. I have it right here. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. This question did arise—

Mr. SMALL. Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has three minutes.

Mr. SMALL. Now, in the face of this evidence; in the face of the opinion of the Secretary of War, of the Commissioner of Navigation; in the face of the deliberate opinion of Secretary Taft as chairman of the Philippine Commission, which he has never recanted; in spite of all the influences which were brought to bear upon him since he came into our country, I say in the face of these opinions of these gentlemen who should know, how can one say that our freight rates will not be substantially increased?

If such a result will follow, then it follows that the cost of the manufacture of the article of binding twine, for instance, which is so largely used in the State of Minnesota and other great grain-growing States of the West, will be increased, and how can gentlemen consistently vote for a measure of this kind which would have such disastrous results? I have here the opinion of the Attorney-General.

Mr. GROSVENOR. What does it relate to? Notwithstanding the laughter on the other side, I make the assertion that he has rendered no opinion in relation to the Philippine Islands.

Mr. SMALL. I did not say that it related to the Philippine Islands.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I so understood the gentleman.

Mr. SMALL. I said that it related to the coastwise laws, and to the effect that they did not apply automatically to the island of Guam.

Mr. GROSVENOR. I did not so understand the gentleman. The difference is that in one case we have a treaty with Spain which undertakes to legislate upon commerce and traffic, and with Guam we have nothing.

Mr. LUCKING. It was under the same treaty.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Oh, no.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD. Will not the gentleman concede this, that the Attorney-General in that opinion bases his conclusion almost

wholly upon the fact that there has nothing whatever been done in relation to Guam either by legislation or administration, and that it stands in that sense entirely independent and alone? He does not undertake to distinguish it absolutely. Is not that the fact?

Mr. SMALL. Oh, I can not yield further for a discussion of this matter, because there is another phase that I wish to present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Anticanteen Legislation and the Army.

SPEECH

OF

HON. C. E. LITTLEFIELD,

OF MAINE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 25, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 13356) providing for the election of a Delegate from the Territory of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States, and defining the qualifications of electors in said Territory.

Mr. LITTLEFIELD said:

Mr. SPEAKER: In accordance with the leave given, I herewith place in the RECORD a reprint of an article on anticanteen legislation which appeared in the North American Review of April and May, 1904, written by me.

On the 2d day of February, 1901, the following provision of the statute became the law of the land:

Sec. 38. The sale of or dealing in beer, wine, or any intoxicating liquor by any person in any post exchange or canteen or army transport, or upon any premises used for military purposes by the United States, is hereby prohibited. The Secretary of War is hereby directed to carry the provision of this section into full force and effect.

This is what has come to be popularly, though inaccurately, known as the "anticanteen law." It is obviously not aimed against the canteen, but against the sale of prohibited beverages in the canteen or post exchange, and it can not in any proper sense be called the "anticanteen law."

It was drawn and introduced by me as an amendment, in the House, on December 6, 1900. In advocating its adoption I said, among other things:

Briefly, as to the propriety of the amendment, I am fully aware that there is great difference of opinion, and an honest difference of opinion, as to the wisdom and propriety of this amendment.

I think this assertion still holds good, notwithstanding the somewhat virulent and offensive tone adopted in discussing its merits by those opposed to the legislation.

Major Seaman says it is "unrighteous to give the army post exchange the name of 'canteen,'" and he thinks it would not have been abolished if it had not been so called; but, during a long article he commits the same "unrighteous" offense by referring repeatedly to the canteen as having been "abolished." On account of this general misapprehension and for the sake of clearness and convenience the term "canteen" will be used in this article as meaning that part of the post exchange where beer is sold, and the term "anticanteen" as meaning the post exchange where no beer is sold. This legislation will stand, I have no doubt, until a full opportunity shall have been given, under proper conditions, by practical operation, to demonstrate its wisdom or unwisdom.

Everyone of whom I have any knowledge, no matter what his preconceived theories may be upon the general question of the use and abuse of liquor as a beverage, is not only entirely willing, but expects, that it shall stand or fall by this test. A vigorous effort is being made to satisfy the public that this test has been made and that the legislation has proved a failure. A candid examination of the facts will show that this effort must meet with failure.

Among the most pretentious contributions to this discussion are articles by Maj. Louis Livingston Seaman and Col. William Conant Church in the numbers for January and December, 1903, respectively, of the North American Review. These articles derive, perhaps, an especial significance from the fact that the writers, by reason of their official character and profession, assume to have special and peculiar knowledge of the subject and therefore the right to speak with authority.

In addition to this, they have another advantage over the mere civilian. Article 86 of section 1342 of the Revised Statutes of the United States provides that "any officer who is convicted of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman shall be dismissed from the service." That is, they are required by law not necessarily to be gentlemen (as to which there may be a very profound

distinction), but to "conduct" themselves as gentlemen. I believe that these officers are the only persons, in or out of the Government service, who are the objects of this degree of statutory solicitude. When they engage in polemical discourse, it would obviously be characterized on their part, under the law, by treating their adversaries with a degree of politeness, courtesy, and elevation of tone exceeding that of the civilian controversialist. How well they sustain the part appears by a few characteristic references to the persons who are unfortunate enough to believe in this legislation and therefore lie under the ban of their displeasure.

Colonel Church makes these pleasant references to them:

A small but most persistent and vociferous body of theorists who have no concern with the Army nor interest in it beyond making it the victim of their hobbies. * * * A mistaken sentiment which, having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the studious ignoring of facts. * * *

And it should be conclusive with all, except those determined not to be convinced, though one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth.

Now that they have accomplished their purpose, they appear to have wrapped about them the cloak of self-righteous content and left the Army to care for itself, bound hand and foot by the restrictions they have placed upon it.

Glowing with the ardor of self-appreciative virtue.

Those who were about as familiar with soldiers and the life of the Army as they were with the habits of the dodo.

Major Seaman quotes with evident approval, in referring to the opponents of the canteen, this cheerful and pleasing observation:

We alone are virtuous. We are the advocates of reform. We are the great hypocritical hippodrome—none like us.

The tone of their articles must obviously be attributed to enthusiasm and zeal, and not to ill temper, much less ill breeding. It may be that the analysis that I will make of their articles will give rise to the suspicion that they have perhaps mistaken these assertions for argument and demonstration.

What purpose does the canteen seek to accomplish, and how does it propose to effect it from the standpoint of its advocates? Its purposes are twofold:

First, it furnished, it is claimed, a counter attraction to the saloon that is maintained near the post, where all kinds of liquor are sold, and, by satisfying by the milder and so-called "less harmful" drinks of beer and light wines the craving for vicious stimulants, becomes the lesser of two evils, as "its advocates frankly admit that the total abolition of intoxicants in the Army is a desideratum devoutly to be wished;" its second purpose is explained in the following quotations:^a

Its primary purpose was to furnish to the troops, at reasonable price, such articles, the articles of ordinary wear, and consumption, not supplied by the Government, and to afford them means of rational recreation and amusement suitable to their station in life, which, if denied, they would seek outside the limits of the camp. (Seaman.)

The post exchange or canteen is an enlisted man's club, supported by the profits on the articles purchased at wholesale for sale to its members at retail; and its prosperity depends, as does that of all similar organizations, upon its being made acceptable to those for whom it is intended, so that they will patronize it liberally instead of going abroad for their purchases. So far as its resources permit, it is provided with newspapers and periodicals, with games and various forms of amusement and entertainment, and made so attractive that men of the garrison will have the least possible temptation to seek for recreation and good fellowship in quarters where they are subject to influences that tend to demoralize and degrade them, and to make them forgetful of the duty they owe as soldiers. (Church.)

Every enlisted man in the garrison is a stockholder in it, and from it, when it is a success, he obtains the benefits which promote cheerful endurance of hardship, make him more content with his lot, and thus a better soldier and a better citizen. At the post exchange the soldier can buy at a minimum cost articles of luxury not included in the Government ration, liberal as it is, for it is impossible so to adapt the ration in all respects to individual tastes that it shall not become monotonous. (Church.)

A place, then, of amusement, recreation, and entertainment, where articles necessary to the comfort and convenience of the soldier can be purchased, is the dominant, salient, and "primary purpose" of the post exchange. The sale of beer and light wines is the incident only, the lesser evil, to be eliminated if possible. This "incident," however, is the chief among the "resources" of the canteen, as appears from the following official advice:

APRIL 27, 1903.

Hon. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD, M. C.,
Rockland, Me.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d instant to the Secretary of War, in which you ask to be advised as to whether after the passage of the act prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines at post exchanges (there were never any "intoxicating liquors" sold in these establishments), the post exchange was discontinued as a cooperative store and as a place of amusement and entertainment, or whether the only change that was made in the post-exchange system by the enactment of the law was simply the elimination of the sale of beer and wines therefrom, and with that exception the exchange was continued as before in every other respect as a place for amusement and entertainment, general store, etc. You add that you have received an impression that, without the aid of the profits received from the sale of beer and wines, it is thought difficult and perhaps impracticable to operate the exchange for any other purpose.

Replying thereto, permit me to say that the exact status of all post exchanges in the Army from latest reports is to be found in House Document No. 232, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session, which contains official re-

^a Wherever italics appear in quotations, they are the work of the writer of this article.

ports from every post in the Army. From these reports it will be seen that, of the several hundred post exchanges in the United States and the Philippines at the time of the passage of the act, February 2, 1901, but very few remain, and that in the majority of cases it has been found difficult and impracticable to operate the post exchange without the profits received from the sale of beer and light wines.

Very respectfully,

HENRY P. MCCAIN,
Acting Adjutant-General.

This, I have no doubt, fairly states the importance of the profits ensuing from the sale of beer and light wines as the main "resource" of the canteen, and it appears that without this "resource" it is practically impossible to maintain the primary features of the canteen, such as recreation, amusement, and entertainment.

It follows, then, that where there is no drinking of beer there is no recreation, amusement, or entertainment, and the more drinking of beer the more recreation, amusement, and entertainment, and the more variety for the mess.

Under the régime heretofore existing, as "every enlisted man is a stockholder in it" and participates equally in the advantages resulting therefrom, the men are naturally expected to contribute their share at least to the producing cause. Emerson truly said: "That is the one base thing in the universe, to receive benefits and render none." The total abstainer, while participating in the benefits derived from these profits, as he necessarily must, would be reaping where he had not sown, and this itself would furnish a powerful and insidious incentive to universal beer drinking by the soldiers. In fact, the total abstainer was not infrequently taunted with his failure thus to contribute.

It will be seen that all of the considerations involved in this scheme—appetite, financial needs, pleasure, etc.—tend inevitably to the universal and increasing consumption of beer and light wines.

The inquiry at once arises, Why can not the "primary purpose" of the canteen be accomplished by supplying the funds necessary therefor from sources other than the deprecated profits from the sale of beer, and thus eliminate the lesser evil?

The possibility of such an alternative does not appear to have occurred to either Major Seaman or Colonel Church, surcharged as they are with information on this question. "Colonel Church does say:

If we could have at or near each army post such a building as that located near the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, which owes its existence chiefly to the generosity of a single individual, Miss Helen Gould, it might lessen the demand for the canteen.

Yet it is a fact that at the time when the Colonel, who is disturbed "by the studious ignoring of facts" by anticanteen advocates, wrote his article \$1,000,000 (\$500,000 available for the fiscal year 1902-3 and \$500,000 for the fiscal year 1903-4) had been appropriated for that express purpose, under a clause reading as follows:

Post exchanges.—For the construction, equipment, and maintenance of suitable buildings at military posts and stations for the conduct of the post exchange, school, library, reading, lunch, and amusement rooms, and gymnasium, to be expended in the discretion and under the direction of the Secretary of War.

The first appropriation of \$500,000 was made June 30, 1902. While the effect of these appropriations upon the situation is not yet apparent, for reasons that hereafter appear, they provide for buildings precisely like that mentioned, not "at or near" but in the army posts, and it is conceded that they "might lessen the demand for the canteen."

The American Public Health Association in September, 1901, by resolution invited "the intelligent cooperation of a very large element of good citizens * * * in taking successive steps toward the betterment of existing conditions, and thus assist in controlling and largely curtailing an evil which it is powerless at present to prevent."

And its committee urged that—

The sale of soft drinks, warm lunches, coffee, tea, cocoa, bouillon, and soups should be encouraged as substitutes for alcoholic beverages.

This has the approval of Colonel Church, and is precisely what this appropriation is intended to accomplish. The distinguished major and colonel are making their appeal to the public, and the public are entitled to know all the facts involved, and especially a factor so important that it "might lessen the demand for the canteen."

They either knew or they didn't know of these appropriations (only one had been made when Major Seaman's article appeared). If they knew, they simply suppressed an essential fact. If they didn't know, they simply demonstrate their deplorable ignorance of a subject as to which they assume to speak with ultimate authority, as these facts were obvious to the most cursory examination, so that "he that runs may read." That the anticanteen legislation, in the absence of the assistance to be derived from these appropriations, is not expected to reach anything approximating the maximum of success hoped for and expected is too obvious for discussion.

These appropriations will take the place of the profits from the sale of beer, and it is the expectation that they will accomplish

that purpose and contribute to the "desideratum devoutly to be wished, * * * the total abolition of intoxicants in the Army." This is the laudable purpose that has led the distinguished chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the House, the Hon. J. A. T. HULL, of Iowa, to work earnestly and successfully for these appropriations that are indispensable if the measure is to prove a success.

It is only proper to add that Senator PROCTOR, the acting chairman of the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate, has been an earnest advocate of these appropriations, and the membership of both committees, both of the majority and minority parties, laudably sustained their efforts.

These are the first appropriations of the kind that have ever been made. They were introduced in the Senate and successfully urged by Senator HANSBROUGH, a loyal and effective supporter of this policy. It necessarily follows that, until they shall have been generally utilized throughout the Army, as generally, at least, as was the canteen, we can have no condition or period with which the canteen period can be compared with any propriety or intelligence.

In addition to this appropriation, another should be made for a company fund, in order to insure the most complete success. The company fund enables the men to vary the monotony of the mess, and contributes greatly to their comfort. Prior to 1880 there was no post exchange with or without the sale of beer. Up to 1889, it was operated in comparatively few instances. Then the canteen became general, and continued until February 2, 1901; so that the canteen period is from 1889 to 1900, inclusive.

Prior and subsequent thereto we have no period—by reason of the lack of the place of recreation, amusement, entertainment and lunch room, and a company fund to relieve the monotony of the mess—with which a statistical comparison of the canteen period will be of any value for the purpose of demonstrating the wisdom of the anticanteen legislation. While this is true, it is to be observed that the facts, fairly analyzed, hardly justify the sweeping generalizations which have been made by the canteen advocates. The theory is that the establishment of the canteen drives the contiguous saloons out of business, and, conversely, that its discontinuance at once increases the number. This is the only theory that can justify the canteen. For instance, Major Seaman says regarding Washington Barracks, in Washington:

Before the introduction of the canteen, Four-and-a-half street, for two or three squares from the point at which it entered the post, was lined with small saloons in which liquor was dispensed to the soldiers. Almost immediately after the starting of the canteen at the barracks, the effect was seen upon these establishments, and before the second month more than half of the liquor saloons had closed up and their proprietors had moved away.

The canteen was established at these barracks in 1889. The facts, as given me by Maj. Richard Sylvester, superintendent of the police department of the District of Columbia, are that there were only three saloons on Four-and-a-half street within three "squares from the point at which it entered the post" in 1889, and while two of them went out of existence shortly after the establishment of the canteen, in 1890 four wholesale liquor stores, where the law authorized the sale of liquor in quantities of not less than a pint, were established, two continuing one year and two three years, and that on the 2d of February, 1901, when the canteen was abolished, there were in this same location, three "squares from the point where it entered the post," four saloons—one more than when the canteen was established—and the number has not increased up to date. The facts show that the theory failed to materialize. Of Fort Myer, Major Seaman says:

Before the introduction of the canteen there were between ten and twenty low groggeries, between the terminus of the street railway and the entrance to Arlington, largely depending upon the patronage of the troops. * * * And that after ten years of the canteen at the post only two of these were left.

On the contrary, in that locality, instead of "between ten and twenty low groggeries," the commissioner of revenue of Alexandria County, Va., Mr. H. L. Holmes, informs me from his own actual knowledge that there were from three to four saloons open from 1880 to 1891, and instead of "only two of these being left" the records show that in 1900, the end of the canteen period, there were five in healthy working order. If all of the Major's assertions of facts are equally open to criticism, it may not be entirely safe to rely without any hesitation upon his conclusions.

Major Seaman asserts that "the liquor sellers and the W. C. T. U. are the strongest advocates of the law as it now stands," and Colonel Church says: "As no whisky or other strong drinks were sold, the stories of the influence exerted by whisky dealers to restore the canteen are obviously untrue." Whether the "whisky dealers" are for or against the canteen goes a very little way toward establishing the facts involved, but the obvious anxiety of the canteen advocates to separate themselves from the "liquor sellers" is certainly commendable.

Whether they succeed in stating the facts in that particular it may be well to let the organs of the "liquor sellers" show:

WHAT THE LIQUOR ORGANS SAY.

The American Brewer says that the members of the last Congress "allowed themselves to be influenced by a band of bigoted and narrow-minded prohibitionists in abolishing a most sensible institution which was very beneficial to the Army."

Mida's Criterion of the Wholesale Whisky and Wine Market, a paper that has been a constant and consistent supporter of the canteen, says: "The first act of the present Congress should be to repeal the unwholesome law abolishing the canteen and stop the progressive demoralization in the Army."

The Liquor Trades' and Hotel Review says: "It is almost certain that at the next session of Congress the anticanteen law will be repealed. Almost every officer who is responsible for the maintenance of discipline in the Army and solicitous for the higher standard of morality among the men has agreed to sign the petition to reestablish the canteen. This bill when presented will have the sympathy and support of every friend of the 'boys in blue' and of the cause of temperance."

Believing with the most experienced military authorities that the canteen is conducive to the highest standard of sobriety and discipline, the retail dealers, through their national organization, *aside from all selfish considerations*, give their unqualified approval to this necessary adjunct of the military department, and commend the firm and manly attitude of the President in its defense and maintenance. (Resolution of the retail liquor dealers at their national convention, at Baltimore, in October, 1900.)

We don't consider this action taken by General Miles a deathblow to the army canteen by any means. The fact that Mr. Miles has come out in favor of the present anticanteen law will not seriously affect the opponents to this unjust, fanatical measure.

The editor of the Sentinel will appear against the anticanteeners before the Congressional committee in the coming session of Congress, and we are glad to say in this connection that we, as a member of the Congressional committee of the National Retail Liquor Dealers' Association, are able to break down one of the obstacles which had great influence upon the committee and the various Members of Congress in the last fight. (Washington Sentinel, national organ of the Brewers' Association, Nov. 11, 1901; Lewis Schade, editor.)

In addition to the quotations given above, similar extracts could be made from the resolutions of the conventions of brewers and liquor dealers, and from the trade journals of the brewing, distilling, and retail liquor interests. I have personally seen articles of this character from the Brewer's Journal, the Brewer and Maltster, the American Brewers' Review, Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular, the Wholesalers and Retailers' Review, and the Wine and Spirit News; and the statement has been made by those qualified to speak on the subject that every one of the other representative journals of the various branches of the liquor trade have urged the restoration of the canteen. This even includes the whisky industry, although whisky and distilled liquors were said to have been barred from the canteen, and the whisky trade is claimed to be the beneficiary of the legislation under review.

All this shows how vigorously and effectively the liquor sellers are advocating "the law as it now stands." If these gentlemen, and others who have been rolling that assertion as a sweet morsel under their tongues, and reiterating it in season and out, would take time to read the newspapers, they would perceive how grossly that assertion perverts the truth. It is not necessary that one should rise "from the dead" to establish the attitude of the liquor sellers.

It is interesting to note how Colonel Church gains courage and tends gradually to convince himself as he gets into the full swing of his argument. He has been thinking over the important matter of desertions, which, he says, have greatly increased; and this leads him to suggest that it "is, in the opinion of a majority of our army officers, the result, in part at least, of the stimulus given to the drinking of vile liquors by the abolition of the canteen." Note the commendable caution, "a majority of our army officers * * * the result, in part at least." He continues to discuss this phase for a few paragraphs, and the more he discusses it the more the peculiar infamy of this anticanteen legislation is borne in upon him, and getting an accretion of courage he confidently asserts, as to this discontent, that "if the almost unanimous opinion of officers and men is to be accepted as conclusive, it is very largely due to civilian interference with army administration." In twenty-nine lines "a majority" becomes "almost unanimous;" "men" are added to the officers, so as to include everybody, and "in part at least" becomes "very largely."

Verily, if the Colonel's article had been longer, no doubt his conclusions would have been stronger. He takes occasion, for some of his "strongest testimony," to go outside of the Army, and he calls as a witness "the Rev. William J. Dalton, a Catholic priest, of Kansas City, Mo.," who seems to think that all the good the women are trying to do has been "utterly ruined" by this vicious legislation. It would be more interesting, though perhaps less to his purpose, if he had quoted all that the reverend father said on this question. Among other things, he said:

Whatever could those women have been thinking of? Oh, so impracticable as these mannish women and womanish men are! In all my priesthood, when I have had a drinking man in my parish I have worked with him to get him to remove to a house remote from a saloon, even to the extreme of getting him to go to another parish.

Where the person whose welfare is involved happens to be a member of his "parish" he moves him away "from a saloon." When it is nothing but a mere soldier, he moves a beer saloon

close up to the soldier. On more mature reflection, in order not to be a "womanish man," he ought to have a beer saloon started, if possible, in his parishioner's dooryard, instead of getting him to go to another parish to get out of the way of a saloon. Why isn't the soldier entitled to the same consideration as the parishioner? This shows the difference between preaching and practice. His criticism, when measured by his own practice, suggests the Scriptural saying, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

To sustain his contention, Colonel Church makes reference to "a volume of over 500 octavo pages, in small type, published under the authority of Congress. It is the testimony concerning the result which followed the prohibition of the sale of beer in post exchanges, gathered by the War Department from nearly 100 army posts." This is referred to by Major Seaman as "an enormous volume of evidence," collected by the Secretary of War "since its abolition." Reference is undoubtedly made to House Document 252, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session.

This document is one of the most interesting and one of the most significant and suggestive incidents in the whole canteen controversy. It is a response to the following resolution of the House of Representatives:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, requested to transmit to Congress the various reports received by his Department on the practical operation of section 38 of the act of February 2, 1901, which prohibited the sales of beer and light wines in post exchanges.

This resolution very clearly contemplates official "reports" from "post exchanges," as these are clearly the only "reports" that could give any facts of value, and facts are what Congress was after.

In his letter of transmittal, however, instead of confining himself to such "reports," the Acting Secretary of War transmitted, with such "reports" as they had, 179 newspaper extracts, filling 113 of the 501 pages of "reports," every one of these extracts, where it expresses an opinion, decidedly favoring the canteen and frequently denouncing in vigorous language the advocates of the anticanteen legislation. These expressions were entirely legitimate as far as the newspapers were concerned, representing their opinion as to the facts; but they are hardly to be considered as "evidence" or "testimony" as to what the facts were, which is what Congress wanted and requested.

It would seem that the War Department had introduced, as one of its modern features, the patronizing of a clipping bureau, and had ordered only such clippings as sustained the canteen, and was accommodating enough to give Congress the benefit of its enterprise, though not invited to do so.

A more careful examination of this document negatives this suggestion, as it appears that it used its own machinery for that purpose. On page 356, I find this letter:

DETENTION CAMP, ANGEL ISLAND, CAL., April 30, 1901.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith an article on the canteen taken from the Kansas City, Mo., Daily Journal, April, 1901, day of the month unknown. In transmitting this article I desire to add that I have been informed that the Department desires all remarks of this nature pertaining to the exchange.

Very respectfully,

EDWIN A. MACKLIN,
First Lieutenant, Eleventh Infantry.

This letter inclosed the Reverend Father Dalton's "strongest testimony" above referred to. Through just what channel, whether "through military channels," we are not directly informed; but it is a fair inference from the unexplained letter that such information was general throughout the Army, and that, in addition to their other duties, the officers were charged with that of collecting and transmitting "all remarks of this nature" pertaining to the exchange—i. e., approving of the canteen and denouncing the opponents of the canteen—as the "Department desires" that kind.

This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the idea that this Department has of the manner in which fair-minded men may be properly aided in reaching a disinterested and just conclusion. Fearing that Congress might have difficulty in really understanding the attitude of some of these papers, one of them is quoted nine times, two of them eleven times, and one fourteen times. Verily, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established." There are some 640 different officers, from sergeants up, making reports. A curious fact is the apparently spontaneous and sporadic upheaval of canteen sentiment "from Fort Leavenworth, Kans.," where, including sergeants, "165 witnesses," practically all the men at that post on the 17th and 18th of December, 1902, were moved to offer their testimony in favor of the sale of beer in the canteen. Just what caused this epidemic of "testimony" all one way, at this particular place, at one and the same time, does not appear. Of course it could not have been the result of prearrangement.

All at once, 165 men in one place felt inspired to testify. They

constitute a little more than one-fourth of the whole number of "witnesses," leaving only 475 "witnesses" for the balance of the United States, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands. There are 474 commissioned officers reporting. During this time there were 3,820 such officers in the Army, so that we have reporting about 12 per cent of the whole—rather an inadequate representation upon which to base the assertion that "the almost unanimous opinion of the officers and men" sustains the canteen. What the "testimony" of the remaining 88 per cent would be, uninfluenced by authority, we are not advised. We do know, however, that the officers testifying against the canteen are among the most distinguished and eminent in their profession. They are such as Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Generals Ludlow and Henry, of sacred memory, Generals Howard, Shafter, Wheeler, Daggett, etc.

Major Seaman introduces the testimony of the Rev. S. B. Dexter, who, "hoping that truth and justice may triumph," sends the result of his investigations to the Secretary of War, and it appears in this document. (H. Doc. No. 252, pp. 246-249.) It seems that certain Chicago clergymen were appointed a commission to investigate canteen conditions at Fort Snelling and Highwood. The Reverend Mr. Dexter says that they made majority and minority reports, though the first report would appear to be unanimous. At any rate, it is signed by the Reverend Mr. Dexter twice, once in his capacity as a member of the commission and once as its secretary. The minority report is signed by him alone. In his letter of transmittal he refers to the fact that the investigation of the majority "covered but nine hours of actual time." He says:

I mention this, however, with no intention to reflect upon the members of the commission.

Inasmuch as he signed that report twice, manifesting his approval thereof, this is evidently the exercise of great consideration on his part. Perhaps, in fairness to the reverend gentleman, it should be stated that, in his great work entitled "Cant and Canteen," he says that "the members of the commission, in making their report on the morning of May 6, 1901, certainly had no intention of misrepresenting the facts in the case" (p. 20), leaving the necessary inference that, in his view, the report did to some extent misrepresent the facts. He apparently intends to discredit the report.

Having signed and indorsed this discredited report twice, he naively says that he "wishes to state that he signed the report under protest," although no protest of any kind appears thereon. An ingenious method, peculiar to the reverend gentleman, of establishing the weight to be given to his investigations! In order to satisfy us of his undoubted credibility, he shows that he twice signed a report "misrepresenting the facts." Apparently apprehensive that the suggestion of a mental protest may not meet with a cheerful reception, and that he may not have been entirely successful in establishing his credibility as a witness, he thinks corroboration is necessary, and says that "almost all the morning newspapers of May 7 will prove this assertion." Why newspapers could not be quite unanimous on so simple a proposition we are not informed. In his work he defines cant as "to speak with exaggerated unction, to descant with false fervor or enthusiasm" (p. 115). Just what "misrepresenting the facts" is, he doesn't say.

He misquotes the amendment in controversy by striking out the words "for military purposes," after the word "used," and inserting in place thereof, italicized, the words "or owned," changing the whole scope of the amendment (p. 45). He says that "the full benefit of Mr. LITTLEFIELD'S principal speech is given to the reader that the whole question might be studied from an unprejudiced point of view," after he has cut out the paragraph quoted at the beginning of this article, in which I state that there is "an honest difference of opinion as to the propriety of this amendment," though he had to cut a sentence in two in order to eliminate what seemed to me to be a proper, fair, and candid statement (p. 47). He is still hoping, no doubt, "that truth and justice may triumph," and that the reader might get the "full benefit * * * from an unprejudiced point of view," but apprehensive apparently that the public might get the idea that, in an unguarded moment, a lucid interval, the parties supporting the anticanteen legislation might entertain a conservative or reasonable view. It is believed that all of the clerical friends of the canteen do not indulge in this *suppressio veri* method of argument.

House Document No. 252 gives an itemized table from the "reports." In referring to this document, Colonel Church says:

Of all the posts expressing positive opinion one way or the other, 90 per cent reported that drunkenness, desertion, absence without leave, and trials by court-martial had increased.

I know nothing about the verity of these tables and take them as I find them. They cover the United States, Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. The following facts are taken from the

table. In answer to the question, "Has drunkenness increased?" 120 answered "yes," 55 "no," 17 were uncertain; 175 expressed a positive opinion; only 69 per cent thought it had increased. To the question, "Have courts-martial for offenses caused by drunkenness increased?" 114 answered "yes," 55 "no," 18 were uncertain; 169 expressed a positive opinion one way or the other; only 67 per cent say that they "had increased." To the question, "Has the number of cases of desertion and absence without leave increased?" 87 answered "yes," 84 "no," 15 were uncertain; 171 expressed a positive opinion one way or the other; 51 per cent only say that they "had increased."

Colonel Church says "95 per cent stated that the conditions of health had deteriorated, and all agree that morality and discipline had been injuriously affected." To the question, "Is the effect on health of command bad?" 108 answered "yes," 68 "no," 15 were uncertain; 176 expressed positive opinion one way or the other; 62 per cent only say that the effect is bad.

To the question, "Is the effect on morality and the discipline of the command bad?" 129 answered "yes," 45 "no," 17 were uncertain; 174 expressed positive opinion one way or the other; 74 per cent only stating that the effect was bad. These statements made by a critic who charges the friends of the anticanteen legislation with "having reached certain dogmatic conclusions by the *studious ignoring of facts*," require no comment. The inference is too obvious. Let us hope that this is not a sample of what we would get if "one rose from the dead to bear testimony to the truth." It is to be observed that these questions, instead of being framed so as to draw out a disinterested reply, are all leading, and intimate that an answer adverse to the legislation is expected.

The Hon. Elihu Root, late Secretary of War, opposed the anticanteen legislation and expressed before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs the apprehension that it would discourage enlistments, saying on that point—

If you pass the provision which the House has put in, prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines in the canteen, you break that up, and the result is going to be, as soon as it gets round, it will stop our enlistments. That is a matter of serious, practical consequence. The men are not going to enlist when they understand that they are going to be confined in a reform school.

It must gratify Mr. Root to know that this doleful apprehension was unfounded, as this official table shows:

Enlistments.

Year.	Per month.	Year.	Per month.
1889	800	1897	680
1890	654	1898	5,793
1891	703	1899	5,181
1892	821	1900	1,629
1893	756	1901	2,532
1894	654	1902	3,122
1895	648	1903	1,567
1896	707		

1898 and 1899 were war years, when enlistments are always greater, and the figures for these years include a large number of volunteer soldiers as distinguished from regulars.

The two whole years 1901-2 show an average of 2,837 as against an average of 715 per year for the nine years prior to the war, and under normal canteen conditions, or four times as many per year when the "reform school" was staring the recruit in the face.

The "reform school" does not appear to have been a very vigorous deterrent. During the latter period, moreover, the Government has been exercising greater care in the selection of its men. Where 30,622 were enlisted in the year ending June 30, 1901, 86,407 applications were rejected. During the year 1902, while 37,461 enlisted, 87,081 applications were rejected; and during the year 1903, 18,961 were enlisted and 74,356 rejected, showing that now where they enlist one they reject about three or four. The instructions for recruiting issued September 23, 1901, no doubt account for these rejections and also show the unfavorable conditions under which enlistments have largely increased. The first requirement was that "applicants for first enlistment must be between the ages of 18 and 35 years, of good character and temperate habits, able-bodied, free from disease, and must be able to speak, read and write the English language." Inasmuch as, under the War Department's theory of the canteen, the recruit is to be at once introduced to the official sale of beer in the canteen, and the maximum of sale is essential to the maximum of prosperity of the canteen, this regulation should read "of good character and temperate habits, vigorous and efficient consumers of beer, of approved capacity preferred, etc."

While the considerations heretofore suggested certainly at least tend to destroy the value of statistics, comparing the canteen period with the years preceding and succeeding it, so far as the anticanteen law is concerned, there are other reasons which are

also potent to show that these statistics do not justify the conclusions sought to be drawn therefrom. I can not state them more effectively than they have been stated by a practical soldier, who has won his rank by brave, gallant, and heroic conduct in battle, on the firing line, in every war in which the Army has been engaged since 1861, including the expedition to China in 1900, Brigadier-General Daggett, United States Army. He says:

Captain Munson, assistant surgeon, United States Army, has published statistics which seem to favor the canteen. The Army has been constantly improving since its reorganization in 1866. Then a very large proportion of the officers had just been appointed from the volunteers and from civil life. They were unfamiliar with the ways and regulations of garrison life. Not many, if any, officers were familiar with the conditions at that time; all had to learn, from the highest to the lowest. The class of recruits was the worst that has ever been introduced into the Army.

The barracks were poor, dirty, forbidding buildings, poorly lighted and heated. Candles were used, and a small allowance of them at that. Bunks were of rough boards and three stories high. A bed sack, filled with straw, and a blanket or two furnished the soldier's bed. A tin plate, an iron knife, fork, and spoon, were his table utensils. The principal ration was bacon or pork, occasionally beef, and bread, coffee, sugar, and beans.

Improvement in these things began in the seventies. Now the barracks are warm, cheerful, and well lighted. The beds and mess are much better than most recruits enjoyed at their homes. Then the recruiting officer could enlist whomsoever he pleased. Since then he has been held responsible for the utmost care in selecting men, morally and physically, on penalty of having to pay the expenses of clothing, feeding, and transporting the recruit to his station, should he be rejected after arriving, and should it be shown that the recruiting officer had been negligent.

Benevolent societies also began to furnish the soldiers with reading matter, etc. Many other things were done for the betterment of the soldiers. The army of new officers of 1866, after fifteen or twenty years of experience, had learned how to command and care for men. Too much importance can not be attached to this consideration. The fruits of all these things must necessarily have been a great reduction in desertions, admissions to hospital for alcoholism, and convictions by court-martial.

Now, Mr. Munson comes in and gives the canteen credit largely for these improvements. He makes 1889, the date of formal establishment of the canteen by the War Department, the central period of reckoning. The canteen had existed to some extent for four years before that time, but leave that out of consideration. The number of desertions from 1867 to 1874 was equal to 20.5 per cent; from 1876 to 1880 they were equal to 8.4 per cent. President Hayes prohibited the sale of intoxicants to post traders during this period. From 1881 to 1889 the number of desertions was equal to 12 per cent; from 1890 to 1897, 5 per cent; from 1898 to 1900, 4.4 per cent; from 1900 to 1901, only 1.9 per cent. This latter period is not for the whole year, but up to a recent date; but there has been no canteen since February 2.

The number of admissions to hospital for alcoholism during the canteen period (from 1891 to 1897) decreased 12.2 per thousand, while during the preceding period (from 1882 to 1890) the number decreased 27.3 per thousand.

These statistics show that a decrease in desertions and admissions to hospital for alcoholism began long before the canteen was thought of and has been going on up to the present time, and that it was more rapid before than since the canteen was established.

General Daggett makes the following suggestions:

- (1) Establish ample and attractive reading rooms, which may be the general places of resort, and where games and facilities for all sorts of proper social enjoyments can be found.
- (2) Establish ample and attractive gymnasiums.
- (3) Encourage and give facilities for all proper kinds of manly sports.
- (4) Require the Commissary Department to supply many of the luxuries now furnished by means of the company fund.

These are covered by the appropriations made and proposed.

Moreover, the following tables, taken from official records and reports, comparing the canteen period with subsequent years, although in the absence of the proposed recreation buildings and company fund, essential to the success of the legislation, give results that on the whole are unfavorable to the canteen:

Cases of alcoholism, United States Army.

Year.	Mean strength.	Rate per 1,000.	Year.	Mean strength.	Rate per 1,000.
1889	25,908	41.43	1896	25,119	29.06
1890	24,294	40.73	1897	25,417	27.86
1891	23,928	40.01	1898	46,635	15.16
1892	24,203	37.23	1899	64,446	18.70
1893	25,287	33.97	1900	68,955	18.38
1894	25,376	30.94	1901	81,885	23.80
1895	25,394	30.11	1902	80,778	22.65

This shows an average rate per 1,000, from 1889 to 1900, inclusive (excluding the war years), of 32.97 per year for the canteen period, an average of 16.93 for the war years, and of 23.23 for the years 1901-2 without the canteen, or 9.74 better than the canteen period. The percentage of convictions for drunkenness, based upon fiscal years, taken from the Judge-Advocate-General's report for 1903, shows:

Year.	Rate per 1,000.	Year.	Rate per 1,000.
1889	1.4	1896	1.0
1890	1.6	1897	1.1
1891	1.6	1898	1.1
1892	1.7	1899	1.2
1893	1.4	1900	2.3
1894	1.2	1901	1.2
1895	.9	1902	1.2
		1903	1.2

The average percentage for the canteen period was 1.3+; the rate since the canteen period was 1.2, leaving out the year 1901, as

that was divided between the two periods—a difference against the canteen of .1+.

Sickness in the Army.

Year.	Admissions to hospital.	Rate per 1,000.	Year.	Admissions to hospital.	Rate per 1,000.
1880.....	32,886	1,315.02	1896.....	27,892	1,110.39
1890.....	35,546	1,384.25	1897.....	30,160	1,186.61
1891.....	31,757	1,364.78	1898.....	317,195	2,146.18
1892.....	30,748	1,270.42	1899.....	229,885	2,178.06
1893.....	32,596	1,289.04	1900.....	232,080	2,311.81
1894.....	27,653	1,089.78	1901.....	165,706	1,791.59
1895.....	27,982	1,110.22	1902.....	188,656	1,716.51

This gives an average rate per thousand of 1,343.33 for the canteen period of 1889-1900, inclusive (excluding the war years), 2,162.09 for the war years, and 1,754.05 since the canteen.

While this shows a considerable increase over the canteen period, it must be remembered that the larger part of the Army has during the latter period been subjected to unusually unhealthy conditions by service in the Tropics not previously experienced.

Desertions in the Army.

Year.	Mean strength.	Percentage of desertions.	Year.	Mean strength.	Percentage of desertions.
1889.....	25,564	11.0	1897.....	25,304	2.9
1890.....	24,990	7.7	1898.....	44,397	4.0
1891.....	24,525	5.7	1899.....	62,019	4.9
1892.....	24,867	5.7	1900.....	66,460	4.4
1893.....	25,670	6.3	1901.....	78,863	5.2
1894.....	25,661	3.6	1902.....	71,294	7.5
1895.....	25,200	5.3	1903 (6 months)...	61,498	2.8
1896.....	25,143	3.4			

This table from the Adjutant-General's report is based on calendar years, and shows an average for the canteen period of 5.79 per cent and since of 5.66 per cent, a difference against the canteen of .13 per cent.

The figures furnished by the Lieutenant-General in his report for 1901 show that the desertions have been gradually decreasing since 1867, when the percentage was 26.7. For the next twelve years the average was 16.5, for the decade ending 1888 the average was 11.4, and for the twenty-two years preceding 1889 the average was 14.2, showing that the decrease in desertions has been due not to the canteen, but to other causes. These are to some extent pointed out by Acting Judge-Advocate Capt. C. D. Roberts, of the Department of Texas, in his annual report dated June 16, 1903, in which he says:

The large number of trials for desertion in this department in the last two years is due largely to the great number of recruits in the ranks and the number of new and inexperienced officers. The three-year enlistment is undoubtedly bad for discipline. The general-mess system is in operation at Forts Bliss and Sam Houston, and to this system is undoubtedly due some of the trials at those posts, since under it there is always more or less discontent among the troops with the food furnished and the cooking.

The fact that the existing conditions furnish no proper criterion upon which to base a comparison also appears from the official report of the Inspector-General for the year 1903. He says:

It is more the exception than the rule that prescribed regulations for the government of the post exchanges are strictly complied with. * * * The reports for sixty-four posts in the United States, Alaska, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Honolulu show that fourteen had no post exchanges, and at the fifty having them the rooms used for that purpose were generally unattractive, not satisfactory, and lacking in accommodations. At twenty of these fifty they were especially mentioned as unsuitable. At a few posts suitable buildings were being constructed for exchange and gymnastic purposes. The reports for ninety-four posts in the Philippine Islands show only eight enjoying the privilege of an exchange. There were many desertions and few reenlistments at a number of posts. Drunkenness and absence without leave are noted in reports, and trials by courts-martial are very numerous. It is believed that a well-regulated post exchange and a thoroughly equipped gymnasium would accomplish more toward contentment and discipline in the Army than almost anything the Government can, under the law, accomplish.

Maj. Elijah W. Halford's statement of conditions in the Philippines emphasizes this idea. He says:

A temperance canteen has been tried in at least four posts here in the islands, with good measure of success. At one post sales amounted to \$500 per month; profits averaged \$135 monthly during the eighty days it had been operated when report was made. It had very limited facilities, no capital, poor room, no sympathy from the officers, no soda fountain, hard to get ice, and other obstacles. With good facilities, with the sympathy of officers, and eliminating the poorly-disguised devil of profit as in the old canteen, this is the practical solution of the canteen question for all soldiers except the chronic drinkers, who will have whisky anyway, beer canteen or no beer canteen. These begin their drunks in the beer canteen, but end them outside in the whisky shops.

The attitude of the War Department as to this legislation is an essential feature affecting its success. On the 5th of February, 1901, three days after the anticanteen law was enacted, the Adjutant-General issued an order for the collection of statistics show-

ing the operation of the law, "report thereon to be made to this office not later than September 1 next," covering a period of the nonexistence of conditions essential to its success, during which the law might be expected to result adversely.

On February 19, 1901, Senator GALLINGER, an earnest friend of the legislation, introduced as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill the following:

Difference between the cost of the ration at 25 cents and the amount of 26 cents, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War for the purpose of laying out, preparing, and cultivating gardens, and supplying seeds, roots, and plants for the same; the purchase of books, periodicals, stationery, etc., for the post-exchange library; the purchase of gymnastic appliances; prizes for athletic sports; toward the support of regimental bands; for the purchase of articles of food other than those supplied by the regular ration; and for the further improvement of the post exchange, to be equally distributed among the enlisted men, \$47,500.

Practically the company-fund idea, though it is believed that the fund should be apportioned to companies and expended by the captain to produce the best results. This went to the Military Committee, where it slept the sleep of the just, as it was never reported therefrom.

In a letter to the Hon. W. J. Sewall, under date of August 29, 1900, Adjutant-General Corbin made this statement:

The official reports of the Department show that the receipts from sales of beer and light wines are and have been less than one-third of gross receipts, being in 1898 five-seventeenths and in 1899 six-seventeenths. Taking the amount of gross receipts on account of sale of beer and dividing it by the total number of officers and men shows that each officer and enlisted man for the year 1898 expended on account of beer only 20 cents a month—equivalent to four glasses of beer per month, or less than one glass a week apiece for each officer and man in the military service. In 1899 the expenditure on the part of each officer and man reached an average of 58 cents per month, or but 1.9 cents a day. These facts make it clear that in comparison with all other citizens the Army of to-day is the most abstemious body in our country. There is no community of which we have any report or knowledge that will show so small a consumption of drink per capita.

It will be observed that these conclusions are based upon statistics for the years 1898 and 1899.

Under date of December 17, 1903, Acting Adj. Gen. W. P. Hall wrote me a courteous letter, from which I quote:

When the troops were withdrawn from the military posts in April, 1898, and assembled in camps on the Gulf coast for the purpose of taking part in the impending war with Spain, they were compelled to abandon their post exchanges at the permanent stations, leaving behind them such stock of beer and wine as was then on hand. The most of this stock became a waste—a dead loss, in fact—for before the troops returned to the permanent forts the act of March 2, 1899, had prevented its sale, and as the persons from whom it was purchased refused to take it back it was destroyed or given away. It was nearly a year afterwards before those posts were regarrisoned, and in but very few instances by the troops which constituted the garrisons at the time of the breaking out of the war with Spain. As a consequence, we were unable to get any satisfactory reports of post-exchange transactions for the period commencing about the middle of April, 1898, to the 1st of July, 1899. * * * It would be difficult to give with any accuracy "the number of men in the service located at the places or posts in 1898 and 1899 where such canteens or post exchanges were being operated with the sale of beer and wine therein," or to give "the total sales of beer and wine at each of these canteens" for those years.

If Acting Adjutant-General Hall is correct, and I have no doubt he is, where there are no "satisfactory reports" for nearly nine months in 1898 and six months in 1899, and the number of men and the amount of beer and wine sold can not be given "with any accuracy" during those years, it is difficult to imagine where General Corbin got the statistics upon which to base his very specific statement.

It has been my fortune to endeavor to assist, in my humble way, that distinguished gentleman in making this legislation a success and promoting the welfare of our soldiers. Mr. Francis A. Buzzacott, a member of the Third Illinois, during the Spanish war operated a post exchange in connection with that regiment. The records show that during several months of its existence its profits cleared its original cost and amounted in all to \$5,000, all of which was turned over to the regiment and distributed and used by its various companies during its campaign in the Tropics. It was operated in a tent, mammoth in size, capable of holding fifteen hundred, and benches for 300 troops. It had a restaurant and lunch counter, magazines and moral literature, and sold everything a soldier needed, except liquor, which was not allowed to be either sold or used on the premises. It had an organ, and musical entertainments were given. The regiment marched in a body to divine service therein on Sunday.

It closed up two beer canteens in its vicinity, and the soldiers boycotted their own canteens for the temperance canteen. On December 8, 1900, two days after the introduction of the anticanteen amendment, Mr. Buzzacott renewed his offer to the Secretary of War, proposing to establish a similar canteen, to be "conducted under military regulations, for the recreation, benefit, and modern advantages of such United States volunteer troops as are now serving in the Philippines." The proposition is too long to quote in full, but it provided for furnishing everything that was desirable or requisite for the comfort, convenience, and enter-

tainment of the men. He proposed to furnish the money to do this. The profits, except 10 per cent to be used in establishing like canteens in other posts or places, were to go to the men. Three months after its establishment he agreed to turn it "over to the Government troops completely equipped as described, free of cost or indebtedness whatsoever;" during this time it was to be under his "personal supervision and control," "subject to the approval of the generals commanding."

He asked for transportation to be furnished, authority to purchase supplies of any department of the establishment at cost, that a commissioned officer be detailed as executive officer in charge, and a private soldier from each company as police, "not to interfere with other military duties." This proposition not receiving favorable action and impressing me as both feasible and commendable, I made the effort indicated by the subjoined correspondence to have it adopted by the War Department:

Hon. ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very anxious that the canteen as now constituted, or that the canteen in which the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited in accordance with the recent amendment to the army bill, shall prove to be successful in its operation. I have just taken occasion to examine the offer made by Mr. Francis H. Buzzacott, of Chicago, Ill., under date of December 8, 1900, for the carrying on and operating of a temperance canteen, and it seems to me that the offer is a very desirable one. It involves no cost or expense to the Government, and Mr. Buzzacott proposes to subject himself in all respects to the supervision and control of the Department, and the generals commanding the United States troops under whose authority he is placed at work.

I should be very much gratified, and I certainly hope you may see your way clear to allow him to establish as many of these canteens as he desires to, especially in the Philippines.

If they prove to be a success I do not see any reason why they should not be located wherever our troops are located.

If it is not asking too much I should be very glad to have you advise me of the views you take of his proposition and the probability of its acceptance.

Very respectfully,

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, March 11, 1901.

Hon. C. E. LITTLEFIELD, House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant to the Secretary of War, in which you commend to the favorable consideration of the Department an offer of Mr. Francis H. Buzzacott, of Chicago, Ill., for the carrying on and operating of a temperance canteen, and replying thereto permit me to say that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott has been carefully considered and does not commend itself to the Department.

Very respectfully,

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

ROCKLAND, ME., March 11, 1901.

Gen. H. C. CORBIN,
Adjutant-General, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 11th at hand, and I note that you say that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott has been carefully considered and does not commend itself to the Department.

I have been advised that there was nothing unmilitary in Mr. Buzzacott's proposition or that would be inconsistent with the regulations of the Department. Will you be kind enough to advise me in what particulars the proposition did not meet the approval of the Department, or the reason the Department has for declining to accept it, as I may be able to procure such a modification of the proposition as will make it acceptable to the Department?

It seems to me that something of this kind is extremely desirable if the present legislation is to be successful, and I have no doubt but what the War Department is anxious to make the canteen conducted under the existing legislation as attractive and efficient as possible, in taking the place of the canteen as heretofore carried on, involving the sale of beer and possibly other intoxicating drinks therein.

Very respectfully,

C. E. LITTLEFIELD.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, March 22, 1901.

Hon. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD, M. C.,
House of Representatives.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant in the matter of the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott, to establish temperance canteens at military posts, in which, referring to Department letter of the 11th instant to the effect that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott has been carefully considered and does not commend itself to the Department, you ask to be advised in what particular the proposition does not meet the approval of the Department or the reason the Department has for declining to accept.

Replying thereto, I have the honor to remark that the proposition of Mr. Buzzacott does not commend itself to the approval of the Department for the reason that the Army is perfectly capable of conducting its own affairs in respect to post exchanges, as well as to other matters connected with its administration, and that the conditions vary at military posts and stations in the Army, the greater portion of which is now in the field in tropical countries, and it is believed that Mr. Buzzacott, having served in the Army for a number of years in various capacities, knows as well as any other man of military experience that the proposition to place a civilian in charge of affairs in a military command can not be successfully carried out. Mr. Buzzacott must also be aware that the law forbids the Quartermaster's Department to furnish transportation to an establishment of this character or for any supplies intended for it; that it forbids the sale to him and his employees of subsistence stores at cost; in fact, that the residence on a military reservation of persons not in the employ of the United States Government is forbidden by law.

Briefly, there are other objections and difficulties to this proposition which are too numerous to mention.

Very respectfully,

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

In other words, if you will attend to your business I will attend to mine. I thought then, and I think now, that I had an undoubted right, in view of the fact that I was responsible, in part at least, for the legislation, even if it was not my duty, to deferentially offer suggestions, and invite suggestions, intended to promote its success. I thought then, and I think now, that I had a right to assume that the War Department had a due and proper regard for the welfare of our soldiers and was desirous of administering the law in good faith so as to make it as effective and successful as possible, so that it might prove helpful to that welfare. I supposed the War Department would cheerfully welcome anything that would contribute to that end.

When, however, my well-meant and courteous advances were received by the vigorous official suggestion that "the Army was perfectly capable of conducting its own affairs in respect to post exchanges, as well as to other matters connected with its administration," no outside interference being tolerated, the incident was closed, as it did not seem to me that any self-respecting man was required to submit himself further to "the insolence of office;" and efforts on my part to cooperate with the War Department were abandoned, even at the risk of my being afterwards charged with having wrapped about myself "the cloak of self-righteous content and left the Army to care for itself."

The first appropriation of \$500,000 for post exchanges was made at the next session after the passage of the amendment, and became available on July 1, 1902. If not used prior to July 1, 1903, it would have lapsed back into the Treasury. I am in receipt of a letter from the Department, under date of December 26, 1903, advising me that, under the appropriation for the fiscal year of 1903, the Secretary of War had authorized expenditures in January, 1903, of \$2,712.09; in April, 1903, of \$96,417.95; in May, 1903, of \$336,995.91, and in June, 1903, of \$39,868.

Not a dollar, that is to say, was authorized to be expended until the whole sum had been available six months and then only \$2,712.09; and the bulk of the appropriation, \$336,995.91, was not authorized to be expended until it had been available more than ten months. The average percentage of completion of work under sixteen different authorizations on September 30, 1903, was 43 per cent, only one building, at Fort Brady, Mich., costing \$19,819, being then nearly completed.

Certainly, the War Department can not fairly be charged with being precipitate, or with exercising undue haste. We may be fairly safe, I think, in assuming that, if this appropriation had been a revolution with a canal-site attachment, its period of gestation would not have been prolonged for ten months and sixteen days. If the War Department had been as anxious to create favorable conditions in that regard as it was to get statistics when the conditions essential to the success of the anticanteen legislation were absent, and had exercised the same degree of diligence, these authorizations would have been made July 3, 1902.

On the other hand, so profound has been its solicitude for the welfare of the men under its charge that, although \$500,000 has been available therefor since June 30, 1902, and \$1,000,000 since June 30, 1903, only a trifling sum up to October 30, 1903, had been actually used in promoting that welfare, as not a building had then been fully completed, and only small sums had been used for other purposes of that character.

It is unfortunate and regrettable that the discontent and the discomfort of the men, with all of the direful consequences resulting therefrom, and especially "that craving for drink which results in no small part from the monotony of barrack life that slowly breeds discontent, no matter how comfortably housed or well fed the men may be," should be unnecessarily prolonged, when the means for its alleviation have been so liberally provided and have been lying idle so long. When the last item upon the menu for a Thanksgiving dinner for the soldiers at the Columbus Barracks, Ohio, November 26, 1902, was "one quart of beer for each soldier," it would not appear that, from a social point of view, any very vigorous effort was being made by the officers to restrain the indulgence in beer and encourage total abstinence. This is not the only instance of the kind.

I do not say whether the administration of this legislation is in the hands of its friends or otherwise, nor do I characterize the attitude of the Department. Upon its record of calling for statistics within three days of the passage of the law, when statistics must have been expected to be unfavorable in the absence of proper conditions, its contemptuous refusal of the Buzzacott proposition, its collection and gratuitous presentation of only such newspaper reports as were adverse to the legislation, and its failure promptly to utilize the appropriation that was to take the place of the beer profits, a fair-minded, disinterested, intelligent, and patriotic people can judge for themselves as to its attitude.

In the light of all these facts, how much foundation is there for Colonel Church's assertion that "the advocates of total abstinence

say, in effect, that, if there is any man in the Army who refuses to accept theories that are rejected by the vast majority of men in this and every other civilized country, and who will drink, he should be permitted to go to the devil, and the shorter the road and the faster the pace, the better.

If we may be permitted to use the Colonel's choice and delicate language, we may ask, Who is it, in the light of the foregoing facts, that is keeping the obstructions out of the soldier's way "to the devil," shortening the road and accelerating the pace? The Colonel seems gratified to feel that he is with the "vast majority," laboring under the impression, evidently, that facts are settled that way. This is calculated to disconcert the "Big Four" and other railroads, to make them realize that when, in order to secure keen, alert, clear-minded, and efficient men, they promulgate an order that their employees must not drink intoxicating liquors at all, whether on or off duty, they are in the minority in a "civilized country." If such a course will secure better men for railroading, it may be worthy of consideration whether it would not work as well in other cases. Do we need, especially in time of war, as good men for officers and men, from the standpoint of efficiency, as the railroads find they need in their business? If so, should we not make reasonable efforts to get them? King Edward evidently did not realize how lonesome he would be when, in a recent letter to an officer of the navy, this sentence was inserted: "His Majesty would be glad if it is circulated privately that he considers his health is as much honored by those who drink it in water as by those who drink it in wine," an insidious and really reprehensible incentive to that vulgar and degrading and rather uncommon habit of total abstinence.

Let us hope that the adverse sentiment of our noble Army, voiced so mildly by Colonel Church, may be broken to His Majesty gently and by degrees. Notwithstanding the colonel's fervor, temperance is now being officially taught in the French and British, and encouraged in the German and Russian armies. A temperance society is one of the established institutions of the British army. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was its patron-general; His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is its president, and Field Marshal Lord Wolseley is its first vice-president. The flower of the officers of that army take pride in identifying themselves with it, and the Government contributes handsomely for its financial support. We are either not far enough or too far advanced for such an institution in our Army. We think this legislation is in line with the most advanced thought, even if it may be in the minority.

That a post exchange, with proper provisions for recreation, amusement, and entertainment, and supplies for the men, and a company fund are essential to the success of this legislation is, we think, clear. Its friends, and especially the Rev. E. C. Dinwiddie and Mrs. Margaret Dye Ellis, the able, faithful, efficient, and untiring legislative representatives, respectively, of the American Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at Washington, have been doing their best to procure and have utilized the necessary appropriations therefor. Instead of compelling the soldier to rely upon the profits of a beer saloon, whose sole customer he is, for furnishing him with the things essential to his welfare, we think he has a right to look to the people, by whom he has been placed in a condition where these things have become essential.

We think we are entitled, upon the facts, to ask the country to believe that we are inspired by a sincere desire to promote the highest welfare of the Army, rather than by a narrow purpose to enforce upon the officers and men any personal views we may entertain. And as the officers are as a rule high-minded, honorable gentlemen, we believe that when they fully appreciate the situation they will credit us with that desire.

For the beer saloon we substitute the Treasury of the United States. In the effort to make this substitution, we believe we have the sympathy and support of all right-thinking citizens, and that we ought to have the hearty cooperation of the War Department and the officers of the Army. We sincerely believe and earnestly hope that the substitution will prove a perfect success; but when it shall have been made, and shall have had a fair trial under such favorable conditions as are herein mentioned, if it shall prove to affect injuriously the condition of our soldiers, we will cheerfully join in a movement to reestablish the beer saloon. There is practically an agreement that the sale of beer is at least the lesser of two evils. Every report that has been made, every opinion that has been expressed, every resolution that has been adopted, has been made, expressed, and adopted in the absence of conditions that all believe desirable, and that we believe essential. Should not judgment be suspended until these conditions have been created, and until they have had time to demonstrate their utility and wisdom? Would not a reversal of this legislation before that time be ill-considered, ill-advised, and unwarranted?

The Army Canteen.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT,

OF MISSOURI,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 25, 1904,

On the bill (H. R. 13356) providing for the election of a Delegate from the Territory of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States, and defining the qualifications of electors in said Territory.

Mr. BARTHOLDT said:

Mr. SPEAKER: With the consent of the House I herewith submit the following in support of my statement previously made that the post exchange or canteen in the Army is a wise and beneficent institution:

No question but what the recent controversy between officers of the Army and a Member of Congress in a New York Review, which now finds its way into the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, has clearly developed the fact that the preponderance of evidence and of authority seems to be upon the side of the canteen as a method of promoting temperance among the soldiers of our Army and keeping them apart and away from the worse temptations which lurk in their darkest form near to the military camps of all countries. The immediate cause of the passage of the provision of the law which resulted in the practical abandonment of several hundred canteens at the various army posts in the United States and at foreign stations appears to have been an agitation carried on against the sale of any kind of beverage except tea, coffee, and water to the soldiers by a class of people who, like the poor, are always with us and who seem not to be wise enough to look into the future and observe results so long as they are able to secure the passage of laws looking toward—as they believe—the prevention of the selling of intoxicating liquors to anyone. With them the end seems always to justify the means.

The logic of the man who maintains that no man has a right to drink liquor containing alcohol because he is liable to partake to excess would be about on a par with the crank who desires legislation to forbid all men drinking coffee or tea or any other beverage which, taken to excess, would cause physical and mental wrecks among their devotees. The only safety to the Army as well as to the country at large is to organize as they do and to prepare tons of literature in the same manner as the Prohibitionists do, which will bring out the facts in reply to thousands of specious arguments and half truths. This misleading literature of the Prohibitionists is franked all over the country by the agitators against the canteen in ton lots, in many cases contrary to the postal laws of the country, to work up a hot-house public sentiment against the army canteen and against all who believe in the personal liberty of the individual to eat and drink in moderation.

Fortunately in this free and enlightened country, when the light is properly turned on so that the people are able to see the exact facts as they exist, there can be little danger as to final results.

Truth will prevail in the end,
For as round and round we run
Ever the truth comes uppermost
And ever is justice done.

It is not a light matter to trifle with the personnel and morals and social pursuits of the great body of men in the American Army. No set of men in civil life, no matter who they are, have the moral right in the face of the opinions of a majority of their officers and themselves to pass sumptuary laws compelling them to do thus and so, or to remove from them comforts or pastimes that they are justly entitled to. Of course, the legal right rests on Congress to pass laws to govern the Army, but the personal rights of the individual, his inalienable right to secure from life as much happiness as possible consistent with his duty to the Army and the Government, ought to have given the Congress pause before it proceeded to take away the humblest of the private soldier's amusements without the most careful consideration and investigation, if need be, by Congressional committees empowered to take sworn testimony and make a personal investigation into the moral surroundings of each military post in this country as well as abroad.

EPITHETS USED FOR ARGUMENT.

The moral aspects of the "Canteen as related to the Federal Government" have always seemed to cause the tender consciences of the civilian organizations and their supporters, which oppose the sale of beer and light wines to soldiers, the most severe twinges. The idea of the Government running a "groggery," as they are pleased to term it, has been known to cause a Congressman whose district is largely afflicted with Prohibitionists, the serious loss of

sleep and to bring upon him to a considerable extent the cacœthes scribendi of the ancients. Of course, this is a very far-fetched argument, and reminds one of the old story of the Irishman's bull terrier, who would go 20 miles away from home every day seeking to get into a "scrap," even with a dog who was quite willing to run away to avoid trouble, if he could.

The Government is not selling "grog," nor is it selling soap, or delicatessen, or any other article of wear or food which the canteen supplies the soldier at cost. The Government never went any further in the transaction than to prescribe certain rules governing canteens. Of course, an argument of epithets such as "groggery," or "saloon," or "gin mill," used by certain reviewers, may appeal to a class of society that believes in "sumptuary laws," so long as they do not apply directly to themselves. Some of them would go so far as to advocate that no civilian or soldier should be allowed by law to drink a glass of beer, if he wants to do so. This class is usually beyond legitimate argument which may run contrary to their prejudices. They can not possibly understand how men can be constituted differently from themselves, or that the moderate drinker should not be compelled to forego his beer because others make hogs of themselves. In other words, the highest ideal of their ethical system seems to be that laws should be enacted to oppress the virtues and the pleasures of the many to reach the vices of the few. To them "sumptuary laws" are the "cure all" for all the foibles and follies of the human heart, and the blessing of him who has fought his battles against temptation and won are to them a sealed book.

ADVOCATES OF SUMPTUARY LAWS OBDURATE.

It is useless to argue with this class. Neither the sanctity of truth, the restrictions of the franking privileges of the postal service, nor the sin of private gain will deter them from pursuing the poor soldier, or anyone else who can be reached by "sumptuary legislation." It is to be hoped that time will cure this trend of thought and that the light will some day break in upon their benighted philosophy. It has been urged time and again that the Government should appropriate money for the purpose of providing clubrooms for the soldiers at their various posts, and an appropriation of \$500,000 and subsequently one of a million dollars were set apart for this purpose. Well and good. No one has objections to "Uncle Sam" devoting this amount and much more to the purpose, if he wants to, but that does not help the evil in anywise.

The soldier who wants beer or even whisky is bound to get it, and unfortunately the facilities are usually provided by saloons and "cheap groggeries" close to almost every military post in the country, where he can get it to satiety and bestial drunkenness. There is there no regulation to stop him when he gets too much. On the contrary, it is to the interest of the proprietor of the place to sell as much as he can to every customer. In addition to this, these saloons are frequently close to houses of other and worse vices, and the two money-making enterprises work together for drunkenness and vice. Shall the soldier, who naturally regards himself outside of all regulations except those which pertain to his military training, direction, and welfare, as a freeman, be subjected to firm regulations as to drink under military jurisdiction, with such surroundings as shall not make it a hardship, or shall he be allowed to go forth as a prey to the evil companions, both male and female, to be found in the purlieus and saloon districts of military camps almost everywhere in this country?

Even in the prohibition States are to be found the "bootleggers" and the "blind tigers" and the "walking dram shops," ready to sell any quantity of the vilest quality of whisky to the soldier as soon as he gets beyond the military reservation of his station. We must take the soldier as we find him, recognizing that he is not by any means a perfect being, and that among other defective traits he is apt to have a fondness for strong drink. If, then, by offering him the opportunity of procuring in moderate quantities comparatively harmless beverages, such as light wines and beer, we prevent him from indulging in or diminish his temptation to partake to excess of whisky, brandy, rum, gin, or other "strong waters," the too frequent use of which makes drunkards, or even worse, of men, who can deny that good is accomplished such as could not be brought about by any "sumptuary law," be it ever so strong?

MEN SHOULD NOT BE FORCED.

Men are not prone to embrace the rod that smites them, nor do they like to obey a law passed to deprive them of their accustomed pleasures through agitations provoked and kept before the public by a lot of people whose experience with the military seldom goes beyond admiring the "khaki" from a distance and making collections of soldiers' brass buttons in time of war scares.

At posts without traders' stores, the canteen, as the cooperative store of the command when managed by a reliable canteen steward and one or more detailed assistants of approved character, and working under the supervision of a board of officers and a carefully devised system of checks, can be made an efficient in-

strument for good. Its purpose is, or should be, to supply the enlisted men at moderate prices with plain lunches, light wine, beer, and other articles, to the absolute exclusion of spirits or strong intoxicants; to provide a library or a room in which they may read or write, besides furnishing them, whenever practicable, with the facilities of engaging in gymnastic exercises and manly sports. The sale of beer or wine should be restricted or interdicted in the discretion of the commanding officer, and is to be authorized only as a means to prevent excesses outside and to promote temperance.

Treating, gambling, and the playing of any games for money should be prohibited. The credit system, if allowed at all, should be carried on with great discretion. Under a plan of this kind it is believed that all classes of Americans would be willing to admit that canteens would improve the mental, moral, and physical condition of the average soldier, make him better satisfied with his lot, remove a part of the temptation to desert, and thus enhance greatly his value to the Government. It was of this kind of a canteen that Archibald Forbes, the great English war correspondent, spoke when he said that "it was the most important boon to the soldier of modern times."

WHAT A CANTEEN IS.

A description of a typical canteen, located at Fort Meade, S. Dak., prior to the time that the law abolishing canteens was passed, can not but be interesting:

The building is one story high, and in addition to schoolrooms, library, etc., not directly under the control of the officer in charge of the canteen, consists of one large lunch room and general store, bar room, billiard hall and reading room, storeroom, kitchen, office, and dormitory for use of the attendants. A large detached underground beer vault and root house has accommodations for a full carload of beer in addition to a winter's supply of apples and other vegetables. As a part of the canteen, too, there is a good-sized stage at the end of the post hall. This is suitably provided with drop curtain and scenery bought on three months' time (1899). An enlisted men's dramatic association is endeavoring to pay for this, with fair hopes of success. If its efforts are not successful, it is the intention to have the debt paid at maturity by the canteen. Arrangements have been made with the manager of the opera house in Deadwood by which all theatrical troupes playing in that city will give at least one performance on this stage. Funds derived from the use of the hall for such purposes will be devoted to paying for scenery.

There are also two rooms reserved for the use of the officers. These rooms are furnished and maintained at the expense of the canteen, and all profits arising from sales therein will be for the benefit of the canteen. The same articles, and no others, will be sold here that are sold to the enlisted men. No ardent spirits will be permitted to be introduced here. Police and maintenance of order in these rooms will be in the hands of the officer in charge of the canteen. These rooms will be open on or about January 1, 1890.

The canteen found itself very fortunately situated in one respect—viz, in being able to at once make use of the permanent stock of the Eighth Cavalry canteen. Regimental canteens being no longer permissible under the regulations, the latter institution had to give way and had its entire permanent stock for disposal. All this stock was immediately turned over and has been in constant use since. Subsequently it was appraised by a board of officers at \$2,200 and bought at that price.

The means for furnishing the billiard rooms were at once available, and in that of the men two billiard tables and one pool table and in that of the officers one billiard table were put up. These tables, together with the games and other means of amusement comprised in this property, have been the source of much amusement and pleasure to the enlisted men, who make a frequent and constantly increasing use of them. By means also of this property the canteen came into possession of all the tools, utensils, etc., necessary to a large lunch and bar business.

The salable stock was bought on credit. Drummers and business men, upon looking thoroughly into the proposed business, did not hesitate to give ample credit. The stability of such a business, with slight expenses and no losses to be apprehended from bad debts, was apparent at a glance, and the canteen soon had drummers vying with one another for its trade. The canteen was opened for trade on the pay day following the October muster, and since that day has been in successful operation. During November credit was given the men to the amount of \$834.40, and it was all promptly repaid on the next pay day, in December, not one cent being lost through defaulters.

DEFEATED THE ENDS THEY SOUGHT.

To put in operation a canteen on this broad plan has been the aim of every post in the United States, but owing to a law passed by Congress, in response to a public opinion worked up apparently from outside sources, all canteens, amounting at one time to several hundred, were forbidden to sell even light wines and beer to the men in the ranks, by resolution appended to the army bill. The object of promoting temperance and governing the appetites of the men, under the immediate eyes of their officers, was thus defeated at one stroke. The men, or rather such of them as were addicted to ardent spirits to excess and consequent indulgence in still baser passions and appetites, were now thrown upon the tender mercies of the saloons to be found in the vicinity of all military posts, the walking "dramshops" and "bootleggers," and the wider temptations of the cities at large, when upon leave.

The Members of Congress instrumental in securing this restrictive legislation, as well as the accredited representatives in Washington of the Prohibitionists and various temperance societies who urged it, have steadily repudiated the idea that they intended to deny to the soldiers their personal rights of forming and operating "cold-water clubs" with temperance drinks, etc., but it has been found by practical experience that when the sale of beer and light wines are cut out from the canteen by legal prohibition it is impossible to carry on the club in its various ramifications, on account of lack of both interest in its pursuits and profits in its investments.

THE FOUNDING OF THE CANTEEN.

To thoroughly understand why the plans of the temperance people for "cold-water clubs" failed it is only necessary to understand the objects which were sought to be attained when the canteen was first inaugurated.

The service canteen system in the United States Army was first introduced at Vancouver Barracks by Colonel Morrow in 1880, and was maintained with slight interruption down to the time that the canteen was abolished at that post. It gave good service to officers and men and was generally regarded by them with favor—as an improvement upon the old plan of traders' stores. On August 26, 1886, Lieutenant Sladen, of the Fourteenth Infantry, made a report upon it which came to the attention of General Sheridan, who regarded the plan as practical and of great benefit to the service. It was not, however, until 1880 that the Army adopted the plan generally. Lieutenant Sladen, in his report, said, among many other things, that with an average of seven companies in the seven months ending August 1, 1886, including \$500 credit sales, the total receipts were \$5,499.58, of which \$4,740.40 represents the first cost of stores sold and of services rendered the canteen. The profits were applied to the purchase of two billiard tables, the design being to make a club room for the entertainment of the men which would contain tenpin alleys and other games, as well as a reading room.

The whole affair was run upon the cooperative plan, the same as an officers' mess, each contributing his share. The profits were applied to the purchase of articles for sale, such as food-stuffs not purchased in rations, toilet and all other articles usually furnished in sutlers' stores. In other words, the design is to give the enlisted man the benefit of all profits in trade which, under the old sutler and "army-supply-man store," passed into the coffers of an outside civilian, who frequently made a fortune out of the business. Why should the religious or temperance people interfere to deprive the enlisted man of his small privileges?

Lieutenant Sladen continued in his report that it was the desire to make a club room for enlisted men, solely for their comfort and benefit, and that they shall be made to feel that they have an ownership in its property and a voice in its management.

No excess in drinking, according to Lieutenant Sladen, was allowed. If a man displayed a disposition to drink to excess, further sale was refused him. Noisy and boisterous conduct was forbidden and restrained.

DE RUSSY, GIBBON, AND MILES.

In commenting upon this report Colonel De Russy said:

The canteen was started because of the exorbitant charges and want of proper places of amusement for enlisted men. In it amusements of various kinds are furnished, and of a nature that can find diversion without expense. This keeps men in the garrison, prevents much drunkenness that always results from their lounging about barrooms. * * * The working of the canteen has been examined into by both officers and men from other posts, and, so far as heard from, has met with their unqualified approval. In every respect it appears to me that good has come, with no resulting harm. It meets with my heartiest commendation, and I only hope that the success it has met with heretofore may continue.

General Gibbon's testimony with regard to the canteen at Vancouver Barracks is interesting:

The post of Vancouver Barracks lies close alongside the town of Vancouver, the street next to the post being lined with saloons, to which the soldiers of the garrison resorted for liquors. The establishment of the canteen inside the garrison gave the enlisted men a homelike and convenient resort, where they could read, play cards and billiards, get lunches, and drink their beer comfortably and moderately, and at a profit to themselves. A marked improvement in the discipline of the garrison resulted. There being no trader at the post, there is no infringement of the rights referred to in circular 9. Most post-trader shops are now little other than beer saloons, the immense profits of which go into the trader's pocket. In the case of the canteen, the soldiers themselves get the profits.

Upon this same subject General Miles made a signed statement and indorsement as follows:

There has not been a post trader at Vancouver Barracks for ten years, and although it is one of the largest posts in the country it is one of the best disciplined and most orderly. The post canteen and gymnasium are excellent substitutes for the ordinary post trader's establishments. Beer and light wines are not regarded as alcoholic liquors, and should not, in my opinion, be so classed, and I indorse the recommendation of Colonel Anderson and General Gibbon, and recommend that the prohibition contained in Circular No. 9, current series, Adjutant-General's Office, be regarded as not applying to the post at Vancouver Barracks.

CORBIN'S SUCCINCT STATEMENT.

The Adjutant-General was called upon for information relative to the canteen on several occasions in 1900 by General Sewell, who was then chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate at a time when a general assault was being made by the Prohibitionists and their allied forces against all temperance clubs or canteens existing at military posts, both at home and abroad. General Corbin's response to General Sewell's requests was embodied in the following letter, which has thus far proved to be unanswerable in most of its statements. The editor of the New Voice, a Prohibition newspaper of New York City, has endeavored to make a reply, which was based upon partial data, and from all aspects proved unsatisfactory to the Prohibition forces. It is understood

that an attempt is still being made to find data upon which to base a reply.

The following is the letter from General Corbin:

THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S VIEWS.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., August 28, 1900.

HON. WILLIAM J. SEWELL,
Military Committee, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your several inquiries concerning the post exchange of army canteen, I have the honor to inform you—

First. That the sale of all spirituous liquors by the canteen is and has always been absolutely prohibited.

Second. Only beer and light wines are sold to either officers or men, and these only when the commanding officer "is satisfied that giving to the troops or obtaining such beverages within the post limits will prevent them from resorting for strong intoxicants to places without such limits, and tends to promote temperance and discipline among them."

Third. The canteen was established and has been maintained in the interests of temperance and betterment of discipline with most satisfactory results. This is shown in fewer trials by courts-martial, in the decreased number of desertions, and in the improved health of the men.

Fourth. The exchange is a cooperative store where supplies are sold at cost, or as nearly as possible, for the benefit of officers and men of the Army. The canteen is a department of the exchange, constituting an enlisted man's club. Rooms in or near the soldiers' quarters are set apart for this special purpose, furnished with reading matter, billiard tables, and other games, but where every form of gambling is absolutely forbidden. It is where the men write their letters home and read the newspapers and magazines. The Government has no financial interest whatever in either the exchange or canteen, the funds being supplied by the soldiers themselves.

Almost every company commander has reported in favor of the exchange and canteen as an effective temperance measure. One thousand and nineteen commissioned officers have made special reports to this effect.

It may be proper for me to say at the beginning I opposed the canteen, but was brought to its support by the overwhelming evidence of its beneficial results upon the morals, health, and contentment of the service. As set forth in the report of Assistant Surgeon Munson, United States Army, who, under instructions of the War Department, made careful investigation into the effect of the canteen upon the health of the enlisted men, the result more than met the expectations of those most interested in the promotion of temperance in the military service. He further finds that the percentage of desertion has been continually reduced since the introduction of the canteen. Prior to its introduction desertions averaged from 10 to 11 per cent annually. Since its establishment these have decreased as follows: First year to 7.7; the next year to 5.7; the next 5.7; then 6.3; the next to 3.6; then to 5.3; the next to 3.4, and finally to 2.9.

Further, the number of trials and convictions for drunkenness and offenses originating therefrom for the six years preceding the canteen was 372.5. These decreased during the following six years of its establishment to 109.6.

Further, for the seven years preceding the establishment of the canteen, the average number of men who deposited their savings with the Government was 7,273. For the seven years following its introduction the average has increased to 8,383.

It has been stated in the public press that the receipts of the exchange are nearly all for drink. To meet this statement I have to inform you that the official reports of the department show that the receipts from sales of beer and light wines are and have been less than one-third of gross receipts (being in 1898 five-seventeenths, and in 1899 six-seventeenths). Taking the amount of gross receipts on account of the sale of beer and dividing it by the total number of officers and men shows that each officer and enlisted man for the year 1898 expended on account of beer only 20 cents a month—equivalent to four glasses of beer per month, or less than one glass a week apiece for each officer and man in the military service.

In 1899 the expenditures on the part of each officer and man reached an average of 58 cents per month, or but 1.9 cents a day. These facts make it clear that, in comparison with all other citizens, the Army to-day is the most abstemious body in our own country. There is no community of which we have any report or knowledge that will show so small a percentage of drink per capita. This average should, in fact, appear much lower, for the reason that citizen employees, of which we have taken no account, have the privilege of purchasing from the canteen. The number of clerks, mechanics, and teamsters employed with an army in the field is, as you know, very large. This number, however, is not obtainable, but you will agree, would very materially reduce the average of 20 and 58 cents a month.

If there is any further information that you desire from the records on this subject, the Department will be only too glad to furnish it. You must admit that the anxiety of temperance people outside the service about the Army is unwarranted. As compared with those existing twenty and thirty years ago—as we knew it then—or with any community of the present time anywhere in civil life, the Army is a model temperance society—a practical one, one where reasonable abstinence is the rule and where excesses are the exceptions. A society whose precepts, no less than its example, could be followed by all people in safety and sobriety.

HENRY C. CORBIN,
Adjutant-General, Major-General, U. S. Army.

INFLUENTIAL TESTIMONY.

In his published testimony before the Military Committee of the Senate, in December, 1900, Archbishop Ireland said:

You will find soldiers arrested in houses of prostitution. They are arrested, and then we ask, "How did you get there?" The explanation is that they went outside and got drunk in some of these vile saloons, and they were induced to go to these houses from the saloons. The agents of these houses are there, and they are there particularly for the purpose of inveigling the soldiers into these houses. The houses that I refer to are on the borders of the fort and are houses of prostitution—all of them. If a soldier does take too much to drink in the fort, he is not exposed, of course, to this other and greater evil. Outside those two evils go together. When the soldier gets drunk outside the fort he is led to something worse. And so I say, even if the drunkenness itself were not diminished, I would rather that a certain degree of drunkenness were to prevail in the fort than to be allowed to the soldier outside.

But, on the other hand, my own conviction is that the dangers are far less for drunkenness in the fort, and, at any rate, the amount there furnished is regulated, and there is a certain esprit de corps among the men that keeps them from abusing their privilege of taking beer. It is regarded as a respectable place to gather, and the men generally would not like to see the canteen become a place for getting drunk. If the man there takes too much, he is somewhat tabooed.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is restricted in his drinking—he is not allowed to drink too much?

Archbishop IRELAND. Yes, sir; that is better yet. Of course, if people could do away with all evil it would be better for the world, but my policy is to deal with the world as it is.

Secretary of War Root, in his testimony before the same committee, said:

May I call your attention to the collection of military testimony which is annexed to my report of last year? In that report I have set out the existing statutes and the regulations on the subject of the canteen, and I want to add one thing to this testimony. Not only is the canteen a great means of increasing the morality and health and discipline of the soldiers, but it is the one thing that makes it possible to make the camp, the military post, an agreeable place for the soldiers. We can talk about it just as much as we please—total-abstinence clubs are not successes. And the post exchange is a club, and the men get together there and they play dominoes and checkers and billiards, and they read and talk and smoke, and they drink their glass of beer, and it is an agreeable place and the men do not go away. If you passed the provision which the House has put in, prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines in the canteen, you break that up, and the result is going to be as soon as it gets around, it will stop our enlistments. That is a matter of serious practical consequence. The men are not going to enlist when they understand that they are going to be confined in the reform school.

Another thing that is not the pleasantest thing to talk about publicly or to put into a report. It is that in the vile resorts which cluster against the borders of every army post there is not only the liquor seller, with his bad whisky, but there is the prostitute. The man who goes to the gin mill for his recreation falls into the hands of that woman, and he comes back not merely to the guardhouse for drunkenness or for overstayng his time, but to go into the hospital with venereal disease. These misguided people are doing a Satan's work in endeavoring to take these young fellows out from under the restraint and under the influences that surround them when they are in camp and drive them out into the horrible and demoralizing and damning surroundings that cluster around the outside of the camps.

MILITARY TESTIMONY.

The collection of military testimony mentioned by the Secretary of War in his statement before the committee embodies some very pertinent points which should receive careful consideration from all who are seeking the truth about the conditions which the canteen system was designed to remedy. The information comes from men who are in the best position to know whereof they speak and consequently should be more authoritative than any of the ex parte second-hand statements which have been industriously circulated to secure legislation against the canteen. Following are extracts from statements made by post commanders:

Commanding officer, Fort Gaswell, N. C.:

"I do not think the morality or discipline of the command has been much affected by the abolition of the canteen. I notice, though, that fewer men are willing to reenlist for organizations at the post, and I believe some discontent has been caused by this law."

Commanding officer, Fort Snelling, Minn.:

"From my own observation and that of the officers of the garrison, the morality and discipline of the post was superior after the abolishment of the canteen as compared with any period prior to that act. * * * The percentage of sick was much less after the abolishment of the canteen. * * * The records show that the number of desertions for the six months prior to the abolishment of the canteen exceeds that of the six subsequent months. * * * On February 1, 1901, there were two saloons within 1 mile of the reservation. Up to the time of my leaving Fort Snelling, September 1, 1901, no additional saloons had been established. * * *

"I find that the company amusement room, with tobacco, cigars, lunch, and soft drinks on sale, is more satisfactory than a common amusement room, as at a large post a common amusement room of sufficient size to accommodate the whole command when off duty can not well be established; besides, the company amusement room develops and fosters the company unit, which constitutes the most important factor in contentment and discipline. I urge the early establishment by the Quartermaster's Department at every large post of a well-equipped gymnasium in connection with a race track and athletic grounds * * *"

Commanding officer, Fort Logan, Colo.:

"I believe that many company commanders are induced to approve of the canteen feature of the post exchange because they obtain an income from it with which they improve the mess of the men and purchase pool tables, gymnastic outfits, bowling alleys, etc. It must be remembered the soldiers of our present Army are much younger than before the Spanish war. They are men who either do not drink or who want very little, and have not contracted the drink habit. It is the duty of the Government to protect these men and not put temptation before them. It is not sufficient to say to a soldier, 'You shall not drink;' but surround him with wholesome and decent means of diversion and amusement, and he will not want to drink."

[Effects in prohibition States, where the sale is regulated by the State.]

Commanding officer, Fort Fremont, S. C.:

"The number of cases of venereal diseases in the command has increased. The evil effects of the law in question upon the health of the command have been more marked. The places at which liquor is sold are frequented by negro women of loose character, with whom the men are thus more closely associated than was formerly the case. * * * The liquor sold in the vicinity of the post is of the poorest quality, and is, from what I can learn, adulterated very often with the most injurious substances. During the summer just passed three members of the command have died under exactly the same conditions, each exhibiting the same symptoms and each dying within six hours after having been first taken ill."

"In each case the man had absented himself for the twenty-four hours preceding his illness and had during that time been drinking heavily of the liquors sold around the post. The diagnosis of the surgeon in each case was 'cerebral congestion due to excessive use of alcoholic stimulants.' It is very difficult in this State to secure the conviction of a man charged with selling liquor illegally, and until recently it has not been practicable to obtain sufficient evidence to justify the prosecution of any of these persons so engaged. Recently, however, enough evidence to secure the conviction of one of the proprietors of these places has been obtained, and he will be prosecuted at the next meeting in this county of the criminal court."

Commanding officer, Sullivan's Island, S. C.:

"The stoppage of the sale of beer induces patronage of State dispensaries where liquor is sold by bottle only, and consequently large quantities are drunk at one time."

Commanding officer, Fort Riley, Kans.:

"On February 13, 1901, there were eleven joints and eight drug

stores within 1 mile of the reservation limits. On August 21, 1901, six joints and eight drug stores. The drug stores in Junction City sell liquor, spirits, and beer, and the joints are simply barrooms. Kansas is a prohibition State."

Commanding officer, Fort Ethan Allen, Vt.:

"Vermont is a prohibition State. * * * While there are no liquor saloons, there are many drug stores. All sell liquor on prescription. Prescriptions are easily obtained."

Commanding officer, Fort Logan H. Roots, Ark.:

"There are men in the ranks of our Army from many walks of life, and many of the most valuable clerks, mechanics, carpenters, etc., are men of good education and trades, who are in the Army because periodic spees have lost for them many positions in civil life, and they entered the Army to receive the discipline it affords. Take their daily drinks from them, tell them that they shall not drink, and you make drunkards of them."

Commanding officer, Fort Apache, Ariz.:

"In my opinion the breaking up of the canteen system has been the hardest blow we have received in many years. Before its abolition our men were well satisfied with their condition; they had good food; the receipts from the canteen were applied in various ways for their welfare, comfort, and amusement, and they were rarely drunk and seldom absent. Now at many posts it is the reverse."

"Places known as 'hog ranches' are established near the posts; if not, then men called 'bootleggers' are selling whisky to the men by the bottle (many of the men would not think of patronizing the whisky peddlers if they could occasionally get a glass of beer at the post); after one or two drinks of the vile stuff that is sold them they do not or can not know what they do, remaining away from the post for a day or two. Some, fearing punishment on their return to the post, desert. The idea that full-grown men are going to patronize a canteen where nothing is sold except soft drinks is an illusion."

Commanding officer Twenty-seventh Regiment, New York Volunteers, reports from Presidio, San Francisco, Cal., as follows:

"My camp was located just inside the main gate of the reservation. Across the street and in the immediate vicinity were located many saloons, which were most of the time crowded by soldiers. The saloons were there expressly to catch soldiers and were successful. Drunkenness and disorders were very frequent. From my observation, while serving with the volunteers in the Philippines, I consider the abolishment of the sale of beer in the post canteen a positive calamity to troops serving in that locality. Men will drink stimulants if they wish to, and there is always a supply where there is a demand."

"In the Philippines drinking men are almost sure to resort to the native drink 'vino' if unable to obtain beer. The poorest whisky ever distilled can not compare with 'vino' in its evil effects upon the men. The latter drink seems to destroy the character of a man mentally, morally, and physically. I believe many deaths and much of the insanity which occurred during my stay in the islands were due either directly or indirectly to the use of 'vino.'"

Commanding officer, Presidio of San Francisco, Cal.:

"Volunteers returning from the Philippines have made raids upon near-by saloons, being incited to such deeds under drunkenness; perhaps sometimes sober impulses, aroused by real or imaginary grievances, such as being drugged, robbed, or otherwise maltreated while in the saloons. There were several such occurrences between January 1 and July 1, 1901, which were so serious that it became necessary for the commanding officer to aid the police in restoring order and to save property from destruction. * * *"

Commanding officer, Mayaguez, P. R.:

"The percentage of sick in this last company has been over 10 per cent the last three months. I believe it is due to rum drinking instead of beer. Every effort has been made to discover the cause of the sickness in this company, and no other cause than that some of the men were financially backing a rum shop near the post has so far been discovered."

Commanding officer, Ponce, P. R.:

"The effect of the abolition of the sale of beer is very bad, both morally and for discipline, because the men will have beer and must go into the city to get it. There they are thrown into contact with immoral women and drink rum and other cheap alcoholic beverages. These drinks cause some men to become crazy and boisterously drunk. Before the abolishment of the canteen most of the beer drinkers drank almost exclusively in the exchange and in moderation."

Post surgeon, Fort Schuyler, N. Y.:

"Where two affections, such as excessive drinking and venereal diseases, are so intimately associated, were it possible to control the former, the latter would of itself greatly decrease. While it is true many cases of venereal disease may occur when drinking has not been a factor, still by far the majority of cases reported to me have been subsequent to drunkenness and resulting carelessness."

Commanding officer, Fort Douglas, Utah:

"The social evil in this city is more rampant than I have ever seen before. When we had the canteen the men were contented to stay in the post, but now they want to go to town all the time, and these women get hold of them."

Commanding officer, Benicia Barracks, Cal.:

"A post is the soldier's home during the time he is in the Army, and a well-managed, regulated, and attractive canteen, where beer and light wines are sold, adds to the physical, moral, and intellectual well-being of a soldier, improves his surroundings, contributes to his rational enjoyment, and adds to his pleasures, making him a contented and satisfied soldier. To make a post a mere place where duty is the sole thing and every diversion and recreation denied a man makes duty dull, uninteresting, and stupid. That there should be a canteen at every post, in my opinion, admits of no argument."

Commanding officer, Camp McKinley, Hawaii:

"The effect of the abolition of the sale of beer has been to double the number of trials for drunkenness and also for absence without leave."

Commanding officer, Washington Barracks, D. C.:

"With the canteen in existence the decent, well-behaved, self-respecting, and orderly men of the command—men who pride themselves on their soldierly conduct and good behavior—had the privilege of drinking an occasional glass of beer in an orderly, clean, and perfectly proper establishment for that purpose."

"They enjoyed the privilege and respected it, and were well satisfied with their condition and surroundings, knowing that they were being treated as self-respecting men, free to indulge a perfectly proper and legitimate appetite in a perfectly proper way, and knowing also that they were being benefited indirectly in their better food provided upon their mess table. * * * The moment the sale of beer was abolished the human nature of every individual man—good, bad, and indifferent—at once resented this interference with his individual right to regulate his appetite and to try and force him to be a total abstainer from the use of alcoholic drinks."

"The effect was at once to make every man assert himself to indulge intemperately in the use of beer or something stronger; at once to seek outside of the post that which he was denied therein, and to be dissatisfied, restless, and discontented, and to show this spirit on any and every occasion possible. * * * The demand for all-night passes became so overwhelming that positive and stringent regulations had to be adopted to regulate the number. * * * With the abolition of the sale of beer the soldiers' club

practically ceased, and their only recourse for diversion and recreation was to go to the saloon dives and brothels of the city of Washington, with their very decided immoral adjuncts.

"The hospital records show that during the period August 2, 1900, to February 2, 1901, there were admitted to sick report 13 venereal cases and 3 cases of alcoholism, while for the period February 2, 1901, to August 2, 1901, there were admitted 31 cases of venereal diseases and 7 of alcoholism. * * * The total abstainers may claim what they please as to the abolition of the sale of beer in the Navy. It is respectfully submitted that the cases are not parallel in any particular. * * * To try and regulate a military garrison by the same rules possible on board a ship at sea would be to confine every man of the command, officers and all, to the limits of the post for weeks and months at a time and is evidently not only impossible, but also very undesirable, yet the only way to enforce total abstinence."

Commanding officer district of Santiago, February 1, 1902:

"The recent act of Congress prohibiting the sale of beer and light wines at all military posts has been the means of breaking up, to a certain extent, the happy club life of the soldier. It is a well-established fact that there has been more drunkenness among the soldiers at army posts since the abolition of the canteen than there was before. No system of discipline nor severity of punishment can prevent soldiers from visiting low saloons and obtaining liquor. The canteen question resolves itself into one of expediency rather than sentiment."

"If it can be proved that temperance in the Army is best promoted by a well-regulated canteen, under the immediate eye of the commanding officer, the practical view of the matter will ultimately prevail, instead of an abstract theory. It has been advanced by some who are severe and unreasonable in their condemnation of the canteen that all soldiers who are inclined to drink intoxicating drinks should be put out of the Army. This is absurd. It is folly to talk of an army of total abstainers; nor is it to be expected that men enlisting as soldiers to serve their country shall be forced to take a temperance pledge any more than that they should be forced to be religious."

"Soldiers are not children, to be governed like children. They are men upon whom the country must depend for a stalwart individuality and the exercise of heroic qualities in the stress of privation, hardship, and danger. If they are to be trusted in battle, they must be trusted in garrison. In the interest of discipline, morality, general welfare, and contentment of the soldier of the Army, I most earnestly recommend that the act of Congress prohibiting the sale of beer at army posts may be repealed by Congress at the next session."

In submitting this petition we desire to express to your honorable committee and through you to the Senate of the United States, and through the Senate to the people of the United States, our reasons for petitioning for the defeat of this amendment, which in our opinion—and we are confident our opinion is that of 87 per cent of the enlisted strength of the Army—deprives the American soldier of not only his chief source of pleasure and recreation in his life as a soldier, but also the safeguards against temptations which are thrown in his way when he is forced outside of the garrison for recreation and amusement, for its passage means the abolition of the post exchange.

The post exchange as conducted in the Army to-day is a mutual cooperative institution in which every enlisted man in the garrison is practically a stockholder, as it is run solely for his benefit. Its object is twofold: First, to afford the soldier a place where he can obtain at minimum cost to himself, and where any profit made will redound to his benefit, those recreations which all religious denominations of the country deem of sufficient importance to the working men and women of this country to take under their fostering care, irrespective of denomination, i. e., the establishment of working-men and working women clubs to employ the unoccupied time of the members, with the addition that beer and soft drinks are sold; the profit from which, as the Government does not make any appropriation for the support of the same, enables the post exchange to be run and furnishes the means for its second object, and that is to provide the soldier with those articles of food which are commonly called luxuries, and which, although the American soldier is acknowledged by every reading man in the United States to be the best clothed and best taken-care-of soldier in the world, are not supplied as a part of his contract with the Government, but tend to make him more contented with his life, more cheerful under hardships, and a better soldier, and thus a better citizen.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Medical and Hospital Department: For the purchase of medical and hospital supplies, including disinfectants for military posts, camps, hospitals, hospital ships, and transports; for expenses of medical supply depots; for medical care and treatment of officers and enlisted men of the Army on duty, and of prisoners of war and other persons in military custody or confinement at posts and stations for which no other provision is made, under such regulations as shall have been or shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War; for the proper care and treatment of epidemic and contagious diseases in the Army or at military posts or stations, including measures to prevent the spread thereof, and the payment of reasonable damages, not otherwise provided for, for bedding and clothing injured or destroyed in such prevention; for the pay of male and female nurses, not including the Nurse Corps (female), and of cooks and other civilians employed for the proper care of sick officers and soldiers, under such regulations fixing their number, qualifications, assignment, pay, and allowances as shall have been or shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War; for the pay of civilian physicians employed to examine physically applicants for enlistment and enlisted men, and to render other professional services from time to time under proper authority; for the pay of other employees of the Medical Department; for the payment of express companies and local transfers employed directly by the Medical Department for the transportation of medical and hospital supplies, including bidders' samples and water for analysis; for supplies for use in teaching the art of cooking to the Hospital Corps; for the supply of the Army and Navy Hospital at Hot Springs, Ark.; for advertising, laundry, and all other necessary miscellaneous expenses of the Medical Department, \$550,000: *Provided*, That hereafter the purchase of medicines and medical stores or the engagement of services not personal for the Medical Department of the Army may be made by the Medical Department in open market in the manner common among business men when the aggregate of the amount required does not exceed \$200, but every such purchase or employment shall be promptly reported to the Secretary of War: *Provided further*, That hereafter civilian employees of the Army stationed at military posts may, under regulations to be made by the Secretary of War, purchase necessary medical supplies when prescribed by a medical officer of the Army.

EXPERT AUTHORITY ON THE SUBJECT.

The American Public Health Association, consisting of physicians and health officers of long experience in many cities upon the American continent, prepared a report upon the subject of the American army canteen, through a subcommittee, whose ability will be recognized all over the world, and when the same was submitted, at their annual convention in January, 1904, in

Washington, D. C., it was unanimously adopted. This full report is appended below, together with the resolutions passed at their convention held at Buffalo, N. Y., from September 16 to 20, 1901, calling attention to the restrictions recently placed upon the army canteen, and appointing a committee to carefully investigate the whole subject from hygienic as well as other standpoints, and report the results in printed form. The report is the most complete and unanswerable ever submitted, clearly setting forth the effect of the canteen upon the morale of troops from every conceivable standpoint. I reproduce this report in full for the general information of all who wish to get at the true facts of the controversy.

PRELIMINARY RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That this body deploras the action of Congress in curtailing the operation of the army canteen or post exchange, and in the interests of general and military sanitation recommends its establishment on its former basis at the earliest possible date.

Also:

The executive committee recommends the appointment of a special committee to prepare and publish at an early date a pamphlet for public circulation containing the resolution of the Public Health Association in favor of the army canteen, together with a concise statement of the data upon which this action was based and the definite references to the original sources from which such information is obtainable; such pamphlet to be issued in the name of the association, and to be so prepared as to withstand keen and intelligent examination.

This recommendation is made in view of the fact (1) that an important function of this association is to educate the public in matters of hygiene; (2) that the action above referred to is in disagreement with the ideas of a very large number of good citizens; (3) that this is a possible opportunity of securing their understanding of our action, and, it is to be hoped, their intelligent cooperation in taking successive steps toward the betterment of existing conditions.

THE REPORT ADOPTED.

Introduction.—In order to appreciate the object of these resolutions it should be stated that the so-called "canteen system" was introduced as a temperance measure at Vancouver Barracks in 1880, but was not officially recognized until February 1, 1889, as shown by the following extracts from General Orders, No. 10, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant-General's Office:

"1. Canteens may be established at military posts where there are no post traders, for supplying the troops at moderate prices with such articles as may be deemed necessary for their use, entertainment, and comfort; also for affording them the requisite facilities for gymnastic exercises, billiards, and other proper games. The commanding officer may set apart for the purpose of the canteen any suitable rooms that can be spared—such rooms, whenever practicable, to be in the same building with the library or reading rooms."

"2. The sale or use of ardent spirits in canteens is strictly prohibited, but the commanding officer is authorized to permit wines and light beer to be sold therein by the drink, on week days, and in a room used for no other purpose, whenever he is satisfied that the giving to the men the opportunity of obtaining such beverages within the post limits has the effect of preventing them from resorting for strong intoxicants to places without such limits and tends to promote temperance and discipline among them. The practice of what is known as 'treating' should be discouraged under all circumstances."

"3. Gambling or playing any game for money or other thing of value is forbidden."

Subsequent order, dated May 13, 1890, provides that:

"The practice of what is known as 'treating' must not be permitted." After the abolition of post-traders these canteens became also the cooperative store, and supplied the officers and men with the necessities and luxuries which the Government does not provide, such as "delicatessen," cigars, tobacco, and general merchandise, articles of clothing, stationery, etc., and as such exercised also a very important economic function.

The establishment of the canteen system, in the light of the evidence which will be presented hereafter, proved to be a most efficient prophylactic measure for the diminution of vice and drunkenness among troops, and its abolition by an act of Congress, approved February 2, 1901, on purely sentimental grounds must be deeply deplored by all interested in the prevention of physical and moral diseases. Since the question of intemperance is intimately connected with the health, morals, discipline, and general efficiency of the Army, it is necessary to consider the subject in all its bearings, and for the purpose of approaching the question from the practical rather than the sentimental standpoint we will present a summary of the evidence:

Personnel of the Army.—The recruits for the Army are enlisted generally from among men of ordinary walks in life, and reflect, therefore, the qualities of the latter, whether they be good or bad. It is not true that the soldier is peculiarly dissipated above all others and requires special legislative measures to safeguard him against his weakness, for, as justly remarked by Doctor Munson in his *Theory and Practice of Military Hygiene*, page 830:

"He brings with him into the service the result of the moral molding to which he has been subjected during his childhood and youth in civil life, and does not change his nature or moral standards with the mere donning of the uniform."

One of the members of your committee served in the Army both as an enlisted man and contract surgeon from 1867 and 1889, another member served as an officer of artillery, and we have therefore personal experiences and observation as to the character and habits of the enlisted men, the question of intemperance, its predisposing causes and effects upon the health and morals of the troops. We are disposed to divide the rank and file of the Army into four classes. The first class includes a number of young men who have resisted the temptations of the saloons in civil life, and will continue to resist the temptations after they enter the Army.

The second class comprises many men, especially of German descent, accustomed all their lives to drinking beer instead of alkaloidal beverages, such as coffee and tea, who crave for companionship and the genteel amusements of a club and gymnastic hall; they regard beer as an article of food and a gentle stimulant, and life without these environments creates discontent and never reconciles them to their absence from home. The third class is made up of intelligent mechanics and clerks, who, by reason of periodic attacks of intemperance, have lost their positions in civil life, but who, possessing sufficient self-respect and manhood, have entered the ranks for the purpose of securing the benefits of army discipline. The fourth class consists of men without aim or purpose in life, and without internal resources for legitimate amusements; they are fond of morbid excitement and the alluring influences of the saloon, and appear to find it difficult to check their cravings for liquor, in spite of the restraining effects of army discipline; indeed, quite a number of these men are true degenerates, not infrequently drawn from the higher walks of life (gentlemen—rankers).

Prevalence of alcoholism in the Army.—It is difficult to give an exact esti-

mate of the extent of the drink habit, except by the amount of beer actually sold in the canteens and the prevalence of alcoholism as shown by the Army medical statistics. Statistics prepared by the Adjutant-General of the Army show that during the year 1893, the first year of the Spanish-American war, with its hardships, excitement, and general employment of the Army, the average amount spent for beer by each man in an army of 231,059 officers and men was \$2.41 per year, or 48¢ glasses at 5 cents each, or 20 cents per month, equal to 4 glasses per month for each man. The consumption in 1899 in an army of 90,160 officers and men was \$6.99, or 139¢ glasses per year, or 56 cents, or 11½ glasses per month for each officer and man. This is a very favorable showing when it is considered that the average consumption of liquor in the United States amounts to 17.63 gallons per capita.

The following table, taken from Munson's Hygiene, page 809, based upon official records of the Surgeon-General's Office, shows the prevalence of alcoholism in the military forces of the Army during the twenty-eight years of peace, 1870-1897, inclusive:

Year.	Mean strength.	Number of cases admitted to hospital per 1,000 strength.	Number of cases of delirium tremens per 1,000 strength.
1870	31,891	38.20	(a)
1871	29,430	45.80	(a)
1872	28,844	47.50	(a)
1873	27,909	49.40	(a)
1874	27,021	59.10	(a)
1875	23,575	66.00	(a)
1876	24,886	64.50	(a)
1877	23,707	59.00	(a)
1878	23,381	59.40	(a)
1879	23,964	65.10	(a)
1880	24,004	61.00	(a)
1881	23,222	57.60	(a)
1882	23,239	68.70	(a)
1883	23,439	66.00	(a)
1884	24,034	66.10	(a)
1885	24,138	53.50	1.57
1886	23,572	42.80	1.01
1887	23,841	46.70	.88
1888	24,726	40.20	.92
1889	25,008	41.40	.51
1890	24,234	40.70	.86
1891	23,260	40.00	.90
1892	24,303	37.20	.78
1893	25,237	33.80	.55
1894	25,376	30.99	.82
1895	25,204	30.10	.83
1896	25,119	28.80	.58
1897	25,417	27.80	.58
1898	147,795	15.16	(a)
1899	105,546	18.70	(a)
1900	100,389	22.43	(a)
1901	92,491	26.25	(a)
1902	80,778	24.02	(a)

(a) No figures available.

The committee has extended this investigation so as to include the five years ending December 31, 1902, and find, as first pointed out by Munson, that "during the war with Spain in 1898 the admission rate fell to 15.1, the more active operations and novelty supplying much of the desired excitement, while the unusual conditions undoubtedly attracted a superior class of young men to the colors." The same was true in 1899, when the rate for alcoholism in the bulk of our Army engaged in hostilities and hard field service in the Philippines was only about half as high as among those serving in Cuba and an eighth as high as among those in garrison in Porto Rico.

The rates for the United States for the year 1900 were 23.43; for 1901, 26.25; for 1902, 24.02. In Cuba and Porto Rico the rates were, for 1900, 32.01; 1901, 34.42; 1902, 43.23. In the Philippine Islands the rates were 12.16 in 1900, 21.07 in 1901, and 21.10 in 1902.

From this table we learn that the rates for alcoholism in our service have steadily decreased. Since there is reason for believing that the per capita consumption of liquor in the United States has steadily increased, the decrease in the Army rates for alcoholism is especially gratifying and can only be explained by greater care exercised in the selection of recruits and in the character and preparation of food, a more rapid elimination of inebriates from the Army, and last, but not least, the beneficial effects from the establishment of canteens.

It will be observed that the decrease is especially marked since the establishment of canteens in 1899, while the slight changes in 1901 and 1902 are not sufficiently marked to base conclusions thereon; nevertheless they indicate, in connection with other evidence, an increase in alcoholism since the abolition of the canteen.

It is interesting to note that the statistics collected by Doctor Munson show that there is approximately only a tenth as much sickness from the use of alcohol among the negro as the white troops. He says: "Few colored soldiers are hard drinkers; and so far as beer and other malt liquors are concerned, there apparently exists a radical distaste for these beverages on the part of the negro." Doctor Munson also adduces statistics which indicate that nationality is a factor of much importance in determining the relative amount of alcoholism. Thus, for seven-year periods, 1890-1896, the rates of admission in our Army per 1,000 of each class were as follows:

German	26.62
American born	28.51
English	51.84
Irish	90.96

These statistics appear to have also an important bearing on the influence of so-called "national beverages" on the drink habit, and their effects upon the system. The German and American-born soldiers generally prefer beer, while the English and Irish are accustomed to stronger drinks, like ale and ardent spirits.

The canteen as a prophylactic measure.—In order to appreciate the beneficial effects of the canteen system, not only in the reduction of the drink habit, but also as a powerful moral factor in the life of the soldier, it should be remembered that prior to the inauguration of the canteen or post exchange the so-called sutler's or post trader's store was allowed by Army Regulations.

The proprietor was a civilian, appointed by the Secretary of War, and at a subsequent period these appointments were made upon the recommendation of the members of the post council. These stores furnished merchandise and luxuries not supplied by the commissary department, and were also an accommodation to the pioneer settlers. Among the most profitable arti-

cles of sale were whiskies, brandies, wines, cigars, and bottled beer. These were sold usually across the counter, and very few of the sutler stores provided the facilities of club life, such as billiards, reading rooms, or games, and if so the charges were exorbitant and gambling for money was not infrequent. Most generally they presented all the characteristics of the American bar, drinks being consumed in rapid succession, aided by the pernicious system of "treating."

It is quite true these establishments were subject to military orders, and the sales of liquor could be controlled easily, but whenever and wherever the attempt was made on the part of the commanding officer to regulate the character and amount of drinks to be sold it was promptly frustrated by the establishment of little shacks or shanties for the sale of vile whisky outside of the post reservation. These were gradually enlarged by the addition of rooms for gambling and the introduction of lewd women of the lowest class, and as a result, in addition to the excesses of alcoholic stimulants, the effects of an immoral life and its far-reaching consequences were stamped upon those unable to resist the temptations, and as a result trials for drunkenness, absence without leave, admissions for alcoholism and venereal diseases increased with startling rapidity.

One of the members of your committee can recall that on more than one occasion, in order to avert complete demoralization of the men, the commanding officer felt constrained to rescind his orders prohibiting the sale of alcoholics, for he realized that the post trader could be compelled to sell a pure article of whisky, and thus diminish the baneful effects of alcoholic stimulants to a minimum.

At posts situated within the heart of an Indian country, and where it was impracticable to establish grogshops within a reasonable distance from the post, whisky was brought into the garrison through the mails in various disguises, or in express packages, and peddled in 2-ounce vials by the soldiers themselves. Others resorted to the purchase of essence of ginger, lemon, vanilla, bay rum, alcohol, and patent or proprietary remedies containing alcohol in various percentages.

Hence even the most favorable environment failed to prohibit. It was not until the establishment of the canteen system that better conditions were offered for the promotion of temperance among our soldiers. It was the creation of the soldiers' club which reduced drinking to a minimum and promoted not only temperance and contentment, but also lessened sickness, immorality, and crime.

Trials by court-martial for drunkenness, etc.—The statistics already presented show conclusively that coincident with the general establishment of the canteen system throughout the Army there occurred a decrease amounting to considerably more than half the drunkenness which formerly tended to the impairment of discipline, the demoralization of individuals, and to the occurrence of assaults, injuries, and deaths.

The following statistics, prepared by Doctor Munson and extended by the committee, show a gradual improvement in the tone and morale of the Army, as evidenced by the number of courts-martial. This improvement is especially marked since the establishment of the canteen.

The average of trials and convictions for drunkenness and conditions arising therefrom for from 1886 to 1891 was 372.5, against an average of 169.6 for the six years after the establishment of the canteen. (Table Munson's Hygiene, p. 819.)

Year.	Total number of trials and convictions in the Army—all causes.	Number of trials and convictions for drunkenness and conditions arising therefrom.
1886	1,640	342
1887	1,730	230
1888	1,990	367
1889	1,752	423
1890	1,907	407
1891	2,000	417
1892	2,138	228
1893	2,189	163
1894	1,728	120
1895	1,486	142
1896	1,384	108
1897	1,245	143
1898	1,865	313
1899	5,694	1,384
1900	6,618	1,337
1901	6,065	1,458
1902	5,311	1,000

The statistics from 1886 to 1902 should be excluded, as they cover the period of the Spanish-American war, when a large number of volunteers were enrolled. In this connection attention is directed to the "Reports of commanding officers" on file in the War Department and published in House of Representatives Document No. 252, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session. Brig. Gen. Frederick Funston, United States Army, commanding general Department of the Colorado, reports (p. 22) the number of trials by general courts-martial for 1902 to have been 194, and, as compared with the preceding year, the percentage of average enlisted strength to have nearly doubled. He also gives the per cent of average enlisted strength deserting in his department as follows:

1890-1900	3.20
1900-1901	7.50
1901-1902	11

And writes as follows:
"It is therefore plain that there has been a deplorable increase of offenses in general and of desertion in particular. In my opinion there are two principal causes for this state of affairs: 1. Resentment to unaccustomed limitations and restrictions felt by men returning from field service to the monotony and routine work of garrison life. 2. The abolition of the canteen feature of the post exchange. Since this action was taken saloons of the lowest type have been established just outside the boundaries of the various reservations; their proprietors are, in almost every case, unprincipled scoundrels, who leave nothing undone to debauch the soldiers and obtain their money.

"Being, in all cases, outside the limits of any city, the proprietors of these resorts are subject to no municipal police regulations and sell liquor regardless of hours and whether the buyer is already intoxicated or not. Gambling is universal in these 'dives,' and they are frequented by dissolute women. The soldier whose desire for a drink would ordinarily be satisfied by a few glasses of beer in the canteen of the post exchange goes to one of these resorts and does well if he escapes before he has spent or gambled away all his money, overstayed his leave, or engaged in an altercation. As a rule, the

local authorities regard the existence of these places with indifference or approval, as it causes the soldier to spend his money in the community.

"The efficiency of the Army or the ruin of a good soldier is nothing to them. There can be no reasonable doubt that most of the trials by general courts-martial and summary courts, at least so far as this department is concerned, are directly traceable to this cause. Since I have had command here there has taken place the ruin and degradation of several noncommissioned officers of long service and fine record. In short, the recent legislation of Congress on this question, so far as this department is concerned, has had no effect except to lower the discipline of the Army, ruin scores of good soldiers, and fill the pockets of a lot of saloon keepers, gamblers, and prostitutes."

Desertions.—The following table, compiled from the records of the War Department, shows what the establishment of the canteen has accomplished in the promotion of virtue and loyalty to the flag. This table demonstrates that for the ten years previous to the establishment of the canteen the number of men annually deserting from the service amounted to 125 per 1,000 strength, while for the ten subsequent years the annual number of desertions was reduced to 46.2 per 1,000 strength.

It is to be deplored that this favorable record, which continued for ten years after the canteen system was thoroughly established, should be broken by a rate of 73 per 1,000 the year following the abandonment of this system. These figures are extremely suggestive, because the best index of the contentment and virtue of the troops is to be found in the rate of desertions and trials by courts-martials.

Table showing percentage of desertions in the Army of the United States from 1880 to 1900, and 1901-2.

Year.	Strength	Per-centage.	Year.	Strength	Per-centage.
1880	24,601	9	1891	24,525	5.7
1881	23,572	12.5	1892	24,267	5.7
1882	23,743	16.4	1893	25,670	6.3
1883	23,814	15.2	1894	25,661	3.6
1884	24,706	13.6	1895	25,200	5.3
1885	24,816	10.6	1896	25,143	3.4
1886	24,365	8.3	1897	25,304	2.9
1887	24,498	10	1898	44,397	4
1888	24,790	11	1899	62,019	4.9
1889	25,564	11	1900	66,400	4.4
1890	24,930	7.7			
		12.5	1901	75,431	4.12
			1902	82,472	7.3
					5.71

Savings deposits.—Doctor Munson, on page 819 of his Military Hygiene, also refers to the increased savings deposits with army paymasters as one of the beneficent effects of the canteen system in the promotion of order and contentment. At all events, the figures reported by the Paymaster-General in his report for 1899 show that the average number of men annually making such deposits for the seven years, 1885-1891, was 7,273, while for the six years 1892-1896 the annual average so deposited was 8,382, an increase of 13.3 per cent. This indicates not only increased contentment, but a decided improved moral tone, and means that over 1,100 additional depositors were created, thus practically giving bonds to the Government for good behavior.

Statement showing the number of enlisted men, the amount of soldiers' deposits, and the average deposit per man per year for four fiscal years, from 1900 to 1903, inclusive.

Year.	Troops.	Deposits.	Average per man.
1900	64,969	\$3,215,544.66	\$49.49
1901	65,000	3,448,529.11	53.05
1902	70,711	2,660,250.66	37.62
1903	59,866	1,888,014.87	31.54

Veneral diseases.—Another remarkable victory achieved by the canteen system over vice and disease is shown by the decrease in the prevalence of veneral diseases in the United States Army. This reduction was gradual and constant until the abolition of the canteen system, when again a most marked and lamentable increase is noted, the admission rate for syphilis, chancreoid, and gonorrhoea in 1892 having almost doubled when compared with the rate for the decade 1890-1899.

Veneral diseases, United States Army—Syphilis.

Year.	Admission to hospital per 1,000 strength.	Year.	Admission to hospital per 1,000 strength.
1880	49.4	1901	14.7
1881	47.6	1892	16
1882	40.1	1893	13.6
1883	35.6	1894	14.1
1884	29.8	1895	11.1
1885	24.8	1896	10.9
1886	22.9	1897	12
1887	22.9	1898	10
1888	22.2	1899	14.7
1889	22	1900	18.4
1890	19.7		

	1896.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	Decade 1890-1899.
Syphilis	10.08	14.97	18.46	20.38	22.37	12.67
Chancreoid		38.20	46.44	37.18	31.99	17.80
Gonorrhoea	46.42	96.18	93.68	99.25	106.58	55.60

Insanity.—For the sake of completeness, we submit a table showing the rate of mental diseases in our Army for the period from 1880 to 1902, inclusive. It will be observed that there was a decided tendency to diminution of in-

sanity from 1884 to the beginning of the Spanish-American war, probably the result of better provision for the intellectual needs and recreation of the soldier, and of which the canteen system may have been a factor. It would be unfair, however, to attribute the increase in recent years to the absence of canteens, since service in tropical islands, the lack of knowledge of the native languages, enforced confinement to garrisoned towns, and the constant strain incident to continued preparation against attack by the enemy all combine to act as predisposing causes to different forms of mental disorders, which are by no means limited to the drinking classes.

Insanity—United States Army.

Year.	Cases.	Mean strength.	Admission rate per 1,000 strength.
1880	50	24,002	2.1
1881	62	23,222	2.5
1882	65	23,239	2.8
1883	71	23,439	3
1884	52	24,664	2.1
1885	34	24,138	1.4
1886	33	23,572	1.4
1887	46	23,841	1.9
1888	42	24,726	1.7
1889	34	25,008	1.3
1890	33	24,234	1.3
1891	37	23,269	1.5
1892	48	24,303	1.9
1893	35	25,287	1.3
1894	24	25,976	.9
1895	21	25,204	.7
1896	22	25,119	.8
1897	21	25,417	.8
1898	159	147,735	1.1
1899	188	105,546	1.8
1900	273	100,389	2.7
1901	166	92,491	1.8
1902	138	80,778	1.7

Present aspect of the question and the effect of the sale of beer and light wines at military posts in the United States.—The provisions of the act approved February 2, 1901, prohibiting the sale of or dealing in beer, wine, or any intoxicating liquors in post exchanges was promulgated in General Orders, No. 5, dated February 2, 1901, so that now over two years have elapsed during which the effects of this law upon the health and morale of the Army can be studied. In transmitting a copy of this order the Secretary of War enjoined upon all department commanders a prompt and effective compliance with the terms of the act, and requested that he might be informed of the effect of this law on the morality, health, and discipline of the troops, commanding officers be instructed along the following lines, report thereon to be made to the Adjutant-General not later than September 1, 1901:

1. To prepare at once a list of the liquor saloons within 1 mile of their reservation limits; to observe and record any additional saloons subsequently established within such limits.
2. Special mention to be made of saloons temporarily opened in the vicinity of posts or camps where the new regiments are to rendezvous or regiments returning from the Philippine Islands are to be mustered out.
3. To observe whether drunkenness among the enlisted men of their commands increases or decreases as a consequence of the abolishment of the canteen; whether the percentage of trials by summary or other courts for drunkenness for the coming six months is greater or less than for the past six months.
4. To make similar observations as to desertion and absences without leave.
5. To observe generally the effect of the abolition of the sale of beer at the post or camp on the morality and discipline of the command.
6. To make similar observations as to its effect upon the health of the command.
7. To report the effect of the law upon the table fare of the soldier in garrison and in the field, and to recommend measures for any improvements therein that may be considered necessary.

Replies have been received at the War Department which indicate the following conditions:

1. **Increase of liquor saloons within 1 mile of military posts since the passage of the act.**—The reports under this head show that on or about February 2, 1901, the date of the passage of the act abolishing the sale of beer, there were within 1 mile of the military posts 1,553 saloons, at which intoxicating liquors of all kinds were dispensed, and at the date of the last report there were 2,267 such saloons; that is to say, that 98 post canteens, at which beer and light wines alone were sold, had been closed and their places taken by 341 saloons in the United States and 371 saloons in the Philippine Islands, dispensing all kinds of intoxicants, in very many cases with gambling rooms attached, and in at least three instances houses of ill fame. Many of the additional saloons have been opened by discharged soldiers.

2. **Increase of drunkenness.**—To the inquiry to report whether drunkenness among the enlisted men of their commands has increased as a consequence of the abolition of the canteen, ninety-eight post commanders replied, of which number eighty-one reported that drunkenness had increased, ten that it had decreased, and in seven cases the commanding officers had no means of comparison, owing to changes of garrison or absence of data relating to prior garrisons, new posts established since February 2, 1901, and the failure to report on the specific question, or inability to reach a positive determination from the language of the report. (See table showing increase in alcoholism in the Army.)

3. **Increase of trials by summary or other courts for drunkenness and for offenses caused by drunkenness.**—To this inquiry ninety-eight post commanders responded, of which number sixty-eight responded that such trials had been more numerous since the passage of the bill, three that they had been less, and in twenty-one instances the effects were in doubt, for reasons given under paragraph 2.

4. **Increase of desertions.**—To the inquiry whether desertion had increased or lessened, ninety-eight post commanders replied, of which number fifty-four reported that desertion had increased, eight that it had decreased, and in thirty-six reports the result was in doubt for reasons stated under paragraph 2. (For statistics see table showing percentage of desertions in the United States Army.)

5. **Increase in absence without leave.**—To a similar inquiry as to absence without leave, ninety-eight post commanders replied, of which number seventy-four reported that absences without leave had increased, six that they had decreased, and eighteen that the effect was doubtful for reasons stated in paragraph 2. A number of post commanders reported that absences

without leave had doubled, and in some cases that they had increased from 250 per cent to 300 per cent.

6. *Effects of the abolition of the sale of beer at the posts on the morality and discipline of the command.*—To this inquiry ninety-eight post commanders replied; one reported that the effect had been good, fifty-six that it had been bad, and in forty-two instances the commanding officers had no means of comparison owing to changes of garrison or absence of data relating to prior garrisons, etc. (See table giving statistics of venereal diseases.)

Collections made by paymasters, United States Army, from enlisted men of the Regular Army, including Hospital Corps, on account of fines and forfeitures imposed by sentence of courts-martial from July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1903.

Year ending June 30—	Number of enlisted men.	Fines and forfeitures.	Average per man.
1898.....	28, 110	\$52, 905. 88	\$1. 88
1899.....	66, 258	166, 207. 87	
1900.....	63, 669	316, 943. 83	
1901.....	81, 287	340, 768. 28	
1902.....	70, 711	626, 059. 10	
1903.....	62, 866	428, 051. 58	6. 82

Conclusions.—A careful review of the evidence on file in the various bureaus of the War Department justifies the following conclusions:

1. The abolition of the post canteen, more especially the prohibition of the sale of light wines and beer, instead of proving a temperance measure as hoped for by its advocates, has had a detrimental effect on the health and morale of the troops. In the opinion of an overwhelming majority of commanding officers drunkenness has actually increased, and the admission rate for alcoholism has been increased from 22.43 per 1,000 in 1900 to 24.02 in 1902. The 98 post canteens at which light wines and beers alone were sold have been replaced within a mile from military posts by 341 additional saloons in the United States and 371 in the Philippine Islands dispensing all kinds of intoxicants, in many cases with gambling rooms and in some cases with houses of ill fame attached.

2. Since drunkenness and vice are intimately associated, it is natural that the evidence should reveal an alarming increase in the prevalence of venereal diseases in the Army. As a matter of fact, the statistics of the Surgeon-General's office show that the admission rate for these diseases in 1902 is almost twice as high as that for the decade of 1890-1899, and is doubtless the result of the cause pointed out by Secretary Root and Archbishop Ireland. In view of the grave and far-reaching consequences of these diseases, which are a menace to the public health and welfare, and so often transmitted to the innocent and to future generations, this result, apparently associated with the abolition of the canteen, is especially deplorable.

3. It is a matter of evidence that desertions, absences without leave, and trials of summary or other courts-martial for drunkenness and for offenses caused by the same have increased, and that savings deposits by the enlisted men have decreased from an average of \$49.49 per man in 1900 to an average of \$31.54 per man in 1903. The records of the Paymaster-General's Office also show that fines and forfeitures imposed upon and collected from the enlisted men of the Army have increased from an average of \$1.88 per man in 1898 to \$6.82 per man in 1903, all of which indicates a growing spirit of discontent and a decided tendency to degeneracy, which must seriously affect the discipline and morale of the Army.

Recommendations.—In view of the foregoing facts and in the interest of scientific temperance, the committee recommends:

1. The presentation to the Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled of the following resolutions, adopted by the American Public Health Association in September, 1901:

"Resolved, That this body deplores the action of Congress in curtailing the operation of the army canteen or post exchange, and in the interest of general and military sanitation recommends its establishment on its former basis at the earliest possible date.

"Resolved, That this body, in the interest of temperance and humanity, cordially invites the intelligent cooperation of a very large element of good citizens who have been active in securing legislation against the sale in the military service of alcoholics of any character, and thus assist in controlling and largely curtailing an evil which it is powerless at present to prevent."

2. Your committee is aware of the fact that beverages containing alcohol are an accessory good of value only when it becomes necessary to increase temporarily the elasticity of mind and body and a desire and capacity for work, and that the subsequent depressing effect and a baneful influence of their misuse require great care in their employment, especially when rest, proper food, and some of the alkaloidal beverages like coffee, tea, cocoa, and stimulants like meat broths and soups may accomplish the same purpose, and their sale as a substitute should be encouraged.

3. In spite of the fact that "beer drinking viewed in the abstract is unproductive of good," your committee believes that its sale in canteens under rational and comprehensive regulations, rather than its total prohibition, will subsolve the best interest of scientific temperance, because so long as human nature is weak and the masses are not properly educated, the substitution of a lesser evil under military control appears not only justifiable, but will in the future, as it has in the past, prevent excesses which are fatal to the soldier, soul and body. At present every effort toward total abstinence at military posts merely opposes theory to facts and sentiment to statistics, and compels recourse to saloons of the lowest character, whose proprietors care nothing for the efficiency of the Army or the ruin of a good soldier.

4. Every precaution should be observed to conduct post exchanges and the sale of light wine and beer along the lines recommended by Munson in his *Theory and Practice of Military Hygiene*, pages 820-822, and your committee begs to emphasize the fact that the bar feature should be entirely abolished and that the exchange should in fact be a "soldiers' club," with ample facilities for reading rooms, legitimate amusements, and athletic sports, where the soldier as a self-respecting individual may satisfy in an orderly manner his craving for diversion from the routine duties of a military life without undue prominence of the refreshment feature.

5. The sale of soft drinks, coffee, tea, cocoa, bouillon, soups, and warm lunches should be encouraged as substitutes for alcoholic beverages, and medical and line officers should be directed to educate by precept and example the rank and file of the Army, that for persons in health alcohol in any form presents no advantages not found in other food stuffs or stimulants, and which are, moreover, free from the dangers attending its use. In this connection it should be remembered that good food, well prepared, and properly cooked and served, is one of the most effective prophylactic measures against the "drink habit" in civil as well as military life, and no effort should be spared to bring the culinary department in the Army to the highest state of perfection.

6. Military officers should point out the grave and far-reaching consequences of the effects of venereal diseases, so intimately connected with the

drink habit, and make a strong plea in favor of continence. This may be done by telling these young men that while the sexual passion is strong it can be accelerated or delayed, excited or lowered, by the influence of the will. The soldier can be assured that by the cultivation of pure thoughts, removal of temptation, normal mental, and especially by vigorous physical, exercise, continence is not only possible, but easy.

7. A strong effort should be made to improve the social conditions of the soldier. There are times and occasions when the friendly advice of a company commander or attending surgeon, a personal interest in the physical and moral welfare of the young soldier, will prove of greater benefit to the service and to humanity than the cold verdict of a summary court-martial. Such personal efforts on the part of the officers, dictated by the spirit of a universal brotherhood of man, appears to us perfectly compatible with proper military discipline. It is also believed that the habit of making savings deposits with the army paymasters may be greatly stimulated by personal efforts.

In conclusion, the committee desires to express its obligations to the officials of the War Department for the opportunity of making a full and impartial investigation of the records, and especially to Dr. Edward L. Munson, United States Army, the author of *Military Hygiene*, for invaluable assistance in the preparation of this report.

Respectfully submitted.

GEO. M. KOBER, M. D.,
Professor of Hygiene, School of Medicine,
Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., Chairman.

F. C. HARRISON, PH. D.,
Professor of Bacteriology, Ontario Agricultural College,
Bacteriologist to the Experiment Station, Canada.

JESUS E. MONJARAS, M. D.,
City of Mexico.

CHIEF OF STAFF'S STATEMENT.

One of the clearest and most forcible statements yet made on the subject of the canteen in the Army is presented by Lieut. Gen. S. B. M. Young, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, in his report to the Secretary of War for the year ending June 30, 1903 (p. 143), in which he said:

Special attention is invited to the incisive comments of department commanders upon the demoralizing effect of the operation of section 38 of the act of February 2, 1901, which prohibits the sale of beer and light wines in post exchanges. This law has now been in operation for over two years and a half and has been fairly tested. Reports received from officers of all grades throughout the Army who have had practical experience in supervising and observing post exchanges under present conditions exhibit practical unanimity of opinion as to the evil effects of this restriction.

These evil effects show themselves in increased drunkenness; in loathsome diseases, contracted while men are under the influence of a bad or drugged liquor; in increased desertion resulting from the same cause, the men while in a drugged condition being robbed by depraved associates of both sexes, and for this reason reluctant to return to their posts; and, generally, in increased insubordination.

In addition to these considerations of morality, discipline, and health, there is a further one advanced by the commanding general Department of Texas, that the soldier's rights and privileges should not be curtailed simply because he is a soldier; that he should be considered as a citizen in the community in which he is serving, and where no impairment of his military efficiency would result therefrom, should have a citizen's rights and privileges.

In view of the fact that Congress, after a full presentation of the general subject in the Department's letter of January 8, 1903, failed to take any action by way of removing this restriction, I have some hesitation in again bringing this matter to the attention of the Department. I do not feel at liberty, however, to ignore a reform almost unanimously advocated by officers who have the best interests of the Army at heart and whose recommendations are entitled to consideration. Since the original establishment of the canteen feature of the post exchange there has never been a time when the dominant sentiment of the Army did not approve that feature as tending strongly to promote morality, sobriety, and discipline among the troops.

SOME PERTINENT CONCLUSIONS.

I have called attention to the testimony of some of the best medical authorities in this and other countries, who are members of the American Public Health Association, and their findings with regard to conditions during and subsequent to the abolition of the sale of light wines and beer in the military canteens of the United States Army have been unanimously adopted by the American Public Health Association at their last national convention. I have produced the testimony of scores of the post commanders in the United States and in our foreign territories. I have produced the statements of the highest and most influential officers of the Army, who have acted in a reviewing capacity on all this testimony and who, from the character of their duties as well as their rank, are best qualified to judge of the needs of the American soldier both in peace and war. I have cited strong testimony from church dignitaries whose religious work has brought them into contact with the conditions prevalent inside of and in the immediate vicinity of military posts—testimony which is entirely unprejudiced in the premises.

Thus, in a word, the highest military and technical authority, the highest church dignitaries, and the selected experts of the highest medical authority on public health upon this continent have all declared in favor of the canteen as a benefit wherever operated in military posts under the strict military rules laid down in the United States Army Regulations. They declare that the canteen contributes to the health, happiness, contentment, and especially to the temperance of the soldier. They have said and have shown by statistics and incontrovertible facts that the canteen is an aid in keeping the enlisted man away from bad company and resorts which would lead to moral depravity and degradation. They have shown that there is no mode of life known which, in time of peace and the humdrum existence in the backwoods army posts, as well as in those situated near the temptations

of cities, makes the social features of club life more essentially necessary than that of the common soldiers.

Men with leisure upon their hands and nothing to do during many hours each day, most of whom in all probability having led a gay and gregarious life before entering the Army, can not be confined in some "pent-up Utica" with accessories of "cold water" and hard-tack and without amusement or good cheer, if it is desired to keep them contented and not subject to the temptations of desertion.

The restraint of strict military discipline is usually onerous to most Americans in time of peace, and the life should have all the attractions consistent with duty, temperance, and healthful conditions as an offset to the necessities of army discipline.

As against all this testimony of men best qualified to judge of the merits of the canteen in army life, its opponents, who have succeeded in causing its abandonment by enactment of law, have produced an agitation among church, temperance, and religious societies who have overwhelmed Congressmen and Senators with petitions against the army canteen, signed by people who would probably have to look in the dictionary to ascertain the difference between a canteen and a haversack.

The temperance and prohibition societies, knowing very little about army conditions and caring less, through their paid Washington agents have sent out tons of tracts containing a lot of irresponsible statements against the canteen, under Congressional frank, contrary to law, in order to work up church and temperance society indignation against the canteen. It would appear to them a great victory of the cause to deprive the soldier of his drink of light wine or beer and to break up all his social life, so as to throw him upon the vices of outside resorts. To them the abolition of the canteen is a part and parcel of their crusade in favor of prohibition, which does not merit more consideration than the absurd dictum that the man who drinks moderately has no rights that any temperance organization has a right to respect.

Which should the American people believe in this controversy—the men who know whereof they speak or professional agitators who are bent on foisting a pet "ism" upon mankind by the threat of the ballot against timorous occupants of seats in Congress? The Army of the United States, at least, ought not to be subject to the vagaries of the theorists.

Let there be a halt right here and now to the tinkering with army regulations by temperance or any other so-called "moral or eleemosynary societies" with an ax to grind, and let the army canteen be reestablished at once.

Baltimore Custom-House.

SPEECH
OF

HON. FRANK C. WACHTER,

OF MARYLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, April 27, 1904,

On the conference report on the sundry civil appropriation bill.

Mr. WACHTER said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It shall not be my purpose to unnecessarily occupy the time of the House in a lengthy discussion of the report of the conferees, but in the few brief moments allotted me it will be my endeavor to bring to the attention of the Members of the House the merits of two items in the bill which the conferees in their judgment have deemed proper to favorably report.

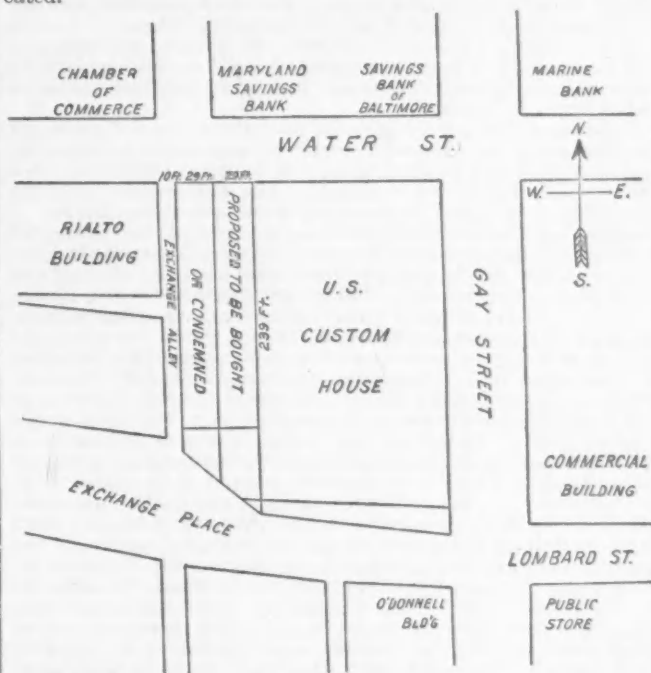
This bill as now reported provides for an appropriation of \$90,000 to be expended by the Secretary of the Treasury in the acquisition of additional ground for the new custom-house, and likewise makes provision for the extending of relief to the contractors of the new custom-house for damages resulting to said building through the great conflagration which swept over that city recently.

These items and the respective merits of each may not be thoroughly understood by the Members of the House, and for that reason my remarks shall mainly be explanatory thereof.

The new custom-house is being erected on a lot which is bounded on the north by Water street, on the east by Gay street, and on the south by Exchange place (Lombard street). The western end of said building is only separated from the adjoining property by a space of about 10 feet, which is clearly inadequate to afford proper light and air for the westernmost interior of said structure and surely insufficient to protect and safeguard the building from the danger of fire that might thus be easily communicated from the buildings on the west thereof. The architects of the building maintain—and in this view they are supported

by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury and the Secretary of the Treasury as well—that there should be a much greater open area on the westernmost end of said structure, and the project for the acquiring of this additional ground has the favorable indorsement of both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Supervising Architect.

Owing to the unfortunate catastrophe that has befallen the city of Baltimore, the improvements on the ground immediately adjacent on the west of the custom-house were destroyed, and the opportunity is now presented of getting possession of this land at one-half the value and price demanded when the matter was first agitated about a year ago. This item embraces the subject-matter of House bill No. 7305, introduced by me at the beginning of the present session of Congress on December 11, 1903, and provides for an appropriation of \$90,000, which sum will be amply sufficient for the acquisition of all the ground from the west of the custom-house to the east side of Exchange alley, which alley is a small thoroughfare, 10 feet wide, extending south from Water street to Exchange place (Lombard street), and so that the proposed improvement may be understood I ask leave for the insertion in the RECORD, to accompany these remarks, of a plat of the land in that locality upon which the custom-house property and the proposed improvements are clearly indicated.



The two lots intended to be acquired embrace about 59 feet, which, added to the 10-foot alley to which reference has been made and the present space between the custom-house and the buildings on the west, will give an open area of at least 79 feet, which will not only insure the safeguarding and protection of the structure from dangers that may emanate from this direction, but will likewise give the needed light and air, making the westernmost interior of said building more habitable and of better use for the purpose intended, to say nothing of the enhancement of the value and appearance of the building, when completed, by virtue thereof. While this item asks for a total of \$90,000, it really only carries an additional amount of \$65,000, for there is still remaining a balance of nearly \$25,000 of the original appropriation, which is unexpended, and will thus be available, if reappropriated, as provided by this item.

The proposition that is presented in this item is a business one, pure and simple, and there should be no hesitation in seizing the opportunity to obtain possession of this property. Should the opportunity be permitted to pass, it will not only result in depriving that part of the building of light and air that is absolutely essential, but the improvements to be erected on the ground proposed to be purchased will tend to detract much from the architectural beauty of the custom-house structure, for, if reports be true, the owners of this land contemplate the erection on this site of a large office building of seven or eight stories, and should this be done the deteriorating effect can readily be imagined.

While it is true that this item is new legislation and might be stricken out on a point of order, yet I would have the House to know that the measure has the unanimous approval of the Com-

mittee on Public Buildings and Grounds of the House, a number of the members of which visited Baltimore and made a personal inspection of the conditions that have already been stated, and it can safely be asserted that not one member who enjoyed this privilege of a personal inspection is other than impressed with the absolute need of this additional ground for the reasons heretofore stated. It is true this committee has made no report to the House; yet they have authorized the conferees to be informed, and the same information to be conveyed to this House, that the proposition meets with their unqualified approval and indorsement.

The second item to which your attention is invited is that which has for its purpose the extending of relief to the contractors, Henry Smith & Sons, of the new custom-house for the damages caused to said building by the recent fire in that city, which has gone down into history as the third greatest conflagration in this country, destroying more than 2,200 buildings and covering an area of more than seventy-two blocks. This fire started near the center of the city on Sunday morning, February 7 last, and in a remarkably short space of time was beyond the control of the city fire department, and began its maddened rush through the city, guided and directed by the course of the wind, sweeping all before it, and not stopping until it had spent its course at the water front, where it was finally subdued. No human hand could have stayed the progress of the flames. Help was requested, and the fire departments of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Wilmington, Chester, and other adjacent cities responded with men and apparatus, but the fire burned and raged on until everything in its wake had been consumed or destroyed, resulting in a gross loss of about \$60,000,000.

The commercial heart of the city has indeed been destroyed, for the flames consumed almost the entire business section of the city, and now what was formerly a hive of industry and activity is a scene of devastation and desolation. The wind seemed to be the controlling factor, and its course directed that of the flames. It was blowing from the southwest when the fire first started, and the scattering of burning embers by the explosion that took place immediately after its discovery soon gave the headway which it was found impossible to check. Had the wind persisted in this course, there is no telling where it would have ended; the entire residential part of the eastern section of the city would have been destroyed, and unquestionably all the public buildings, including the post-office and present custom-house, would have been destroyed. Had this been the case, it would not only have meant untold suffering and want to the people of our city, but it would also have meant the destruction of valuable records and facilities, resulting in an almost irreparable loss to the National Government.

The hand of Providence, however, seemed to be evident; the wind changed to the northwest, but for which the city would have been doomed. While the change of the wind had the effect of preventing the untold misery and the probable irreparable loss to which mention has been made, yet it drove the flames in all their fury in the direction of the new custom-house now in course of construction, causing the damage for which relief is prayed and asked for. Now, it might be said that these contractors should have guarded against such a loss by having the building fully insured. They did carry the usual builders' insurance, which was to protect their equipments and the inflammable material on said building from loss by fire. They carried no insurance on the mass of stone, brick, and terra cotta; and I propound the inquiry, Is there any Member of this House, under the same circumstances, that would have insured the same?

We must remember that there is great competition for the contract and privilege of erecting Government buildings, and the competition has become so keen that all who bid upon such buildings find it necessary to figure down to the lowest possible cost. Now, suppose to the actual cost of the construction of such a building it would be necessary for a contractor to allow for the carrying of an insurance of the full value of the structure as it progresses from time to time—it would mean a much larger estimate for the building in its entirety, which the Government, in the end, would be compelled to pay. As it is, the buildings are erected for a smaller cost, amply safeguarded and protected from any loss that might inure or result from an ordinary conflagration. In this particular instance the Supervising Architect of the Treasury stated before the Committee on Claims of the House that there was sufficient insurance, and that the building was amply safeguarded from fire had it been confined to one whole block; but as it was, the heat was unprecedented, reaching in that locality almost 2,800°, and it was the heat, and not the fire, that caused the damage to said building. In fact, the woodwork on some portions of said building is not damaged at all, while the marble and granite is cracked and broken, due entirely to the extreme heat that obtained there. The Supervising Architect of the Treasury has estimated the probable damages to the structure to be about \$200,000; the architects have estimated the same to be about \$175,000, and the contractors have

been given their estimate, which amounts to \$171,600, which is the amount incorporated in the amendment in the bill now under discussion. This item is the same embraced in the subject-matter of House bill 13348, introduced by me on March 1 last, and which bill has been carefully considered by the Committee on Claims of the House. This committee also visited Baltimore, so as to make a personal inspection of the loss and damage to said building and of the surrounding conditions, and after a most careful and searching inquiry, and upon examination of all the facts presented to the committee, they reported the bill favorably to the House (Report No. 2577, accompanying H. R. 13348), and recommended the passage of the bill.

It is always held that an act of God will vitiate any contract or obligation. Can this not truly be attributed to the hand of an all-wise Providence who directed the course of the wind? Permit me to quote from the committee's report, which says, in conclusion:

From all the circumstances and the facts submitted to the committee, and in view of it having been disclosed that the contractors used every effort to minimize the injury to said building, * * * while not desiring to be considered as establishing a precedent for the extending of relief in cases of damages to Government buildings in course of erection, deem this a most meritorious case, and therefore submit the report as stated aforesaid.

In conclusion, let me impress upon you that we ask no charity, for the people of Baltimore are determined to erect upon the ruins and in the devastated district such buildings dedicated to commerce and business as will insure the new and greater Baltimore that will result from this unfortunate catastrophe. We ask that the Government in justice to its honor assume this obligation entailed by the damages which man could not prevent, so that posterity may not be compelled to know that a building of this great Government was erected on the loss and shattered fortune of any citizen or set of citizens. Grant us this consideration; give us this additional ground for our custom-house, and Baltimore will continue on in her independence and determination and will produce results that must challenge not only the admiration of the National Government, but of her sister municipalities of the world as well.

Rivers and Harbors.

The inland waterway from Norfolk, Va., to Beaufort Inlet, North Carolina, shall be the commercial highway for the development of the coastwise trade between the North and South Atlantic ports.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN H. SMALL,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 11, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 14754) providing for the restoration and maintenance of channels, or for river and harbor improvements, and for other purposes—

Mr. SMALL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I had desired more time during the consideration of this bill in order to present some views concerning a project which many regard as the most important connected with the improvement of our internal waterways. I refer to a proposed waterway connecting Chesapeake Bay with the Atlantic Ocean on the south, about 200 miles distant, by way of Beaufort Inlet.

The great importance of this waterway consists primarily in the fact that it avoids the most dangerous point upon the entire Atlantic coast—that of North Carolina, and notably Cape Hatteras and Diamond Shoals. It is this great menace to navigation upon our coast which absolutely prevents to a great degree the promotion and extension of our coastwise trade between the North and the South Atlantic ports.

Even to-day that trade is confined to a few large steamships and to a few very large sailing vessels which our shipbuilders have begun to construct during the last few years. These alone carry such of the coastwise trade as is water borne between the Atlantic ports south of Cape Hatteras and between Hatteras and New York City and Boston.

Therefore the very cheap rate of traffic which is enjoyed by other sections of the country: that rate which is possessed by the traffic between the Great Lakes and the seaboard by way of the Erie Canal and the Hudson River, those cheap rates which have been described so well by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RANSDELL] and by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors [Mr. BURTON] are denied in the movement of traffic between the North and the South.

It has been well said that these interior lines of communica-

tion, when once they have been established, are not so greatly appreciated, because the low rates become a fixture and they are familiar to the people. Therefore the advantages to be enjoyed by the opening of these waterways must be largely prospective in the decrease of traffic rates and in the development of prospective trade.

The river and harbor act approved June 13, 1902, contains the following provision:

Waterway from Norfolk, Va., to Beaufort Inlet, North Carolina, with a view to the construction of a channel not less than 16 feet in depth, upon the most advantageous route between the points named: *Provided*, That the examination and survey shall be made by a board of engineer officers detailed by the Secretary of War, and any report made shall include the probable cost of any private waterway that it may be to the interest of the United States to acquire in connection with the proposed improvement: *Provided further*, That the total expense of the examination and of any survey which may be made shall not exceed the sum of \$5,000.

Under the provisions of this act a board of engineers was appointed consisting of Gen. Peter C. Hains, Col. Charles J. Allen, and Col. James B. Quinn. Subsequently, and before the work of the board was completed, General Hains was detached and detailed to duty on the Isthmus of Panama, whereupon Colonel Allen became the senior member and president of the board. Capt. E. E. Winslow was designated to fill the vacancy on the board.

This board of engineers made a report, dated August 31, 1903, which, together with the various exhibits, was reported to Congress and is known as "House Document No. 563, Fifty-eighth Congress, second session."

This board selected a route beginning at the city of Norfolk, and thence via the southern branch of the Elizabeth River to a point about 1½ miles above the mouth of Deep Creek; thence a direct line to the mouth of Cooper Creek, a tributary of Pasquotank River; thence down Pasquotank River to Albemarle Sound; thence across Albemarle Sound to Alligator River, and thence up Alligator River to a point where the river diverges sharply to the west; thence through the swamp adjacent to the upper Alligator River and around the western edge of the Mattamuskeet Lake to Rose Bay; thence across Pamlico Sound and up Neuse River to the mouth of Adams Creek; thence up Adams Creek to the head thereof; thence a distance of about 4 miles to the head of Core Creek; thence to Newport River and to Beaufort inlet on the ocean.

The total distance of the route selected is 194 miles. It was estimated that it could be constructed at a maximum cost of \$10,000,000 and that the annual cost of maintenance would not exceed \$150,000. The board discussed the commercial importance of this waterway and appended to their report commercial data as to the coastwise commerce of Baltimore, Norfolk, Wilmington, Georgetown, Charleston, Savannah, Brunswick, Fernandina, and Jacksonville, including also statistics from three of the commercial ports along the route, Elizabeth City, Washington, and Beaufort.

These statistics showed that their total coastwise trade amounted in 1902 to 6,000,000 tons, valued at \$300,000,000. These statistics also contained estimates to the effect that the construction of the waterway would effect an annual saving in freight charges of \$3,000,000.

The board also discussed the importance of the waterway from a military and strategic point of view, upon which they comment as follows:

In connection with other canals already existing, it would permit our torpedo boats and small gunboats to pass by an interior and protected route from one part of our coast to another, and to thus concentrate at any desired point.

Indeed, there are many experts who do not hesitate to say that the importance of this waterway must play such a part in the defense of our seacoast as must, to a large extent, be necessary for its construction.

Adverting again to the commercial importance of the waterway, I will quote another paragraph from this interesting report:

All the figures given above as to the commercial importance of the new waterway are based upon the traffic at present carried by water, but there are other items which should be considered. There is a large amount of commerce originating at or near the seacoast and now carried to other seaports by rail that would undoubtedly seek water transportation should such transportation be made comparatively cheap and safe.

Cheap transportation is one of the most important factors in the development of a country, and the opening up of a cheap and safe route along the middle part of our Atlantic coast would certainly have a very large effect in stimulating trade between the different sections, increasing that already existent, and bringing into being much commerce that at present does not exist. Especially would this be true of the country to be traversed by the waterway. This region is at present poorly supplied with rail transportation, while its water trade is hampered by the lack of a practicable ocean outlet, the small size of the existing canals, and the toll charges thereon. With these difficulties removed there would undoubtedly be a great and rapid development of this region and its trade.

The eminent engineers constituting this board, after making all surveys absolutely necessary and devoting a careful consideration to the project in all its phases, gave it their unqualified recommendation.

This report was referred to a standing board of engineers for rivers and harbors, created by the river and harbor act of June,

1902, and to whom the law provides shall be referred the reports of surveys of projects authorized by Congress and who are authorized to revise and modify or reject.

This standing board did not make their report until February 9, 1904, five months after the same had been submitted to them. In September, 1903, when the report reached them, Colonel Allen was also the president of this standing board, but for some reason the report was not taken up for consideration until after Colonel Allen had reached the age of compulsory retirement.

This latter board, in a brief report, while not attempting to controvert the merits of the project, decided that a minimum depth of 16 feet was greater than commerce demanded and that a waterway 10 or 12 feet deep was sufficient. If the report of the standing board shall be recognized by Congress, it will be necessary to obtain authorization for another survey in order to estimate the cost of a project of a less depth than 16 feet.

This would involve a delay of at least two years, and to that extent would be unfortunate. Possibly this prospective delay was the principal object which was desired to be obtained.

The decision of the River and Harbor Committee of this House not to report any river and harbor bill at this term making appropriations for any specific works or authorizing any specific surveys, but simply reporting a bill making a lump appropriation for the maintenance of existing channels and improvements, renders it impossible to make any progress upon this waterway at this session.

I disagree with the committee in its conclusion, and I submit that the character of the bill proposed is subject to just criticism. The bill under consideration makes a lump appropriation of \$3,000,000 for the maintenance of existing works and leaves the expenditure thereof subject to the discretion of the Chief of Engineers. This is such a delegation of the legislative function of Congress as should not be tolerated.

The impression created is that this House is unable to trust itself or to select the most worthy improvements and provide specific appropriations therefor, and therefore, in a spirit of humility and abjection, it has been determined to repose that discretion in the Chief of Engineers and his corps of assistants.

It must not be understood that this project is to be abandoned, either by reason of sectional opposition or invidious discrimination or the cold neglect of its enemies. The seaboard States, from Maine to Florida, have a vital interest in its construction. It is the most important link in that chain of inland waterways which ultimately will be constructed along the Atlantic coast, without which all the other proposed waterways will be purposeless and with the construction of which the others will follow in due time.

It is the most important in the link because Cape Hatteras, Diamond Shoal, and Cape Lookout, on the coast of North Carolina, constitute a menace and prohibition against the development of our coastwise trade between the North and the South, and this proposed waterway will avoid these dangerous points and afford a protected route to the class of shipping which is necessary for the normal development of this trade.

This important improvement has been projected into the public mind and has made such a deep impression upon our commercial interests that it will not be permitted to lag, but its friends will continue to knock at the doors of Congress until justice and equality and commerce and opportunity shall prevail, and until it shall formally be recognized as the greatest improvement and the most vital factor in the development of our coastwise trade. [Applause.]

The Late Hon. Charles W. Thompson.

REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN L. BURNETT,
OF ALABAMA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Sunday, April 24, 1904.

The House having under consideration the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. CHARLES W. THOMPSON, late a Member of this House from the State of Alabama.

"Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public career, the House at the conclusion of the exercises of this day shall stand adjourned.

"Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

"Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased."

Mr. BURNETT said:

Mr. SPEAKER: When CHARLES WINSTON THOMPSON'S spirit took its flight from earth, the world was poorer by its loss and heaven was richer by its gain.

I had known Mr. THOMPSON for several years before he was

elected to the Fifty-seventh Congress, but we resided in different portions of the State, and my acquaintance with him was not intimate.

When he came to Congress our relations became closer, and I soon saw that in the noble heart of CHARLEY THOMPSON the storehouse of friendship was inexhaustible and the love of humanity was without stint or limit.

There was nothing small or mean in this good man's nature. God wrote upon his very brow the record of an honest man, a loyal heart, and a noble soul.

He came on during that period just after that terrible civil war, when southern homes were laid waste and poverty and distress stalked over our beloved State. He came from this school of adversity, rising step by step till he stood before his countrymen an example of what pluck, energy, industry, and honesty can do.

Mr. Speaker, the life and character and success of CHARLEY THOMPSON ought to be an inspiration to the poor boys of our land. No pampered son of fortune was he, but from middle life and without the advantages of a college education he rose to be the successful business man, the splendid Representative, and the honored Christian gentleman. His successful life shows to our struggling boys and young men that in free America there is no royal road to success, but that the door of opportunity is open to all alike.

It shows that in this grand Government of ours the plowboy upon the mountains of Alabama may reach the highest niche in the temple of honor, while the spoiled child of fortune may die in the gutter. It shows that perseverance and honest toil, aided by pluck and good judgment, have their just reward.

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time—
Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing shall take heart again.

But when success and honor came to Mr. THOMPSON he was not one who forgot the authors of his promotion. His heart was ever turning back to the humble homes of his people and he was never happier than when sounding the praises of those who were struggling to keep the wolf from the door.

How often is it, Mr. Speaker, that promotion and civic honors spoil those upon whom they are bestowed? That man has a cramped and narrow soul indeed who when honors are showered upon him forgets the people from whom they came. No man who has a grateful heart will ever do it, and CHARLEY THOMPSON was not the man whom success made bigger or better than his humblest constituent.

The one great predominating characteristic of the heart of Mr. THOMPSON was his love of humanity. His broad soul knew no "pent-up Utica," but the world was his field, and the betterment of mankind was his prime object in life.

He loved the South and Alabama with all the deep affection of a devoted child for its mother, and yet his broad soul leaped beyond State borders and sectional lines and embraced even those who were his political adversaries.

This was illustrated during his first term in Congress, when he invited and secured several Members of Congress and other distinguished gentlemen and ladies from the North to go with him, and at his expense, to his beloved Southland that they might see the colored man as he is and meet the southern white man in his own hospitable home.

This excursion cost him over \$1,000, and yet with no regrets did he ever contemplate it, as he realized that by this method his people became better known and better understood by those who knew little of conditions in the South.

Mr. THOMPSON was a devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and he was one among many other Members of Congress who brought his religion and his Christian life with him to Washington. He and I attended the same church in this city, and with myself and family he sat in the same pew and in the same class at Sunday school. For our teacher we had that noble Christian Alabamian, Judge Chambers, and Sunday after Sunday have I seen the countenance of our departed friend lighted with a sacred fire as he listened to the teachings of this man of God.

Mr. THOMPSON had, by dint of his untiring energy and the exercise of his good judgment, accumulated a handsome fortune, as that term goes in the South; yet his purse strings were never tied against the calls of charity, humanity, or religion, and in eternity many a soul whose earthly wants he had relieved will rise up to call him blessed.

His life was a sweet benediction to his friends, and when death claimed him it left an aching void in the hearts of all who knew him.

As a citizen, as a business man, as a representative in the State senate and in the halls of Congress, as a dutiful son and a loving

father, and as a Christian gentleman, he measured up to the ideal standard of the noblest work of God. He died, as he had lived, with a heart full of love for God and his fellow-man. To those about him in the hour and article of death he declared his perfect readiness to meet the future. Without a doubt or a shadow hovering about him, he stepped out into eternity, prepared to meet and face his God.

In the prime of a hopeful, successful, ambitious manhood he was called hence, and about his seat in this House and over his silent tomb there hovers the sweet recollections of a beautiful life. Tender and gentle as a woman, his heart ever beat responsive to the calls of humanity. Why is such a heart chilled by the icy touch of death, and such a spirit removed by the relentless hand of fate? He who doeth all things well alone can answer these solemn questions, and can tell His mysterious reasons for thus chastening our hearts and the hearts of his family. To our narrow visions it is strange and inscrutable.

Just as he was reaching that period in life and public service when he could have done most for his people and for humanity our friend is snatched away, and we are left to gaze into the great beyond and wonder why "twas thus." Such afflictions as this are often sent athwart our pathway to remind us that in the very midst of life we are in death, and to sound the note of warning—"prepare to meet thy God."

But his was a life well spent and crowned with good works and noble deeds. To his devoted Christian mother, he left the memory of a dutiful son. To his children he left the heritage of an honest name and an unsullied character. To the church he left the wealth of a Christian life and the example of a Christian death.

To his people he left the record of a patriotic citizen and a faithful Representative. May the example of his life ever inspire his colleagues and friends to an earnest emulation of his virtues, and as we go forth from this solemn occasion may the recollection of CHARLEY THOMPSON fall ever as a beacon light upon the pathway of us who knew him and loved him. As the springtime flowers are laid by hands of a tender, loving mother upon the new-made grave of her departed boy, we point her to the bright spirit of that boy beckoning her and his children to follow him to the land of joy, and assure her that her grief is not as that of one who has no hope of future bliss, for, in the poet's words—

The Healer is there, and His arms are around,
And He leads them with tenderest care;
And He shows them a star in that bright upper world,
'Tis their star shining brilliantly there.

Merchant Marine—Seamen as well as Ships.

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHARD WAYNE PARKER,

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 22, 1904.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine—

Mr. PARKER addressed the House and, under the leave granted him (RECORD, p. 5580), submits the following extension of his remarks in the RECORD:

Mr. SPEAKER: No one can add to the sad facts about the merchant marine. All parties deplore its decadence. The question is one of the remedy that again shall send the flag over the world in ships built, officered, and manned by Americans. I desire to suggest a remedy.

We can, I believe, furnish ships. We have now the cheapest iron and steel in the world and as good shipyards and machinists. The difficulty lies in the cost of running the ships, and one item is permanent, namely, the cost of manning them with highly paid American labor.

Taxes are remitted by some coast towns and will be by all that regard their own advantage.

Insurance will be effected as cheaply by ourselves as by any other nation when the business grows large enough.

Coal and supplies can be bought by our ships in foreign trade wherever they can be bought by foreign ships in the same trade.

We have the capital that we once lacked seeking investment and content with a low rate of interest.

Nothing seems to stand in the way except the glorious fact that American labor is well paid and that American sailors, whether captains, mates, boatswains, engineers, or seamen, can not be obtained except at a cost that bars the American ship from competition with those of other countries.

The business therefore needs a protection that shall follow the

American seaman and his employment outside of our tariff lines on the high seas.

The principle of free ships gives no such protection. It might enable us to buy a ship a little cheaper, at the cost of injuring or destroying our shipyards, but it would not make the manning of that ship a whit less expensive.

Postal subsidies would be an unfair tax on a Department that should always do its business at the least expense, so as to increase facilities and better serve the public, and those subsidies would only go to vessels that carry mails, leaving the great mass of ocean-going vessels without any benefit.

Differential duties in favor of goods brought in our own vessels were the means adopted by our forefathers. In theory this is the best remedy, but in practice our ships were so hampered by retaliatory duties and restrictions that commerce was handicapped, and we were glad to make treaties with almost every civilized country whereby the ships of each should receive the same privileges and incur no greater duties in the ports of the other than the vessels of that other. These reciprocal agreements are hardly to be broken down, even if it could be done without abrogating treaty provisions that guard other rights of Americans the world over.

Subsidies to vessels engaged in foreign trade based upon their speed and tonnage would incur the dangers incident to all subsidies and bounties to capital and business, namely, the danger to the Treasury, the danger of unfairness in the complicated adjustment of such bounties, and the probability that what is a fair and reasonable bounty, when instituted, would become unfair and unreasonable as greater speed and cheaper ton-miles became the rule and not the exception.

But there must be a remedy. Where there is a right there is likewise a remedy. Our right is to have Americans sail the seas who, with their vessels, will be at hand for the Navy in time of need. The difficulty is that such Americans cost more to hire. The remedy must meet that difficulty. Why not meet it directly and pay the vessel the difference in wages if it employ Americans who have volunteered and enlisted as naval emergency men and have done their share of duty as such with the Navy?

Thereby the ships would run without loss in that regard. The American could be paid wages sufficient to make him go to sea; the Navy would have at its command a trained force for any emergency, and the Government would pay for men and not merely for the encouragement of a single line of business.

Our problem is not only to create a merchant marine, but to man it with a force of seagoing Americans that has likewise to be created. Let us consider this problem a little more in detail.

HISTORICAL—AMERICAN SHIPPING.

There was a time, Mr. Speaker, when the American sailor was upon every ocean. The long line of Atlantic coast, which constituted the English settlements before the Revolution and which made up the United States for years afterwards, sent a large proportion of its hardy sons to sea. They were sailors partly for the marketing of their goods. Little schooners, and even sloops, plied across the Atlantic, taking tobacco, Indian corn, tar, turpentine, or other products of the field or forest to the markets of the Old World, bringing back supplies, clothing, and books, and perhaps stopping at Madeira to load a cask or two of wine. But this was not all. American enterprise and daring went everywhere upon the wide ocean.

A sea voyage was not then an easy undertaking. It was long and dangerous; fresh food was soon exhausted; canned goods were unknown; crew and passengers alike lived on salt beef and hard-tack, and vessels were small. The old prayer for those gone to sea asked that they be delivered from "the perils of the great deep, from sickness, from the violence of enemies, and from every evil to which they may be exposed." It is hard for those who make their trip to Europe in a week, in the luxuries of a modern steam vessel, to know what these words mean. Sickness was rife at sea; scurvy and ship fever, or the plagues of the Tropics, decimated many a crew. The enemy was suspected in every strange sail, for warring nations were almost regardless of the rights of neutrals, and the pirate was everywhere. The perils of the sea were real when braved in the cockleshells of that day. But for this very reason the sea was fascinating to the brave. Ships did not run a fixed and settled course from port to port, but the captain, seeking a cargo, took his bark from one uncharted sea to another and to lands known or unknown, now setting the risks of capture by the French or English against the profits that would be made by a successful voyage; now engaged in the fisheries on the storm banks of Newfoundland, or chasing the whale around the world, amid the ice floes neighboring either pole; now picking up furs on savage coasts; now trading with revolted Spanish colonies of South America and dodging Spanish cruisers from port to port, and now racing from China for the profits of the first new crop of tea or bringing gums or spices from the

Indies. Perhaps the still more adventurous and less conscientious mariner was in Guinea for a load of slaves, or cruising for his own or some other country as a privateer. The seas were only half charted, chronometers and instruments were imperfect, and "light, lead, log, and lookout" were the watchwords in the adventurous voyages of the old sea captain.

No wonder that such a life had a charm for Americans. It was not, then, a mere question of running the cheapest vessel with the smallest crew of the most ill-paid men that can be got together in the ordinary drudgery of the liner or the tramp. In those days success could only be achieved by men of mingled daring and prudence, in a full-manned ship, by a crew who were ready to take risks, to repel enemies, to beach their vessel and repair her, to meet every danger and exigency, and to outdo and outdare other men. No wonder that our flag was seen everywhere and that the American whaler, the American clipper, and, alas, the American slaver and American privateer drew into their service a great body of American youth, who went into this warfare against the elements and man, with the same eagerness with which the ranks of our Army and Navy are now filled in time of war. Every coast town—and most of our towns were coast towns—contained many an old sea dog who could tell wild tales of adventure by land and by sea and whose plain frame house held many a curio from India, China, and the islands of the Pacific.

Those days are gone. A few whalers or Gloucester fishing boats preserve the memory of the free cruises of the white-winged ships. Great liners ply back and forth with a captain and crew who are simply paid to go from port to port as if across a ferry. Shipowning is a business, and the captain and crew are, in a way, only employees.

But the romance of the sea can never be gone, for there is too much risk and responsibility. Modern trans-Atlantic travel goes on with the regularity of a great machine—one ship after another. But think of the weight of care borne by the captain of a ship that carries 2,000 souls at 25 miles an hour. He may smile right and left, but the great engines turn at his will, everything on board bends to his nod, and when there is fog or storm he is on the bridge day after day and night after night watching against wreck or collision. His is the blame if anything happen to the ship. It is on him that all lean. The greatness of the sea has not gone, nor is seamanship the less a warfare that it is not a guerrilla warfare as of yore, but one on modern lines.

But the American has dropped out of it. He can not cruise, as of old, on his own account. Profit no longer goes to the swift and bold in the Arctic whaler, in the Atlantic clipper in the Pacific and China trade, or as slaver or privateer. It is a matter of day labor. The sailor gets his monthly pay instead of a share of the profits of the voyage, and the American vessel and sailor in foreign trade are brought into direct competition with the vessels and sailors of other countries. Our coasting trade is protected, and employs a number of vessels that puts it in the first rank. These coasting vessels employ so-called "American" sailors, though the foreign sailor is easily naturalized and has largely driven out the American by taking lower wages than the American will accept. But in foreign trade we have few vessels and few sailors. It costs something more to build, repair, equip, and supply and much more to man an American vessel. Our foreign trade had already begun to decline when it was driven off the sea by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers, just at the time that iron ships came into use for long voyages. America ceased to build ships for a time, and she has not quite learned how to build iron ships as cheaply as other countries. No American doubts that we shall do so. Already we make better and cheaper tools, better and cheaper bridges, and better and cheaper locomotives than the rest of the world, but shipbuilding is an art, and, like all other arts, it must be learned over again if it be given up even temporarily.

At last we have cheap iron as material. Mr. Charles H. Cramp, in the North American Review of January, 1892, said as to the fast ships:

The proper form in which to put the question is: Can you build a ship to do the work of the *City of New York* or the *Majestic* or the *Columbia* in all respects for the same cost? To that question I would reply: "Yes, or within as small a margin as would be likely to prevail in a similar case between any two British shipyards." * * *

It is the fact that the "first cost" of ships is not only not a prime factor, but it is not even a serious factor, in any competition that may occur between this country and Great Britain for a share of the traffic of the ocean. * * *

American shipyards have built or are building about forty naval vessels of numerous rates and types, all of the very highest and effective class in the world; and this development has been crowded into a space of about seven years. * * *

The disparity of cost of naval ships between our yards and those of Great Britain, ton for ton, gun for gun, and performance for performance, has dwindled in seven years until, in the case of the three latest battle ships, the margin between our classes and those of similar construction abroad may be expressed by a very small figure. * * *

If the current policy of naval reconstruction be pursued for another de-

cade (1902), coupled with a vigorous and consistent execution of the measures recently enacted in behalf of the merchant marine, the question which forms the subject of this paper will be asked no more; unless, indeed, its point should be reversed and Englishmen be asking one another, can we build ships as economically as they can in the United States?

Put the plans and specifications of the average English tramp in the hands of an American shipbuilder and he could not duplicate her. He would build a better vessel, of superior workmanship and neater finish in every respect; for the reason, to put it broadly, that the mechanics who make up an American shipyard organization are trained to a grade of performance which they could not reduce to the standard of tramp construction.

Under these circumstances this branch of the subject may be dismissed summarily, with the statement that an English freight ship of the usual type could not be duplicated in this country at any cost. Whether our superior standard in vessels of this class is an advantage or a disadvantage in competition, I will not attempt to decide.

Mr. William H. Cramp thinks that the extra cost is 15 to 25 per cent. First cost is of little moment if shipping will pay.

COST OF OPERATION—SHIPPING LAWS.

But even if we could build cheaper ships than other nations it would cost more to run them. American ships have to meet extra expense. They are sometimes subject to taxation, ruthlessly imposed by their own home port, and such a municipal tax of 1 or 2 per cent is a heavy burden. The principal expense, however, is in the manning of the ships. American wages are higher than any in the world, and American vessels have to pay American wages. Not only is this so, but American ships are bound to take care of their seamen, by numerous statutes of the United States, prescribing careful shipping articles, which shall state the number and employment of the crew, the wages and scale of provisions, and which must be formally executed before a shipping commissioner or consul under a heavy penalty.

The vessel owner must take care of the sailor's effects if he dies; he must pay for inspections, keep medicines and extra clothing on hand, give bond for the return of his men, take destitute seamen home, for not over \$10 each, and pay three months extra wages if his men be discharged before their time, except in case of wreck. The ship itself is subject to other strict and expensive regulations. These provisions would be for the benefit of trade, if trade could be carried on at all. It will pay to have good ships rather than bad ones, and to have good sailors rather than an assemblage of nondescripts from every nation under heaven. It pays a shipowner, in the long run, to take care of his men as well as his ships, but the shipping trade must first be made to pay.

TRADE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Statesmen of both parties, who have studied the subject, unite in the belief that the revival of the merchant marine is an absolute necessity. Trade follows the ship. As long as English ships do the trade of the world, the world will bank in London and its goods will be sold and exchanged there. What is more, sea power lies at the root of national defense, and the merchant marine lies at the foundation of sea power. Our extended coast and the vast wealth gathered in our seaport towns can only be defended by a navy, and that navy is still more necessary, if the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine means anything more than empty proclamation. It was sea power which ended the war with Spain within three months, by victories which carried the flag as well into the Indies of the East as into the Indies of the West. It was sea power that in the civil war gradually shut the Confederate States from any market for the sale of their cotton or for the purchase of supplies thereby, and it was the larger merchant marine of the Northern States that made this blockade effective, a blockade in which we had to use every style of vessel from a tug to a ferryboat. It is idle for us to think that we can maintain our Navy or our foreign trade in case of war with any first-class power unless, like all first-class powers, we can draw upon that merchant marine for ships of the highest speed—ocean greyhounds—as auxiliaries, transport ships, and cruisers, and unless that merchant marine be manned by American seamen ready for service in time of need.

MEN, AS WELL AS SHIPS.

Let us, indeed, put the emphasis, not merely upon the ships, but upon the men. The American seaman has become so rare that the current plans of ship subsidy generally provide that a small fraction—one-fourth, only—of the seamen shall be Americans. Our Pacific liners are largely manned by Chinese and our coasting trade by Norwegians; our Navy, even now, has a scarcity of officers, and the crews are recruited inland. They are brave young fellows and know their position—at the guns, with the machinery, and on deck—but the old salt is hardly to be found among them who could take care of a boat in a storm, navigate captured prizes, or command and steer the ship himself if the officers were shot down. In foreign trade the American is almost unknown, and the problem is not only to make it profitable to build and run ships, but to get the American to go to sea.

PROVIDE FOR MEN, AND SHIPS WILL PAY.

Fortunately, these two requirements may go together. If we can, in any way, help the American ship to pay the wages of the American seaman, the problem is to that extent solved and it will pay to run the ship. There is a general agreement that it will not be long before America will build ships as cheaply as any

other nation. The ship is but a machine, and there is no machine which America can not build cheapest and best if she turn her full attention to it. The trouble is not in the cost of building, but in the cost of running. The cost is not in supplies, for any ship on a foreign voyage can buy these abroad or at home as may be cheapest. There is now a difference in the cost of insurance, but insurance rates in America would be reduced if there were a larger marine to insure and a larger business to be done. With such a marine there would be no difficulty about taxes, for coast towns would soon see the advantage gained by ports that do not tax their shipping. The difficulty of running the American vessel lies almost wholly in the cost of labor, the wages of the seaman, the wages of the carpenter who does the repairs, the wages of the firemen who run the engines, the wages of the captain and of the mates—and the term "wages" must include the cost of the statutory contributions which the American shipowner must make for the comfort of his men. What is needed for the national defense is that Americans should be induced to go to sea, and that some means should be found to pay to the shipowner the difference between the wages of the American seaman and the wages paid by foreign vessels.

DETAILS AS TO WAGES.

A report by Mr. GROSVENOR (56th Cong., 1st sess., Report No. 890, pp. 7 and 8) gives this matter in detail:

On this point we call attention first to the statistics respecting wages found in the Report of the Commissioner of Navigation for the year ending June 30, 1894, pages 23 to 44, inclusive.

A study of the information and statistics of that year shows that the average rate of wages of American seamen on sailing vessels crossing the Atlantic ranged from \$15 to \$25 per month, averaging, say, \$20 per month, and that the average wages on British sailing vessels ranged from \$12.15 to \$17.01, the ordinary rate being about \$14 per month; and on long voyages from the Pacific coast to Great Britain the American wages were from \$15 to \$30 per month, and on British vessels from \$12.15 to \$14.58 per month; and the wages of boatswains making these voyages on American sailing vessels ranged from \$22 to \$25, and on the British from \$19.44 to \$24.30. So that it appears, on the whole the British wages on sailing vessels were somewhat less than three-fourths of the American wages (p. 23).

On passenger steamships in the Atlantic trade between New York and Philadelphia and Great Britain the wages of "able seamen" were only slightly larger on American vessels, but the wages for other portions of the crew, such as firemen, trimmers, coal passers, etc., the American wages were \$40 per month, while the British maximum was only \$24.30, the usual rate being from \$19.44 to \$21.87—just about half the American pay (p. 23). On pages 25 to 29, inclusive, of the same report are tables showing in detail the wages paid the crews of American vessels for the year ending June 30, 1894, which shows the preceding stated comparison to be correct, and on pages 32 to 35, inclusive, will be found the statement of British wages. On page 36 will be found a table showing the wages paid on German and French vessels in the calendar year 1893, which also shows how very much larger the wages on American ships are than those on the German and French ones.

The difference between the wages on the vessels of these last-named countries and the wages paid on United States vessels appears to be very much greater than the difference between American and British wages to whatever countries the voyages may be made (see Statistics, pp. 37 to 44, inclusive). It will be observed that this enormous difference in the item of wages existed five years ago, and it is believed that substantially the same differences have continued to the present time. In the Report of the Commissioner of Navigation for the year ending June 30, 1899, pages 108 to 119, inclusive, will be found tables showing the wages paid on American vessels for that year and the wages paid on British vessels, from which it appears that the wages on American sailing vessels have not greatly changed and that the wages on American steam vessels have, on the whole, increased. The wages on British steam vessels have increased in about the same proportion.

On American steam vessels for "able seamen," for instance, the increase has been apparently heavy (p. 114), and for firemen the increase has also been very considerable (pp. 112 to 114, inclusive). The wages on British vessels for the last year have on sailing vessels continued about the same, falling off, if anything. The same is true in respect of cargo and passenger steamers, the pay for firemen, trimmers, etc., working below decks being ordinarily from \$19 to \$22 per month, as against the \$40 and upward on American vessels (pp. 115 to 119, inclusive). The tables referred to do not appear to contain the statement of German, French, Dutch, or Norwegian wages, but evidence on this subject will be found on pages 54 to 56, inclusive, of the same report, where a comparison of the actual wage expenses of five vessels of substantially the same tonnage appears, and is derived from actual instances, one vessel being American, one British, one German, one Dutch, and one Norwegian, the American vessel being built in the United States and the other four in England.

From this it appears that the monthly wages paid on the—

American vessel was	\$1,385.00
British vessel	851.69
German vessel	646.33
Dutch vessel	553.62
Norwegian vessel	510.72

The American wages being more than 60 per cent greater than the British, and nearly twice as great as the German, and about two and a half times greater than the Dutch, and still greater as compared with the Norwegian. (See also, as further confirming the conclusion stated, the advance sheets of Special Consular Reports on the Merchant Marine of Foreign Countries, made in response to a letter of the Department of State of June 20, 1899, pp. 9, 26, 42, 43, 44, 81, 82, 115, 116, 150, 160, 165, 172, and 175.)

The general correctness of the before-stated results of these statistics is fortified by the statements of the witnesses engaged in our foreign trade who appeared before the committee, all of whom who were examined on this subject stated in effect substantially what these statistics show, and their knowledge was derived from actual experience in the trade.

There is therefore a difference of \$5 to \$10 a month for seamen and \$10 to \$20 a month for firemen to be made upon American vessels. (The Commissioner of Navigation for 1903 shows about the same figures.)

The same report shows carefully the weakness of some of the remedies proposed.

DISCRIMINATING DUTIES.

As to discriminating duties, it appears conclusively that they provoke retaliation and can not be adopted without abrogating valuable treaties. Mr. GROSVENOR says, in the same report:

The first measure suggested in the last Congress was that of discriminating duties on imports. In support of that method of relief it has been said that while the United States imposed discriminating duties in the earlier history of the Republic our commerce under our flag very largely increased. That it did increase during a period when a law for discriminating duties was in force is undoubtedly true, but that it increased for that reason is, in very large degree, an erroneous conclusion. As to countries with which we had no treaties of equal commercial rights, and with the territories of Great Britain in North America and to a certain extent with the West Indies, we were free to make such discriminations in favor of our own flag, but the trade arising under those conditions was comparatively small, and in most cases ships and cargoes under our flag were in such other countries and territories put at a disadvantage equivalent, and sometimes more than equivalent, to our discrimination.

In all such cases retaliation, in one form or another, is almost the necessary consequence, as we have ourselves proved in recent years, as well as earlier ones, in our own measures, usually confined to the discretion of the President, to meet what we conceived to be unequal and excessive exactions on our ships and cargoes in such foreign ports. Under present circumstances it is sufficient to say that in a resort to discriminating duties, even if it were supposed we could impose them, their effect would not be to produce the result desired. Our existing treaties with every commercial nation on the globe forbid such discrimination, except, as we have stated, in respect of British North America and to a degree with the British West Indies.

Looking at the immediate and urgent necessity of measures for the public welfare arising from the conditions we have already stated, it is obvious that if Congress were willing to authorize the President to terminate all these commercial treaties, the time required—one or two years after notice given—would be as great as in a large degree to diminish the advantages of immediate action. And it may be added that it is open to the gravest question whether the resort to discriminating duties, if we were free to do so at this moment, would be of advantage to the United States. We may, therefore, leave out of the question this method of accomplishing the end desired.

POSTAL SUBSIDIES.

Postal subsidies affect only particular ports and subsidize particular lines. I quote again from this report, which states the difficulties with a brevity and force that can not be surpassed:

It has been sometimes suggested that postal subsidies might effect the result desired. If postal subsidies could be offered and paid to vessels running to probably forty or fifty different ports in foreign countries, without regard to the amount of mail service they would have to do, and large enough to pay the expenses of building and running the ships for the subsidy, aided by such commercial businesses could be obtained, American trade to these ports could doubtless be largely increased; but this would be at an expense, we think, immensely greater than the total sum provided to be paid annually by the bill under consideration, and it would confine increased operations of our trade to those particular ports. Besides this, postal subsidies are, in their nature, necessarily almost entirely given to a particular line, thus putting that line at advantage over every other trading between the same ports. This would be a system of inequality that never should be resorted to except in case of absolute necessity. The subsidized line becomes, in effect, almost a monopoly, and therefore such a system ought not to be resorted to beyond the immediate necessities of a particular service.

FREE SHIPS.

It is unnecessary to add anything to the mere statement that free ships will only destroy our shipyards, which are just beginning to make a healthy growth, now that they have cheap iron and steel and have created a coasting fleet that gives them work.

Our motto must be "An American marine of ships built, owned, run, and, above all, manned by Americans, which, in case of need, shall supply the national defense with vessels, commanders, and men."

We will not buy the one or hire the other from foreigners. In emergency, perhaps, we could not.

TONNAGE AND SPEED SUBSIDIES.

The report, already referred to with so much approbation, proposes bounties to vessels engaged in foreign commerce based on their tonnage and speed. In England payments of this sort are made by the navy (Admiralty) to ships specially strengthened and fitted to be turned into fast cruisers, but not generally. This report proposes a bounty per mile traversed for each ton of the cargo carrying capacity of the vessel, at rates varying with the original speed of that vessel. Such bounties or subsidies are generally held to be dangerous legislation, only to be adopted in case of necessity. Many patriots hold that the necessity exists.

But the details of any such measure would have to be carefully settled for various reasons:

1. The cost of freight per ton-mile is an ever-varying sum, usually diminishing from year to year. Statutory limitations on freight charges imposed in the railroad charters are usually many times the actual freights charged in practice, and a bounty or subsidy once granted is very hard to remove even if it become exorbitant. Various postal subsidies are examples.
2. The people object to payments from the public Treasury for the support of private business. It is hard to anticipate to what amount the Treasury may be depleted, as it was by the sugar bounty.
3. Any such scheme will favor one speed or tonnage more than another and create inequalities like the arbitrary handicaps of yacht measurements.
4. All bounties are hard to adjust so as to grant enough and not too much. The bill proposed by the report above mentioned would not merely pay the difference in cost, but more than the whole cost of coal and coal handling of the greatest vessels.

In the report we find the following:

Statement showing annual cost of coal and handling coal, compared with compensation under H. R. 64, at various rates of speed of a steamship of 10,000 gross tons from San Francisco to Nagasaki (5,000 nautical miles); coal, \$4 per ton; firemen, \$1 per day; navigation at full speed, one hundred and seventy-five days.

Knots per hour.	Miles per day.	Tons coal per day.	Number firemen.	Cost of coal and handling.		Mileage per annum.	Cost of coal and handling per annum.	Compensation.	Excess compensation.
				Per day.	Per mile.				
10	240	44	15	\$191	\$0.79	42,000	\$33,180	\$48,300	\$15,120
11	264	53	18	230	.87	46,200	40,194	71,610	31,416
12	288	65	22	282	.98	50,400	49,302	88,200	38,898
13	312	79	26	342	1.10	54,600	60,060	106,470	46,410
14	336	96	32	416	1.24	58,800	72,912	126,426	53,514
15	360	117	39	507	1.41	63,000	88,830	141,750	52,920
16	384	144	48	624	1.62	67,200	108,864	157,920	49,056
17	408	173	58	750	1.84	71,400	131,376	182,070	50,694
18	432	209	70	906	2.09	75,600	158,004	207,900	49,896
19	456	254	85	1,101	2.41	79,800	192,318	235,410	43,092
20	480	305	102	1,322	2.75	84,000	231,000	264,600	33,600
21	504	371	127	1,611	3.19	88,200	281,358	304,290	22,932

For consumption of coal and number of firemen, third and fourth columns, see the Report of the Commissioner of Navigation for 1899, pages 53-54 and 283; also pages 44-45.

For annual mileage and number of trips, see the above-named report, pages 46-47 and 282.

For rate of compensation for 5,000 miles, see page 263.

The cost of coal and firemen on fleet vessels must be more than the difference of cost in running American ships, while on slow vessels it may be much less. A proper adjustment of such commercial bounties may prove absolutely impossible.

5. The subsidy bill reported does not Americanize the ship.

Section 5 of the bill provides that no vessel shall be entitled to compensation unless at least one-fourth of her crew shall be citizens of the United States or have declared their intention to be such, with a proviso that foreigners may be shipped when an American crew can not be reasonably obtained. There is no inducement, therefore, in the bill to make more than one-fourth of the crew American, whereas the real principle should be that it is the men who govern the nationality of the marine and that ships are but their tools. Ships can be bought in time of emergency, but the men must be our own.

THE REMEDY PROPOSED.

A simpler remedy seems possible, namely, to pay to the vessel owner a sufficient part of the wages of every American that he shall employ, who is a naval volunteer, enlisted and qualified for service in emergency. The plan proposed is shown in a tentative measure introduced in the last Congress, and modified, as H. R. 5079, in the present Congress, which is added hereto as an appendix. It provides (section 1) for a force of not over 30,000 naval volunteers (section 2) enlisted for five years; (section 3) for their instruction, training, and exercise, by the Secretary of the Navy, on shore or on board ship, and for examination and certificate as to their rating and fitness to be officers; (section 4) that the President, in case of emergency, may call all or any of such volunteers into active service, subject to penalties for desertion, and (section 5) that while in service or training they shall receive the regular navy pay and be subject to navy discipline, in classes and under rules prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy. Then follow provisions for the encouragement of the merchant marine and the employment of such naval volunteers therein, providing (section 6) that there be paid to the owners or charterers of ships which shall be engaged in foreign trade or in the deep-sea fisheries, for every such naval volunteer actually employed and serving in such vessel during such foreign trading or deep-sea fishing voyages monthly sums of not over \$20 per month for any grade up to petty officers, not above \$30 per month for engineers or mates, and not above \$40 per month for captains, which rates may be graded according to the character of the vessel and the kind of voyage and grade of service.

No such payments are to be made, however, unless the volunteer so employed shall have been in actual naval training for one-twelfth of the time that he has been enrolled as such volunteer, nor unless he is certified as fit for the position or office which he fills. Section 7 provides that the rates per month may be increased when the service is upon speedy steam vessels, strengthened so as to be fit for naval service and bound to the United States for such naval service.

There is much to be said in favor of adding a further provision for the payment of smaller rates to our coasting vessels, in order to the employment by them of Americans so enrolled. The sums in this case could be much smaller (perhaps as little as one-fifth or one-tenth), inasmuch as the coasting trade is already protected by our navigation laws, forbidding foreign-built vessels from engaging therein.

These provisions somewhat explain themselves. They provide

for the creation of a merchant marine of American sailors and officers, duly enlisted, enrolled, and trained for service in the Navy. That Navy is already short of men, even in time of peace. It would not know where to look for men in time of war. The training of a sailor is one that takes years. That training is not altogether with the gun. It is not merely such as is given to the marine aboard ship. It is, still less, such desultory exercise as is to be got in our so-called Naval Reserve, which is a reserve composed of landsmen, who learn something about sea life by short training on shore or on a ship in harbor. The sailor is the man who knows the sea, who watches the weather, who is accustomed to the lookout, who is ready for emergency, who can take care of the ship in a storm, who is as much at home at the masthead as on the deck, who is used to meet danger, and who is ready of resource whatever befall. And the object of this measure is not merely to encourage the merchant marine by paying for the employment and training of such men, but also to secure a real naval reserve of seafaring men. I note, in passing, that the term "naval volunteers" is used in this bill instead of "naval reserve," only because the latter term has been appropriated in this country for various State organizations, composed mostly of landsmen. The object of this measure is, on the contrary, to obtain such a reserve of seafaring men, regularly enlisted in the Navy.

There is not another navy in the world which has not such a sailor reserve. In all the nations of Europe proper every sailor and fisherman is enrolled as such and subject to service in the navy by conscription.

In England the force is a volunteer force, established in 1859, with provisions for a training every year of not over twenty-eight days. Each man receives a small pay, and there is a further reserve, under subsequent statute, composed of sailors retired from the navy after serving their time, who may likewise be enrolled and receive a small pay. The measure proposed differs, however, very considerably from the English act. The conditions are different. Great Britain has over a half million sailors engaged in the merchant service, and she finds great difficulty in obtaining 20,000 in her whole naval reserve, or about half of what her statutes provide for.

The trouble is that shipowners will not employ the reservist, who may be taken from them at any time for his twenty-eight days' service. To meet this difficulty the Admiralty have provided for service of not over a week at a time, but when the time spent in travel is taken off that week only a few days are left for drill, and the benefits of a naval training are not obtained. It is to meet this difficulty that the proposed measure will allow the sailor to take all of his training, if preferred, at one time, requiring only that he shall have served as many months in the navy as the years that he has been enrolled.

But, again, constant difficulty is experienced in England in making sure that the reservist is really a sailor. Longshoremen and fishermen enroll for the benefit of the extra pay, and it is certain that the same difficulty would be found here if payments were made direct to the man.

But the principal difference between America and England is that England can enlist seamen from the numerous body of seamen already existing. The trouble in America is to create such a body of seamen. Americans must be tempted to go to sea by better wages. American vessels must find it to their advantage to employ American seamen. The object of the proposed measure is to enable the American naval volunteer to go to any American ship and ask higher wages because of the advantage that ship will get by employing him. He can proudly display a certificate of enlistment and service or, perhaps, his certificate of fitness to act as boatswain, engineer, mate, or captain. When such a system is well established the American vessels will still pay more wages than any others in the world, but they will sustain no loss by reason of such wages and will be able to run in free competition with any vessels in the world. The conditions will be, and ought to be, sufficient to provide our ships with means to take care of their seamen, under the statutes. Meanwhile the Government will sustain no loss, for it is paying for men. The rates, too, are not likely to become exorbitant, because American wages are likely to maintain their advantage over any others in the world. The rolls of these men will be kept by the vessel owner, who will hand in the list of enrolled men after every voyage, and the Government will be sure to know where its men are in case of need.

The establishment of such a system will be a matter of time. The numbers enrolled can not be more than a few thousand for many a year, because the Americans to enroll are not at sea, nor are there ships to employ them. It is a plan, at any rate, that it can do no harm to try. It is one that goes directly to the benefit of the American sailor who serves at sea, and indirectly to the benefit of the vessel which employs him and which is saved from loss by receiving the extra amount of his wages. It can be tried with or without any other plan, but its cost will be infinitesimal compared to any other plan.

The Commissioner of Navigation estimates (Report 1903, p. 26) that not over 50,000 men are employed on salt water in American vessels that go out of sight of land. Forty-nine per cent, or less than 25,000, are Americans, of whom about 17,000 are native born and about 8,000 are naturalized. (Report 1903, p. 28.) Most of them are in the coasting trade. It is safe to say that not more than 8,000 Americans are in American vessels engaged in foreign trade.

If payments were made averaging even \$250 a year for each of these men it would be but \$2,000,000; \$25 a year for the 22,000 on coasters would be but \$540,000. One million dollars would pay for naval training. These estimates are lavish, but the chief merit claimed for the plan is that it goes to the root of the precise difficulty which is to be remedied—namely, that it costs more money to run the American ship because of the extra wages that have to be paid to Americans. The remedy is to repay this loss. The proviso which makes it worth while to make this payment is that these men shall be part of our Navy in case of need and shall have received a proper training therefor.

We must Americanize our ships. We must man them with American sailors who are ready to serve their country. Free ships will not secure this need, nor postal subsidies, nor bounties upon speed or tonnage. Such bounties to capital may excite jealousy. But if we help pay the men we shall decrease the expenses of the vessel, and there can be no objection, on principle, to our spending money for the creation of a force of naval volunteers, of trained and enlisted American seamen, who shall be ready for use in time of war. That this will help our ships is all the better.

APPENDIX A.

A bill (H. R. 5079) for the establishment of a naval volunteer force of seamen and for the government of the same.

Whereas it is expedient that there should be a volunteer force of seamen for service in the Navy in time of emergency, that they should be duly trained, and that the foreign trade of the United States should be encouraged, as well as the employment of such seamen in such foreign trade: Therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Navy to raise and keep up a number of men not exceeding 30,000, to be called "naval volunteers," such men to be enlisted from among seafaring men and others who may be deemed suitable for service.

SEC. 2. That such volunteers shall be enlisted for five years.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Navy shall provide facilities whereby such volunteers as may appear and report shall be instructed, trained, and exercised on shore or on board any ship, at such times and places and under the command of such officers as the said Secretary may think fit, and whereby such volunteers may also be examined and certified as to their fitness as officers of such force and of merchant vessels.

SEC. 4. That it shall be lawful for the President in case of emergency communicated to Congress, or proclaimed, if Congress be not sitting, to order that any or all of such volunteers shall be called into actual service; and upon such order and such notice thereof as may be prescribed by navy regulation, every naval volunteer who shall not appear and enter into actual service shall be subject to the penalties of desertion.

SEC. 5. That such naval volunteers when in actual service, or when training as aforesaid, shall be entitled to pay and allowances for actual service in the Navy, and shall be subject to the discipline of the Navy, as fully as if regularly enlisted therein, and shall be organized, armed, and uniformed as may be provided from time to time by regulation.

The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe rules and regulations for their organization and training, and may at any time discharge any such naval volunteer, and may organize them into classes, and make rules and regulations as to the time, places, and manner of their service.

SEC. 6. That in order to encourage the merchant marine and the employment of such naval volunteers therein there shall be paid to the owners or charterers of any vessel of the United States which shall be engaged in foreign trade or in the deep-sea fisheries, for every naval volunteer actually employed and serving on such vessel during every deep-sea fishing voyage or foreign trading voyage, the monthly sums hereinafter provided for, for every month of the duration of such voyage: *Provided, however,* That no such payment shall be made unless such naval volunteer shall have been in actual training, as mentioned in section 3, for a period equal to as many months as the years or fractions of a year that he has been enrolled and enlisted as such naval volunteer: *And provided further,* That he has been certified as fit for the office or position held by him on such merchant or fishing vessel.

The Secretary of the Navy shall fix the rates of pay aforesaid for various grades, which rates shall not be above \$20 a month for any grade up to petty officers, nor above \$30 a month for engineers or mates, nor above \$40 a month for captain, and which rates may be graded according to the character and size of the vessel, the kind of voyage, and the grade of service as may be deemed best by the Secretary of the Navy.

SEC. 7. That whenever such foreign voyage shall be in a steam vessel and her time between ports on such voyage shall represent a speed of over 10 knots an hour on the shortest courses between such ports, then the pay in the last section mentioned shall be increased in proportion as the speed represented by such time bears to 10 knots: *Provided,* That such vessel shall have been built or strengthened and kept in condition as may be fixed by naval regulations and to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Navy: *Provided further,* That such vessels shall have entered into bond or agreement, satisfactory to such Secretary, that such vessel may be taken by the United States at an appraisement of its fair value whenever the President shall declare an emergency that renders such taking advisable.

APPENDIX B.

The report already cited shows decisively that the real difference in running expenses between an American and foreign vessel is chiefly in the cost of paying the crew, and that this is the difficulty to be met. It is hardly claimed that anything but a tramp steamer can be constructed much more economically abroad than in this country. Our improvement in shipbuilding and in iron and steel manufacture has been such that we are already building vessels for foreign navies, and to some extent, I believe, for the foreign mercantile marine. Our insurance companies will certainly afford as reason-

able rates as those abroad if there will be sufficient business to induce them so to do. Coal may be cheaper abroad, but if so an American vessel or steamship can buy it there as an English steamer buys it here. The real difference lies in the cost of manning the ship and of giving the care, which the law orders to be given to American seamen, taking them home when sick, reporting to various consuls, etc., all which constitutes a very considerable burden upon our American vessels. No objection can be made to the Government paying for the employment of Americans in this work and for their training by ordinary duty at sea, provided that they become part of the naval emergency force of the country. Indeed, this is what is actually done by England.

The English statutes leave the whole details of pay and allowance and organization to be provided for by regulation.

The first English statute on this subject is that of 1859, providing for a naval reserve of seafaring men who should enlist for five years and be subject at any time during enlistment to be called into service for three years, with a possible two years' extension, which call should take effect whether the original enlistment expired during the three years or not. By the same act it is provided that each naval volunteer should be called out for training service every year for not more than twenty-eight days. By a subsequent act, not necessary to cite, a naval volunteer artillery force was provided for, composed of landsmen and answering very closely to our own State Naval Reserves.

By the act of 1900 a separate division was constituted of veterans and pensioned sailors of the navy.

The act of importance is the original act of 1859, 22 and 23 Victoria, chapter 40.

The English naval reserve has been often discussed. A graphic description is made by Sir Thomas Brassey in Volume IV, part 4, of his book on the British Navy, London, Loughman, Green & Co., 1883, pages 244 to 404. It is to be gathered that there had been a great falling off in the naval reserve in England, principally because of the requirement of twenty-eight days' training in each year. For in spite of the fact that the Admiralty had taken pains to allow such training to be taken a week at a time, the introduction of steam navigation left the average sailor little opportunity to attend, even for this short time, under any ironclad rules.

As a practical matter, it seems, therefore, better not to follow the English example of paying the men so much a month and requiring training, but rather to let them take their training at such time as they should find most convenient, subject to reasonable regulation, so that the man might take two or three or perhaps the whole five months at the beginning of his service, and should thereby entitle himself to good pay in the merchant marine.

It is plain that the pay ought not to be made to the man, but to the American vessel which employs him, and this for the following reasons:

1. That the man himself should be glad to serve and declare he is a naval volunteer.

2. That he should be given by the vessel owner more pay, because he is such volunteer, instead of being asked to take less because he is such, or to assign his right to pay.

3. Because by paying to the vessel leave is obtained to impose the condition noted by Section IX of the draft, that the vessel should be subject to impressment at a valuation for use by the Government.

4. By paying the vessel we create the condition that the American naval volunteer will be in demand, so that he can ask for higher wages and better treatment than the outside sailor, who can not offer bounty to the vessel in his service.

5. The Government can thereby keep better track of a volunteer through the vessel's records.

The real advantage of this whole scheme, outside of the Americanizing of our fleet in reality as well as in name, lies in the fact that the allowance to the vessel is upon a really equitable basis and one that will remain so.

The details of a naval reserve of sailors as proposed are necessarily to be settled from time to time by regulation. Those of other nations should be carefully studied to obtain the benefit of their experience and avoid their mistakes.

It is to be especially noted in Mr. Brassey's book, page 372, that the introduction of steam vessels had diminished the naval reserve; page 373, that the regulations provide no proper reward for efficiency in the naval reserve as in the navy; page 374, that the drill places were few; page 376, that apprentices were few; page 380, that there was great need of some central inspection of drill work; pages 440-442, that there was likewise great need of sailing-ship training, and that no reserve man should go into the first class who had merely served on a steamer. On page 223 et seq. the difficulty that men experienced who served on steamers in attending drill is set forth. There is question on page 258 whether fishermen should be accepted or not, and the danger is noted on page 260 of too strict regulations. These regulations as to the enrollment of the third class are given in Brassey on page 266 et seq. and the rules as to promotion on page 248 et seq. All these are matters of detail which should be provided for by regulation and not by law. There is no doubt that our Department can establish regulations that are much more practical and which would provide, likewise, for the examination of mates, captains, etc., and the paying of our vessels engaged in foreign trade for their employment.

The act of 1859 deserves careful study. It contains many provisions which might well be adopted here, but which need not necessarily be embodied in legislation. The shorter the act the better.

Salaries of Letter Carriers.

SPEECH

OF

HON. HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE,
OF NEW YORK.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, March 24, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. GOLDFOGLE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is surprising that any objection should be urged by any Member of this House to the proposition to increase the salaries of the letter carriers. In the line of legislation to advance the pay of any class of Government employees there never was a more meritorious proposition before Congress than this one

in aid of the letter carriers, nor is there any class of employees in the Government service who more than these carriers deserve an increase in their pay.

The chairman of the Post-Office Committee [Mr. OVERSTREET] has made a point of order against the amendment to increase these salaries. I would call his attention to the fact that there are provisions in the pending bill as reported by the committee relative to the pay of rural free-delivery carriers that would be subject to a like point of order if raised.

In a matter that has so much merit as the demand made in behalf of the letter carriers, which carries with it the support of a large number of the Members of the House, and which has the approval of the general public, it is an unfair thing to defeat it through means of a point of order. Let it come to a vote. Let it receive fair and square consideration openly on this floor. Do not smother it to death within the confines of the committee room.

Simple justice demands, Mr. Chairman, that the salaries of the letter carriers be raised, and I am glad to stand on this floor and speak in behalf of these deserving men. In doing so I serve a good and worthy cause and am aiding in the promotion of the principle that the Government ought to pay adequate compensation for the service it receives. I know that in supporting the amendment to increase the salaries I am voicing the popular demand of the people in every city of the Union who recognize the worth, the value, the efficiency of the letter carriers' work.

The letter carriers are underpaid. The small and beggerly salaries they now receive are not enough to meet the expense of living properly in the cities where these men dwell. For a quarter of a century the salaries of these men have not been changed. Within that time the cities of the land have wonderfully expanded; their population has marvelously increased; their business interests have grown to greater proportions; their every condition has undergone such a tremendous change that the work of the letter carriers has, as the years ran by, grown greater and greater; yet the pay of these men remained unchanged.

In the larger cities—such, for instance, as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, and San Francisco—the cost of living has increased to an extent that makes the present salaries of the carriers inadequate for the men who would modestly provide for themselves and their families. In the city of New York, from which I come, the rents of dwellings are alone so high that I wonder how, with the meager salary these letter carriers receive, they are enabled to support their families and keep up the payment of the high and ever-increasing rent. That condition is not confined to the great city of New York. It obtains also in many of the other cities, for as cities grow in size, in importance, in commerce, and in population property in them becomes more valuable, rents are increased, and the cost of living in them becomes necessarily higher. And yet the letter carrier who, like all others, has to meet this increased cost of living is still paid the same rate of salary paid him a quarter of a century ago.

Trained to strict discipline in the service and obedient to that singular order issued by the President some years ago forbidding the individual carrier from approaching Members of Congress for an increased pay, these men have observed that injunction. But it is quite unnecessary for these men to implore and beg for this increase. A sense of right and justice should impel Congress to grant an increase now. The Government should, like any other employer, be willing to pay fair and living wages for service honestly performed.

From every quarter we have been petitioned to increase the salaries of the letter carriers. Labor and trade organizations throughout the length and breadth of the land, fraternities of every character, bankers, merchants, tradesmen, mechanics—men in every walk of life—have year in and year out sent their petitions asking Congress to pass the bill to increase the salaries. From this side of the Chamber we have begged and urged in every conceivable way that the Post-Office Committee report one of the bills before them so that we could get a vote on it; but the entreaties have been in vain, and the bills have been allowed to sleep the sleep that knows no waking. And now, sir, when there is an opportunity to ascertain the sentiments of this House on the question, there comes from the other side of the Chamber an objection to the consideration of the proposition, and again the deaf ear of the Post-Office Committee is turned toward the bill.

Your letter carriers are among the hardest-worked men in the public service. In season and out of season, in storm and in sunshine, whatever be the weather conditions, they go trudging along the streets and highways, carrying their load of mail. From cellar to garret, upstairs and through the buildings in large cities honeycombed with shops and offices and dwellings, there from morning early till night late goes the carrier on his route delivering the mails. Always punctual, ever polite, he goes about his work meriting the approbation of the people he serves so well. In making his rounds, carrying oftentimes, as I have observed, packs of mails that seem to test the utmost of physical strength, he becomes physically worn-out and tired at the close of the day;

yet the morning again finds him cheerfully and promptly at his work, for he has been accustomed to the severe and rigid discipline of the service.

When at last he has served the Government for years, and grown old and gray, when infirmity overtakes him or sickness after years of severe toil becomes his unhappy lot, when no longer he can undergo the strain of carrying the heavy load of mail as though he were a pack horse, he finds himself only too often in financial distress and helpless. Not because he was not frugal, not because he was not desirous or willing to lay up a spare dollar for a rainy day, but because the beggarly salary he was paid was too small to permit of laying by a dollar. Who within the hearing of my voice will deny that it must necessarily take every cent of his salary now to keep him and his family, however small that family may be, in body and soul together with a semblance of apparent respectability?

One of the strange things of Congressional legislation is that while you have been lavish in the expenditure of the public moneys, while you have been willing to disburse millions in wasteful extravagance, while you have voted away millions upon a hundred pretexts to oblige and favor powerful and influential combinations and trusts, while you have again and again increased the salaries of almost every kind of officials who live lives of comparative ease and of officers of the Army and the Navy whenever they come with influential backing knocking at our door, you have coldly turned away the letter carrier, who, in my judgment, is, under the circumstances, the most deserving of them all.

You may argue the question any way you please, but you can not justify on any rational ground or any fair business basis the refusal of Congress, controlled by the Republicans on the other side of the Chamber, to pay an honest and legitimate wage to the letter carriers. A private employer, animated by a desire to deal fairly with his employees, would not treat his faithful employees who served him for years as Congress has treated the letter carriers. Why, then, should this nation, great, rich and powerful, withhold from the carrier the small increase which he has richly earned, and to which, by all the rules of honesty and fair business dealings, he is certainly entitled? [Applause.]

But if you refuse to heed this demand, if you still insist that the letter carrier shall remain underpaid, if you still refuse to pay him a fair day's wages for an honest day's toil, you gentlemen on the Republican side who control the legislation in this House must take the responsibility. You are unmindful of the sentiment of the people on this subject, you are disregarding the voice of honest labor, you are heedless of the opinions of the press, and you must take the responsibility which your unjust refusal to deal justly with the letter carriers entails.

I do hope, Mr. Chairman, that the point of order will be withdrawn. If the Post-Office Committee believe the increase asked for should not be allowed, let them suffer the test to be made on this floor. The representatives of the people may be trusted to do the right. Give us the chance to vote, and I prophesy that the proposition to increase the salaries will find a hearty support in a majority vote of this House; for I do believe there are enough Members here who realize that to refuse the increase is to fly into the face of public opinion, to violate the rule of honest business dealing, to offend a righteous public sentiment. [Applause.]

Let Congress cease to act meanly and niggardly toward this deserving class of men. Such a course is beneath the dignity of a great country. It is contemptible. Efficient service should have its just recognition. In rewarding excellent work and zealous labor of the letter carriers we shall not only further promote the still greater efficiency of the postal service, but shall prove that the American Government deals honestly and uprightly with its employees who serve them so nobly and so well. [Applause.]

The Merchant Marine Commission.

SPEECH OF

HON. EDWARD DE V. MORRELL,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, April 23, 1904.

On the bill (H. R. 7056) creating a commission to consider and recommend legislation for the development of the American merchant marine, and for other purposes.

Mr. MORRELL said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I approach the discussion of this bill with deep personal interest. No section of the Union is more largely interested in the question to be investigated under the provisions of this bill than the section from which I come. Three great States meet upon the Delaware River on the borders of Philadelphia—Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey—and here, within the

radius of 40 miles, are grouped a number of the greatest shipbuilding plants in this country or in the world.

In Philadelphia there are the Cramps, the Hillmans, Neafie & Levy, and a number of smaller shipbuilding companies. On the Jersey shore is located the New York Shipbuilding Company and several minor ones. The Roach Shipbuilding Company is upon the Delaware shore below Philadelphia, while upon the Christiana Creek, which is a branch of the Delaware River, is the shipyard of Harlan & Hollingsworth, one of the greatest enterprises of Wilmington. All of these great shipyards are within a radius of less than 40 miles.

The number of men actually employed in these great shipbuilding yards, when running their full capacity, approximates 20,000, a number in excess of the voting population of the State of Nevada and almost equal to the voting population of the State of Wyoming.

The first large trans-Atlantic liners to carry the American flag were those of the International Navigation Company, a corporation officered and controlled by Philadelphians and Philadelphia capital. As an indication of how deeply interested Philadelphians and Pennsylvanians are in what might result from the revival of our mercantile marine it is only necessary to say that the foreign vessels arriving from foreign ports during the year 1903 amounted to 884 vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,750,000 tons, while but 141 American vessels, with a tonnage of 106,000 tons, arrived during the same period.

The best evidence that there is a widespread interest throughout the city and State which I represent to do everything to encourage shipping to the port of Philadelphia is the number of maritime and trade organizations which presented themselves, in the interest of a 35-foot channel in the Delaware River, at the hearings lately granted by the River and Harbor Committee during this session of Congress.

In these great industrial plants the interests of labor and of capital are joined. In advocating this bill I speak for the welfare of both. But I am not only in favor of this measure because of my representation in part of large interests directly concerned in it, but because I am firm in the belief that the entire country is, in an important degree, though indirectly, concerned. The duties of our Congressional committees, in regular course of procedure, are often so arduous that they have not time to sift to accurate conclusion greatly disputed questions of the character under discussion, and I have, therefore, always been in favor of provisions of this character where special investigation seemed advisable or necessary.

As an illustration of this belief on my part, I might point to the resolution which I introduced at the last Congress and again at this session providing for a somewhat similar commission to investigate the question of the currency.

Mr. Speaker, I have given careful consideration to this bill, not only in the light of the majority and minority reports of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, but also in the light of the many great arguments that have from time to time been adduced for and against the many bills for the encouragement of our shipping interests which have been before Congress.

This bill provides for a "Merchant Marine Commission" composed of five Senators and five Representatives, at least four of whom—two Senators and two Representatives—shall belong to the minority party. These members are to be appointed by the presiding officers of each House. This commission is not to legislate, but to "investigate and report what legislation is desirable for the development of the American merchant marine and American commerce." It is required in carrying on its investigations to give to all whose interests are involved a reasonable time for hearings, just as committees of Congress are accustomed to do; and it may appoint "subcommissions to make investigation in any part of the United States."

The amount appropriated by the bill for the expenses of the commission is limited to \$20,000. The question presented here is whether the condition of the merchant marine shall be properly investigated with a view to its speedy rehabilitation. As one of the witnesses before the committee put it, "It is investigation now, gentlemen—investigation to-day or inquest to-morrow."

It is admitted on all sides that our merchant marine in the foreign trade is languishing. It is admitted that unless some remedy for present conditions is devised before long it will practically be swept from the seas. It is admitted that we are confronted with a great national calamity, threatened by an irreparable loss; but we stand here, year after year, disputing about methods, one side advocating those which are obsolete and the other side those which have been employed by the most enlightened and progressive nations of the present day, but neither side being able to accomplish anything for lack of adequate information as to the prevailing sentiment of the country on the subject and of the authoritative testimony of experts on which to base the provisions of a law that will satisfy the community.

Like the ass in the old fable, we are standing between two

bundles of hay and yet perishing of hunger by reason of our inability to decide which bundle we shall choose; undecided because one bundle might possibly be better than the other, and because we are too mulish to investigate both before selecting either.

The object of this bill is to cut the Gordian knot by investigating, and thereby furnishing a basis for intelligent and speedy decision. The majority of the committee realized this situation and have reported in favor of the bill, but the minority favor supine inaction. They say:

The opponents of subsidy should rally against this bill. * * * Such a bill passed the Senate, and its irrepressible promoters and beneficiaries are pushing this bill.

Mr. Speaker, who are the beneficiaries of this bill? It is a bill for collecting and reporting information, and surely nobody could or would receive greater benefit from the passage of such a bill than those who are opposed to legislation for the revival of our shipping interests, because they do not understand the subject. Compulsory education may not always be the most agreeable thing in the world, but it is often the most necessary thing. Nor was there ever an instance in which it was more necessary than the present. The minority are as illogical as they are obstinate.

They emphatically declare that it is the privilege and the duty of the committees of the House and Senate to investigate, to hear the evidence and the views of the people having special interest or knowledge, and to report to the Congress their recommendations, but that it is unconstitutional to pass a bill of this kind. What is proposed by this bill but a joint committee of the two Houses to do precisely what they say it is the duty of such a committee to do? If the two Houses have the right to raise joint committees for such purposes, have they not the right to adopt this particular method of doing so?

The fact that the President is required to intervene by vetoing or approving a bill does not affect this case at all, because an appropriation of money to pay the expenses of the proposed investigation is made by this bill, and all appropriations must, under the Constitution, be made by law. Does Congress abdicate its powers every year simply because the President is required to approve the bill making appropriations for the expenses of Congress? Their argument amounts to this: That it is our duty to investigate and legislate, but we refuse to investigate lest we should be able to legislate intelligently or opportunely. This is their first principal contention.

They say again, however, that the subject is not a new one and, therefore, that no new learning, facts, or arguments can be developed by a commission. The same argument might be used with equal force and propriety against any further investigation of the subject by a committee of either House or by the House of Representatives itself. It might as well be used against the establishment or maintenance of any institution for the promotion of agricultural, mechanical, medical, metallurgical, or other kind of knowledge. None of these subjects are new. Congress established an Interstate Commerce Commission, but interstate commerce was not a new thing.

But they say that many volumes have been written on the subject—cords of reports, debates, opinions, evidence, and arguments; that Congress can acquire all necessary knowledge from the materials already at hand quite as well as from a compilation by a commission. Let us take a parallel case by way of answer to this objection. Congress and the States have passed cords of statutes. Could any committee, or legislative body, or any court acquire from all this heterogeneous, scattered mass of matter, nine-tenths of which is obsolete, as easily as from a well-digested code such timely and accurate information as would be necessary for the immediate decision of a great and complicated question?

Congress has by law provided for a commission to revise and codify its own laws. Every State has done the same. How unreasonable, then, and how unfair is this second contention of the minority.

Their third contention is a man of straw, the most Quixotic argument ever made by members of a legislative body. They simply declare that something exists which does not exist, and then they valiantly demolish the phantom. "It is inconsistent," they say, "with the dignity of the House and with the true theory of its separate and independent existence and action to be influenced by or act upon the judgment or dictation of a body appointed by the Senate from among its own membership for that purpose."

Mr. Speaker, if such a thing were possible, I should unhesitatingly denounce it and reject it. This bill, however, proposes simply to establish a joint commission of the two Houses, corresponding to a joint select committee, and consisting of five members of each body—a sort of conference committee—to collect and digest information indispensable to the rightful performance of the duty of legislation. The insinuation that members of this House are "to be influenced by or to act upon the judgment or dictation of a body appointed by the Senate from among their own membership for that purpose" is unjustifiable and absurd.

Having given an entirely misleading description of the proposed commission, the minority add:

This commission (such as they had described) is more obnoxious to the spirit of the Constitution than one composed entirely of outsiders.

Talk about sophistry; this is sophistry par excellence! If the proposed commission were, as they would have the country believe, to be composed exclusively of Senators, and set up for the purpose of dictating to this House, their conclusion would undoubtedly be true; but their premises are false and their conclusion ridiculous.

Their fourth contention is that this bill ought to be defeated because "commissions have always been failures." If that were true as to all other commissions it would not necessarily be true of the one proposed by this bill; but it is not true. Commissions have not always been failures. The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission was not a failure. The Philippine Commissions were not failures. The Industrial Commission was not a failure. The Peace Commission was not a failure. The Electoral Commission was not a failure.

The joint select committees of the two Houses of Congress have never been failures. But they say that all commissions have been "useless and expensive luxuries." This is, no doubt, their opinion, but it is not a fact, and history fully disproves the charge.

The ultimate object of the investigation proposed by this bill is to enable Congress to discover some plan for rehabilitating the foreign commerce of the country and that portion of our merchant marine which is engaged in the foreign trade. Its proximate object is, as I have already said, to provide a method for ascertaining what is the best means of attaining that end.

Four of the members of the proposed commission would be Democrats and would have full opportunity to develop Democratic theories as to the merchant marine. The commission is not to be merely the mouthpiece of those who are already committed to any one plan over another. They are to investigate all plans. The end in view is perfectly clear to all of us. But the best means of reaching that end is not clear. The great majority of us, I presume, have not at present sufficient knowledge of the subject in all its ramifications to feel perfectly sure of arriving, without further light, at the very best conclusion in regard to it.

The minority say that the committees of the two Houses ought to act upon this matter intelligently enough to enable all of us to reach a sound conclusion. But the committee which reported on this bill has not done so. The majority of that committee tell us why we should do something, and that speedily. The minority admits that something ought to be done. But after this the two factions diverge and make contrary recommendations, thus making "confusion worse confounded." I can not agree with the minority in saying that "bounties to private enterprises should never be thought of." I have voted for bills carrying bounties for private enterprises.

I have voted for donations to certain railroad companies to enable them to erect a union station in Washington, and for donations to Providence Hospital and other private eleemosynary corporations engaged in works of charity in this city. I have voted for a subsidy to the Southern Railroad Company to enable it to expedite the mails between the North and the South. I feel quite sure that all of those gentlemen who signed the minority report on this bill have voted for some of these bounties, if not all of them.

How will they reconcile such votes with their present contention? Surely none of these objects is of greater importance than the rehabilitation of the great foreign carrying trade of this country. If, as they declare, "all the subsidies ever granted by the United States have resulted in undisputed failures," why do they come here year after year and vote for subsidies? Why do they persist in saddling their failures upon the public? They know that they are mistaken or else that they are inconsistent, and that in either case they are not entitled to speak as oracles.

The seventh and last argument against this bill presented by the minority of the committee is, that it conflicts with what they call "our plan of relief." And under this head they discuss the system of discriminating duties. They tell us of the wonderful growth of our shipping between 1789 and 1828, and of its steady decline since the latter date. I have gone over the history of the subject exhaustively, and must confess that there are many reasons for favoring the early methods of developing our foreign carrying trade. But I am not at all sure that, under existing conditions, we could return to these early methods without involving ourselves in distinctive trade wars with those nations with which we have treaties whereby those methods were abrogated by the great Democratic statesmen who controlled the destinies of this country between 1820 and 1860.

In 1828 our foreign commerce carried in American bottoms amounted to 757,908 tons, being 88.9 per cent of our total foreign trade. Then came the Democratic "free freighting act," enacted

in the interest of foreign shipowners—an act which is even now in force. That act and the treaties following it destroyed entirely the advantages which American shipowners enjoyed under the protection of discriminating duties. But it gave us no compensating advantages whatever.

Between 1828 and 1902 this proportion gradually diminished. In 1896 it was only 12 per cent, as against 88.9 per cent in 1828, and it is now still less. I am told that it is not to-day more than 5 per cent. In 1902 it was 1.75 per cent of our exports and 3.25 per cent of our imports. After seventy-five years of unprotected carrying under the free-freighting act and Democratic reciprocity treaties only 5 per cent of our immense exports and imports were carried in American bottoms.

But the effect and the expediency of discriminating duties, as well as of the subsidy plan and all other systems of developing our shipping industry and its related industries, would be thoroughly investigated and expounded by the proposed merchant-marine commission. Our doubts as to the wisdom of the protective scheme, which was crippled and eventually destroyed by the free-freighting act of 1828, passed by a Democratic Congress and carried into effect by Democratic Presidents, might be thereby removed.

But however this may be, we all need the information contemplated by this bill. We need enlightenment on this subject. We need it because we are in duty bound to act, and because we are in honor and in interest, as well as in duty, bound not to act blindly or rashly.

In 1902 our exports amounted to nearly a billion dollars. More than 98 per cent of that traffic was carried in foreign ships and less than 2 per cent of it in American ships. We imported that year nearly \$475,000,000 worth of foreign products; and of that amount, only \$30,000,000 worth were brought in American bottoms.

We have done everything in our power to facilitate this commerce. We have spent millions, hundreds of millions, to dredge our harbors and rivers for the sake of it. But foreign nations reap the largest benefits from it. We are now spending millions in securing an interoceanic canal; and unless we build up by some means an adequate merchant marine, foreigners will be the chief beneficiaries of that great expenditure. But this is not the worst phase of the situation. In case of a great European war we should be practically cut off from the world if we had no ships of our own to carry our exports and imports.

If we should by any chance become involved in war with England, our entire foreign commerce would be paralyzed. The common defense and general welfare of the country, therefore, imperatively requires action on our part toward reviving our great shipping interests. Shall it be said that we are even incapable of making preparation to do our duty? Shall it be said that we are too suspicious of the motives of one another to pass a bill authorizing members of the two Houses of Congress, responsible to ourselves alone, to study and report upon the methods of carrying out a scheme of transcendent importance to the entire nation?

We have heard much of the decadence of Congress from our friends on the other side of the Chamber, but nothing has yet happened to convince me so thoroughly of the decadence of Congress as would be its inability to pass a measure like this.

The eloquent gentleman from New York [Mr. COCKRAN]—the champion word painter of the other side of the Chamber, and indeed the blue-ribbon orator of the House—has furnished a fair example of the arguments on this question presented by our general friends of the opposition. He has washed away with a Niagara of glittering generalities all necessity for this bill or for any other.

He has shown that the whole protective tariff system, upon which by very general consent the material prosperity of this great country has been built up and is maintained, is a system of piracy and plunder; he has razed the custom-houses, all of them, "from turret to foundation stone;" he has swept away everything that is material and solid and useful and practical, and he has given us instead an insubstantial pageant of excellence—a veritable troop of impersonated excellences. The eloquent gentleman fashioned that pretty word "excellence" into a poem, a painting, a landscape, a succession of beauties too white and soft and tender for the climate of earth.

He has brushed aside all the perils that beset systems of government and shown us how to usher in the millennium at one fell stroke by a simple system of abstract excellence. Borrowing an idea that the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] adopted from the governor of Wisconsin and applied to the distinguished and classical gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], it may be serenely pleasing to go into the regions where Tacitus went, to scale the hills which Virgil climbed, to sip old Falernian wine which Horace set to song, to be socratic with old Socrates, demosthenic with old Demosthenes, and to rip with old Euripides, but what in the name of Heaven has this got to do with the American merchant marine, and how can we thereby restore the American flag to the seas?

While the question under discussion has nothing to do with the principle of free trade versus protection or tariff revision versus the principle of "stand pat," so derisively alluded to by the gentleman from New York, yet these divergent party policies were so fully discussed in the argument of the gentleman from New York and in the answer made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I have alluded to them in the discussion of the present bill.

The strong advocacy by the gentleman from New York of Mr. William Jennings Bryan and the principles he represented in the campaign of 1900 were so prominently brought out in this debate that it must be with a sorrowing heart and tears of sadness that the gentleman from New York must bring himself to realize that he will not in the coming campaign be able to advocate with the same glittering arguments and brilliant wit those same principles in the candidacy of WILLIAM R. HEARST, but that he must, to be in line with the New York platform, advocate the Sphinx, which has suddenly been discovered amid the arid wastes of Democratic material, thereby discarding his old side partner of the days of 1900, William Jennings Bryan, to whom he gave his support and, as I have said, all the weight of which his eloquence and wit were capable.

Perhaps at this moment it would be well to read what his old friend Mr. Bryan says concerning the Sphinx in a speech delivered by him in Chicago on April 23, as reported in the Nebraska State Journal of April 24, 1904, his subject being "The New York platform."

MR. BRYAN'S ADDRESS.

His address was chiefly as follows:

"As it is somewhat unusual for a political speech to be made as this one is to-night, let me preface my remarks with an explanation.

"I have hired this hall and I introduce myself because I do not care to speak under the auspices of any club or organization which is committed to any particular aspirant for office. My concern is not about the name or the personality of the nominee, but about the principles for which the Democratic party is to stand. While many of the papers seem to assume that the contest for the Democratic nomination is necessarily between Judge Parker and Mr. HEARST, and that every Democrat must either be for one or the other, such a position is illogical and without foundation.

"Those who are classed as reorganizers—and by that I mean those who would carry the party back to the position that it occupied under Mr. Cleveland's Administration—are not entirely agreed among themselves as to the proper candidate upon whom to concentrate their votes, and so those who are in sympathy with the spirit of our recent platforms may differ as to the relative availability of those who represent the progressive element of the party. My own position is one of neutrality.

"I regard as available all candidates who are in favor of making the Democratic party an honest, earnest, and courageous exponent of the rights and interests of the masses, and I regard as unavailable all who are in sympathy with, or obligated to, the great corporation that to-day dominates the policy of the Republican party and seek, through reorganizers, to dominate the policy of the Democratic party. I have no favorites among those on our side and no special antagonism to those who represent the reorganizers.

PARKER WILL NOT DO.

"When, some two years ago, I became satisfied that ex-Senator David B. Hill was planning to be a candidate I pointed out the objections to his candidacy. When the Cleveland boom was launched I pointed out the objections to his candidacy, and now that Mr. Parker seems to be the leading candidate, though not the only candidate among the reorganizers, I desire to present some reasons why he can not be considered as an available candidate for a Democratic nomination, and I find these reasons, not in his personality, but in his position upon public questions:

"For a year he has been urged to speak out and declare himself upon the important issues of the coming campaign, but he has remained silent. If this silence meant that nobody knew his views, those who have been loyal to the party in recent years would stand upon an equal footing with those who deserted, but it is evident now that while to the public generally his views are unknown, they are well known to those who are urging his nomination.

"Whatever doubt may have existed on this subject heretofore has been dispelled by the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty or fair dealing in politics.

ISSUES BEFORE THE COUNTRY.

"What are the issues before the country? The trust question is certainly an issue, and yet there is nothing in that platform that gives any encouragement to the opponents of the trusts. There is not a word or syllable that binds a person elected on such a platform to do anything that the trusts are unwilling to have done. The Kansas City platform stated the party's position on the trust question, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the last national platform, but also fails to propose any definite or positive plan of relief.

"Imperialism is an issue. Our Government is now administering a colonial policy according to the political principles employed by George III a century and a quarter ago, and yet there is not in this platform a single word relating to the question of imperialism, not a plank that defines the party's position on that subject, not a protest against the surrender of the doctrines of self-government. The Kansas City platform stated the party's opposition to a colonial policy, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the Kansas City platform, but fails to take any position at all on this important question.

PLANK ON TARIFF LAME.

"On the tariff question no issue is joined. It was reasonable to suppose that on this question, at least, something would be said, but Mr. Hill and Judge Parker seem to be as much afraid of the tariff question as of other issues.

"The money question is ignored entirely. No reference is made to bimetallism at any rate—not even to international bimetallism, to which Mr. Hill seemed to be so attached in the Chicago convention. No reference is made to the measure now before Congress to melt up nearly \$600,000,000 legal tender silver dollars into subsidiary coin that is only a limited legal tender. Nothing is said about the asset currency which is a part of the scheme of the financiers.

"Nothing is said about the Aldrich bill, which proposes to subsidize the banks into opposition to tax reduction by loaning them the surplus money in

the Treasury. There is no condemnation of the corruption that such a system would lead to. The platform does not antagonize the proposition now before Congress to give the national banks unlimited control over the volume of paper money. In other words, there is not a line in the platform that is written in behalf of the people; not a line that will excite criticism in Wall street.

"The platform ignores the income tax; it fails to indorse the election of Senators by direct vote, and also omits the plank of the Kansas City platform denouncing the corporate domination in politics.

PLATFORM IS DISHONEST.

"The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it.

"The submission of such a platform to the voters of the State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive—especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform is—is a reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

"This platform proves that the opposition to the Kansas City platform is not opposition to silver, but opposition to every needed reform and opposition to all that the masses desire.

"I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate.

"If we are to take the New York platform as an indication of what the next Democratic platform is to be in case the reorganizers control the convention, then who will be able to deny the secret purpose of the reorganizers to turn the party over to predatory wealth? With such a platform and a candidate who would be willing to run upon it, the party could secure as large a campaign fund as the Republican party has ever secured, but in securing it it would, like the Republican party, secretly pledge the Administration to a construction of the platform satisfactory to the corporations and the combinations.

QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

"The issue presented to-day in the trust question, and in all the other questions with which we have to deal, is the question between human rights and the so-called 'property rights'—or, more properly speaking, between ordinary people and the great corporations.

"I, for one, am not willing that the Democratic party shall become the tool of the corporations; I am not willing that it shall be the champion of organized wealth. And it is because I believe that the party has a higher mission than to be the exponent of plutocracy that I am protesting against the schemes of those who would put it into competition with the Republican party for the support of Wall street financiers. It is for this reason that I protest against mortgaging the party to the capitalists to secure an enormous corruption fund.

"If any who are present to-night or who read what I say think that I am trying to interfere with the Democratic success, let me answer that no Democrat is more anxious for the party to succeed than I am. No one has suffered more from dissensions and divisions in the party, and no one, I believe, is more eager for the country to enjoy the great benefits which a triumph of real Democracy would bring.

"But I do not desire that the party shall win offices only. If that is the only purpose of the party, let its principles be abandoned and its platform simply declare the party hungry for the patronage. The lesson of 1894 shows the folly of hoping to win by a surrender to the corporations, but even if success could be bought in such a way it would not be worth the price.

"POOREST KIND OF PLATFORM.

"The New York platform is ambiguous, uncertain, evasive, and dishonest. It would disgrace the Democrats of the nation to adopt such a platform, and it ought to defeat as an aspirant for a Democratic nomination any man who would be willing to have it go forth as a declaration of his views on public questions. In Illinois, in Wisconsin, in Michigan, in Minnesota, in Indiana, in Ohio, and in every State that has not acted, it behooves the Democrats to arouse themselves and organize to the end that they may prevent the consummation of the schemes of the reorganizers.

"Their scheme begins with the rank and file of the party. It is to be followed up by the debauching of the public with a campaign fund secured from the corporations, and it is to be consummated by the betrayal of the party organization and of the country into the hands of those who are to-day menacing the liberties of the country by their exploitation of the producers of wealth."

I do not wish to awake the echoes of ancient history, Mr. Speaker, but I will take a brief backward glance to a time within the memory of many in this House. In 1854-1856, the period of the Crimean war, our foreign mercantile marine approached equality in tonnage with that of England. Before our civil war the change was favorable to Great Britain, for at that time she could build iron steamships and man them at a much smaller cost than we could. From 1856 to 1861 there was annually a slight loss to the navigation interests of the United States.

Then came the civil war, which accelerated this loss. At its close we stood far behind the position we occupied in 1855, in which year the merchant marine of the United States employed in foreign trade reached 2,535,136 tons, of which all but 115,045 tons were sail. During the civil war there was a loss of one-third of our shipping in foreign trade. Our relative loss was much greater, the percentage of our exports and imports carried in 1865 being but 28 per cent.

Our Democratic friends who oppose this bill should not forget that its purpose is to point the way to repair the damage caused by the civil war and restore to its rightful place in the carrying trade of the world our mercantile marine. In a speech delivered in December, 1900, the late Senator Hanna asserted that during the civil war the enemy captured and destroyed 104,605 tons of shipping; foreigners purchased 774,632 tons; the Government built or purchased 417,521 tons; it also chartered 757,611 tons, and 664,505 tons went to domestic trade—a total of 2,818,894 tons of American shipping that changed hands as the result of a war to disrupt the Union.

No wonder, Mr. Speaker, that this dislocation of our mercantile marine was almost fatal; almost its death blow. The wonder is that any gentleman, from any section of our common country, in this House or in the Senate, in view of these astonishing and

pregnant facts and the deplorable causes which gave rise to them, should now object to any tentative movement having for its purpose the discovery of a remedy for the rehabilitation of our foreign merchant marine.

Mr. Speaker, this brings me to another point that I present as worthy of most earnest consideration.

If we are to have a great navy—and thank God we already have one!—we also need a merchant marine capable of educating sailors and acting as a naval reserve in time of war. In a speech made in 1877, during the Hayes Administration, James G. Blaine, the "plumed knight" of Republicanism, adverted to the fact that at that time Congress annually appropriated more than \$1,000,000 for the maintenance of the South American squadron of naval vessels to protect a commerce which did not exist. He also declared that it was impossible to maintain a navy without a commercial marine for the education of sailors.

At the outbreak of the civil war the American merchant marine was large enough to furnish 76,000 sailors to maintain a blockading squadron on the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The value of this school for seamen as one of the arms of national defense could not be more strikingly illustrated or more completely proved. There is a maxim that "navies do not grow out of the top." As Mr. Blaine said, they grow from and out of a commercial marine that educates men for sea service.

England does these things better. I find by a "Sessional Paper," reported to the House of Commons in 1900, giving a return of "Loss of Life at Sea," that the number of men employed on British merchant ships in 1900 was 224,545. Of these, 41,151 were on sailing vessels and 183,394 on steamships. From a report issued by an English "select committee on steamship subsidies," for 1901, page 204, I find a large English shipowner making a plea for still greater inducement to life on the sea. After remarking that even England is not doing as much as she should in the matter of training seamen, he said:

If you take Germany, they are building training ships in every port to train up seamen for their mercantile marine, while we do nothing of the kind. The sailing ships are the only ones now that are training seamen up for our mercantile marine at all. Every one of our sailing ships has now got apprentices rearing them up, and that is the only way that the steamboats can get sailors and can man their ships. They take all the apprentices from us whenever we are done training them, and the question as to our seamen is one of the greatest grievances we have got. * * * Young men have now such a choice of employment, more particularly in the building trades, that we can hardly get apprentices. They get better wages ashore.

In our own great country, Mr. Speaker, there is still greater discrepancy between the advantages ashore and on the ocean; and in the matter of training seamen, and indeed in all that encourages the life of those "that go down to the sea in ships," we are far behind our English cousins. England has never forgotten the admonition of her great sailor and explorer, Sir Walter Raleigh, who said:

Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade, and whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world and consequently the world itself.

And to-day Great Britain, by reason of her adherence to Raleigh's advice, controls about 58 per cent of the carrying trade, and owns fully half the floating property of the world. And the statesmen of some other nations have learned the secret of her power. Bismarck, the builder of the German Empire, has spoken to his own people the admonition of Raleigh in slightly different language. Said he:

The merchant marine is the handmaid of all other industries; and of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. On the day the freight trade is given over to foreigners, a mortal blow will be dealt to all the industries of the country.

England began in 1800 a system of governmental encouragement to her ships, and has ever since held to that policy. Germany, under Bismarck's leadership, has followed her example. From 1848 to 1901 Great Britain paid in governmental aid or patronage to her shipowners \$197,000,000.

As a distinctive reward for this generous outlay, she has gained control of the world's commerce. The profits accruing to her from this investment may be understood by us and appreciated when we realize that we are paying annually to foreign steamship lines \$200,000,000 as freight upon our exports and imports. In discussing this enormous expenditure to have our carrying trade conducted by foreigners and its effects upon the country, Mr. Charles H. Cramp, of my city, has stated the situation in these forcible words:

For this drain there is no recompense. It is sheer loss. It is the principal cause of our existing financial condition.

So long as this drain continues no tariff and no monetary policy can restore the national prosperity. Until we make some provision to keep at home some part at least of the millions annually sucked out of this country by foreign shipowners and shipbuilders, no other legislation can bring good times back again.

It is a constant stream of gold always flowing out. The foreign shipowner who carries our over-sea commerce makes us pay the freight both ways. For our exports we get the foreign market price less the freight. For our imports we pay the foreign market price plus the freight.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, let me suggest that money paid as subsidy, directly or indirectly, finds its way back to

American industries and manufacturers through the avenues of the homes, families, and affiliations of those employed in American ships, while money paid foreign shipowners is, as Mr. Cramp says, so much cash taken bodily out of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I am for the upbuilding of our American merchant marine, whatever legislation within the bounds of reason may be necessary to that end. If discriminating duties will do it, I am for discriminating duties; if direct subsidies will do it, I am for direct subsidies. There can be no question that distinctive legislative advantage is necessary to make up the difference between wages in this country and in foreign countries, between the cost of sailing ships under the American flag and under foreign flags, between the cost of building ships in America and in the Old World.

This question of a mercantile marine is a very broad one and should be studied from all sides, hence the advantage of the commission that is proposed. We want to know how best to stimulate the merchant marine out of its present dormant condition into a life of healthy growth and action; how best to induce boys and young men to fit themselves for the life of a sailor; how to supply our large and growing navy with a full complement of seamen; how to carry in American bottoms our own exports and imports, and thus save the nation \$500,000 in gold every day, the sum now exacted from us by foreign nations which are doing the business we ought to do; how to set afloat a merchant marine capable of competing with the subsidized marines of other nations—England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy; how best to be prepared for the vast commerce with the East, which our new possessions secured through our mercy and our diplomacy have put into our hands; how to reap the full advantages of the great canal we are now about to build across the Isthmus of Panama; and, above all, how to carry our surplus products to the markets of the world, feeding the consumer and promoting the prosperity of the producer—for prosperity is shown in our surplus and induced by a ready market.

We must remember that in all its branches this is a national question, very broad and including many other questions upon which light and information are badly needed. A great many facts and statistics might be given, Mr. Speaker, showing how our coastwise trade has prospered under protection; how the maritime trade of other nations has grown under the fostering care of legislative favoritism; how important the coming competition will be for the world commerce of the future and how necessary it is for us, as a result of our wonderful domestic development and our expansion as a world power, politically and geographically, to assume the position to which we are entitled as a result of our resources, development, intelligence, power, and population. But sufficient for the present hour is it to show beyond question the necessity for the passage of the pending bill.

Delegate from Alaska.

Mr. Chairman, we who thoroughly believe in protection are reluctant to see a single day's work for Americans done elsewhere than in America.

We stand by the proposition that the people of the United States can do their own work, fight their own battles, solve their own problems.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES T. McCLEARY,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, April 22, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13353) providing for the election of a Delegate from the Territory of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States and defining the qualifications of electors in said Territory—

Mr. McCLEARY of Minnesota said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: This is the year of our Presidential election. Accustomed to its frequent recurrence, we naturally find it difficult to appreciate its real significance. But to the philosophic mind what a majestic spectacle it is, that of a nation of 80,000,000 people, occupying an area of over 3,000,000 square miles, exclusive of our noncontiguous territory, choosing in peace its Chief Executive! During the next six months a mighty contest will rage from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf—not a personal contest for the establishment or perpetuation of a dynasty, but a national one for the establishment or perpetuation of a public policy: waged not with arms but with arguments; decided not by bullets but by ballots. In every neighborhood in the land, yea, by every fireside, this contest will be carried on. Sturdy and determined will the struggle be. But when the decision shall have been rendered next November, all will respectfully

bow to the verdict which in the exercise of their good judgment and their love of country the people will render.

What a magnificent training in self-government is furnished by these election campaigns! And, if engaged in with the general welfare as the paramount object to be obtained, how exceedingly valuable the discussions will be—valuable in broadening the sympathies, valuable in extending information relative to our common country, valuable in increasing the devotion of our citizens to its best interests!

Within this Capitol building are assembled the representatives of all sections of the Union and of all shades of public opinion. Here, better than anywhere else, are voiced the views of all of our people. From the speeches delivered here this winter it is very evident that the great question to be discussed, the "paramount issue," in the coming campaign will be that of the tariff.

Mr. Chairman, it is twelve years since that question was discussed before in a national campaign. Since that campaign of 1892 other questions of absorbing and overshadowing interest have occupied the attention of the voters. As a consequence, many of our citizens who were well informed on the subject of the tariff twelve years ago may—to themselves, at least—confess without shame that they are "rusty" on the subject.

Since 1892 hundreds of thousands of men who will vote this year have come to our shores from other lands. They have come here to make this their home. A large percentage of them are anxious to be worthy citizens of the great Republic. Their good faith is shown in the fact that they have renounced allegiance to the land from which they came—the land of their fathers, sacred in the memories of a thousand years—and have assumed the responsibilities and duties of citizenship in this their adopted country. They are looking forward, not backward. They have given their hearts to the country which is to be the home of their children and their children's children for untold generations.

Again, during these last twelve years have come to manhood, with the right to vote, more than a million of our young men who were children at school when this question was last discussed in the forum of American politics. They, for the most part, will all be anxious to act as worthy heirs of a priceless heritage.

Many able speeches have been delivered in this Capitol this winter on various phases of the tariff question, but, so far as I know, no one has thus far undertaken to present the question itself fundamentally. It has occurred to me, sir, that a statement of the tariff question, presenting it with as little political bias as possible, answering candidly and clearly the questions relative to the tariff which would naturally occur to a voter of normal mind and anxious to reach a righteous conclusion, might not be without value at this time to the people of the United States. That is the task, Mr. Chairman, which I have set before myself.

The tariff question is primarily a question of business and should be considered primarily from that standpoint. But in this country it is also a question of politics, and the real situation in that field should be pointed out as clearly and kindly as possible, to the end that with the broadest comprehension of the question in all its phases voters may next November intelligently exercise the highest prerogative of American citizens.

WHAT IS THE TARIFF?

The first question which naturally arises is, What is meant by the tariff? What does the word "tariff" mean in the sense in which it is used in this discussion? It means a system of charges or "duties," to be paid in money, imposed by a government on either the bulk or the value of merchandise passing from one country to another. When this charge is levied on goods going out of a country it is called an "export duty." When levied on goods coming into a country, it is called an "import duty."

Export duties are levied in most countries, Great Britain and Canada and Brazil being among the number. The United States never levies duties on exports, that being forbidden by our national Constitution for reasons which it would be irrelevant to state here. But from the foundation of our Government we have levied duties on imports. We always have levied such duties, we do so to-day, and under our present system of government we always shall do so, no matter what party is in power or what may be its convictions as to how the tariff should be levied.

A friend of mine in Minnesota, influenced by the loose talk so often heard on this subject, asked me last fall, "Mr. McCLEARY, why don't you gentlemen in Congress do away with tariff taxation altogether?"

The question is not an unfair one. Indeed, the question goes to the root of this entire controversy, and therefore I propose to answer it here and now.

The answer is this: We always have levied, we levy to-day, and we always shall levy duties on imports, for two reasons:

First, because it is necessary to raise every year enormous sums of money for the support of the National Government, and this is true regardless of what party may be in power; and

Second, because this is a Federal Republic and will, we hope, always remain so.

LARGE NATIONAL REVENUES NECESSARY.

Here in my hand I hold the most valuable "fact book" about the business of our Government that is published in this country. It is called the Statistical Abstract of the United States. It is prepared with great care by the Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Commerce and Labor, a new edition being published each year. This is the latest edition, the twenty-sixth number, covering the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903. Here on page 35 is a summary of tables showing the income of the United States Government and the sources of that income for the ten years from 1894 to 1903, inclusive, thus covering both Democratic and Republican Administrations. For the present it is sufficient to say that the revenues collected by the Government, regardless of whether the Democratic party or the Republican party was in power, have amounted to several hundred million dollars a year.

This money is used in paying off gradually the enormous national debt resulting from the civil war and the Spanish-American war, in paying the interest on the outstanding debt, in the support of the Army and Navy, in the improvement of rivers and harbors, in meeting the ordinary expenses of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the Government, and in paying about \$140,000,000 a year in pensions.

The receipts of the United States from taxation during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, were in round numbers \$518,000,000. This was practically all derived from two sources, customs (or duties on imports) and internal revenue or excises (or taxes on the manufacture and sale of whisky, beer, and tobacco).

The postal receipts are not counted in this, they not being really taxes but direct payments for direct services, and the postal service not being a source of profit to the Government.

The amount collected from customs was \$284,479,582, and the amount collected from internal revenue was \$230,810,124.

It will thus be seen that more than half of the entire revenue of the Government was derived from duties on imports, practically all of the remainder being derived from internal-revenue taxation or excises. No matter which party is in power, one-half or more of the total revenue of the United States Government must always be derived from duties on imports.

THIS IS A FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

Ours is a federal republic. These words are easy to utter, but not so easy to understand in their real significance. And yet without a full understanding of this expression no one can really understand the tariff question in the United States.

The name of this country is very significant. It is called "the United States." The name signifies that this nation is composed of States, each entirely self-governing in all matters pertaining to itself alone, and united primarily for the purpose of common defense. The United States means the States united to form a nation. By contrast, France is a republic, too, but it has no self-governing parts or states. That is, France is not a federal Republic.

Among the things which we most prize are life, liberty, property, and good name. Under our system of government it is the State, not the Nation, which protects your life. It is the State, not the Nation, which protects your personal liberty. It is the State, not the Nation, which protects your lands, your buildings, your horses, your cattle—in short, almost all classes of real and personal property. It is the State, not the Nation, which protects your good name.

It is, I repeat, the State, and not the Nation, which protects your person and your property. It is the State, therefore, and not the Nation, which has a right to levy taxes upon your person and your property for the protection which it gives. This fact is recognized in our national Constitution, the National Government being there denied the power to levy taxes directly on property.

Not long ago I received a letter from an intelligent constituent of mine, asking how much of the money paid by the people of his county to the county treasurer goes to the support of the United States. He said there had been quite a dispute in his neighborhood over the matter. Of course the answer to the question is that not one cent of the money paid to the county or city or town treasurer, or whoever may be collector of local taxes, goes into the Treasury of the United States. It all goes to the State and to the institutions conducted under authority of the State. It goes to support the local schools, to build the local highways, to construct the local bridges, to support the local poor, to meet the expenses of the school district, the town, the village, the city, the county, and the State. Not one penny of it goes to the Treasury of the United States.

Under our Constitution, as I have said, it is the State and not the Nation which protects its inhabitants in their persons and in their property; and so the State and not the Nation has the moral and constitutional right to tax their persons and their properties. On the other hand, it is the Nation and not the State which provides for the common defense—which raises and maintains armies and navies. It is the Nation and not the State which regulates international commerce. What more natural, then, than that the Nation should derive the income for its support primarily from

the field in which it does its work and thus derives its moral right to levy taxes at all? That is, having for its field of service the regulation and protection of our entire international commerce, the General Government naturally derives its revenue from taxes levied on our foreign commerce. But our Constitution forbids taxation of exports, so the United States can tax only imports.

It is for this reason that the United States always has derived, derives to-day, and always will derive its principal income from taxes levied on goods imported into this country. In the language of the Democratic national platform of 1884, "From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be."

WHAT THE TARIFF QUESTION REALLY IS.

Mr. Chairman, from what I have said it must be clear that the tariff question is not "Shall there or shall there not be a tariff on imported goods?" When the Government was founded that question was settled for all time and settled in the affirmative.

To provide for the common defense and do all the other incidental things that our Constitution authorizes and requires the General Government to do necessitates the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. As I have shown, that money must be raised in large part from duties on imports, no matter what party is in power.

The tariff question, then, is not one between free trade, properly so called, and tariff taxation. It is between two methods of tariff taxation. The question is not "Shall there be a tariff on imported goods?" but "How shall that tariff be levied?" The question is, "Shall that tariff be so laid as to produce revenue only, or shall it be so laid that while producing the necessary revenue it shall also encourage and protect American industries?" That is the question of the tariff, all others being incidental and subsidiary.

THE TWO TARIFF VIEWS.

Our last great national contest on the tariff question was in the Presidential election of 1892. In their platforms of that year the two contending parties stated their views with admirable clearness. Stripped of all extraneous matter, the gist of the Democratic position was squarely stated in the following sentence from section 3 of the Democratic national platform:

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only.

That was a clear and courageous statement of Democratic faith. It declared what, ever since 1832, has been the real position of a large majority of the Democratic party, though the party has not always had the frankness to state its position thus plainly and unequivocally.

With equal candor and courage the Republican party made its declaration in the following language:

We believe that all articles which can not be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, both parties realize that this is a great country—vast in area, in population, and in wealth. Both parties realize that, therefore, even with all proper and reasonable care and prudence in the management of national expenditures—and in proportion to population ours is the least expensive Government in the world—the income of the General Government must necessarily run up into the hundreds of millions of dollars every year. Moreover, both parties realize that, whichever party may be in power, about one-half of the required revenue must, under our system of government, be raised through duties on goods imported from foreign countries.

And until 1832 all parties agreed that in levying these duties the policy should be, while raising the necessary revenues for the support of the Government, to give "encouragement and protection" to American industries. In 1832, for the first time in our history, was enunciated the doctrine that the Government should levy duties "for revenue only" and should not, even incidentally, afford "encouragement and protection" to the products of our farms and our factories. How this new doctrine came into being will be told in due season.

The Republican party stands by the old original doctrine of the fathers, the doctrine of those who framed the Constitution and put it into operation, guiding the nation wisely and safely through the dangerous days of its early career—the doctrine advocated by every President from Washington to Jackson, that is, by George Washington, by John Adams, by Thomas Jefferson, by James Madison, by James Monroe, by John Quincy Adams, and by Andrew Jackson. During those early days the way in which protection could best be given through duties on imports was not as well understood as it is to-day after a century of experience, but the purpose of the fathers was clearly defined and repeatedly enunciated.

The Republican party has always stood for adequate protection to the industrial interests of the entire country. It stands for a policy that is national, not sectional, in its scope and operation.

The Republican party was born to present organized opposition to the extension of human slavery; so, as was to be expected, there was no mention of the tariff in its first national platform—that of 1856. But in the Republican national platform of 1860, the platform on which Abraham Lincoln was first elected President, was the following "plank":

Resolved, That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties on imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thus it will be seen that the first Republican platform and the last Republican platform on this subject are entirely consistent with each other, and examination will show that all the intervening national Republican platforms are similarly consistent.

The first Democratic platform which refers to the subject of national revenues, that of 1840, after resolving in favor of economy in public expenditures, said:

And that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government.

This plank was repeated in the Democratic platform of 1844. The significance of these resolutions is found in the fact that they are not only directed against protection, but they exhibit the opposition of the Democratic party to what they call in their platform of 1848 "a corrupting system of general internal improvement." In this same platform they indorse the administration of President Polk for "the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842."

NO SUCH THING AS INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE.

Nothing conduces to right thinking and just conclusions more than precision in the use of words. Nothing is more conducive to error than loose and careless use of terms. Therefore, before discussing the tariff question, I propose to remove one great source of error in this connection.

Perhaps nothing has done more to confuse men's minds on the subject of the tariff than the general misuse of the term "free trade."

Literally and properly, free trade signifies freedom from all taxation in the way of tariffs or duties on goods moving from one country or State into another. Thus, on goods going from one of our States to another, as from Minnesota to North Dakota or from New York to California, no "duties" are collected. Our States have on their borders no custom-houses for goods coming from other States within this Union. Among the States comprising the United States of America exists literally and truly free trade.

But, Mr. Chairman, *there is no such thing in this world as free trade between nations.* There is no country in the world which admits from other countries, free of tariff taxation, all classes of goods. And yet even among recognized leaders of public opinion there seems to be much confusion of thought on this subject.

One of the ablest and best men in public life to-day—so recognized both on this floor and throughout the country—is my friend from Missouri, CHAMP CLARK. In discussing the Dingley bill on the floor of this House, on March 31, 1897, Mr. CLARK said:

I repeat, so that all men may hear, that I am a free trader, and proudly take my stand with Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Henry George. I may be a humble member of that illustrious company, but it is better to be a doorkeeper in the house of honest free traders than to dwell in the tents of wicked protectionists.

And, as if to make clear what he meant by this, he said in the same speech:

I would destroy every custom-house in America. * * * If I had my way to-day, sir, I would tear them all down from turret to foundation stone, for from the beginning they have been nothing but a den of robbers.

But (except possibly Henry George) none of the men with whom Brother CLARK thus "proudly takes his stand" ever proposed free trade in the sense in which he seems to think of it, in which every custom-house should be destroyed.

Never within my recollection has the Democratic party had an able leader on the floor of this House than it has to-day in the person of my honored friend, JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, of Mississippi. Mr. WILLIAMS is a student of economics as well as of politics, and therein lies part of the secret of his growing strength. He is a man of exceptional clearness of thought and honesty of speech, and therein lies another element of his strength. And yet even he, in a carefully prepared magazine article, with the suggestive title, "What Democracy now stands for," published last winter, makes use of the following language:

In this country, owing to the decision of the Supreme Court in the income-tax case, founded on the provision of the Constitution of the United States about direct taxes, the goal can not be, as it was in Great Britain, free trade. "A tariff for revenue to carry on a government economically and effectively administered" becomes the American tariff reformer's goal.

TARIFF TAXATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

It is thus evident that there is quite a general impression, even among leaders of thought, that Great Britain has "free trade" in the sense of, having no tariff taxation or duties on imports.

By way of further example of this, I quote the St. Paul Globe, probably the foremost Democratic paper of Minnesota. In its leading editorial of October 7, 1903, in speaking of the campaign for the abandonment of "free trade" in Great Britain, which Mr. Chamberlain had then just inaugurated, was this sentence:

The principle of free trade is so firmly settled in the British mind as a part of its economic gospel, and the idea of duties on imports is so unfamiliar and so abhorrent that an immediate election would pretty nearly wipe the Conservative party out of existence.

The legitimate inference from the italicized portion of the above quotation is that in the mind of the editor there is no such thing in Great Britain as tariff taxation or duties on imports.

But the simple fact is, Mr. Chairman, that in proportion to her population Great Britain raises more money every year through tariff taxation or duties on imports than does the United States. To most people this will, no doubt, be a surprising statement, but it is nevertheless true, as I shall now show.

Here in my hand I hold the latest edition of the Statesman's Yearbook—that for 1904. This Yearbook is the great British authority on all governmental matters. Here on page 48 is a table showing the receipts of the British Government for its fiscal year ending March 31, 1903. The total receipts from duties on imports (that is, from tariff taxation, not counting nearly \$10,000,000 of duties on exports) were £32,469,103, or, in round numbers, \$162,000,000. As the population of Great Britain is about 40,000,000, the duties on imports in that country amounted to over \$4 per capita—that is, \$4 of duties on imports, on the average, for every man, woman, and child in Great Britain.

In the United States we collected for our fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, from duties on imports, \$284,479,582. Our population being about 80,000,000, we raised from duties on imports about \$3.50 per capita, or 50 cents less per capita than is raised from the same source in Great Britain.

In order to obviate all idea that possibly last year was for some reason exceptional, I submit herewith a table showing the amounts collected from customs duties in Great Britain and the United States during each of the last ten years, and the collections per capita in each country:

Year.	CUSTOMS REVENUES.			
	Aggregate duties collected.		Per capita.	
	Great Britain.	United States.	Great Britain.	United States.
1894	\$98,493,490	\$121,818,530	\$2.50	\$1.95
1895	100,694,940	152,158,617	2.56	2.20
1896	103,812,065	160,021,752	2.60	2.28
1897	106,330,655	176,554,127	2.71	2.47
1898	108,961,250	149,575,032	2.78	2.05
1899	107,791,135	206,128,482	2.73	2.77
1900	115,217,360	223,164,871	2.92	3.05
1901	131,354,795	238,585,456	3.33	3.07
1902	161,787,875	254,444,708	4.05	3.22
1903	172,304,350	284,479,582	4.30	3.54

^aIncluding comparatively small sums collected as export duties.

THE TWO TARIFF VIEWS ILLUSTRATED.

Inasmuch as Great Britain raises, in proportion to her population, more money annually from tariff taxation than does the United States, it certainly seems absurd to speak of Great Britain as having free trade. To a Brazilian who has to pay a high rate of duty on the coffee that he sends to England and none at all on what he sends here, it must seem a strange use of words to say that Great Britain has free trade. From his standpoint it is in reality the United States that has free trade.

As a matter of fact, sir, the term "free trade" was invented in Great Britain as a catch phrase by the advocates of a system of "tariff for revenue only" with a view of capturing votes, just as the term "free silver" was invented as a vote-catching phrase in this country. As will be remembered, the term "free silver" had a very alluring sound. It suggested the idea that in some way it was going to make money easier to get hold of. And so the term "free trade" was invented to give the impression that through it in some way property would be easier to get hold of.

It is time that we were all getting it through our heads that our Democratic brethren have no purpose of trying to make international trade free in the sense of removing all tariff taxation. It can hardly be repeated too often that no matter what party is in power in the United States, hundreds of millions of dollars must be raised annually for the support of the General Government, and that no matter what party is in power, about half of all that vast sum must be raised from duties on imports. The only question in debate, then, is, Under what policy shall the tariff be levied?

Since 1832 the majority of the Democratic party has generally been headed toward the position described by the words "a tariff for revenue only." But, for reasons that will be given later, the majority does not always rule in making the platform declarations of the Democratic party, and that party has not held steadily to one position, its platform declarations running all the way from free trade, or tariff for revenue only, over to what it adroitly

suggested might be "moderate" or "incidental" protection, as party exigencies seemed to require. But uniformly since 1832 its attitude has been *against adequate protection* to American industries. The historic position of the Republican party, the position from which it has never wavered, either in its platform promises or in its legislative performances, has been and is "a tariff for revenue, *plus adequate protection to American industries.*"

That is, Democratic policy aims to accomplish only one thing: Republican policy aims to accomplish two things—"to kill two birds with one stone," as it were.

Now, let us see what the difference signifies. For purposes of illustration, let us assume that the Democratic party has declared for a tariff for revenue only and has carried the election. Let us assume that the party has resolved to carry out to the letter the promises made to the people and prepare a tariff bill in strict accordance with the principle of "a tariff for revenue only."

Let us watch the committee making up its tariff bill. Thousands of items are to be considered, but the principle is never to be lost sight of. They come to the item of Tea. The question is, "Shall tea be put upon the dutiable list or upon the free list?" That question must be settled by reference to the principle. Do we produce tea in this country? Is it likely that we ever can produce it economically and in quantities sufficient to supply the people of this country with tea? The answer is, "No." Then there is no tea industry to protect. A duty laid on tea, therefore, would produce revenue and would do nothing else. That is, a duty on tea would be part of "a tariff for revenue only." Hence the only logical thing for the Democratic party to do is to *place an import duty on tea.*

Now, let us suppose the Republican party in power and making up a tariff bill. Let us suppose that the committee authorized to frame the bill comes to this item, Tea. How would the Republican committee reason and what would it do? The course of reasoning would be this: "Tea is an article that we do not and can not produce in this country economically and in sufficient quantities to meet the demands of our people; therefore there is and can be no tea industry to protect; therefore *we will put tea on the free list.*"

In 1897 the Republican party did frame a tariff act, the law which bears the honored name of a man who was for nearly twenty years a Representative on this floor from the State of Maine, the late Nelson Dingley. Examine that act. You will find there that tea is on the free list in exact accord with Republican principles. Except during a short time when we were engaged in war with Spain and were raising war taxes, there has not been collected on all the millions of pounds of tea imported into this country under the Dingley law one cent of duty.

Thus we see that under the Democratic policy of "a tariff for revenue only" tea would logically be put upon the dutiable list, while under the Republican policy of protection tea would be on the free list. The same would be true of coffee, drugs, spices, and such things.

On the other hand let us take the case of watch springs. Watch springs are made of iron which has been converted into steel and which has gone through process after process of refinement, taxing human ingenuity and giving employment to one set of workmen after another of greater and greater skill.

Let us again suppose the Democratic party in power and making up a tariff bill. They come to the item of watch springs. The test question is, "Do we in this country possess the raw material out of which watch springs are made, and do we possess—or can we acquire—the workmen through whose labor and skill watch springs can be made economically and in sufficient quantities to meet the demands for watch springs on the part of the people of the United States." The answer to that question is "Yes. In the United States are numberless mines producing the best of iron. We have the men, and the men have the skill to take that iron and work it up from its crude state, process after process, until finally is made that wonderful product, a watch spring, worth more than its weight in gold."

Where, then, would our Democratic brethren place watch springs in their tariff bill? Would they put them on the free list or on the dutiable list? A tariff on watch springs would not only produce a revenue to the Government on all watch springs that might be imported, but would also provide protection to an American industry, existing or economically possible. But Democrats believe in "a tariff for revenue only." So the only logical thing for the Democrats to do would be to put watch springs on the free list.

Now, let us suppose the Republican party in power and making a tariff bill. They come to the item of watch springs. What would the Republican party do? The course of reasoning would be this: "The making of watch springs economically and in sufficient quantities to meet the demand for watch springs in the United States is an industry either existing or entirely practicable in this country. We have the raw material. We have the workmen skilled in that craft. Watch springs are or can be produced economically in the United States. They can and should be pro-

duced in quantities to supply the demand of the people of the United States who desire watch springs of American make. Therefore, a duty on watch springs would raise revenue for the Government and at the same time would afford protection to an American industry. Therefore watch springs should be put upon the dutiable list." Look at the Dingley Act and you will find them there.

Thus we see that while the purpose of each party is and must be to raise revenue required for the support of the Government and to raise it through duties on imports, the two policies are logically the very opposite of each other in specifying the items upon which the duty should be laid. Each party would have a "dutiable list," or list of articles upon which a duty should be laid, and each would have a "free list," or list of articles upon which no duty should be laid. But each would logically put on the dutiable list the things which the other would put upon the free list.

To this general statement there would be one exception. Both parties, for reasons which they deem sufficient and most of which are obvious, have declared themselves in favor of putting luxuries on the dutiable list. Thus, whichever party might be in power, diamonds and other precious stones, wines, etc., would be on the dutiable list.

HOW WOULD THE RATES BE DETERMINED?

A tariff act or law consists chiefly of the names of articles of human desire arranged in two general groups, one (called "the dutiable list") comprising the list of those articles upon which duties are levied and the other (called "the free list") comprising a list of those articles upon which duties are not levied. In regard to each article on the dutiable list the tariff act specifies also what the rate of duty is.

There are two methods of applying these rates. One method is to fix the duties on the *bulk* of the article—so much per yard in the case of cloth, so much per pound in the case of wool, and so on. Such duties are called "specific" duties. The other method of levying the duty is to proportion it to the *value* of the article, the duty to be a certain percentage of the value of the article in the country from which it is imported. Such duties are spoken of as "ad valorem" duties.

It may be worth noting here incidentally, Mr. Chairman, that experience has shown that "ad valorem" duties are to be avoided as much as possible because of the opportunities for fraud which they offer.

Examination of any tariff law will show that there are different rates of duty on different articles. Now, let us ascertain how the rates would be fixed by each party.

Let us suppose that the Democratic party is in power and making up its tariff bill. According to its principle it must levy all its tariff duties on things the like of which we do *not* produce in this country, except such amounts as can be raised on "luxuries." It would therefore logically put the duty on tea, coffee, and things of that kind, adding to its dutiable list such articles as it chose to consider "luxuries."

One of the first things that our Democratic brethren would discover in endeavoring to make a bill in harmony with their principles would be that this country, with its vast area and enormous natural resources and with such varieties of climate and soil, can produce *nearly everything really needed by man*, and that therefore the number of articles which we can not in this country produce economically and in quantities sufficient to supply the needs of our people would make a *comparatively short list.*

What follows logically? Why, of course, it follows that in order to raise the money which must be raised for the support of the Government through duties on imports our Democratic brethren would have to put upon each of the items of their short list a *very high rate of tariff duty.* What are some of these articles? The principal articles of consumption in this country which we do not produce are tea and coffee. What follows? Why, of course, the rate of duty on tea and coffee would have to be very high, as is the case in Great Britain, where the duty on coffee is 3 to 4 cents per pound, and on tea 12 cents per pound. The one thought with our Democratic brethren would have to be to fix them high enough to collect the necessary revenue. And inasmuch as we have no domestic tea and coffee industries to compete with the tea and coffee brought in from the outside and thus reduce the price, practically all of the enormous duty would be added to the import price of the tea and the coffee and would have to be paid by the consumer.

Now, let us imagine the Republican party in power and making up a tariff bill in accordance with its principle that noncompeting articles, except luxuries, shall be admitted free of all duty and that the duty shall be laid on articles the like of which we do or can produce economically and in sufficient quantity to meet or nearly meet the home demand.

The first thing that the Republican party would discover in looking around to make a list of dutiable articles—that is, of articles which we do or can produce economically and in sufficient quantities to supply the demands of our own citizens—is that *the*

number of these articles is very large. From this it would follow that the rate of duty upon any one of these articles need not be very high. What would determine the rate on each article?

In settling that question the Republicans would refer to their great tariff principle. Let us see again what it is. It is admirably stated, as I have said, in the national platform of 1892. Here it is:

We believe that all articles which can not be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

Now, let us watch the committee at work applying the principle. It comes to an item that is to be put upon the dutiable list. In order to determine the rate of duty the question to be settled is simply one of labor and wages. Has the making of this article called for much or little labor? Has the article gone through many or few processes? Is the labor required to make such an article skilled or unskilled, and does it therefore require and demand a high or a low rate of wages? In short, what rate of duty on this article will be "equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad?" This being determined, the rate would be fixed accordingly. Upon articles not far removed from the crude material and requiring little work and comparatively little skill in the making the tariff rate would be low. On articles which are the product of many processes, each succeeding step requiring the services of men of greater and greater skill, and who, therefore, properly can and do demand and command high rates of wages, the tariff rates would be correspondingly high.

Take the Dingley law and test it by that rule and you will find that it was constructed with exceptional skill along the very lines which I have indicated.

WHO PAYS THE DUTIES?

The question is sometimes asked, Who actually pays the money that the Government collects through the custom-houses? Former President Cleveland is on record as having said at one time something to the effect that "the tariff is a tax, the amount of which is added to the price of the article, and is paid by the consumer."

Even if this were wholly true it would not be a valid argument in favor of free trade, so called. The revenues are collected for the support of the Government, and it would not be asking too much to ask each citizen to pay his fair share toward that support. Moreover, the tariff, whichever policy it is levied under, is laid upon goods coming from foreign countries into this. So, even under the definition of Mr. Cleveland, each person can, in some measure, determine for himself how large a tax he shall pay.

But with a tariff for revenue only—that is, a tariff levied on goods the like of which we do not produce in this country—the policy advocated by our Democratic brethren, two things are noteworthy:

First. Under this system of tariff for revenue *only*, Mr. Cleveland's proposition about the tariff being paid by the consumer would be practically correct. That is, there being no similar articles produced in the United States, the importers would not have to meet American competition. Being subject only to competition among themselves, they might add most of the amount of the tariff to the cost of the article, thus passing it on to be paid by the consumer as a part of the cost of the article.

Second. The articles upon which the tariff would be laid are articles of very general consumption, such as tea, coffee, spices, and drugs. These articles are used by everybody, used by the poor quite as largely as by the rich, so that such a tax necessarily falls upon the poor very much more heavily than upon the rich in proportion to their ability to pay.

Now, let us consider the question as related to a tariff levied not for revenue only, but for revenue plus protection.

When the tariff is first laid upon an article not produced in the United States but capable of being produced here economically and in sufficient quantities to meet, or nearly meet, the demands of the American people, the *first* effect of the tariff may be to increase the cost to the people of the article upon which the tariff is laid. (We are assuming that there is no industry in this country of the kind on which the tariff under consideration was laid, but that the tariff was laid for the purpose of establishing such an industry.) The foreign producers, having at first no competition here, control the market and determine the price. On bringing the goods into this country they must, of course, pay the duty at the custom-house; but, having no domestic competition to encounter here, they can largely fix the price at which the article shall be sold, and they may add to the import price the amount that they paid in the way of tariff.

Thus, even under a protective tariff Mr. Cleveland's proposition may be applicable—at *first*. But even at first the price would probably be temporarily lowered from what it had been before the tariff was laid, by reason of the effort of foreign producers in possession of the market to prevent the establishment of such in-

dustries in this country, the object being to defeat the purposes of the law and thus open the way for its repeal.

But the protection from destructive competition from foreign capital and underpaid labor, if the protection be adequate and stable, soon brings American capital into the business of supplying the article. As one factory after another is established, competition here at home begins to reduce the price of the article to our people. Then the foreign producer finds that he is not able to get back *all* that he paid as duties, and he must be satisfied with a smaller profit than before. And as the American factories increase in number and their operators increase in skill the prices become lower and lower, and the foreign producer selling in this market is able to get back from the consumer less and less of the money which he paid for the privilege of coming into this market; so that he pays more and more of the tariff and must be satisfied with smaller and smaller profits.

Briefly, then, when a protective tariff is first levied the foreign producer may be able to add the tariff to the price, and the consumer may temporarily have to pay all of the tariff as a part of the cost of the article. But as the industry grows and thrives in the United States prices fall, the consumer pays less and less of the tax even on the imported goods which he buys, and the foreign producer pays more and more of that tax till the point is reached where, with the American factories producing abundantly, the foreign producer, desirous of selling goods in this country, must of necessity pay all or nearly all of the tariff on the goods which he sends here, regarding it as part of the cost of getting them into this market, and taking for himself a smaller profit.

As an illustration of the fact that our tariff compels foreign producers coming into our markets to accept smaller profits here than elsewhere, I take from the report of the United States Industrial Commission the following from the testimony of Mr. John Pitcairn, president of the Pittsburg Glass Company, relative to the operations of European makers of plate glass:

Various manufacturing powers in Europe have combined into one strong international syndicate in order to regulate and divide among themselves the world's markets. Only the United States is left out of this protecting combination. This market (the United States) is therefore a desirable dumping ground for the surplus of European production, and exceptionally low prices are being made by the foreign manufacturers for glass intended for the United States. For example, the present European price for polished plate glass cut to size is, for the United States, 40 per cent and 5 per cent discount from a certain price list; for England, 10 per cent discount from the same price list, which means a difference in price of 58 per cent. European discounts for stock sizes of polished plate glass are, for the United States, 30 per cent off the list; for England, 5 per cent off the same list, which shows a difference of 36 per cent.

In other words, the tariff is the price which foreign manufacturers pay for the privilege of selling the products of foreign labor in our market. The Democratic party says that we should charge them less for this privilege. The Republican party declares that, if anything, we should charge them more.

And why shouldn't the foreign producer pay *and pay well* for entering our market? He does not live among us. He is not subject to service in time of war. He gives no employment to our people. He pays nothing otherwise toward the expenses of the Government, local or general, yet he gets the benefit of the protection guaranteed by our Government. It is perfectly right in every way that he should be required to help pay the expenses of the Government which furnishes him with protection to his property and enables him to pursue his business in peace and safety.

The beauty of it is that, under a protective tariff, whatever part of the tariff is paid by our citizens is paid by those who are both able and willing to pay it—by the rich, who feel that they must have "imported" goods.

On this point Abraham Lincoln, discussing the protective tariff in an address to the people of Illinois issued March 4, 1843, said:

By this system the man who contents himself to live upon the products of his own country *pays nothing at all*; and surely that country is extensive enough and its products abundant enough to answer all the real wants of its people. In short, by this system the burden of revenue falls almost entirely on the wealthy and luxurious few, while the substantial and laboring many, who live at home and upon home products, go entirely free.

And in discussing the Mills bill on the floor of this House on May 18, 1888, William McKinley, then a Representative in Congress, said in relation to the protective tariff:

What is a protective tariff? It is a tariff upon foreign imports so adjusted as to secure the necessary revenue, and judiciously imposed upon those foreign products the like of which are produced at home, or the like of which we are capable of producing at home. It imposes the duty on the foreign competing product. It makes it bear the burden or duty, and, as far as possible, luxuries only excepted, permits the noncompeting foreign product to come in free of duty. Articles of common use, comfort and necessity which we can not produce here it sends to the people untaxed and free from custom-house exaction. Tea, coffee, spices, and drugs are such articles, and under our system are upon the free list. It says to our foreign competitor, if you want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woollens, and sell alongside of our producers in our market, we will make your product bear a duty—in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. Our kind of tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the load, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employments. That is the mission and purpose of a protective tariff.

THE BRITISH TARIFF SYSTEM.

Since 1846 Great Britain has collected her duties on imports under the policy advocated by the Democratic party. Let us see how the policy is operated there and what the results are.

For the information of those who may not have convenient access to the Statesman's Year-Book, I submit the following table showing the sources of revenue of the Government of Great Britain for national purposes for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1903, the latest for which data can be had. (In the Year-Book the amounts are expressed in pounds sterling. A pound sterling is worth a few cents less than \$5. For convenience of computation I have called it exactly \$5 in translating the English money into American money for the purposes of this table.)

Customs duties:	
Duties on exports—coal	\$9,958,835
Duties on imports:	
Tobacco	62,257,365
Tea	29,877,410
Sugar, glucose, etc	22,393,555
Grain, etc	11,733,980
Rum	11,149,365
Wine	7,619,280
Brandy	6,405,575
Other spirits	6,143,905
Raisins	1,024,555
Coffee	893,140
Cocoa	774,605
Currants	577,620
Other articles	1,495,120
Total revenue from customs duties	172,304,350
Excises:	
Spirits	90,821,795
Beer	66,319,450
Other sources	3,598,115
Total revenue from excises	160,739,360
Estate, etc., duties:	
Estate duties	48,501,810
Legacy duty	15,008,965
Succession duty	4,828,365
Corporation duty	219,235
Total revenue from estate duties, etc	68,558,375
Stamps (excluding fee stamps, etc.):	
Deeds	19,499,915
Receipts	7,642,315
Bills of exchange	3,498,545
Companies' capital duty	3,123,735
Patent medicines	1,696,855
Insurances	1,437,745
Bonds to bearer	1,051,145
Licenses, etc	853,635
Other sources	2,319,015
Total revenue from stamp taxes	41,093,015
Land tax	3,808,770
House duty	9,163,835
Property and income tax	193,229,290
Total revenue from taxes	648,966,455

The above does not include the revenue received from the post-office and the telegraph, from the Crown lands, from interest on Suez Canal shares owned by the British Government, from fee stamps, from the mint, from the Bank of England, and from various other sources, amounting in all to \$108,103,490, none of which can properly be regarded as taxes.

Thus the grand total of national revenue in the British Isles for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1903, from all sources except money borrowed, was \$757,067,945.

It is to be remembered that these are the revenues of the National Government for meeting national expenses, such as interest on the public debt, the support of the army and the navy, and for civil administration, including the post-office and the telegraph. It does not include the sums raised for local purposes, except a few small sums, mainly those in the way of Government aid to schools. Nor does it include sums raised for the support of colonies, most of the colonies being self-supporting, and many of them being practically self-governing.

I have given these figures simply because in Great Britain is found the best exemplification in the world of "a tariff for revenue only," the goal toward which our Democratic brethren profess to be headed.

Several things are noteworthy.

In the first place, considering only national taxation proper (omitting direct payments to the Government for direct services, like the postal revenues and such things), the total national revenues of Great Britain amounted last year in round numbers to \$648,000,000, or about \$16 per capita, while in the United States they amounted to \$284,479,582 from customs, \$230,810,124 from excises, and about \$3,000,000 from other sources—in all to about \$518,000,000, or less than \$6.50 per capita. That is, with twice as many people we collected for national purposes \$130,000,000 less than did Great Britain. In other words, our taxation for national purposes is considerably less than half as heavy in proportion to population as that of "free-trade" England.

By the way, in these indisputable facts there is very little comfort for those who have a sort of vague notion that free trade as illustrated in Great Britain would in some way mean freedom from taxation for national purposes. As a matter of fact, *investigation shows that the cost per capita for the support of our National Government is smaller than that of any other civilized country in the world.*

In the second place, it will be noted that the *customs duties* in Great Britain, including the export duty collected on coal, amount to about \$4.30 per capita, while in this country the total amount of customs duties amounts to only about \$3.50 per capita.

In the third place, the table above reveals how few are the articles going into Great Britain upon which the tariff duties are collected; that is, how few are the articles the like of which they do not produce in Great Britain, and consequently the enormous amount that must be produced on each of those few items. As a result, *the rates of duty in Great Britain are very greatly higher than those in the United States.*

In the fourth place, it will be noted that many of these articles on which these enormously high rates of duty are laid are what may be regarded as necessities of the poor man's table—tea, sugar, raisins, coffee, cocoa, currants, etc. So that it is evident that *the poor man feels every day as a great burden the British policy of "a tariff for revenue only."*

As a matter of fact, our people simply would not tolerate in times of peace such burdensome taxation on the necessities of life.

One alternative suggests itself very plainly, namely, that our Democratic brethren would find their whole scheme of the British "tariff for a revenue only" utterly impracticable in this country and would be compelled to "try something else."

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE TARIFF IN ENGLAND.

Before discussing that "something else" to which our Democratic brethren are always driven when intrusted with power, regardless of the platform promises they may have made, let us take a glimpse at the tariff history of the country from which they got their idea of "free trade" or "a tariff for revenue only."

From the time when, in 1337, Edward III, King of England, laid an export duty of 40 shillings a sack on wool and thereby compelled the Flemish wool workers to migrate to England, thus establishing in England the woolen-goods industry, up until 1846, a period of over five hundred years, the English Government acted upon the theory that by wise fiscal or revenue arrangements the government of a country can do much to direct, protect, and build up its industries. It was during the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the policy of levying duties on imports for protective purposes became the fixed policy of England. Under that policy, Queen Elizabeth naturalized in England, among other things, the manufacture of lace and cutlery. A century later, under a protective policy, were introduced through Huguenot immigration the manufacture of silks, felts, gloves, and fine ironwares. Protection laid the foundations of Manchester, Birmingham, and other great manufacturing centers in England. Protection, more extreme than was ever practiced or advocated in the United States, was the means by which the giant industries of Great Britain were established and developed.

As is always the case under the encouragement of a protective system, new inventions and improvements in methods were developed there. Between 1738 and 1800 ten epoch-making inventions and a great multitude of lesser contrivances were patented in Great Britain. Among these were the power loom, the spinning jenny, and the spinning mule. During that period was developed the steam engine, the invention of an Englishman, James Watt. In order that England's rivals might not profit by such improvements, it was forbidden by law to send any part of these patented machines out of England. *They could not be sent even to England's colonies.* Out of these inventions grew the factory system, devised by Richard Arkwright, another Englishman, which gave greatly increased effectiveness to manufacture and greatly reduced the cost of its product.

By her insular position she could largely keep out of wars and was not under the necessity of maintaining large standing armies. Her people were thus at liberty to cultivate in peace their various industries. By 1846 England had become by far the richest country on earth. In that year, under the leadership of Cobden and his friends, she abandoned the policy of protection, hoping to be able to lead the world to adopt what was seductively called "free trade."

England was aiming to become the workshop of the world. She had wrought out great inventions. She had skilled workmen. She had the factory system, and she was by far the richest country on earth. But her workmen felt entitled to a larger share of the wealth they were helping to create, and were demanding an increase of wages. England was determined to undersell the world in the line of manufactured goods, break down such industries in other countries, and increase her leadership as the great manufacturing country of the world—get a monopoly of it if possible—and therefore felt compelled to *keep wages down.*

Instead of granting an increase of pay to her workmen, she resolved to take a step which promised to satisfy them as amounting to the same thing, namely, to reduce their cost of living. To this end, in 1846 she removed her duties on food products. Of course that meant enormous losses to her farming industry, but she consoled herself by saying that her manufacturing industry was immensely the more important and that she could get the bulk of her food products from other lands at a low price.

With her secure insular position, with the tremendous impetus that she had acquired during those five hundred years of development under the protective-tariff system, with the enormous wealth that she had gathered, with the low rate of interest her manufacturers thus had the benefit of, with her fundamental raw materials of coal and iron and tin, with the skill which had been cultivated in her workmen, with her mighty shipping interests which had grown up under the fostering policy begun by the far-seeing Cromwell, she felt that if she could get the rest of mankind to adopt what she seductively called "free trade" she could take the raw material of the world at a low price, convert it into manufactured product, and return it at a handsome profit to the country that produced the raw material, and thus swell yet further her enormous wealth. Thus she thought that she saw her way to become not simply "mistress of the sea," but also practically mistress of the world, for whom all the rest would be "hewers of wood and carriers of water."

She actually succeeded in beguiling a number of nations with her theories that they should be "producers of the things which they were calculated to produce"—the raw materials of manufacture and commerce—and that she, with her splendid facilities, "could do the manufacturing to the advantage of both." Among the countries which she succeeded in thus beguiling was the United States of America, and in 1846, under Democratic leadership, our Government adopted a tariff act of a kind practically along the line of her desires.

One reason why this country yielded to her persuasion and passed that law is especially noteworthy here: Prior to 1846 the farmers of the North had steadfastly stood by the policy of a protective tariff. From experience they had learned that it meant fully as much to them as it meant to the manufacturers, because it furnished them the best market in the world—a market near home. But when in 1846 England removed her tariff on practically all food products, quite a number of the northern farmers were carried away by that "pocketbook" part of the argument which had been so effective with the southern planters after 1832 (as will be explained later) and became quite taken with the idea of "free trade." But, Mr. Chairman, our farmers have quite thoroughly recovered from that folly, and now such States as Minnesota and Iowa, which are dominated by farmers, are the most reliable in their vote for protection.

It was while this epidemic of "free trade" was abroad in the land that Abraham Lincoln gave his days and nights to the study of the question of the tariff as related to national progress and gave utterance to sentiments quoted elsewhere in these remarks. Then, notwithstanding the popularity of the "free trade" doctrine, he courageously breasted the tide and patiently and clearly told his countrymen the truth. Never did he exhibit greater patriotism than then. Never did he exhibit more courage and conscience than then. Never more clearly than then did he prove himself possessed of qualities fitting him for leadership in a great crisis.

SOME SUGGESTIVE COMPARISONS.

As I have indicated, half a century ago it looked as if the world was going to justify Cobden's prophecy and follow England to a "free-trade" basis. To-day, of all the great nations of the world England alone remains wedded to so-called "free trade," and even she is giving signs of being about to abandon it.

One of the first countries to recover from its folly and resume the protective-tariff basis was the United States of America, which returned to the protective-tariff policy in 1861, with the results so graphically pictured by Bismarck. France began to move in that direction a few years later, and Germany definitely adopted the protective-tariff policy in 1879. In France the policy is less fixed and positive than in Germany and the United States.

In 1846, as I said, Great Britain concluded to abandon the policy under which she had grown great and adopt the policy of so-called "free trade." She is still a country of great wealth and productive power. She is still by far the greatest exporter of manufactured goods of all the nations of the world. The momentum acquired in five hundred years can not be wholly lost in a few decades.

In this world it may not be very important where a man or a nation happens to be at a given moment, but it is supremely important the direction in which he or it is headed. Condition may be unimportant; tendency is vastly important. By means of some brief tabular statements I propose now to show the tendency of Great Britain, and side by side with her the tendency of France, Germany, and the United States, all which have a protective

tariff of greater or less efficiency. (These figures are taken verbatim from an official English source—based on the reports of the British National Board of Trade—and the money values are expressed in pounds sterling as in the original.)

British imports from competitive nations, 1875 and 1902.
[From Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, food, etc.	£117,700,000	£156,100,000
Manufactures	50,100,000	116,500,000
Total	167,800,000	272,600,000

British exports to competitive nations.

[To Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, United States.]

	1875.	1902.
Raw material, etc.	£8,100,000	£21,400,000
Manufactures	71,300,000	57,600,000
Total	79,400,000	79,000,000

It will be noted that the total volume of British exports to her five chief competitors was actually less in 1902 than 1875. Moreover, the composition of those exports had undergone a most portentous change. It will be noted that British exports of raw material had nearly trebled, while her exports of manufactured goods had fallen off about 20 per cent.

On the other hand, looking at the imports of Great Britain, it will be noted that her rivals had more than doubled the sale of their manufactured goods in British markets.

Now let us examine the movement from the other side of the line. Here are some very suggestive tables:

FRANCE.	
Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£29,000,000	1875.....£12,900,000
1902.....36,700,000	1902.....9,600,000
Increase over 26 per cent.	Decrease, 25 per cent.
BELGIUM.	
Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£8,600,000	1875.....£5,200,000
1902.....19,600,000	1902.....6,400,000
Increase, 120 per cent.	Increase, 23 per cent.
GERMANY AND HOLLAND.	
Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£10,500,000	1875.....£33,500,000
1902.....46,900,000	1902.....22,000,000
Increase over 340 per cent.	Decrease over 30 per cent.
UNITED STATES.	
Manufactures exported to England:	Manufactures imported from England:
1875.....£2,000,000	1875.....£20,000,000
1902.....13,700,000	1902.....19,500,000
Increase, 585 per cent.	Decrease, 5 per cent.

The above tables reveal a tendency making an unanswerable argument in favor of a protective-tariff system. Great Britain, once the workshop of the world, is evidently losing her grasp, while the protected nations are growing strong. They are becoming more and more able to meet her in her chosen field. It is also noteworthy that this country, which has the most effective tariff system, has grown with greatest rapidity. Germany, with the next most effective tariff, has made the next greatest strides.

Wages are even now lower in Germany than in England, but they are rising steadily in Germany while they are largely stationary or falling in England. Last year the savings-bank deposits—that best barometer of the workingmen's condition—increased relatively more than twice as much in Germany as in England. And it must be remembered that Germany is not a country of exceptional resources, aside from the sturdy and thrifty character of her people. In natural resources, indeed, she is comparatively poor; but she is making the most of her resources of men and material, which is the important thing.

It will be noted, further, that the nation having the least effective tariff system, France, has made the smallest gains among the nations having a protective tariff. Results do not seem to prove the wisdom of her policy of "maximum and minimum" rates.

THE TARIFF IN GERMANY.

We have seen something of how Germany is progressing. Let us take a glimpse at her history as related to the tariff.

We are accustomed to think of Frederick the Great only as a mighty military genius. But a large part of his real greatness consists in what he did to develop the industrial capacities of his people and his country. His most eminent biographer, Carlyle, says of him:

In improving the industries and husbandries among his people, his success, though less noised of in foreign parts, was to the near observer still more re-

markable. A perennial business with him this, which even in time of war he never neglected, and which springs out like a steamed flood whenever peace leaves him free for it. His labors by all methods to awaken new branches of industry, to cherish and further the old, are incessant, manifold, unwearied, and will surprise the un instructed reader who comes to study them.

Under his leadership the industries of Prussia were extended very greatly, both in extent and in variety. Speaking of the methods of Frederick, Carlyle says:

He had no faith in free trade, but the reverse. * * * Probably in all the world there never was less of a free trader.

Under Frederick's successors, "who intensified all the faults and neglected all the good points of his system," the industry of the country began to go backward. Adam Smith's doctrines, including the doctrine of "free trade," gradually became popular in Germany, and at last "free trade" became the recognized policy in Prussia. After various experiences, in 1833 a number of the German States united to form a Zollverein—that is, a customs union or tariff league, having a protective tariff against the rest of the world, but practical free trade among the 26,000,000 people living within the territory of the Zollverein. The duties levied were specific, not ad valorem, so that there was no way for the foreign exporter, by making false invoices, to get his goods through the custom-house at merely nominal duties, and thus be able to undersell the German makers for the purpose of breaking them down. The rates of duty ranged from 20 to 60 per cent.

The report of Doctor Bowring, who was sent by the British Government in 1841 to examine and report upon the Zollverein, shows the following among other things:

1. That protection had vastly increased the power of the German people to command the services of other people, as shown by the fact that the importations had risen steadily in amount and quality, instead of decreasing, as had been predicted by the opponents of the Zollverein.

2. The wages of labor had been largely raised for both farm hands and factory hands. Not only was more money paid for a day's work, but so much more was paid as enabled the workmen to command a much larger amount of material comfort.

3. The farmer had not lost what the manufacturer had gained, but had gained equally with him, the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods having steadily approximated each other as the factory was brought nearer the farm.

4. The total consumption of articles of prime necessity had increased in a ratio far exceeding the growth of the population.

5. The enormous difference between rich and poor had been diminished, and the middle class of prosperous and intelligent people had gained greatly in number.

6. The German people, formerly dissevered by the frontiers of petty principalities, had been drawn into national and political unity by the industrial policy that had recognized the identity of the material interests of the severed parts.

It was this Zollverein that made the ideal of German unity popular. It was the memory of this Zollverein and its remarkable industrial successes which made United Germany, under the leadership of Bismarck, possible of accomplishment.

Speaking of the success of this policy, the great German economist List said in 1841:

Germany in the course of ten years has advanced a century in prosperity and industry, in national self-respect and power.

In 1842 Laing, the English economist, made frank admission as follows:

The German people are for the first time united in one great object of material interest. * * * And for the first time they have made the influence of public opinion an effective state power in their internal affairs. * * * The German commercial league is, in its result, the most important and interesting event of this half century. * * * According to every true German, the league is to be the grand restorer of nationality to Germany, of national character, of national mind, national greatness, national everything to a new, regenerated German nation. They are to spin and weave themselves into national spirit, patriotism, and united effort as a great people.

But with all their strength of character, with all their sturdiness of purpose, with all the demonstration before their eyes of the success of their Zollverein, it is surprising that the Germans were not wise enough to retain the policy which was making them great. Like the people of the United States some fifty years ago, the Germans yielded to the seductive argument for "free trade," gradually reducing their tariff rates below the point where they afforded adequate protection, and suffered the same consequences that were suffered in the United States, as pictured in the message of President Buchanan in 1860.

And it was not until 1879, under the leadership of the sagacious Bismarck, that a reunited Germany, gradually brought together under his constructive statesmanship, returned to the policy under which the earlier Zollverein had prospered so enormously.

During the course of his speech on the tariff in 1879, when Bismarck was pointing out to the German parliament the reasons why Germany should return to the protective policy, he said:

The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern times. The American nation has not only successfully

borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterwards disbanded its Army, found work for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, gives labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they arrive within the territory, and all by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. *Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is mainly due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States. * * * I base my opinion on the practical experience of the times we live in. I see that the protective countries are prospering and the free-trade countries decaying. Mighty England, like a powerful athlete, strode out into the open market when she had strengthened her sinews and said, "Who will measure with me? I am ready for all." But England herself is slowly returning to the protective tariff, and some years hence she will adopt it in order to keep at least her home market.*

BALFOUR ON SOME ADVANTAGES OF PROTECTION.

Bismarck's prediction relative to England is now being fulfilled. With remarkable courage and sterling patriotism Chamberlain is now pointing out to his countrymen the path of national wisdom, and England is being greatly stirred by his arguments.

Here in my hand I hold the famous pamphlet entitled "Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade," by the Right Honorable Arthur James Balfour, M. P., recently issued. Mr. Balfour, as everyone knows, is the prime minister of England. It will be well worth while for us to note some of the things that he says on this subject.

Mr. Balfour opens his argument as follows:

In the following paper I propose to discuss some of the more fundamental economic questions which, as I think, require consideration on the part of those who desire to arrive at a sober and unprejudiced estimate of our fiscal policy. * * *

It may be as well to premise that I approach the subject from the free-trade point of view, though the free trade is, perhaps, not always that which passes for orthodox in the House of Commons or on the platform. There is indeed a real danger of the controversy degenerating into an unprofitable battle of watchwords, behind which there is nothing deserving to be called independent reflection at all.

Toward the close of the pamphlet we find the conclusions of Mr. Balfour's argument. Among other things he says this:

Now, there are three things that it is peculiarly difficult for a manufacturer or combination of manufacturers to do, and at the same time peculiarly desirable.

The first is to run their works evenly—that is to say, without undue pressure at one period, without dismissing workmen and leaving the plant unused at another.

The second is to design their works on the scale which shall secure the greatest economy of production, which, in the language of political economy, shall take the utmost advantage of the "law of increasing returns."

The third is to secure a footing in foreign markets which are already occupied.

Now, in the attainment of these objects any manufacturer or combination of manufacturers who have, with the help of protection, obtained a command of their home markets, are at an immense advantage compared with their rivals in a free-trade country.

Remember, Mr. Chairman, that this is the prime minister of England who is talking thus; and, as he himself says, he is talking from the free-trade point of view. Mr. Balfour proceeds thus:

The unprotected manufacturer is compelled either to restrict his plant to a point well within what may sometimes be required of it or in ordinary times to leave it partially idle. Even a small excess of supply may lower the price of his goods out of all proportion; and if it does, he not only loses heavily in respect to this small margin of overproduction, but in respect of his whole output.

Now, there is no reason to expect that the plant erected to meet an average demand would reach the exact size most conducive to economy of manufacture. Should it prove to do so it could only be by accident. Neither is it practicable to arrange that the plant shall always be kept working full time. If it is, there must evidently be recurring periods, during which overproduction, with the consequent evils just described, must inevitably take place.

Such is the ordinary position of the manufacturer under free trade. Compare it with the position of his protected rival, who controls his home markets. He is not haunted by the fear of overproduction. If the home demand slackens, compelling him, if he desires to maintain prices, to limit home supply, he is not driven, like his less favored brother, to attain this result by also limiting output. He is not obliged to close part of his works, or to dismiss some of his hands, or to run his machinery on half time. On the contrary, so long as other countries are good enough to offer him open markets he can dispose of his surplus abroad. * * *

I was told the other day of a shipbuilder who was able to obtain contracts so early because he had secured a consignment of German steel at a price lower than it could possibly have cost either a British or German ironmaster. Why should we refuse to our shipping trade a bounty which the Germans are so generously anxious to confer? * * *

In the first place, it disorganizes industry. The manufacturing capitalist, when investing his money in costly plants has, in any case, many risks to run—new discoveries, new inventions, new fashions. Add to these his loss, actual or anticipated, through the operation of foreign protection, and his burden becomes insensibly increased. But add yet again the further uncertainty and the fur her loss due to the system I have just been describing, and he is overweighted indeed. Will the hostile combination keep together long enough to ruin him? Can his credit stand the strain? Is it worth while holding on in the face of certain loss and possible ruin? These are questions which the leaders of the threatened industry can not but ask. And surely the mere fact that they have to be asked must shatter that buoyant energy which is the very soul of successful enterprise.

Mr. Balfour concludes his pamphlet with these words:

It can not be right for a country with free-trade ideals to enter into competition with protectionist rivals, self-deprived of the only instrument by which their policy can conceivably be modified. The first and most essential object of our rational efforts should be to get rid of the bonds in which we have gratuitously entangled ourselves. The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is an important, yet after all only a secondary, issue. What is fundamental is that our liberty should be regained.

BRIEF TARIFF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Chairman, history is said to be the eye of prophecy. We have good authority for believing that "the best way to judge the future is by the past." Let us, therefore, now take a brief look at our experience with the tariff in the United States.

In colonial days.—While this country was subject to Great Britain all the laws governing trade were made by the British Parliament. They were made for the benefit of Great Britain, it being the generally accepted policy at that time that colonies were established for the benefit of the home country. Not only was there no encouragement given to the establishment of manufacturing industries in the United States; as a matter of fact, such industries were positively and specifically discouraged. Indeed, this was one of the most powerful causes of the Revolutionary war.

Under the Articles of Confederation.—From 1776 until 1789 this country lived under a form of union called the Articles of Confederation. Under this plan of union the several States reserved unto themselves the regulation of their own commerce. It was natural, in view of what they had suffered from the regulation of their commerce by a power outside of and superior to themselves, that each State should desire and determine to keep the regulation of its own commerce in its own hands. The extent of their suffering from the old régime may be judged from the fact that the people of the several States were not willing to trust the regulation of their commerce even to a national government of their own making and composed of people of their own selection.

So the Government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation had no power to regulate commerce, either among the States or with foreign nations. And consequently it could do nothing whatever to protect and develop American industries. This period has been well named by Historian John Fiske "The critical period of American history." In his book with that title Professor Fiske shows that the commerce and industries of the several States were almost annihilated. This was one of the chief reasons for abandoning the old form of union and adopting the Constitution under which we have lived since 1789.

Under the Constitution.—In that Constitution the very first power granted to Congress was the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." Another and related power of Congress, granted for the very purpose of enabling it to "provide for the general welfare," is the power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations.

The first act of Congress.—It is very significant that the very first act of the very first Congress, aside from the act providing for the organization of Congress itself, was one with the following preamble:

Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported: Be it enacted, etc.

This bill was introduced by James Madison, afterwards President of the United States, who is known in history as "the father of the Constitution." The debate was participated in by James Madison, Richard Henry Lee, Charles Carroll, Rufus King, Oliver Ellsworth, Fisher Ames, Roger Sherman, and Jonathan Trumbull, all of whom had been members of the convention which framed the Constitution. The act was signed on July 4, 1789, by George Washington, President of the United States, who had been the president of the Constitutional Convention.

At the time of its enactment this tariff law was spoken of as "our second Declaration of Independence," and such it really was.

As has been well said, "A large majority of that First Congress were farmers, but they saw the necessity of encouraging and protecting manufactures in order that they might be free from servile and dangerous dependence upon foreign nations."

Thus we see that the first general act of the First Congress was a protective-tariff act.

How it worked.—Remembering the distress and business demoralization under which the entire country had been suffering before the act was passed, let us ascertain the effect of this first act of the fathers under the Constitution. And as witness I put upon the stand the man who is universally recognized as the personification of truthfulness, George Washington. Referring to the results of six years' operations of this act in his annual message to Congress in 1795, President Washington said:

Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived.

Thomas Jefferson on protection.—Under this law there was in 1806 a considerable surplus in the Treasury after paying all the public debt then payable, and the problem was what to do under such circumstances. In relation to this matter Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, said:

Shall we suppress the imposts (duties) and give that advantage to foreign over our domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use, the suppression in due season will doubtless be right, but the

great mass of the articles on which imposts are laid are foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. * * *

The general inquiry now is, Shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation? He, therefore, who is now against domestic manufactures, must be for reducing us either to a dependent upon that nation or to be clothed in skins and live like beasts in caves and dens. I am proud to say I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comforts.

The prohibiting duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture, which prudence requires us to establish at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference of price, secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency.

Please note, Mr. Chairman, that Jefferson, the patron saint of Democracy, not only was a protectionist, but wanted the tariff to be so high as to be "prohibiting." And he continued to favor a protective tariff, for in a letter to his friend Colonel Humphreys, dated January 20, 1809, Jefferson wrote:

My own idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw materials.

The act of 1812.—The principle embodied in the act of 1789 was indorsed by Presidents George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, and the act remained unchanged until 1812. In that year, owing to the war with England and the necessity for raising additional revenues, the tariff duties were nearly doubled, very greatly to the benefit of the industries of the country.

The war of 1812 revealed to us that there were industries necessary to our independence as a nation for the establishment and encouragement of which no provision had been made in the act of 1789. In a special message President Madison earnestly asked that Congress give "deliberate consideration of the means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence and attained unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars."

The act of 1816.—But in 1816 occurred the first of those causeless and wisdomless demands for "a change." Though the country had for several years been enjoying great prosperity, a new tariff act was passed with much lower duties, very many of the schedules being below the point of adequate protection.

The tariff act of 1812 had by its own terms provided that its operation should cease one year after the close of the war with England. But Congress was not satisfied to let the law take its course and expire by limitation.

There seemed to be a popular demand for a reduction in the tariff rates, beyond even those of the act of 1789. (How prone such movements are to go to extremes!) This was advocated by some who honestly claimed to be protectionists. "But," they said, "we are moderate protectionists." Up to that time our people had had no opportunity to learn the truth revealed by the experience obtained under the act of 1816 and were not to be blamed for making the mistake that they did. The theory of so-called "moderate protection" had not yet been tested; its folly had not yet been demonstrated.

What was the result?

The Napoleonic wars had just ended. Waterloo had been fought and won. Napoleon himself was a captive at St. Helena. But the Napoleonic wars had greatly interfered with England's commerce. Her warehouses were full of goods. *America's folly was England's opportunity.* The tariff of the United States having been reduced below the point of adequate protection, England, with shrewd business calculation, resolved to kill two birds with one stone—to sell her goods and to destroy her rivals. Many of the goods on hand were somewhat old-fashioned, and therefore could not command any but a low price anywhere. She resolved to flood the United States with them and break down the industries of this country. In 1816 Mr. Brougham (afterwards Lord Brougham) declared in the House of Commons:

It is well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those infant manufactures which the war (of 1812) has forced into existence.

Its results and their lessons.—Speaking of the result, Horace Greeley says, in his History of the Tariff:

Great Britain poured her fabrics, far below cost, upon our markets in a perfect deluge. Our manufactures went down like grass before the mower, and our agriculture and the wages of labor speedily followed.

Here we have the first illustration in our history of a truth the importance of which should be impressed upon the people of the United States at this time, namely, that *inadequate protection is practically as bad as no protection.*

And here for the first time in our national history another great truth was illustrated, namely, that *even after our industries are established and in good working order there should still be maintained a tariff high enough to protect the country from abnormal conditions abroad.* A dam should be high enough to protect the people in the valley not only in cases of normal flow of the river but also against the destructive freshets that are sure to come periodically. But in 1816 our people had not yet had opportunity

to learn from experience this truth in relation to the tariff or to comprehend its tremendous and far-reaching importance.

In 1824, on the recommendation of President Monroe that Congress "give additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture," another act, aiming to give adequate protection, was passed.

Andrew Jackson on protection.—Andrew Jackson was then a United States Senator from Tennessee. Speaking in favor of an adequate tariff, he said:

Providence has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the greatest materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them *adequate and fair protection*, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war. *We have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own, or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy (that of the tariff of 1816), we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves. It is my opinion, therefore, that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted.*

Thus we see, Mr. Chairman, that Andrew Jackson, the other great patron saint of Democracy, believed in a protective tariff, and one that should be "adequate and fair."

The acts of 1824 and 1828.—A bill such as was advocated by Monroe and Jackson, one believed to provide adequate protection to American industries, was passed in 1824. It worked well in most cases, but in 1828 it was deemed desirable to pass a supplemental act increasing the rates in certain schedules so that the protection granted by them should be really adequate.

From 1825 to 1829 John Quincy Adams was President of the United States. Speaking of the effect of the tariff act of 1828, he said:

As yet no symptoms of diminution are perceptible in the receipts of the Treasury. As yet little addition of cost has even been experienced upon the article burdened with heavier duties by the last tariff. *The domestic manufacturer supplies the same or a kindred article at a diminished price, and the consumer pays the same tribute to the labor of his own countrymen which he must otherwise have paid to foreign industry and toil.*

In 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States. In his annual message to Congress in 1832, speaking of the results of eight years of a protective tariff, President Jackson said:

Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness, unequalled perhaps in any other portion of the world. * * * The report which the Secretary of the Treasury will in due time lay before you will exhibit the national finances in a highly prosperous state.

"Free cotton" in England.—In 1832 a step was taken in England which had most important effects in this country. Up to that time England had had a preferential tariff on cotton in favor of her colonies in the East, an arrangement similar to that now being urged by Chamberlain.

Cotton from the United States had been largely excluded from England by reason of the fact that it had been required to pay a duty there, and thus had had to meet at a disadvantage the competition of the cotton from the colonies. England discovered that the cotton that she was securing from her colonies was of too short staple or fiber to be used to the best advantage. She needed the American cotton, which was of longer staple. So to meet the demands of her manufacturers of cotton goods she, in 1832, put American cotton on the free list.

Heretofore the almost entire market for American cotton had been in the New England and other manufacturing States of the North; and therefore, in order to foster the manufactures which furnished the immediate market for their chief product, the people of the South, or a majority of them, had been protectionists.

Calhoun on protection.—In 1816, for example, John C. Calhoun made a strong speech in favor of the protective tariff, saying, among other things:

When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they will under the fostering care of the Government, the farmer will find a ready market for his surplus product, and what is of almost equal importance, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class in the community. It (a protective tariff) is calculated to bind together more closely our widespread Republic, and give greater nerve to the arm of the Government.

Calhoun after 1832 "went with his section" and became a "free trader," but as such he never succeeded in answering his own arguments made as a protectionist.

"Free trade" born in the South.—But for some time prior to 1832 the sentiment in favor of "free trade" had been growing in the South. Slave labor was not adapted to use in factories, so manufactures did not flourish in the South. In the North, with free labor and with adequate protection, manufactures were increasing in number and in product. The high wages paid were attracting a fine class of immigrants from Europe. The Northern States were rapidly growing in population and in power. The South saw political supremacy slipping from its hands. Yet the market for nearly all of its cotton was in the North, and the South did not yet see its way to break with the protective-tariff system.

But when, in 1832, England removed the tariff on American cotton entering her market, the "free-trade" theorists were able to

present to the people of the South two powerful arguments in favor of their doctrine, arguments still echoing there.

In the first place they could appeal to the pocketbook of the South. They said, "You sell your chief product in England and upon it she charges no tariff duties. Why not reciprocate and let her products in free of duty? Moreover, in that way you will be able to buy cheaper than you can buy from the American producer and it is good policy to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest."

To this argument was added another, which appealed to natural pride and love of power—and to fear of the consequences of loss of power. The argument was this: "The people of the North, through the protective tariff, are growing enormously in wealth and power. At the present rate of growth they will soon completely overshadow the people of the South and politically they will dominate the country—and they may then conclude to interfere with the institution of slavery. By striking down the protective tariff we can close their factories and greatly reduce their rate of growth. Thus and thus only can we hope to retain the political domination of the country. Moreover, closing the factories will destroy the best market of the northern farmer; his food products will then cost us less—we can feed ourselves and our slaves cheaper, and we can thus grow rich faster."

And so in 1832 a mighty wave of "free trade" sentiment swept over the South and expressed itself in a demand upon Congress that the protective system be "utterly and absolutely abandoned."

Free trade and secession were twins.—Then and there and thus was born in this country the theory of "tariff for revenue only," which is what is generally called "free trade."

In that same year, 1832, South Carolina passed her nullification act against the collection of duties under the national tariff act. *This was the beginning of the secession movement.* It was then that President Jackson showed the stuff he was made of by his famous declaration: "By the Eternal, the Union must and shall be preserved."

Thus we see that secession and free trade are the twin children of slavery. The former and its barbaric mother were together shot to death by loyal bullets. The latter should be sent to its long sleep by loyal ballots; for secession was no more dangerous to the political existence of the United States than is free trade to its industrial life and progress.

"Trimming" in 1833.—For eight years under a protective tariff the country as a whole had been enjoying exceptional prosperity and was not ready to yield to the demands of the South. But, in dealing with the situation, there was exhibited that weakness which is so little better than wickedness. In 1833 a compromise act was passed under which the tariff was to be gradually reduced 10 per cent every two years, until it should be practically "for revenue only," though nominally affording "moderate" protection.

And again, by the results, was the truth illustrated that *inadequate protection is as bad as no protection.* The rates of tariff soon got below the line of adequate protection. But "coming events cast their shadows before." Even before the point of inadequate protection had been fully reached business men had become timid. Industry began to decline, and in 1837 came another financial crash, even worse than that which followed the abandonment of protection in 1816.

Protection again in 1842.—Through much suffering the people had become thoroughly aroused, and in 1840 William Henry Harrison, a strong protectionist, was elected President. And with him was elected a protectionist Congress. Unfortunately, President Harrison died in about a month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by Vice-President Tyler, of Virginia, who was professionally a protectionist, but, with his southern training and association, not a very sturdy one.

In 1842 another protective tariff bill passed both Houses of Congress. It was vetoed by President Tyler on the ground that the rates were too high, but Congress passed it over his veto. Under the act of 1842 confidence was restored, business revived, and the sun of prosperity again shone forth. While this prosperity was general throughout the country, it was particularly marked in the manufacturing and agricultural States of the North. Again the South felt this remarkable prosperity as a menace to the political ascendancy of that section, and the leaders of the Democratic party in the South resolved to clip the wings of the North by a repeal of the protective tariff.

The "two-faced" campaign of 1844.—They dared not undertake to do this openly, because the people had so recently experienced the bad effects of inadequate protection that they appreciated the prosperity that they were enjoying under the act of 1842. The only way for the Democrats to win the election in 1844 was to nominate for the Presidency a southern man of not very pronounced or well-known views on the tariff question, but who could be trusted to cooperate with the southern Democratic leaders, and then to nominate for Vice-President some northern

man well known to be a protectionist, so that the party could stand for "free trade" in the South and for protection in the North. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was made the nominee for the Presidency, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, for the Vice-Presidency. In the South the cry was, "Polk, Dallas, and free trade!" In the North the cry was, "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42!"

Why it was possible.—Newspapers were not so numerous or so generally read then, as now. The electric telegraph had not yet become established. So this "two-faced" campaign was then entirely practicable.

If I were to make a guess, Mr. Chairman, I should say that at this year, exactly sixty years later, our Democratic brethren would try to repeat the essential parts of their plan of 1844. Can they make it work now?

The nomination of George M. Dallas for Vice-President appealed to the State pride of Pennsylvania, which was then as now a strong protectionist State. Under the impression that Dallas was a protectionist and that therefore the ticket was a "safe" one, the State of Pennsylvania went Democratic and Polk and Dallas were elected.

The reward of weakness.—The Whig nominee was Henry Clay. The Whig platform declared for "a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country." The platform was sound and Clay had in fact always been a protectionist. But now he paid the penalty for his lack of courage in 1833. The Democrats circulated in Pennsylvania and other protectionist States the story that Clay was "wobbly" on the tariff. Remembering his vacillating course in 1833, enough people believed the story to defeat him in the cherished ambition of his life. The lesson is plain: In the discharge of responsible public duties courage to do the right is profitable as well as honorable. "Trimming" is neither.

The act of 1846.—In 1846 a tariff bill was passed reducing many of the rates below the point of adequate protection. In the Senate the vote on the bill was a tie and George M. Dallas, though elected as a protectionist, performed the shameful part of casting the deciding vote in favor of the "free-trade" bill.

That the bad effect always to be expected in this country from a tariff act such as that of 1846, one not providing adequate protection, did not immediately follow the passage of the act was due to the following remarkable sequence of circumstances:

1. Very soon after the passage of the act the Mexican war broke out, creating for two years an abnormal demand for munitions of war and food supplies for the soldiers, thus stimulating business.
2. Close upon this came the great famine in Ireland, creating a further abnormal demand for our food products.
3. In 1849 came the discovery of gold in California, and shortly after that the discovery of gold in Australia, which discoveries stimulated trade all over the world.
4. The period from 1848 to 1851 was one of violent revolutions in several European countries which interfered with the regular course of production in those countries and created an exceptional demand for our products, especially our agricultural products.
5. Then in 1854 came the great Crimean war, involving Russia on the one side and Turkey, France, and England on the other, and furnishing us for two years another abnormal market for many of our products of farm and factory.

Its results.—But with the close of the Crimean war in 1856 this extraordinary chain of events ended, and then the usual effects of an inadequate tariff promptly manifested themselves. Our prosperity at once began to wane. As if to tempt the fates, the Democrats, in 1857, enacted a law still further reducing the tariff rates. Almost immediately came a tremendous financial crash, probably the worst in our history. There was great business depression through the next four years. Inadequate protection had got in its work and in December, 1860, in his last annual message to Congress, the Democratic President, James Buchanan, gave this picture of the situation in the United States:

With unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and all the elements of natural wealth, our manufactures have suspended, our public works are retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is in a deplorable condition.

The depression continued until the adoption of the Morrill tariff act in February, 1861. In the election of 1858 the Republicans had carried the House, but did not make enough gains in the Senate to control that body. Before the election of 1860 the House had passed the Morrill bill, but it was held up in the Senate. After election it passed the Senate—some loyal Northern Democratic Senators voting for it, be it said to their credit—and was signed by James Buchanan, who had come to see the necessity for such an act and had shaken off the domination of the South, returning to his original and real position on the tariff.

Some fruits of protection.—From 1861 to the present day, save

and except the four mournful years from 1893 to 1897, this country has had the policy of adequate protection to American industries. At the close of the period of inadequate protection the nation had a bankrupt Treasury; to-day the Treasury is overflowing. At the close of the period of inadequate protection the Government, which, as usual under that kind of legislation, had been running into debt, had so lost its credit among men that it found itself unable to borrow money in sufficient quantities to meet its needs, though it offered 8, 10, yea 12 per cent for the money; to-day it can borrow all the money that it wants at the rate of 2 per cent, and its bonds issued at that rate stand at a premium in the market places of the world.

Under a protective policy this nation fought the greatest war in the history of the world, a war which left the Southern section of the country prostrate and bankrupt, a war which took from the productive industries of the Northern section of the country more than a million of its sturdiest sons and devoted four years of their time to destruction instead of construction; a war which used up all of the enormous income of the Government for four years, amounting to more than a thousand millions of dollars, and yet left us with a debt of nearly three thousand millions of dollars. Upon that debt we have paid more than eighteen hundred millions of the principal and nearly three thousand millions of dollars of interest. As an expression of our gratitude to those who saved the Union we have paid out in pensions more than three thousand millions of dollars, and are now paying about a hundred and forty million dollars a year.

But, notwithstanding these enormous losses in population and in wealth caused by this war, our population has increased from a little over thirty millions in 1860 to more than eighty millions at the present hour. Our wealth has increased from sixteen billions in 1860 to more than ninety-four billions in 1900, or from an average of \$513 per capita in 1860 to \$1,235 per capita in 1900. That is, our wealth has increased more than twice as fast as our population. Our savings-bank deposits have increased from \$149,277,504 in 1860 to \$2,935,204,875, or from an average of \$4.75 per capita in 1860 to \$36.52 per capita in 1903. That is, our savings-bank deposits (the best index of the condition of working-men) have increased nearly nine times as fast as our population.

As I said earlier, it is always true under a protective tariff that the wits of men are stimulated because they see some reward for the exercise of their ingenuity. The truth of this proposition can be seen by examining the report of the Commissioner of Patents. Up to and including 1860 the total number of patents issued in the United States was 31,005, or an average of 443 a year. From the 1st of January, 1861, to the 1st of January, 1904, there had been issued 747,502 patents, which is at the rate of 17,385 a year—that is, while our population has been multiplied by less than three the rate of patent issue has been multiplied by forty.

The lessons of experience.—From the foregoing sketch of our tariff history, brief though it necessarily is, several propositions may be regarded as established by experience:

1. That disaster has always followed the enactment of a tariff which failed to furnish adequate protection. Such a tariff has neither furnished protection to our industries nor raised sufficient revenue for the Government. The so-called "moderate" protection has always proved a delusion and a snare. It is less worthy of respect than frank and open "free trade," for so-called "moderate" protection always "keeps the word of promise to the ear but breaks it to the hope." Its advocacy by a well-informed man may generally be rated as cowardly evasion.
2. From the disaster resulting from such tariff legislation our country has never in a single instance recovered except through the enactment of a tariff law giving adequate protection.
3. With one possible exception, that of 1873, we have never had a panic or widespread business depression under a tariff act giving adequate protection to home industries. Even the collapse of certain speculative enterprises of large capitalization during the last two years has simply gone to show that "protection is panic proof."
4. The business depression of 1873 was not due to the tariff, but occurred in spite of the tariff. It came from two sources chiefly—first, it was a part of the reaction from over-speculation during and following the civil war; and second, it was part of the "sobering up" in our currency matters, when we were painfully getting back from greenback fiatism to the solid basis of the gold standard.

5. But even in the case of 1873 the suffering was mainly among the speculative classes and was not specially felt among the people generally. The country during that period advanced greatly in wealth, and the recovery came under a protective tariff.

6. Never in our history have we had general and long-continued business depression when we have had both of the Republican twin bases of prosperity—a protective tariff and a sound currency.

THE MOSELY COMMISSION'S REPORT.

One evidence that our people are doing well is found in the number of people of other lands seeking our shores. Our pros-

perity has been heard of in all parts of the world and people are flocking here from every land to secure a share in it.

The growing prosperity of Germany and Scandinavia under the protective-tariff system which they have adopted—Germany in 1879 and Norway-Sweden in 1888—is seen in the fact that fewer of our immigrants than formerly are from those countries. The people of those countries are now finding so many opportunities at home that they have less temptation than formerly to leave there.

In October, November, and December of 1902, a commission headed by Mr. Alfred Mosely, a prominent capitalist and manufacturer of England, visited all the great manufacturing centers of the United States and investigated the various classes of industries in which the members of the commission were interested. The commission consisted of twenty-three men, the leading officers of the trades-unions of the principal industries of Great Britain. Among the associations represented were bookbinders, compositors, printers, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, cotton spinners, cutlery operatives, engineers, iron and steel workers, boot and shoe makers, tailors, paper makers, lithographers, leather workers, shipwrights, and weavers.

The men who came were recognized as experts in their line, each having had a long training and having achieved recognized success. Each investigated the kind of industry with which he was most familiar and each made a written report of his impressions and discoveries. On the return of the commission to England the reports were printed under the title, "Reports of the Mosely Industrial Commission to the United States of America, October-December, 1902." On the opening page of the volume Mr. Mosely himself says:

In my travels round the world, and more particularly in the United States, it became abundantly evident to me that as a manufacturing country America is forging ahead at a pace hardly realized by either British employer or workman. I therefore came to the conclusion that it would be necessary for the workers themselves to have some interest in these developments, and I decided to invite the secretaries of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom to accompany me on a tour of investigation of the industrial situation across the Atlantic. * * *

In my previous trips to America I had been favorably struck by the up-to-date methods of protection there, both from a business standpoint and as regards the equipment of their workshops. The manufacturers there do not hesitate to put in the very latest machinery at whatever cost, and from time to time to sacrifice large sums by scrapping the old whenever improvements are brought out. Labor-saving machinery is widely used everywhere and is encouraged by the unions and welcomed by the men because experience has shown them that in reality machinery is their best friend. It saves the workman numerous miseries, raises his wages, tends toward a higher standard of living, and, further, rather creates work than reduces the number of hands employed. In England it has been the rule for generations past that as soon as a man earns beyond a certain amount of wages the price for his work is cut down, and he, finding that working harder and running his machine quicker brings no larger reward, slackens his efforts accordingly.

In the United States the manufacturers rather welcome large earnings by the men so long as they themselves can make a profit, arguing that each man occupies so much space in the factory, which represents so much capital employed, and therefore that the greater the production of these men the greater must be the manufacturers' profit. * * * The United States has advanced by leaps and bounds. She is beginning to feel the beneficial effects of the education of her masses and an enormous territory teeming with natural resources as yet but meagerly developed. At the present time the home market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the markets of the world. * * *

How is it that the American manufacturer can afford to pay wages 50 per cent, 100 per cent, and even more in some instances both ways, and yet be able to successfully compete in the markets of the world? The answer is to be found in small economies which escape the ordinary eye. That the American workman earns higher wages is beyond question. As a consequence, the average married man owns the house he lives in, which not only gives him a stake in the country, but saves payment of rent, enabling him either to increase his savings or to purchase further comforts. Food is as cheap (if not cheaper) in the United States as in England, whilst general necessities may, I think, be put on the same level. * * * It is generally admitted that the American workman, in consequence of labor-saving machinery and the excellence of the factory organization, does not need to put forth any greater effort in his work than is the case here, if as much. He is infinitely better paid, therefore better housed, fed, clothed, and, moreover, is much more sober.

Under such conditions he must naturally be more healthy. * * * Fuel and raw material are much the same price in the United States as in Europe, and it therefore can not be claimed that she has very much advantage on this; but facilities for transport, both by rail and water, are undoubtedly better and cheaper. * * * In the United States one hears a great deal against "trusts" (as they are known, or what we term "large corporations"), but personally I am rather inclined to welcome these concerns, because large organizations that employ capital are best able to compete in manufactures on the most economical lines, can fearlessly raise wages within given limits, are in position to combat unhealthy competition, can provide up-to-date machinery ad libitum, can erect sanitary and well-ventilated workshops, and generally study better the comfort and well-being of the workmen than small individual manufacturers struggling against insufficient capital and old machinery. It is in the organization of capital on the one hand and a thorough organization of labor on the other that I believe the solution of industrial problems will be found.

Among the interesting observations of James Cox, representing the associated iron and steel workers of Great Britain, were the following:

During the years of depression from 1893 to 1897 American industry was much more depressed than our own; failures and bankruptcies were common and a general demoralization of trade existed unequaled in intensity throughout the world. The present cycle, unprecedented in the United States, has lasted longer and contained greater elements of stability than in our own country, and to a far greater degree than in Belgium or Germany. * * *

Under great consolidations prices are immediately controlled into greater uniformity and lowered to a more reasonable level, and it is, I believe, largely attributable to this fact that no such collapse occurred in America as took place in this country. Throughout the United States there are universal evidences of having entered upon a new era in the demand for iron and steel for purposes hitherto undreamed of. The home demands or requirements are stupendous, and the resources of the producer have been taxed to the utmost. * * *

I would like, in concluding, to indicate three general features of American industries to which I largely attribute their success: (1) The enormous mineral deposits, waterways, and cheap transit. (2) The control or ownership by the manufacturer, through combination or direct purchase, of the raw materials—ore, lime, coal, and coke. (3) The marvelous engineering ingenuity and initiative, remarkable through every phase of manufacture in its reduction of manual labor combined with great productiveness. * * * In the matter of wages, the American workman is far better off than in this country. * * * The question may be asked, Is it possible for British producers to compete in the American market? I confess I think not so long as the present tariff exists.

Mr. P. Walls, of the National Federation of Blast Furnace Men, said, among other things:

After a careful investigation I come to the conclusion that, comparing wages and the cost of living, there is an average of at least 25 per cent in favor of the American workman. A careful, sober man can undoubtedly save more money than in England. The encouragement given to invention has, no doubt, contributed to the Americans having more modern machinery, but there is, above and beyond all other causes, the tariff. If we take it for granted that the cost of production is equal in both countries and that in an open market equal profits could be made, what an enormous advantage the tariff gives to the American manufacturer, who has an almost unlimited home market.

The following statement of Mr. J. C. Cummings, of the Iron and Steel Ship Builders and Boiler Makers' Society, will be read with interest by both workmen and farmers:

American workmen are greater feeders than the British; in fact, it is surprising the amount of food and food stuffs they manage to consume. Food stuffs compare favorably with our own—bread, meat, groceries, vegetables, and fruit being as low, if not lower, than in London; prices are certainly lower than in our north country cities and towns. House rent is dear. Americans insist upon more roomy dwellings than the general run of Britishers. The American mechanic generally lives in a six-room house, with both hot and cold water and electric light. The average wages of time workers are 75 to 100 per cent higher in our trade in America than at home, and I am inclined to the opinion that notwithstanding the greater cost of outer clothing, house accommodation, and fuel, a careful, steady man could, while keeping himself, efficiently provide for several more in America than in England, food stuffs being certainly cheaper.

Mr. T. Jones, representing the Midland Counties Trades Federation, expressed the following opinion:

As to how America is able to pay higher wages and yet successfully compete with us in the markets of the world, I believe it is due to the vast natural resources she has in mines and minerals, improved methods in mining, the utilization of her vast waterways, and the superior railways she possesses, combined with the low rates charged for transportation of all kinds of products. Manufacturers are helped by these considerations, to which must be added the more modern and ever-changing machinery, the adoption of every improvement, no matter how often introduced, and their safety from foreign competition in consequence of their protective tariff.

Among the interesting statements of Mr. T. Ashton, of the Corporation Cotton Spinners, was the following:

I am of opinion that a careful, sober, and steady workman, while keeping himself efficient for his duties, can save more money in America than he can in England, and I am confirmed in this view by the evidence of workmen residing in America, who formerly lived in Lancashire. As to whether the American workmen are better fed than the English, my impression is that they are, and this is the opinion of workmen who formerly lived in England but are now working in the American factories. There are fewer of the American working people, in proportion to their number, who are dependent on the public purse than is the case in England. The American workmen consider it almost a crime if they are compelled to go to a poorhouse on account of their poverty. I consider that the general conditions of life of the American workman are better than what obtain in England.

From the statement of Mr. T. A. Flynn, of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, was the following:

The amount of capital invested in American clothing factories must be enormous. * * * In every factory visited experiments were being tried with some form of improved machinery. The American manufacturer organizes his factory with the object of turning out a suit of clothes very much superior to that placed upon the market by nine-tenths, if not all, of the English manufacturers. * * * There can be no doubt that the American workmen—and this includes women—live on a higher plane than their cousins in England. The cost of food is very similar, but the American workman gets more of it and of a better quality.

Clothing is as cheap in America as it is with us—that is, for those who buy inferior articles. The whole trend of opinion in America, however, is against cheap or "sloppy" suits. * * * So far as inquiries give result, there is no manner of doubt that the working classes of America save more money and save it more easily than the working classes of England.

Relative to the tin-plate industry, the report says:

Previous to 1890 the United States produced practically no tin plates and sheets, and the industry owes its existence almost wholly to the protective tariff placed upon these goods in 1890, which became operative on July 1, 1891. The growth of the industry since that date has been very remarkable and has resulted in this country (the United Kingdom) to a large extent losing its best customer.

And in closing the general discussion of the prosperity so obvious in American manufactures, the report says:

Before concluding, it may be as well to suggest, briefly, the causes that have contributed to the enormous expansion of manufacturing industries in the United States. This is not the place to discuss in detail the causes which may be credited as political. That a certain proportion of the growth of the manufacturing industries of the United States is attributable to the direct action of government, and especially to the operation of the tariff, is obvious, and, indeed, has been referred to incidentally in discussing the growth of tin plate manufactured in the United States.

A word, however, may be said as to the causes of growth which depend on the natural advantages possessed by the United States and the personal characteristics of her citizens. Under the first head come the enormous coal resources of the United States, coupled with the rich deposits of iron ore. Under the second comes a whole group of characteristics, which to a large extent evade statistical analysis. There is, first, the readiness of the manufacturer to adopt, and of the workman to accede to, the use of labor-saving devices. Allied to this is the largeness of scale, with its resultant economies, with which manufactures are conceived and carried on.

Testimony of the same tenor is found all through the report. Let us remember that this is the testimony of practical men—the recognized leaders in their respective crafts in Great Britain—men who came here with all the prejudices and national pride for which Englishmen are noted the world over. Many of them admitted that they were surprised at what they found. They admitted that they came here with grave prejudices, but that what they saw had compelled them to revise their opinions.

LINCOLN'S VIEWS ON THE TARIFF.

In 1846 Abraham Lincoln was elected to Congress from Illinois. In the campaign of 1846 the tariff question had been quite prominent. For years before that campaign Mr. Lincoln had been making a study of the subject with the view of determining the wise policy for this country. After the election he made further study of it with the view of discharging properly his duties as a Member of Congress. So earnest was he in the matter that he made careful memoranda of his studies and his conclusions. In one of the memoranda then made he said:

I suppose the true effect of duties upon prices to be as follows: If a certain duty be levied upon an article which by nature can not be produced in this country—say, 8 cents a pound upon coffee—the effect will be that the consumer will pay 1 cent more per pound than before, the producer will take 1 cent less, and the merchant 1 cent less in his profits. But if a duty amounting to full protection be levied upon an article which can be produced here with as little labor as elsewhere, as iron, that article will ultimately and at no distant day, in consequence of such duty, be sold to our people cheaper than before.

In another memorandum on the tariff question, written just before taking his seat in Congress in 1847, Mr. Lincoln said:

To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly so as possible, is a worthy object of any good government. Will the protective tariff principle advance or retard this object?

The habits of our whole species fall into three great classes—useful labor, useless labor, and idleness. It appears to me that the labor done in carrying articles to the place of consumption which could be produced in sufficient abundance and with as little labor at the place of consumption is useless labor. Iron and everything made of iron can be produced in sufficient abundance and with as little labor in the United States as anywhere else in the world; therefore all labor done in bringing in iron and its fabrics from a foreign country to the United States is a useless labor. The same precisely may be said of cotton and wool and of their fabrics. The raw cotton grows in our country, is carried by land and water to England, is there spun, wove, dyed, stamped, etc., and then carried back again and worn in the very country where it grows, and partly by the very persons who grew it. Why should it not be spun, wove, etc., in the very neighborhood where it grows and is consumed, and the carrying be thereby dispensed with?

Mr. Lincoln's suggestion, made fifty-seven years ago, that the protective-tariff principle should be applied to the development of our iron and cotton industries, has been fully justified by events. In 1847, when the suggestion was made, the pig-iron production of the United States amounted to 800,000 tons. From 1847 till 1861 we had a tariff that furnished inadequate protection, and the production of iron was practically stationary. In 1861 was passed a protective-tariff act, and the protective-tariff system has been largely operative ever since. In 1870, ten years after the election of the first Republican President, pig-iron production had reached 1,665,000 tons; in 1880 it was over 4,000,000 tons; in 1890, over 9,000,000; in 1900, over 13,000,000, and in 1903, over 18,000,000 tons, and the price has fallen from \$30.25 in 1847 to \$15 a ton in 1904.

Equally justified has been his suggestion and prediction relative to cotton manufactures. In 1847 the cotton mills of the United States took 1,858,000 bales of domestic cotton for manufacture. By 1902 the consumption of our cotton mills had grown to over 4,000,000 bales; and the price of standard prints, a staple article of cotton manufacture, has fallen from 10 cents per yard in 1847 to 5 cents per yard or less in 1903, as shown by the official figures of the Bureau of Statistics.

On another occasion Lincoln is reported to have used this characteristic illustration: "If my wife buys a dress in England for \$20, we have the dress and England has the \$20. If she buys that dress in the United States we have both the dress and the \$20."

ADEQUATE VERSUS INADEQUATE PROTECTION.

Let us note again some of the expressions on the tariff by men whom people in all sections of the country delight to honor.

In 1806 Thomas Jefferson said, as before quoted:

The prohibiting duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture, which *providence requires us to establish at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference of price,* secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency.

Andrew Jackson, when a United States Senator from Tennessee, said, in discussing the tariff act of 1824:

Providence has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the growing of

hemp and wool. These being the greatest materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them *adequate and fair protection*, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe and that we may have within our country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential in war. *We have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own, or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy (that of the tariff of 1816), we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves. It is my opinion, therefore, that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted.*

And in the memoranda just quoted Abraham Lincoln said:

But if a duty amounting to full protection be levied upon an article which can be produced here with as little labor as elsewhere, as iron, that article will ultimately and at no distant day, in consequence of such duty, be sold to our people cheaper than before.

On this matter of *adequacy of protection*—which is, after all, one of the two vital points in this controversy—the history of our own and other countries is invariable in recording the harmful results of placing protective tariff rates too low; but history does not record a single instance where harm has followed making the rates high enough to furnish an *ample margin of protection—ample for all emergencies.*

This is one of the most important facts in this controversy, a fact that *must* be understood if one would reach a true and correct conclusion on this subject of the tariff.

Democrats will rely on the not unnatural feeling in the minds of people who have not had time or opportunity to study this matter thoroughly that high tariff rates necessarily mean high prices for manufactured goods.

As a matter of fact, the opposite is true. That is, our whole history shows that *the greatest reductions in prices of manufactured goods have been in those products in which the tariff rate has been the highest and the longest continued.* For example, in 1870 the price of steel rails in the United States was \$100 a ton in gold. In that year Congress laid a specific duty of \$28 a ton on steel rails. Within a few years steel rails were selling in the United States for about a third of their price when we had to buy them from England. So with carpets, tin plate, and scores of things that could be mentioned.

And, Mr. Chairman, a little sober thought, free from all prejudice and passion, will enable any man of reasonable intelligence to understand exactly why this result naturally follows.

If the rate of alleged "protection" be *inadequate*, the foreign manufacturer, already established in business and determined to destroy American competition, can overwhelm an American who may be assembling men and materials to make a start in the manufacture of a like product. This done, the foreign manufacturer will naturally raise prices higher than ever in order to recoup his losses.

If the rate of protection is *just barely adequate under normal conditions*, only a few of the most venturesome of our citizens will dare to take the risk of beginning the work of manufacture. Even they dare not build, to use the language of Balfour, elsewhere quoted, "on the scale that shall secure the greatest economy of production." And, not knowing how long even the barely adequate protection will be vouchsafed them, they must endeavor to make a large temporary profit rather than undertake to establish a permanent market through a close margin of profit. So they simply can not produce in such manner as to reduce prices.

But suppose that a *definite policy of amply adequate protection* be inaugurated, based upon the intelligent conviction in the minds of our people that such a policy should be *definitely adopted as the permanent policy of the country.* Then there will be many men of capital who will enter into manufacturing—not simply the venturesome, but also the conservative and steady-going—who from enlightened self-interest will prefer fair profits with a large and growing market to large profits on small sales.

Then, with our market secure from foreign invasion but open to equal competition among our own people, we shall have lower and more uniform prices for manufactured goods than if we leave ourselves subject to the chances and moods of foreign conditions of production. Then, too, with a definite policy of amply adequate protection our trade will be more steady and more along legitimate business lines and less along speculative lines, rendering business less hazardous and making it possible of being done on narrower margins, hence giving the people more stable and lower prices on manufactured goods.

There is another and very important element in this.

Under a protective-tariff policy the rates are proportioned to the amount and character of the work involved in production, the further the article is removed from the crude material the higher being the rate. But the more processes and the more skill required in each to produce an article *the more the opportunity for invention* to get in its beneficent work, thus further enhancing the chances for *reduction in price without reduction in wages.*

From this brief explanation it is easy to see why Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln all so strongly urged and emphasized the need of "full" and "adequate" protection. It was in advocacy

of this truth that William McKinley acquired the title of a "high protectionist."

If to adequacy of rates we add *stability of policy*, indicating intelligence and steadiness of purpose among our people, we have the best conditions for continued prosperity and moderate prices of manufactures.

Ample adequacy of rates and trustworthy stability of policy—these are the essential things in a protective tariff, as demonstrated by reason and illustrated by experience.

Both of these ideas have been repeatedly emphasized by President Roosevelt. For instance, in a speech in New York on November 11, 1902, he said:

The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad.

And in his annual message to the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress he said:

The first requisite to our prosperity is the *continuity and stability* of this policy.

FREE TRADE NOT EVEN GOOD THEORY.

Even protectionists sometimes say that while they do not believe in free trade as a practical policy they are willing to admit that it seems good in theory. The saving word in that statement is the word "seems." In fact, free trade is not good even in theory. *Prima facie*, no theory is good that does not "work." Without the demonstration it is at best simply a hypothesis. The late Hon. W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, "Pig Iron" Kelley, so long an honored member of this House, well described free trade as "the science of assumptions."

The first and fundamental fallacy of free trade as a theory is its *lack of patriotism*. It professes to entertain a broad humanitarianism. It prides itself on having as much consideration for people at the uttermost ends of the earth as it entertains for the people of its own country. Mr. Chairman, I would feel like doubting both the virtue and the good sense of any man who considered, or professed to consider, everyone as much entitled to his solicitude as the members of his own family. By law, both human and divine, a nation is a great family whose interests are directly interdependent. Protectionists take as the basis of their policy the Scriptural precept: "He that careth not for his own hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

The first duty of a nation is to be prepared at all times to defend its existence. Free trade, both as a theory and as a policy, would leave us utterly unprepared for war. Surely the people of the South should, through bitter experience, have thoroughly learned this lesson. Wedded to slavery, they looked down on labor. They were the "consumers;" they had only contempt for "producers," and hence they thought only of getting manufactured goods as cheaply as possible.

They had no desire to accept or enjoy the legitimate fruits of protection. Indeed, for nearly a generation before the breaking out of the civil war, except the four years from 1842 to 1846, this country had been dominated by the Southern idea of aversion to a protective tariff. When the Southern Confederacy was established it perpetuated its free-trade ideas by embodying in the Confederate constitution this provision:

Nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or to foster any branch of industry.

On the other hand, just before the breaking out of the war the National Government had enacted the Morrill tariff law, which gave adequate protection to our industries. So that here we had a test of the two theories as to their relative usefulness in war.

In this connection I quote the eloquent words of former Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, in his great speech in the United States Senate in 1890—one of the greatest speeches on the tariff ever delivered—entitled "Shall the Republic do its own work?"

The most instructive lesson of American history—indeed, the most impressive economic lesson of all history—is that afforded in a great crisis by the industrial impotence of our Southern States, resulting from their persistent neglect of the mechanical arts and of diversified industries.

When the South declared war it was found that its people could create nothing of practical utility. Their orators and stump speakers, who led them into the war, could spin "yarns," but not of cotton; they could weave sentences, but not woollens. They could make speeches, but could not make engines. They could make verses, but not vestments. They could talk learnedly of the rights of man, but could not supply the wants of man. They could write flaming essays on courage, but could not make a gun or canister of powder. They could organize armies, but not industries. They could inspire their troops with enthusiasm, but could not supply them with blankets.

With all their cotton, they could not make a handkerchief. With quantities of sheep and all natural facilities for producing wool and turning it into cloth, they could not make a coat. With every opportunity for the establishment of manufactures, they could not make a needle, a knife, a bayonet, or a button. With ample natural resources, and with opportunities equal to those of the North, the people of the South, *looking only to the moment and never to the morrow*, permitted iron, coal, and other valuable minerals in illimitable quantities to lie inert and useless in their fields.

They could produce nothing but the raw materials of agriculture, and but little variety even of those. Theirs was a civilization that "disdained to be useful, and was content to be stationary."

When, therefore, in the hour of their utmost need they wanted clothing,

arms, munitions, and means of transportation, they were without factories, foundries, mills, machine shops, railroads, tools, and *skilled workmen*. Had it not been for their slaves they would have been without food. Their soldiers suffered for want of proper clothing, some of them even dying of cold, and many, especially toward the close of the war, wearing uniforms made from rag carpet. *Like helpless aborigines, they were obliged to look to their enemy for every resource of warfare.*

But this was not because the people of the South were wanting in ability. It was not that they lacked great qualities, not that they were destitute of the mental and physical characteristics of the great creative race from which, in common with the people of the North, they had sprung and to which they belong. In every department of effort to which they had directed attention, they had displayed all the ability characteristic of that race. They had the same innate qualities which all people of that race possess, but the greatest of those qualities they never exercised. The creative and inventive faculties were never brought forth.

The lack of diversified industries is destructive in time of war, but, like the "dry rot," it is none the less operative in time of peace and none the less certain to culminate in disaster.

The trouble with the South, Mr. President, was that in the case of its working classes the hand had been at work without the brain, and in the case of the intellectual classes the brain had been at work without the hand. One worked without thinking, and the other thought without working.

At the North, on the contrary, the great bulk of the population had been working, and to-day continue working with hand and brain in unison. The exact training of the mechanic of the North, under conditions which gave ample room for the expansion of his mind and the development of his intellect, had produced a race of mechanics who, compared with the mechanics of other countries, must be classed as intellectual athletes. These are the men who win wars—men of ingenuity, of resource, of high intelligence, of physical strength, of undaunted courage. Those are the reliance of a nation in war, each other's best customers in peace. Those are the men who build up great communities. It is to those that the people of this country must look for their prosperity.

A nation that does not perform its own work and possess, in the body of its citizenship, the mental as well as physical force wherewith to carry on every process of industry, from the production of the raw material to the last stage of its development and transformation, will be the helpless prey of national marauders. *Without mechanical and manufacturing resources and capacity, no people can maintain prosperity or independence.*

Any nation that desired the mastership of the world could achieve supremacy without a blow if the other nations of the earth would permit it to become their manufacturer. They would become powerless against it in war, as they would be tributary to and dependent upon it in peace.

A people, however brave, engaged exclusively in farming pursuits can never hope to cope with a people of the same origin whose diversified vocations enable them indefinitely to feed, clothe, and move armies, overcome interior entrenched lines by concentrated systems of railway, and, through their large plants, organized workshops, and independent army of skilled artisans, maintain supplies of improved and elaborate small-arms, artillery, and ammunition, and improvise ingenious and effective weapons and works of offense and defense.

The success of the North was due to the wise, patriotic, and far-sighted policy of its people in adopting at the outbreak of the war the protective policy through which a wide diversity of industries was established and maintained. That policy they will continue and enlarge. But the lesson which history teaches of the defeat and discomfiture of the South seems lost upon the survivors of the lost cause, whose clamor for a low tariff would, if successful, lay this whole country as prostrate and helpless as they found their own States in 1865.

In support of the view so admirably expressed by Senator Jones, the following extract from a book entitled "Destruction and Reconstruction" will be of interest. The book was written by Richard Taylor, a son of President Zachary Taylor, and a lieutenant-general in the Confederate army. Speaking of the difficulties encountered by the South in the war, General Taylor says:

We suffered less from inferiority of numbers than from the want of mechanical resources. Most of the mechanics employed in the South were Northern men, and returned to their section at the outbreak of the war. The loss of New Orleans, our only large city, aggravated this trouble, and we had no means of repairing the long lines of railway, nor the plant. Even when unbroken by raids, wear and tear rendered them inefficient at an early period of the struggle. This had a more direct influence on the sudden downfall of the Confederacy than is generally supposed.

Another fundamental fallacy of free trade is its inability to comprehend the truth that *political independence can not become entirely secure without industrial independence.*

We declared our political independence in 1776. It took seven years of war to secure England's recognition of that independence. Why did the war last so long? Primarily because our industries had not been developed. With great and varied natural resources and the finest type of people, we had not been permitted to develop diversified industries. We had been compelled to remain producers of "raw material," and when the Revolutionary war broke out we found ourselves "poor indeed."

We had comparatively few of the munitions of war, and, *what was worse, we had not developed the facilities for producing them*. Had it not been for the fact that England was at that same time engaged in war with France, Spain, and Holland, we should probably have failed utterly. And why? *For want of facilities and developed skill to produce here what we needed*. Whenever we think of the Revolutionary war, before our mental vision come pictures of the sufferings of our fathers from poverty and want.

But after peace had been restored our people, for reasons indicated earlier in these remarks, declined to give to the Federal Government under the Articles of Confederation any power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations. Each of the States regulated its own commerce and most of them had "free trade" with England.

Bolle's standard work on *The Financial History of the United States* (Volume II, page 437) says:

From 1783 to 1789 the trade of the thirteen old States was perfectly free to the whole world. The result was that Great Britain filled every section of our country with her manufactures of wool, cotton, linen, leather, iron, glass, and all other articles used here; and in four years she swept from the country every dollar and every piece of gold.

From Hildreth's well-known *History of the United States* (Vol. III, p. 465) we get this picture of the situation:

The large importation of foreign goods, subject to little or no duty, and sold at peace prices, was proving ruinous to all those domestic manufactures and mechanical employments which the nonconsumption agreements and the war had created and fostered. Immediately after the peace, the country had been flooded with imported goods, and debts had been unwarily contracted, for which there was no means to pay.

In his great *History of the Constitution* (Vol. I, p. 432), Bancroft, speaking of this same period, says:

It is certain that the English have the trade of these States almost wholly in their hands, whereby their influence must increase, and a constantly increasing scarcity of money begins to be felt, since no ship sails hence to England without large sums of money on board, especially the English packet boats, which monthly take with them between forty and fifty thousand pounds sterling. * * *

The scarcity of money makes the produce of the country cheap, to the disappointment of the farmers and the discouragement of husbandry. Thus the two classes, merchants and farmers, that divide nearly all America, are discontented and distressed.

Senator GALLINGER, of New Hampshire, in his great speech, "American Tariffs from Plymouth Rock to McKinley," well says, in speaking of conditions at that time:

Free trade was the starting point. It was quickly followed by imports largely in excess of exports; then by a glut of foreign productions; then by suspension of our own manufactures of all kinds; then by a gradual but complete loss of all our specie; then by the necessary stoppage of most of our business; then by the enforced idleness of our laborers and artisans; then by universal debt; then by a crushing depreciation of real estate; then by a positive inability on the part of nearly everybody to pay their debts; then by general distress and financial ruin; and finally, by insurrections and rebellions which threatened destruction to the life and liberties of the nation.

"As this was the closest approach to absolute free trade ever tried by this country, so there was the largest harvest of dangers and calamities ever experienced by the American people." (Mason.)

It began to look as if our hard-won political independence would be lost again. It became evident to the thoughtful and farsighted, such as Washington, Madison, John Adams, and others, that if the United States was to survive as a nation another plan of union must be adopted, one in which, for the general good, the power to regulate commerce among the States and with foreign nations should be intrusted to the General Government.

This was one of the chief reasons why we abandoned the Articles of Confederation and adopted our present Constitution.

And, it will be remembered, that the first Congress under the Constitution promptly passed a tariff having for one of its avowed purposes "the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

No wonder the people called that act "Our second Declaration of Independence."

And, yet, notwithstanding such experiences, our Democratic brethren, who talk so much about the Constitution and who—sincerely, no doubt—profess so much devotion to its principles, seem now willing to abandon the very purposes for which it was "ordained and established."

To maintain our political independence it may be necessary at any time to defend ourselves against hostile armies and navies. We are now so powerful and so far removed from other great nations, that there would seem to be little danger of our getting into war. But no one can guarantee us continued peace. In 1896 or 1897 who would have dared to predict that within a year or two we would be engaged in a foreign war? It came in 1898 like a thunderclap from a clear sky.

How shall we prepare for such a possibility? Shall we go on heedless of what may come? Shall we depend on buying from foreign countries in the hour of need our munitions of war? What if the country from which we expect to buy should prove to be our antagonist? Shall we buy in advance and store the things we may need? If so, how much shall we buy, and how long will it be before our purchases have become obsolete? Or would it be wiser to develop our own resources and train our own people in making what we need? If so, why not develop also those resources and train these faculties needed in times of peace?

"Free trade" would have us satisfied to acquire the article; protection demands that we acquire the art.

As a matter of fact, in 1898 we were very poorly prepared for war; but with our great resources of material and skilled mechanics we soon got ready. We do not need a large standing army so long as we keep up the high standard among our workmen. They and their skill to "do things" constitute our best "reserves."

This suggests another fundamental fallacy of "free trade" both as a theory and as a policy, namely, that it overestimates the worth of things and underestimates the worth of men; it reaches for the article but spurns the artisan. Protection, on the other hand, cares, first of all, for the artisan, knowing that with him the coun-

try will get both the art in its highest form and the article on the most favorable terms.

In the eloquent words of Senator Jones, in the speech before referred to:

Free trade would banish those establishments and would exchange skilled mechanics for cheap doorknobs or cheap cutlery. It would reject the knowledge of useful arts in order to save for the moment a few cents a yard on woolen cloth or cotton ties or a few cents a pound on tin plates. Protection secures the arts and protects the artists. It transforms ignorance into knowledge, indifference into zeal, inertia into activity, impotence into power.

In none of this work would free trade aid or encourage us. On the contrary, its motto is to buy wherever it may buy cheapest to-day, without regard to the future or to the country in which it buys. It is distinctly founded on individual selfishness. It looks only to the temporary advantage of the individual, and takes no thought for the future or for the community. The protective policy is founded on a higher form of selfishness, the selfishness of the nation, which is but another name for patriotism.

Free trade brings the watch, protection brings the watchmaker; free trade brings the machine, protection brings the machinist; free trade brings the engine, protection brings the engineer. Given the men, we can not lack the machines. Having the art, we shall not want for the article. Possessing the producer, we shall not want for the product. Between them, who shall hesitate as to which is the more valuable to the country? Men found communities, machines do not; men constitute a society, machines do not.

Among the other numerous faults and fallacies of free trade, both as a theory and as a policy in this country, is its utter lack of harmony with American ideals.

Listen to a free trader making an argument. Whom does he appeal to, and how? There is no accident about the fact that his appeal is always to the "consumer" and never to the "producer." There is no accident about the fact that the one purpose of his life seems to be to buy things cheap.

"The leopard can not change his spots, nor the Ethiopian his skin." This instinctive attitude of the free trader brands his theory as having had its origin in a state of society where producers were looked down upon as not worth considering; where the "consumers" were those who "toiled not, neither did they spin."

The theory had its origin in a state of society founded on class distinctions, where some were born to rule and others to toil; where the industrial end aimed at was cheap goods to the rulers—the "consumers"—and to that end to the toiler low wages—or none at all. What more natural, then, that free traders should be more than willing that our "producers" should have to meet in "free" competition, on absolutely equal terms, the lowest-paid workers of the world?

PROTECTION OUR PROPER PERMANENT POLICY.

Protection, on the other hand, is based on the fundamental American idea of opposition to class distinctions. Protection is founded on the idea of the real and inherent dignity of labor directed with intelligence to a worthy end. Protection recognizes usefulness as the supreme badge of nobleness.

President Roosevelt struck the keynote of the whole matter when he said at Minneapolis on April 4, 1903:

This country has and this country needs better paid, better educated, better fed, and better clothed workmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country.

Protection takes into consideration the entire sweep of history. It sees man in his beginnings in Asia, under the oriental idea of master and slave—few masters and many slaves. Protection recalls the movement of man toward the west, into Europe. For "the people" the movement was "westward and upward," until, on some islands just off the west coast of the continent of Europe, popular sovereignty, after various struggles with the throne, established human liberty and entrenched it in wisely ordained principles of law.

Mr. Chairman, from my boyhood up history and the problems of government have been my favorite studies. They have been to me a lifelong labor of love. And it does seem to me, sir, that a careful student of history can scarcely fail to be impressed with the idea that He who holds the fate of nations in the hollow of His hand has, from the beginning of human life on this globe, had a special purpose to serve by and through this beloved country of ours.

Think of our location and the territory that we occupy! Here we are in the north temperate zone, the zone of the highest possibilities of civilization, removed alike from the heat of the Torrid Zone, which undermines ambition, and the cold of the Frigid Zone, which renders it fruitless. Here we are with national limits enclosing the most fertile of lands, the greatest of forests, the richest of mines—with natural resources practically boundless.

Then look at our people. Who are they? In the main, our people are those from other lands, or their descendants, most characterized by loftiness of aim and sturdiness of purpose. In the main, the people who have come to our shores have belonged neither to the class enervated by wealth and station nor to the opposite class whose spirits have been broken by want. Our country has been the land of promise to those who have determined to establish a home and who have had the courage to break away

from old associations—sacred though they be—and make the dangerous voyage across the sea to accomplish their purpose.

Think, Mr. Chairman, how old humanity was before this nation was permitted to be established! Think how much of training the world was required to pass through before this experiment in government was permitted to be tried!

Why, Mr. Chairman, this country and its institutions are the fruitage of the ages. Here, in a country separated from all other great nations by the broad waters of the oceans, it has been ordained shall be wrought out the highest and noblest problems of human existence. We owe it not only to ourselves, but to the rest of the world—yea, to Him who has given us this opportunity—we owe it to every consideration that can move men to lofty aim and earnest endeavor *not to permit any lowering of our standard of life and of purpose.*

Mr. Chairman, suppose two tanks of water on the ground side by side, one comparatively small, the other very large. Suppose that the water in the smaller tank stands considerably higher than the water in the larger tank. Now connect them with a pipe so that the water can flow freely between them. What will be the result? The water will soon be at the same level in the two tanks. But note, *the water in the small tank will have been lowered greatly, while the water in the large tank will not have been raised appreciably!*

The lesson is obvious. This country of 80,000,000 inhabitants contains only one-twentieth of the people of the world. Free trade would be like the pipe connecting the two tanks of water—it would at once begin to equalize conditions here and elsewhere. But, Mr. Chairman, *while we would go down a long ways, the rest of the world would not be raised materially by the process.*

No, Mr. Chairman; free trade would level down; protection is determined to level up. Protection recognizes fully its proper duty to humanity at large, for it recognizes the value of leadership and the worth of example. Humanity is not inert like water, but is endowed with the God-like trinity of powers—intellect, sensibility, and will. *Not by debasing ourselves shall our service to the world at large be performed, but "acting well our part" in every sphere of our national duty.* Then the peoples of the world, knowing what we are accomplishing, inspired by our example, will "highly resolve" to emulate our good works.

So, Mr. Chairman, for the sake of the people of other lands as well as of our own, we must at all hazards preserve and continue to exalt our high standard of living—material, mental, and moral. From whatever standpoint we look at the matter and by whatever standard we determine our path of national duty, we find it best to remain true to the proposition that "the work of America must be done by the sons and daughters of America." *And to that end we should definitely fix as our proper permanent policy that of amply adequate protection to American industry.*

As I pointed out at the beginning of these remarks, we have a tariff because this is a Federal Republic in which local government, and consequently direct property taxation, are left to the several States, while international affairs and indirect taxation belong to the General Government. This Union of the American States on the principles of our Constitution is, in my deliberate judgment, the most valuable secular possession of the world to-day. Hundreds of thousands of human lives and thousands of millions of hard-earned treasure were freely offered and expended for its preservation, but it is worth infinitely more than it has cost.

Were it not for the incalculable value of this "indestructible Union of indestructible States," with its unequalled wedding of liberty with security, and the necessary consequence of raising a large part of our national revenues through duties on imports, I am frank to say that in my deliberate judgment it would be best for us to prohibit entirely the importation of all articles the like of which we can produce in this country economically and in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of our people.

This being impracticable for the reason just indicated, the next wisest course would be to place the tariff on such articles just enough below the line of absolute prohibition to permit enough importation to produce from the tariff the revenue required by the United States Government "economically administered." That is, sir, it should be placed at the rate which would produce the maximum of revenue with the minimum of imports.

Mr. Chairman, we who thoroughly believe in protection are reluctant to see a single day's work for Americans done elsewhere than here in America.

We stand by the proposition that the people of the United States can do their own work, fight their own battles, solve their own problems.

In our judgment, sir, nothing is cheap to the people of the United States which leaves our own resources undeveloped and our own people unemployed.

Free trade looks abroad for its products and for its safety; protection knows that both can best be secured at home.

Free trade would have us depend on others; protection thinks it wiser to depend on ourselves.

Free trade thinks that wealth is created by trading; protection knows that it results from producing.

Free trade would have us content to buy things; protection would have us cultivate the ability to make things.

Free trade fears that if the rest of the world were blotted out, this country would be unable to survive; protection has faith that we would still move on, practically undisturbed, and achieve a glorious destiny.

Free trade, in the last analysis, is based on shortsighted individual selfishness; protection is based on that larger and wiser selfishness that we call patriotism.

THE GREAT BASES OF PROTECTION.

A recent article in the San Francisco Chronicle states the whole fundamental doctrine of protection so briefly yet clearly that I can not forbear quoting from it, as follows:

The economic policy known as protection is a cooperative agreement enacted into law whereby by means of duties on imports reasonable protection from the competition of foreigners is assured within the protected area to all domestic industries which, under such protection, are capable of supplying the home market. Its justification is economic and social: economic in that it conserves the natural resources of the land, avoids the waste of unnecessary carriage, and makes the nation self-sufficing, and therefore able in peace or war to support its population in comfort without regard to other nations; social in that it tends to maintain for future generations that standard of comfort which is the national ideal.

Protection is strictly national and can be nothing else, because national areas are essential to its effective operation and because nothing less than national authority will suffice for its enforcement. Conversely, the protected area must be coterminous with the national jurisdiction, because otherwise the law protects one part of the people against the competition of another part, and is therefore unjust. *Within the protected area competition is unlimited.*

If, under the protection of the tariff, effective combinations are in any case able to oppress—a condition which can only occasionally arise—it is a matter for regulation by domestic law.

Protection must be impartial for all industries worthy of protection. When the protection of any worthy industry is impaired those concerned with that industry are made economic foreigners, forcibly expelled from the economic body politic, condemned, if they remain in that industry, to standards of life below the national ideal.

Of necessity they become economic enemies of their protected fellow-citizens, and for their own protection must unite with other outside interests to break down the protective wall. *The victims of "reciprocity" dickers drift naturally into the free-trade camp.* If compelled to sell cheap they want to buy cheap. If forced to a lower standard of life they have no interest in maintaining a higher standard for those who were the cause of their own degradation. * * *

The power of protection to affect the lives of mankind varies with the size and diversity of the protected area. Small countries which can not become self-sufficing may be compelled to sacrifice something which they might have in order to obtain other things which they must have. Germany is an example of a country which would be strictly protectionist, but is compelled to make reciprocity trades. France is the most nearly self-sufficing country of Europe, but it can not produce cotton. Russia, when fully developed, will be self-sufficing, and we may be sure will be rigidly protectionist. Of all the nations in the world, the United States alone is absolutely self-sufficing. * * *

With such a basis foreign trade is merely the outlet for the comparatively small surpluses at a profit, or a loss, as circumstances may permit. In this happy position the United States now stands. The business affairs of its people are adjusted to existing conditions. We are at the pinnacle of present material prosperity. We command the sources of immeasurable opportunity. All that we need to do is to stand fast where we are and resolutely refuse to fritter our advantages away.

"FREE LUMBER."

The admirable statement of the economic and social bases of the protective policy which I have just read from the San Francisco Chronicle reminds me of the Congressional campaign in my own district two years ago, and as several important general truths were illustrated in that campaign, I feel that I am duly warranted in asking attention to it in this connection.

In the campaign of 1902 my Democratic opponent for Congress—a capital fellow, by the way, clean as a whistle and bright as a dollar—thought that he could perhaps make a winning fight by announcing himself as being unqualifiedly in favor of "free lumber."

He did not deem it wise to take up the whole line of "free trade," but by taking up a single feature of the "free-trade" theory—one which on the surface seemed to be in the interest of the people of the district and in favor of which considerable sentiment had, for various reasons, already developed—he thought that he could, as he said, "at least cut down Mr. McCleary's usual majority to such an extent that in 1904 he can be beaten."

His campaign argument ran somewhat as follows:

"This is a prairie district. Within its borders there is not a single lumber mill. Every one of you is a consumer of lumber; not one of you is a producer of it. It is to the interest of every one of you, therefore, to get lumber cheap. There is now on lumber a duty of \$2 a thousand. Remove that duty and lumber will cost you \$2 a thousand less than it does now. Elect me to Congress and I'll work to have that duty removed."

You will observe, Mr. Chairman, that his arguments followed the familiar, short-sighted, individually-selfish "free-trade" lines. In the mouth of my Democratic opponent—a free-trader, but a man of the highest character—such an argument is entirely consistent. In the mouth of a Republican candidate for Congress, on the other hand, such an argument would mean either lack of adequate knowledge of the fundamental principles of pro-

tection or else that willingness to be "all things to all men," for a selfish purpose, which we call demagoguery.

My Democratic opponent thus chose what he regarded as the strongest position that he could occupy. And it was, for in it he could use the *argumentum ad hominem*, which always has considerable force even among good and intelligent people.

I unhesitatingly accepted the battle on the lines which he regarded as most advantageous to him and least advantageous to me. It never occurred to me to doubt, with an intelligent and patriotic constituency and with right on my side, that I would win, though I fully expected that my majority would be less than usual. As an indication of the grounds of my faith I placed on my campaign letter paper as my general platform simply this sentence: "I believe in the might of right and in the common sense of the common people."

It is hard for everyone. Mr. Chairman, no matter how intelligent he may be, to help being "deceived by appearances." Looking out of one's window or going for a walk, how natural it is to feel that the earth is flat. Mankind was many centuries old before it learned that in regard to the very earth itself "seeing" should not always be "believing." And how persistent that flat-earth idea is even among those who know better! It is hard for everyone, sir, to realize the deceptiveness of small and restricted views of things and the necessity for the large view in order to really understand the truth.

And so when my Democratic opponent, who is a fine looking man and quite an orator, began his campaign, a good many people—including also quite a number of good Republicans—were quite taken with his view of the matter. Why it was "so plain that anyone could understand it;" just as easy to see as—that the earth is flat—when it isn't!

I knew that the argument was so seductive that I must first show its utter fallacy even as an *argumentum ad hominem* before I made any appeal to the higher motives and broader views. So I first attacked the proposition as a promise of "cheaper lumber," arguing somewhat thus:

Those who were taken with the "free-lumber" cry naturally figured on getting their lumber from Canada. Inasmuch as lumber is bulky, the cost of transportation is great in proportion to the market value of the lumber. So lumber can not under ordinary circumstances be transported far by land without becoming very expensive. So lumber from Canada, in order to be "cheap" when it should reach southwestern Minnesota, must be obtained in that part of Canada nearest to Minnesota.

The Canadian city nearest to my district is Winnipeg. So I resolved to ascertain how the price of lumber in Winnipeg compared with the price in my district.

To that end I sent to our United States consul at Winnipeg, Hon. W. H. H. Graham, copies of the Department of Agriculture Farmers' Bulletin No. 126, on Farm Buildings. This bulletin gives plans and specifications for farmhouses and barns. I asked Mr. Graham to find out the lowest price for which he could buy in Winnipeg the bill of lumber for a barn given on pages 39 and 40 of the bulletin, omitting the hardware in the bill and substituting standard "A" shingles for the "cypress heart" specified in the "bill of materials." I asked him to get in writing the lowest bid and send it to me with a letter from himself giving the fact, his letter to be written on his official paper, to be signed officially, and to be authenticated with his official seal.

Here is the answer of Consul Graham:

CONSULAR SERVICE, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Winnipeg, Manitoba, October 15, 1903.

Hon. J. T. McCLEARY
Mankato, Minn.

DEAR SIR: I inclose you herein offer of John Arbutnot to furnish bill of lumber for barn as given on pages 39 and 40 of Farmers' Bulletin No. 126, substituting pine for cypress shingles and omitting hardware, for \$526.90.

Very truly, yours,
[OFFICIAL SEAL.]

W. H. H. GRAHAM,
United States Consul.

When I wrote to Consul Graham I wrote a similar letter to the postmaster at each county seat in my district.

When the returns came in, the fact appeared that the bids in my district ran from \$400, the lowest, to \$450, the highest! That is, the highest bid in my district was \$76 lower than the lowest bid in Winnipeg!

The county seat nearest the middle of my district is Windom. Here is a copy of the bid from Windom:

WINDOM, MINN., October 14, 1903.

The "bill of materials" given on pages 39 and 40 of Farmers' Bulletin No. 126, issued by the United States Department of Agriculture, for the barn described in that publication and to which the "bill of materials" refers, will be furnished by Grosjenn & Lampert, at the yards located at Windom, Minn., omitting the hardware and substituting standard "A" shingles for the "cypress-heart" shingles specified in the Bulletin, for the sum of \$441.93, cash on delivery. This is the regular retail price.

GROSJENN & LAMPERT,
E. A. GROSJENN, Agent.

These two letters I had photographed on one side of a sheet of paper and on the other side I made my argument. These sheets the Congressional committee circulated all over the district.

The people were of course greatly surprised to learn that lumber was actually dearer in the only port of Canada from which they could afford to haul it than it was anywhere in my district, and no one was more astonished to learn the truth than my distinguished friend who was running for Congress on the Democratic ticket.

It was shown that, as a matter of fact, Canada, north of Minnesota, gets most of its lumber from Minnesota mills.

Of course, the fact thus developed took the heart out of my opponent's argument. But he then took the position that we ought to have "free lumber" in order to "save our forests."

It didn't take long to show that those "forests" in Minnesota and elsewhere belong either to the Government or to individual citizens. If they belong to the Government—or to its wards, the Indians—they can be handled under regulations prescribed by the Interior Department, with which the tariff would have nothing to do. On the other hand, the pine forests owned by individuals would be converted into lumber at the will of the owners for the purpose of converting the trees into money, thus securing the profit which was the object of their purchase.

So it became clear that there was nothing in either Democratic claim. Our people learned that removing the tariff would neither cheapen lumber in my district nor "save the forests" in my State.

Another thing was developed, namely, that even if lumber were actually cheaper in those parts of Canada from which it would be practicable for my constituents to secure their supply, removing the duty would not secure to them a reduction of \$2 a thousand on their lumber. And this is the reason: If the United States should remove our \$2 import duty, Canada would simply put on a \$2 export duty, just as she did once before when we reduced the duty on lumber, and just as Brazil did with coffee when, shortly after the civil war, we removed the duty on that product. Unlike the United States, Canada believes in export duties.

So the result of our removing the duty on lumber would be that the \$2 a thousand on all lumber imported from Canada into Pennsylvania, New York, and other Eastern States, would be deflected from the Treasury of the United States into the treasury of Canada.

Having shown that removing the duty from lumber was practically unprofitable, I then showed that such action would be entirely out of harmony with the protective policy.

There are interests which want woolen goods, their product, protected, but wool, the farmers' product, made "free." This would not be protection.

Protection is national in scope, not sectional; and it must treat all of our people according to the same general plan. In other words, it must not favor special interests—one set of our citizens against another set.

This is a great fundamental truth of protection. If a man fails to understand that, he fails utterly to understand protection.

Mr. Chairman, you will be pleased to know that in the squarely drawn issue above stated I got the largest percentage of the total vote cast that I ever received in my life. And to-day in my district there is no more life in the "free lumber" cry than in a last year's bird nest.

RECIPROCITY.

Our Democratic brethren seem quite taken just now with what my friend from Missouri, Mr. CLARK, calls "genuine reciprocity." But under the tariff policy advocated by my friend no such thing as reciprocity is logically possible.

Under his proposal of seven years ago, when he declared that he would tear down all custom-houses "from turret to foundation stone," of course it is entirely plain that, having no such thing as a tariff at all, it would be impossible to make tariff concessions to the people of any other country.

My friend has recently declared on this floor that he now regards his position expressed in 1897 as being, under existing circumstances, "theoretical" and not practical. I understand that now he favors a tariff for revenue only. Under such a tariff system, as explained near the beginning of these remarks, such tariff as we laid would be entirely on articles the like of which we do not and can not produce, such as tea and coffee.

With the necessity for taxing to the limit the comparatively few noncompeting articles that we import in large quantities in order to raise the required revenues, and with competing articles admitted free of duty—as in England, where Brother CLARK's tariff ideas are in actual operation—what opportunity would there be for reciprocal arrangements with any foreign country? As a matter of fact, sir, under a system of "tariff for revenue only," reciprocity is both logically and practically impossible!

This was conceded by Lord Salisbury, then prime minister of

England, in a speech at Hastings, England, in May, 1893, when he said:

We live in an age of a war of tariffs. Every nation is trying how it can, by agreement with its neighbor, get the greatest possible protection for its own industries, and at the same time the greatest possible access to the markets of its neighbors.

The weapon with which they all fight is admission to their own markets—that is to say, A says to B, "If you will make your duties such that I can sell in your markets I will make my duties such that you can sell in my market."

But we begin by saying we will levy no duties on anybody, and we declare that it would be contrary and disloyal to the glorious and sacred doctrine of free trade to levy any duty on anybody for the sake of what we can get by it. [Cheers.]

It may be noble, but it is not business. [Loud cheers.]

But a tariff for revenue with inadequate protection is the same in its results as a tariff for revenue only; that is, the foreign producer in either case, with his lower priced labor and with tools such as we have taught the world to make, can undermine and destroy American competition and dominate the American market. So why should he make any sacrifice to us as to his home market, when, with an inadequate tariff in this country, he would already have all that he could ask?

So that from any view point there is logically no place under Democratic policy for reciprocity of any kind, "genuine" or otherwise.

Why, then, do our Democratic brethren talk in favor of reciprocity? The motive is shown in the magazine article of my friend Mr. WILLIAMS, the Democratic leader on this floor, to which I referred earlier in these remarks. In that article—the one with the significant title "What Democracy now stands for"—he says:

There is also a tariff revision by piecemeal, which is the handmaiden of the other system. It is very important in its place, although it ought never to be permitted to handicap the larger movement by general legislation. This is tariff revision by reciprocal trade agreements with other nations.

So, frankly—and one reason for the regard in which Mr. WILLIAMS is held on both sides of this Chamber is his entire frankness—the leader of Democracy in this House, and practically its leader in the entire country, states that Democratic talk about reciprocity is simply to use what seems at this time a popular demand as a basis for the revision of the present tariff law.

Do Democrats really care for reciprocity? Listen to what was said of it in the official Democratic campaign text-book in 1902:

Reciprocity is based upon the same false theories as is protection, and, like protection, is a sham and a humbug, and to most people has been, and will ever continue to be, a delusion and a snare.

Taking all these things together we get an insight into the entire purpose of our Democratic brethren in talking about reciprocity. To them it is simply a flank movement against adequate protection to American industries.

That this is the real animus of the whole business is shown in the following from the magazine article of Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi, before referred to:

The general principle that protectionism is wrong, morally wrong, a prostitution of government to private ends, should never be forgotten. The goal ought not to be lost sight of.

What is the Republican position on this matter of reciprocity? It is clearly set forth in the Republican national platform of 1900, as follows:

We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets.

An example of Republican reciprocity was seen in our arrangement with Brazil under the McKinley law. Brazil produces coffee, which we do not and can not produce economically and in sufficient quantities to supply any considerable fraction of the wants of our people. So we said to Brazil: "Admission to the great market of the United States for your chief export is a very valuable thing to you. Grant to our agricultural and other products terms that our President shall deem reciprocally equal or we authorize him to place on your coffee, by Executive proclamation, a duty of 3 cents per pound. Then, with the coffee of other coffee-producing countries admitted here free, in accordance with our general policy, your Brazilian coffee producers will not be able, under such competition, to pass the duty on to the consumer, but will have to pay it yourselves, reducing your profits to that extent."

Under such representation Brazil promptly and cheerfully entered into an agreement with this country which promised to be mutually profitable. Under that agreement our wheat and wheat flour, corn and corn meal, rye, rye flour, buckwheat, buckwheat flour, barley, potatoes, beans, pease, hay, oats, pork, and several other things were admitted to Brazil free of duty, while lard, butter, cheese, canned and preserved meats, fruits and vegetables, and many other things were admitted at a reduction of 25 per cent from the regular rates. Under this agreement our people were increasing their sales in Brazil and the outlook was that the arrangement would prove mutually satisfactory to both countries.

Similar arrangements were made with several other countries of Central and South America—the countries that James G.

Blaine was so especially anxious to reach with our trade as affording our most promising outlet. In fact, it was under his guidance as Secretary of State that these treaties were entered into.

But in 1893, by a strange whim of the people, the Democratic party came into power and, without even the courtesy of reasonable notice or a word of explanation, abruptly abrogated all those reciprocity agreements.

So it will hardly come with good grace from them now to mention reciprocity, "genuine" or otherwise. Their theory is incompatible with it and their practice unfriendly to it.

These agreements illustrate the only kind of reciprocity ever advocated by the Republican party or by any recognized leader of it. They were negotiated under the McKinley law of 1890 and well illustrate what our martyred President meant when, at Buffalo, he said:

By sensible trade arrangements, which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. * * * We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

But no Republican national convention ever declared for "reciprocity" in competing products, nor did any recognized leader of the party ever seriously advocate such a thing. To do that would be to sacrifice the interests of some of our own people to the interests of others of our own people, which would be entirely out of harmony with the spirit and purpose of a protective tariff.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PRICES OF GOODS.

In the effort to undermine the confidence of the American people in the operations of the Dingley Act much will be said in the coming campaign to the effect that goods are sold by American manufacturers in foreign markets cheaper than at home. Much will, of course, be made of the little amount of truth contained in this assertion. Let us examine this matter and see how much weight should be attached to it.

It used to be claimed by the opponents of protective tariff that under its operations it would be impossible for us to make any headway in selling our manufactured goods in the markets of the world. On page 538 of the latest statistical abstract of the United States is a table showing the progress of the United States in its material industries. From this table I take the following figures:

In the year 1800 our export of domestic manufactures amounted to \$2,493,755, or 7.83 per cent of our total exports. In 1860 our exports of manufactures had grown to \$40,345,892, or 12.76 per cent of our total exports. Protectionists take pride in the fact that in 1903 we exported manufactured goods to the amount of \$407,526,159, or 29.28 per cent of our total exports.

Mr. Chairman, protectionists may well find a source of pride in this exhibit of the result of forty years of a protective tariff, uninterrupted save by the four years from 1893 to 1897. We rank third among the nations of the earth in the value of our exports of manufactured goods. In this respect Great Britain is still far in the lead, with exports of manufactured goods amounting to over \$1,000,000,000. Germany is second, with exports of something over \$700,000,000. And by the way, Mr. Chairman, the enormous exports of these two countries should serve us as a warning that we can not trifle with the situation. Open the gate but a little way, and with the sagacity and enterprise for which they are famous, they will enter in and undermine our industries.

It is a matter for just pride, Mr. Chairman, that we have so greatly increased the amount of the manufactured goods which we export, and those who believe in the Dingley bill can point with pride to the fact that under its operation the value of our manufactured goods exported has, in seven years, practically doubled.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is another fact in this connection that is of immensely greater importance than the one which I have cited.

According to the census of 1900 the total value of the goods manufactured in the United States in that year was a little over \$13,000,000,000. In the year 1900 we exported from the United States \$433,851,756 worth of manufactured goods; that is, Mr. Chairman, we exported 3 per cent of what we produced. The stupendous fact, Mr. Chairman, the fact which we must not lose sight of nor fail to estimate the importance of, is the fact that out of the entire \$13,000,000,000 worth of goods manufactured in the United States our own people have been able to use or keep 97 per cent. Why, Mr. Chairman, rather than let go of the conditions under which such a mighty result has been accomplished we could well afford, if necessary, to throw the other 3 per cent into the ocean!

But we have not thrown it into the ocean. The goods have been sold in foreign lands. Even if they had all been given away or sold for less than the selling price at home, that fact would be of small relative importance. But instead of being sold at smaller prices than at home, more than 90 per cent of them were sold as high or higher in foreign lands than in the United States.

In the summer of 1901 I spent several months in Europe inves-

tigating conditions. One of the lines of my investigation was this very one of prices of American goods at home and abroad. In different cities in the ten countries visited I made it a point to go into stores and, as a possible customer, ask the prices of articles with whose prices at home I was familiar. *Practically without exception I found the prices of American goods higher everywhere in Europe than in the United States.*

And wherever the price was lower there was always a good reason for it. For instance, in Scotland I found a man who had just bought a new McCormick binder. I asked him how much he paid for it. He said £19, about \$95 in our money. Inasmuch as a new McCormick binder would cost in Minnesota about \$120, I made investigation to ascertain why and how he was able to buy such a binder for what was apparently less than the Minnesota price. It soon developed that while the machine was new, that is, while it had never been used, *it had been made in 1897 (a model then four years old in the United States) and could have been bought in Minnesota for \$85!*

Mr. Chairman, careful statistics have been gathered on this subject of the prices of American manufactured goods abroad and at home. These statistics show that of the stupendous amount of manufactured goods produced in the United States, 97 per cent is consumed in the United States. They show also that of the 3 per cent sold abroad, more than 90 per cent is sold as high or higher than at home, and that less than 10 per cent of that which is shipped abroad is sold for a lower price than at home.

In order that we may see the point more clearly, let us think of it in another way. Of every \$100 worth of manufactured goods produced in the United States we consume at home \$97 worth. Of the \$3 worth shipped abroad more than 90 per cent is sold as high or higher than at home. That accounts for \$2.70 worth more, or \$99.70 worth of the goods in all. That leaves less than 30 cents' worth sold abroad lower than at home. *Democratic statesmanship invites us to let go of the \$99.70 worth in order to get a chance at a part of the 30 cents' worth!*

Mr. Chairman, let us now look for a moment at this little 30-cent business, of which our Democratic brethren will undoubtedly try to make much.

The sale of a portion of our products abroad at a reduced price is not at all a question of the tariff. *It is a mere question of business.* Great Britain, with her so-called "free trade," always has practiced that policy and does to-day. The advice of Lord Brongham in 1816, which I quoted earlier in my remarks, is to the point. Some of these sales are for the purpose of getting rid of out-of-date goods; some of them are for the sake of getting rid of a temporary surplus, so that the factories may not be closed down; some of them are due to the fact that the sales are cash sales and in considerable quantities; some of them are due to the struggle for a new market—that is, *every one of these sales is made for a purely business reason, wholly disconnected from our having or not having a protective tariff.*

But, Mr. Chairman, whatever may be said on this subject, let us not forget that the whole thing is relatively only a "thirty cent" matter, and that in whatever consideration we may give it we must not lose sight of the fact that under our protective system our people have grown so enormously in their power to consume, they are so well housed, so well clothed, so well fed, and have and enjoy so many of the comforts of life, that *we use here at home 97 per cent of our entire manufactured product!*

According to Mulhall's (English) Dictionary of Statistics, the people of the United States manufacture about one-third of all the goods manufactured in the world. It can readily be seen, therefore, how valuable a thing our home market is and therefore how exceedingly careful we should be to protect it and defend it in the interests of our own people. Those who would have us chase after foreign markets at the risk of losing our own, forget, if they ever knew, that *the internal commerce of the United States amounts to more than twice as much each year as the international commerce of all the rest of the world put together!* Let us not be beguiled, Mr. Chairman, into forgetting this fact, the most important fact connected with this whole question.

Our market, Mr. Chairman, is the cream of the earth. You can't enrich cream by adding skim milk to it!

THE FARMER'S INTEREST IN PROTECTION.

Protection is a system. It is intended to be helpful to all industries in all sections of the country.

But of all classes of our people those who have the most permanent interest in protection are the farmers. They secure benefit both directly and indirectly. The direct benefit comes from the immediate protection of their individual products.

In 1846 England removed the direct protection to her agricultural interests. Let us see the result. In 1851 the number of persons engaged in agriculture in England and Wales was 1,676,900. Fifty years later, in 1901, the number of persons so engaged was 981,633. These are the official census figures. Thus we see that

the number of persons engaged in agriculture under "free trade" has fallen almost 50 per cent in those fifty years. By way of contrast, look at Germany. Before the adoption of her protective tariff the farmers of Germany had to look abroad for a market for their wheat and many other food products. In 1875 Germany shipped to Great Britain 11,000,000 bushels of wheat. To-day she is using her entire wheat product at home.

Under the Wilson Act the tariff on barley coming into the United States was materially reduced, and our farmers will recall that during those years the price of barley under Canadian competition was ruinously low. Under the Dingley Act barley has had adequate protection, and the prices under the Dingley Act have been much higher than under the Wilson Act.

But the indirect benefit to the farmer is by far the most important. Under a system of adequate protection our industries are diversified. Opportunity is afforded for the development of all our resources of material and all the various talents of our people. The more these industries are diversified the fewer the competitors of the farmer and the more the consumers of his products. The nearer the factory is brought to the farm the greater becomes the diversity of the farm product, because there is thus provided a market for products which are perishable in their nature and can not be shipped long distances.

The nearer the factory is to the farm, the higher the price of farm products and the lower the price of the things the farmer has to buy. The more we increase our manufacturing industries and the greater becomes the number of persons engaged therein the greater becomes the market for the farmer's products.

And remembering that the amount of our arable land is limited, the tendency under our protective tariff is to furnish at home a more and more complete market for all that the farmer produces, so that the amount that has to be shipped abroad will be growing less and less and his home market will be more and more valuable and secure.

In the language of Benjamin Franklin, the patriot and philosopher—

Every manufacture encouraged in our own country makes a home market and saves so much money to the country that must otherwise be exported. In England it is well known that whenever a manufactory is established which employs a number of hands it raises the value of the land in the neighboring country all around it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the products of the land and partly by the increase of money drawn by the manufactures to that place. It seems, therefore, to the interest of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage home manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported from different countries.

Quoting again from that great speech of Senator Jones, which every intelligent American citizen should read and study:

According as we increase the numbers of our skilled workmen, we do not diminish the number of farmers. As we diminish the number of skilled workmen we increase the number of farmers. When the farmer's occupation is invaded he has no recourse. Not being a skilled mechanic he can not in turn invade some other occupation. All mechanics can become farmers without preparatory training; no farmer can become a mechanic without such training. When we shall possess the utmost diversity and multiplication of industries, therefore, we shall have comparatively fewer farmers and a relatively greater number engaged in skilled industries.

The trend of population from farming to industrial pursuits will then have a tendency to make manufactured articles relatively cheaper and farm products relatively dearer. The farmer, therefore, has everything to gain by a policy which induces the people of this country to do all their own work.

Instead of precipitating increased numbers into farming by lowering the tariff and reducing the numbers employed in the workshops, if we can succeed by a high tariff in widening our industrial development and rendering it unnecessary for our skilled workmen to have recourse to the land, our natural increase of population will in a few years enable our factories to consume all the products of our farms.

Had the protective policy been adopted a quarter of a century sooner than it was the entire country would now be dotted with manufacturing centers, not merely cities separated by long distances, but busy towns and villages a few miles apart, in which the farmers of the neighborhood would find ready and remunerative markets. In other words, in a properly adjusted system of industries the farms would feed the factories and the factories would consume all the products of the farms.

There would then be no overproduction of farm products for export; the "home" market (in the strict sense of the term) would consume all that would be produced, and the farmers would have the benefits and profits coming from direct sales to consumers, without the intervention of brokers, commission merchants, railroad magnates, and the army of middlemen who now appropriate what under a better system would be the farmer's profits. The delay in the adoption of a distinctly protective policy postponed till the coming generation that fullness of development and that variety of industry which, if a strong tariff be maintained, we shall at no distant day secure.

Any reduction of the tariff, therefore, which throws factory operatives out of employment must result in throwing men out of employment on railroads, steamships, and in city stores and offices. The products of factory labor, being no longer transported, will require no merchants to "place" them, no salesmen to induce customers in city stores to buy them, no book-keepers or clerks to keep account of them; nor, indeed, will the city store itself be required in which to expose them for sale. Thus the politician who formulates a tariff bill which results in closing up a factory in the remotest corner of the Union or reduces the reasonable profit of its business is but touching the electric button that rings the alarm in every avenue of labor throughout the land and loudest of all in the open highway, where every farmer may hear.

For the training and development of whatever talent he may have the farmer's boy must seek instruction in his own country. Unlike the son of the city merchant or of the successful lawyer, physician, or artist, the farmer's son can not spend years in the study of an occupation in foreign countries,

and it is better that he should not. He who takes high talent into the machine shop contributes more to the elevation and advancement of humanity than the prize scholar of the university.

A policy of varied industries is therefore at once an heirloom to the farmer's child and his birthright. When he steps out of the old homestead—as in ninety-nine cases in a hundred step out he must—he should find established in his own country—and the nearer to his home the better—such diversity of industries as to enable him to select for his life work that which best suits his taste and temperament. In following his chosen pursuit and rendering service to his employer he should receive such compensation as will enable him to live as an American should live. This he will not receive unless employers need workmen and compete for their labor as keenly as workmen compete with each other for employment.

If all workmen crowd into a few pursuits, the labor market is overstocked and wages tend to a minimum. If the working population be distributed throughout a variety of occupations, there will be no surplusage of labor in any of them, and there will be as much competition among employers to find workmen as among workmen to find employment.

Inasmuch as the farmers are the most numerous class of the community, their children will therefore benefit more by diversity and multiplication of industry than the children of any other class.

TARIFF REVISION.

In 1897, after an experience with a Democratic tariff—an experience still vivid in the memory of even young men—the Republican party was returned to power, the foremost champion of a protective tariff, William McKinley, having been elected President. Shortly after his inauguration President McKinley called Congress together in extra session for the purpose of revising the tariff. The result was the Dingley law. Its operation has been such as to compel words of praise even from those who opposed its enactment. It has justified itself a hundred times over.

Everything that was promised in its name has come to pass. American industries that had been languishing have revived and are flourishing. New ventures have taken root and are prospering. Work is plentiful and wages are good. Farmers, except those who have been "buying more land," have almost forgotten what a mortgage looks like. During its operation more of our people have been well fed, well housed, and well clothed, more of our people have enjoyed the comforts, yea, the luxuries, of life, than was ever true at any other time even in this land.

All this is admitted. And yet there are those who would endanger all this for a theory; a theory, too, whose unwisdom has repeatedly been shown by experience here and elsewhere.

Are tariff schedules sacred? No; but the welfare of our people should be sacred to those whose actions may greatly promote or greatly retard it. Should our tariff laws never be revised? Certainly they should. When? *Whenever it becomes evident that there is more to be gained than lost by the people of the United States through such revision.*

How shall we know when the time for revision has arrived? That question will certainly not be determined by vague talk about "changed conditions" since the enactment of the existing law. It will be necessary for those demanding tariff revision on such grounds to specify *just how* "conditions have changed," and *just what* it is therefore wise to do. We shall certainly not allow ourselves to be "beguiled by generalities."

Inasmuch as wages have advanced much more rapidly here than abroad, it may be that the next revision will need to be upward, not downward. *Revision upward can always be undertaken safely.* It has never yet had any but a good effect on business. Revision downward has never yet failed to have a bad effect, *no matter by whom enacted.*

Nor should we be moved by the veiled threat that if we don't revise the tariff—whether such action seem wise or unwise—the chance to revise it will be given to the Democrats. We will hardly allow ourselves to be cajoled into doing a foolish thing by the statement that if we don't do it some one else will.

Mr. Chairman, I have an abiding faith in the might of right and in the common sense of the common people. So far as I am concerned, I shall unhesitatingly choose the path of duty to my country and let results to myself take care of themselves. To such of my friends as may differ with me I can only say that I am not at liberty to sacrifice their interests to my ambitions. If the time should ever come when I fail to prefer their good even to their good will, greatly as I prize that good will, at that moment I should cease to be worthy of being their representative.

During the forty-three years since the Republican party first came into power that party has four times made a general revision of the tariff. Two of these revisions, those of 1861 and 1897, were revisions of Democratic schedules. Two of the revisions, those of 1883 and 1890, were revisions of Republican schedules.

Of course it goes without saying that whenever the proper time comes for the revision of the present tariff act the revision should be made by the friends and not by the enemies of adequate protection to American industries.

In this connection, however, it must not be forgotten, Mr. Chairman, that a dose of poison is just as fatal if administered by a friend as by a foe. For example, in 1883, under a demand for tariff revision, such a revision was made by the Republican party. Under popular demand, or what was thought to be popular demand, the wool schedule was made too low. The fact that

this act was passed by a Republican Congress and was signed by a Republican President did not save the sheep industry of the United States, for immediately thereafter that industry was reduced by millions of head. The wool schedule of the act of 1883 was a staggering blow to the sheep industry of this country, one from which it never recovered until the passage of the McKinley law, which gave adequate protection to wool.

The Republican party is not committed to any particular schedule, but it is committed to a great principle governing the construction of all schedules. It is not dominated by stubbornness or by pride of opinion; but it does recognize its responsibility relative to the well-being of the people of the United States, and it has business sense enough to know the importance of stability of conditions as related to business prosperity.

The proper position for the Republican party on this question was well expressed in the Republican national platform of 1896, which said:

We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question to be governed by conditions of time and of production. The ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country wants a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

THOMAS B. REED ON TARIFF REVISION.

One of the greatest men whom it was ever my privilege to know personally was the late Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, for twenty years a Member of this House and its Speaker through three Congresses. He passed from earth in December, 1902. Almost on the day of his death—in the North American Review for December, 1902—appeared the last article that he ever wrote on public questions.

It comes to us as the counsel of a man of superior intellect and absolute honesty; as the matured judgment of one who was thoroughly informed on the fiscal history of this and other countries. It comes to us as the garnered wisdom of more than three-score years. It comes from one who had voluntarily retired from public life at a time when he was occupying the exalted position of Speaker of this House, a position in our country aptly described by himself as "having but one superior and no peer," a position to which he knew he would be unanimously reelected. It comes as the sage advice of one who had no other purpose to serve than to contribute to the well-being of his country.

I esteem it an honor to append that entire article to these remarks. I do so with the consent of the publishers of the North American Review, who own the copyright to it. To be entirely candid about the matter, I do this in order that, being thus made frankable, it may be circulated in all parts of the United States during the coming campaign. I do this as a high service to the American people. To have read that article carefully and thus studied out its full significance is to have received a college education on the questions of the day.

In that article Mr. Reed discussed with the spirit of a philosopher and the sagacity of a statesman this question of tariff revision. Here are some of the things that he said:

What would you say was the ideal industrial condition of a nation? Everybody at work. Just now we have everybody at work. And yet we think we want something else. *If we keep on fussing we shall get it.* With all the world, except England, including her own colonies, of our opinion, with success embroidered on all our banners, we are invited to surrender our views and give place to a beaten world.

Why? *Simply because of that human unrest which is part of the history of the race.* We, being also of limited knowledge, are much given to be beguiled by generalities. Here is one line of generalities. "Is the Dingley tariff bill the end of wisdom? If not, then it can be improved. A tariff bill could be framed, we think, which would be free from all the errors of that celebrated bill and retain its virtues." Where would you enact such a bill? *Why, in your own mind, of course.* Unfortunately, a bill enacted in the mind has no extraterritorial force. A bill enacted by Congress, like the progress of the world, is the result of a fierce conflict of opposing human interests, and must be so. *When men talk carelessly of tariff revision they talk of a tariff never yet established and one that never can be. They dream of a tariff which exactly suits them individually, while a real tariff bill is one which measurably satisfies the country as a whole.*

We have a tariff carefully drawn, which has served us well. That tariff is only five years old. It has brought us away up on the hillside of success. It has no connection with great corporations, except what it has with small corporations and individuals. *No attack by repealing the Dingley Act can hurt one without hurting all.* Any disturbance of that kind would disturb trade in ways with which we are all too familiar.

A tariff bill at any time is not and can not be the creature of one mind. It means the result of a contest by all interests and all minds. Hence, whenever any man thinks of a tariff he would make, he always thinks of a tariff bill which will never be enacted.

There was once a President of the United States of great power and influence. For four years he had no Congress behind him, and he dreamed of such a tariff-reform law as would suit him. By and by he had a Congress of his own party, and he started in to make such a law as would please both gods and men. There are those who remember the dismal looks of the Members of the House when they yielded to the Senate, and the averted looks of the President as he let the bill pass by, unsigned and friendless. To those men it became apparent, as it should be to the whole world, that the tariff enacted is always different from the act in your mind.

What we had better do is to remember where we are and what our dangers are. Enterprises of business are not entered upon by helter-skelter. They are the result of calculation. One of the first inquiries of the promoter or maker is, how many of our present conditions are to remain? If there are

to be uncertainties in the future he will not dare to act. What can you imagine that would dampen a business man's ardor more than to be called on to guess what a new tariff bill would be? The prophetic instinct in the human creature is there beyond its limit.

We ought to let the tariff alone; we ought to defend it against all comers for the good of the nation. We are doing more than well and need not hunt for disaster. That will come in due time.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON TARIFF REVISION.

In his Life of Benton, page 224, President Roosevelt says:

Now, whether a protective tariff is right or wrong may be open to question; but if it exists at all, it should work as simply and with as much certainty and exactitude as possible; if its interpretation varies, or if it is continually meddled with by Congress, great damage ensues. It is in reality of far less importance that a law should be ideally right than that it should be certain and steady in its workings. *Even supposing that a high tariff is all wrong, it would work infinitely better for the country than would a series of changes between high and low duties.*

In a speech at Providence, R. I., on August 23, 1902, President Roosevelt, said:

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. *In our Government we need above all things stability, fixity of economic policy.*

At Minneapolis, Minn., on April 4, 1903, President Roosevelt delivered an address which exhibited a statesmanlike grasp of this great question and a judicial temper in considering it. From this noteworthy speech I submit here some extracts that are pertinent to the matter now under consideration, and print the entire speech as part of the appendix to these remarks.

The present phenomenal prosperity has been under a tariff which was made in accordance with certain fixed and definite principles, the most important of which is an avowed determination to protect the interests of the American producer, business man, wage-worker, and farmer alike. The general tariff policy, to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country is irrevocably committed, is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference between the cost of production—that is, the cost of labor—here and abroad, and of the need to see to it that our laws shall in no event afford advantage in our own market to foreign industries over American industries, to foreign capital over American capital, to foreign labor over our own labor. This country has and this country needs better paid, better educated, better fed, and better clothed workmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country.

It is, of course, a mere truism that we want to use everything in our power to foster the welfare of our entire body politic. In other words, we need to treat the tariff as a business proposition, from the standpoint of the interest of the country as a whole, and not with reference to the temporary needs of any political party. *It is almost as necessary that our policy should be stable as that it should be wise. A nation like ours could not long stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals, especially when, as now, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules carry rates of duty on thousands of different articles.*

If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than, by making changes, to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. *The fact that the change in a given rate of duty may be thought desirable does not settle the question whether it is advisable to make the change immediately. Every tariff deals with duties on thousands of articles arranged in hundreds of paragraphs and in many schedules.*

These duties affect a vast number of interests which are often conflicting. If necessary for our welfare, then, of course, Congress must consider the question of changing the law as a whole or changing any given rates of duty. But we must remember that whenever even a single schedule is considered some interests will appear to demand a change in almost every schedule in the law, and when it comes to upsetting the schedules generally the effect upon the business interests of the country would be ruinous.

To sum up, then, we must as a people approach a matter of such prime economic importance as the tariff from the standpoint of our business needs. We can not afford to become fossilized or fail to recognize the fact that as the needs of the country change it may be necessary to meet these new needs by changing certain features of our tariff laws. *Still less can we afford to fail to recognize the further fact that these changes must not be made until the need for them outweighs the disadvantages which may result.* * * * We have prospered marvelously at home. As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak or folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained.

WHY DEMOCRATIC PROMISES CAN NOT BE TRUSTED.

As I said at the beginning of these remarks, while this question of the tariff is primarily a question of business it is in this country also a question of politics. Let us hope that it will not always be so. But it certainly is so now. It is proper, therefore, that the probable political aspect of the question in the coming campaign be clearly yet kindly stated.

The Democratic party to-day owes whatever hopes it may entertain of success in the coming campaign to the existence of what is known as "the solid South." It is important that we get, if possible, a just conception of the significance of that fact.

In the first place, it will not be denied anywhere that—regardless of who the Democratic nominee may be or what may be the platform on which he stands—the Democratic party knows in advance that it can with absolute certainty count on the electoral votes of the States of the South. Hence in a convention it is not necessary

to seriously consider the wishes of the South, either as to a candidate or as to a platform, so long as the candidate is personally reputable and decent.

The problem of the Democratic managers will be to get the remaining electoral votes necessary to an election. *These must be secured in the North.* A large city offers the best field for certain northern Democratic methods, so the Democratic managers pick out New York State, with its great metropolitan city, and Illinois, with its Chicago, as the best fighting ground. Then it will be necessary to carry, in addition, one or two States of the size of Indiana, New Jersey, and Wisconsin.

In general, then, the problem before the Democratic campaign managers is *how to carry those Northern States.*

New York City can be made to supply a generous majority; but in these days of "publicity" there is a limit to such possibilities. The Republicans must be kept from "coming down to the Harlem" with an overwhelming majority, so a candidate must be selected and a platform must be framed that will appeal to the people "up State." A candidate from New York State itself can naturally be relied on to appeal to State pride, and hence a New York man would, per se, have strong claims on the nomination for President. For similar reasons an Illinois man would have strong claims to consideration for the Vice-Presidency.

But the platform must be such as to help in carrying those two States and also the remaining States required. It must be framed with special reference to carrying the Northern States required. Those Northern States have business interests whose owners must, by the platform, be *soothed into a feeling of security.* Above all things, then, the platform must have the appearance of *conservatism.* Inasmuch as the issue this year will be the tariff, the Democratic platform will, for several reasons, probably not be as frank and outspoken as it was in 1892. It will probably contain some "glittering generality" about "tariff revision along conservative lines."

But whatever the platform promises may be, Mr. Chairman, the thing to remember is that *Democratic platform promises are absolutely unreliable.* I say this in all kindness, with the full recognition of the fact that there are untold thousands of individual Democrats who are men of the highest integrity.

But there is a very plain and easily understood reason why Democratic platform promises can not be relied on.

It all hinges on the existence of that "solid South." At election the "solid South" can be absolutely depended upon to give every one of its electoral votes to the Democratic nominee, so that in the convention, which frames the platform, the wishes of the solid South can be safely treated with indifference. *But when it comes to passing a tariff act in Congress, after the election, the South will largely control the situation, because the South will furnish the bulk of the votes necessary to pass the bill.* In other words, the platform must be made to please certain States in the North, but the bill must be made to please the States of the South, who entertain different opinions. The promises will be dictated by the Northern States, the performances by the Southern States. Hence Democratic performances can not reasonably be expected to square with Democratic promises.

Mr. Chairman, the people of the South have some very admirable characteristics, but not even they themselves would claim that in business sagacity they rank with the people of the North. As a people they are given to ideals, some of which are lofty and worthy of all praise, but the people of the South are emphatically not equal to the people of the North in the solution of great practical questions of business. So that, whatever may be the platform promises, the law enacted by a party dominated by the people of the South can not reasonably be expected to be economically wise or practically sensible.

But there is one thing that can be depended upon—each Senator and Representative from the South, regardless of his views about the abstract beauties of "free trade," will take mighty good care to see that the things in which his people are interested shall have *full and adequate protection.*

Mr. Chairman, they are "free traders" as to everyone's products *except their own.*

This was illustrated in both of the bills framed under Democratic auspices in the last forty years—the Mills bill of 1888 and the Wilson-Gorman law of 1894. For example, in the Mills bill, which passed the Democratic House, but was defeated in the Republican Senate, a high rate of duty was placed on rice, a southern product, and an entirely inadequate rate on barley, a northern product. The Mills bill put a high rate of duty on the cane sugar of the South, but put on the free list the peas, beans, vegetables, tomatoes, milk, meats, and poultry of the North. The central feature of the Mills bill was the removal of all duty on wool, one of the chief products of Northern farms.

And the same general policy prevailed in the Wilson bill.

Mr. Chairman, a Democratic tariff bill is always sectional—never national—in its spirit.

CONCLUSION.

Mr. Chairman, it is coming to be felt among thoughtful people that the besetting sin of men in public life is cowardice.

From long acquaintance with men in both Houses of Congress I know that, practically without exception, they are anxious to do the right thing. But sometimes it seems hard to realize that temporary applause is less to be desired than final approval; that the first impulse is usually less to be depended on than the sober second thought. It is not easy to understand and feel that it is practically as blameworthy in one intrusted with grave public responsibilities to be wanting in courage as to be lacking in conscience.

On the other hand, what would any man who has ever had the experience take in exchange for that exaltation of spirit that one has while engaged in a straightforward, vigorous, honorably contested, but unfaltering fight for principles which he knows in his heart ought to prevail, and which he has highly resolved shall not be permitted to fall short of full fruition?

Mr. Chairman, when public men hesitate it is sometimes because they have not yet fully worked out in their own mind where the path of duty lies. But, sir, more frequently it is because, knowing the truth, they fear that "the people will not understand" the matter, and that those who do understand will neglect to uphold those who are earnestly trying to do their duty.

As a matter of fact, sir, "our best citizens," as they think of themselves, are often very greatly to blame for their unpatriotic failure to participate actively in public affairs. The good people of this country are overwhelmingly in the majority and can have their way in proportion to their resolution, actively expressed, to have it.

But, sir, we who are in public life can not have that support by begging for it. *The surest way to get it is to deserve it.*

Mr. Chairman, the tariff should be taken out of politics. As I have shown, it never was seriously in politics until 1832. Our country should be freed entirely from the menace of the frequent recurrence of this question.

How can it be taken out of politics? Not by the appointment of a nonpartisan commission. Congress will never waive its authority over the matter.

The way to get the tariff out of politics is suggested by the way in which the battle of the standards was settled. For many years it was a menace to the stability of our finances. It was not settled by those who believe in "playing politics" with matters of grave public concern.

It was settled primarily by a few men who had the patience to study out the truth, the intelligence to state it, and the courage to fight for it. Thus and thus only can the tariff question be settled. It will never be settled until it is settled right. What that right is I have tried to indicate.

In the rosy month of June, in the city of Chicago, will assemble the grand council of the Republican party. In national convention assembled the party will nominate our candidate for the Presidency and our candidate for the Vice-Presidency and enunciate the policy to which all good Republicans are expected to subscribe.

It is already known who will be our nominee for the office of Chief Executive of the nation. And how has he won his way to the exalted position which he occupies? Simply by doing at all times, without fear, what he believed to be right. The people know that he is human, and that he is therefore liable to err occasionally; but they also feel in their hearts that he will never be wrong if he knows it. The thing that is uppermost in their mind about him is that he has the courage of his convictions!

Surely the national Republican convention will see to it that the platform fits the candidate; that it tells the truth without evasion. On the paramount issue the path of duty is plain. The convention should speak the truth, in language so clear and unequivocal that no one need misunderstand. The convention should have full faith in the intelligence and the integrity of the American people. It should remember that "Truth is mighty and will prevail."

To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

APPENDIX A.

Address of President Roosevelt at Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.

THE TARIFF.

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: At the special session of the Senate held in March the Cuban reciprocity treaty was ratified. When this treaty goes into effect it will confer substantial economic benefits alike upon Cuba, because of the widening of her market in the United States, and upon the United States, because of the equal widening and the progressive control it will give to our people in the Cuban market.

This treaty is beneficial to both parties and justifies itself on several grounds. In the first place, we offer to Cuba her natural market. We can confer upon her a benefit which no other nation can confer; and for the very reason that we have started her as an independent republic and that we are rich, prosperous, and powerful, it behooves us to stretch out a helping hand to our feeble younger sister. In the next place it widens the market for our

products, both the products of the farm and certain of our manufactures; and it is therefore in the interests of our farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and wage-workers.

Finally, the treaty was not merely warranted but demanded, apart from all other considerations, by the enlightened consideration of our foreign policy. More and more in the future we must occupy a preponderant position in the waters and along the coasts in the region south of us; not a position of control over the republics of the south, but of control of the military situation, so as to avoid any possible complications in the future. Under the Platt amendment Cuba agreed to give us certain naval stations on her coast.

The Navy Department decided that we needed but two, and we have specified where these two are to be. President Palma has concluded an agreement giving them to us—an agreement which the Cuban legislative body will doubtless soon ratify. In other words, the Republic of Cuba has assumed a special relation to our international political system, under which she gives us outposts of defense, and we are morally bound to extend to her in a degree the benefit of our own economic system. From every standpoint of wise and enlightened home and foreign policy the ratification of the Cuban treaty marked a step of substantial progress in the growth of our nation toward greatness at home and abroad.

Equally important was the action on the tariff upon products of the Philippines. We gave them a reduction of 25 per cent, and would have given them a reduction of 25 per cent more had it not been for the opposition, in the hurried closing days of the last session, of certain gentlemen who, by the way, have been representing themselves both as gentlemen and as champions of the interests of the Philippine people and as special champions of the lowering of tariff duties. There is a distinctly humorous side to the fact that the reduction of duties which would benefit Cuba and the Philippines, as well as ourselves, was antagonized chiefly by those who in theory have been fond of proclaiming themselves the advanced guardians of the oppressed nationalities in the islands affected and the ardent advocates of the reduction of duties generally, but who instantly took violent ground against the practical steps to accomplish either purpose.

Moreover, a law was enacted putting anthracite on the free list and completely removing the duties on all other kinds of coal for one year.

We are now in a condition of prosperity unparalleled not merely in our own history, but in the history of any other nation. This prosperity is deep rooted and stands on a firm basis because it is due to the fact that the average American has in him the stuff out of which victors are made in the great industrial contests of the present day, just as in the great military contests of the past, and because he is now able to use and develop his qualities to best advantage under our well-established, economic system.

We are winning headship among the nations of the world because our people are able to keep their high average of individual citizenship and to show their mastery in the hard, complex, pushing life of the age. There will be fluctuations from time to time in our prosperity, but it will continue to grow just so long as we keep up this high average of individual citizenship and permit it to work out its own salvation under proper economic legislation.

The present phenomenal prosperity has been won under a tariff which was made in accordance with certain fixed and definite principles, the most important of which is an avowed determination to protect the interests of the American producer, business man, wage-worker, and farmer alike. The general tariff policy, to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country is irrevocably committed, is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference between the cost of production—that is, the cost of labor—here and abroad, and of the need to see to it that our laws shall in no event afford advantage in our own market to foreign industries over American industries, to foreign capital over American capital, to foreign labor over our own labor.

This country has and this country needs better-paid, better-educated, better-fed, and better-clothed workmen, of a higher type than are to be found in any foreign country. It has and it needs a higher, more vigorous, and more prosperous type of tillers of the soil than is possessed by any other country. The business men, the merchants and manufacturers, and the managers of the transportation interests show the same superiority when compared with men of their type abroad. The events of the last few years have shown how skillfully the leaders of American industry use in international business competition the mighty industrial weapons forged for them by the resources of our country, the wisdom of our laws, and the skill, the inventive genius, and the administrative capacity of our people.

It is of course a mere truism to say that we want to use everything in our power to foster the welfare of our entire body politic. In other words, we need to treat the tariff as a business proposition from the standpoint of the interests of the country as a whole, and not with reference to the temporary needs of any political party. It is almost as necessary that our policy should be stable as that it should be wise. A nation like ours could not long stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals, especially when, as now, owing to the immense extent and variety of our products, the tariff schedules carry rates of duty on thousands of different articles.

Sweeping and violent changes in such a tariff, touching so vitally the interests of all of us, embracing agriculture, labor, manufactures, and commerce, would be disastrous in any event, and they would be fatal to our present well-being if approached on the theory that the principle of the protective tariff was to be abandoned. The business world—that is, the entire American world—can not afford, if it has any regard for its own welfare, even to consider the advisability of abandoning the present system.

Yet, on the other hand, where the industrial conditions so frequently change, as with us must of necessity be the case, it is a matter of prime importance that we should be able from time to time to adapt our economic policy to the changed conditions. Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet, wherever and whenever necessary, to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules as matters of legislative detail, if such change is demanded by the interests of the nation as a whole.

In making any readjustment there are certain important considerations which can not be disregarded. If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. The fact that the change in a given rate of duty may be thought desirable does not settle the question whether it is advisable to make the change immediately. Every tariff deals with duties on thousands of articles arranged in hundreds of paragraphs and in many schedules.

These duties affect a vast number of interests which are often conflicting. If necessary for our welfare, then of course Congress must consider the question of changing the law as a whole or changing any given rates of duty, but we must remember that whenever even a single schedule is considered some interests will appear to demand a change in almost every schedule in the law; and when it comes to upsetting the schedules generally the effect upon the business interests of the country would be ruinous.

One point we must steadily keep in mind. The question of tariff revision,

speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the trusts. No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem. Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Practically all the others that are of any importance have, as a matter of fact, numbers of smaller American competitors; and, of course, a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury but destruction to its smaller competitors; and equally, of course, such a change would mean disaster to all the wage-workers connected with either the large or the small corporations.

From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem such a change would therefore merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors, and thrown only into competition with foreign competitors; and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit.

Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable; and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also.

To sum up, then, we must as a people approach a matter of such prime economic importance as the tariff from the standpoint of our business needs. We can not afford to become fossilized or fail to recognize the fact that as the needs of the country change it may be necessary to meet these new needs by changing certain features of our tariff laws.

Still less can we afford to fail to recognize the further fact that these changes must not be made until the need for them outweighs the disadvantages which may result; and when it becomes necessary to make them they should be made with full recognition of the need of stability in our economic system and of keeping unchanged the principle of that system which has now become a settled policy in our national life. We have prospered marvelously at home. As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international industrial competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak of folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained.

APPENDIX B.

SOME ADVANTAGES OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF—WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE TARIFF?

[By Thomas B. Reed, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives.]

The elections for this year have taken place, and we have escaped the one great danger of a democracy, which is the decision of great questions without discussion. But we have by no means got rid of the questions. We have now upon us the duty of discussing them with such care as will tend to decide them correctly. We have had a season of prosperity which has no parallel, even in our own remarkable history. There has been a movement of concentration; and business has been carried on on so great a scale that we are ourselves frightened by the tremendous shadow which we cast. We are not only exhibiting remarkable growth, but we are doing it in such fashion as to influence the Old World. In that surprising address which Mr. Carnegie has just delivered at St. Andrews we can see depicted what the influence of forty nations united in one will be, and that it will force the countries of Europe, after due years and perhaps centuries, to such a union as will banish armies and wars. We may well hope for this, for the story of the world's march from feudalism and distraction to nationality and internal peace amply justifies his prophecies to those who can see that God works unceasingly and has all eternity under His command.

But our problem in this nation is of to-day, and if we do our duty of to-day the nation will find those who can take our places to-morrow. All that is now happening is in accord with the nature of things. Displacing the old with the new is never without its complications and minor evils, which correct themselves in due time. All good progress, even that which is undoubted, has its temporary sorrows. One example, which takes innumerable forms, of this temporary sorrow which may be employed to illustrate the idea, is the invention and use of labor-saving machinery. Upon such invention and use depends the whole material progress of the world. Nothing else could give us the abundance which characterizes our age. Yet, when any new labor-saving invention comes into use the first thing it does is to deserve its name by lessening the number of men who can work. Labor saved is, temporarily, labor lost. Men are discharged; the machine does what they used to do. Do you wonder, then, that men should resent this intrusion upon their sustenance and support? Some are too old to learn new trades, and for them there is no consolation. Yet, in the long run, new occasions spring up which employ this discharged labor, and the world has all it used to have and much besides.

Conservatism, or the unwillingness to welcome new things, has its uses. Most new things are not good and die an early death; but those which push themselves forward and by slow degrees force themselves upon the attention of mankind are the unconscious productions of human wisdom, and must have honest consideration, and must not be made the subject of unreasoning prejudice. Toward such a movement no one has a right to look askance. Above all, no one has a right to presume such a movement wrong. It may be wrong; but when business men all over a great nation pursue the same course the presumption ought to be that they are right. Nevertheless, the first idea is to make them stop.

The history of corporations can be put into a few words. Men of sense are unwilling to risk their all in one enterprise or business. If they can limit their risks, and if by union with others whose risks can be in like manner limited they can make a strong company, much idle money can be utilized, and both capital and labor employed. On this basis and the basis of easier management corporations were formed and have gradually grown in full proportion to the growth of the world. In our day this growth has taken a new form. That form has been forced upon business men by competition with one another. If a number of concerns united to save expense and the duplication of management others had to do likewise. These unions of capital have been forced upon the capitalist. This element of force we must all bear in mind if we wish to understand this question.

Perhaps you think that men were glad to get into these unions and went cheerfully into combinations. Such was not the fact. Men hated to give up their independence. They and their fathers had built up their business. They were proud of their success, and meant to leave their establishments to their children. In the new combination only one could be the head. The others must go out or take rear seats. Then came the task of valuing, which encountered the natural unwillingness to have others do better than we do, until the task of consolidation grew almost impossible. Why was it not absolutely impossible? Simply because of the murderous competition. It was union or bankruptcy. Of course after there had been a few examples it became easier. The rising tide of prosperity helped also, because it raised not prices only, but values, and men were reconciled by getting more than they had hoped for, though they got no more than belonged to them. It would be natural here to say, Why not let competition go on?

What we want is the results of competition—low prices—so that we can

buy all we want. The answer to this can be made, and it is worth attention. With small factories scattered around and a country store in every village, competition did insure us low prices, but did not escape the evils we will hereafter speak of. So long as competition could be carried on on the basis of living and letting live all went well; but as capital grew in amount and mills in size competition became more violent and property ceased to make returns. Now, the doctrine of competition, most invaluable in its way, has its limitations. Being human, it is not an unmixed good. Destructive competition is an evil. The world can not afford to have a trade which does not pay a fair profit. Hence when a trade ceases to offer a fair profit there has to be a remedy, and the remedy chosen here was in reality not a new one. It is impressive upon us at this time on account of its size. In a small way it has gone on ever since business became business.

But are we to be exposed to the mercy of those people who pile up millions, and have we no remedy by law or constitutional amendment? Yes, we have many remedies on the stump and in the newspapers. But the experience of mankind is universal, that Providence has not left us to the stump orator or the newspaper, or even to the statesman. Somehow—after much blundering, perhaps, but somehow—every new movement has in itself the element of protection of the race. For instance, we are all afraid of monopolies; we fear that somebody by some new scheme will squeeze us permanently, and yet that has never happened. But, you will say, what can prevent these great aggregations of capital from charging what they like? The answer is, that what prevents them from charging an unfair price is the well-founded fear that they will thereby risk and lose the vast sums already piled up. In other words, the same state of the world, the same general wealth which enabled one big pile of capital to get together will enable a larger pile to get together and, by means of more modern machinery, to destroy the attempted monopoly.

When one set of capitalists of great renown a year or two ago attempted to take control of Pacific business, the undertaking was not so vast as to prevent men whose names were up to that time but little known from meeting them and making at least a drawn battle. The fact is that every business man now knows that the only monopoly anybody can get, except the temporary one of patents, to which no one objects, is by producing some article cheaper and selling it cheaper than any other maker. Whether such a monopoly is obnoxious and to be stamped out I leave to the wise declamation of the friends of the people.

It would be a good plan if somebody who believes in the efficacy of legislation would sit down and draw his statute and put into words his constitutional amendment, and see where he would arrive. "Error," says the wise Latin, "lurks in generalities." To talk of doing something by means of something, if you do not specify the something to be done or the way to do it, is a waste of time.

After all the language which has been used about the great corporations, one is a little surprised at the lack of specification. Almost everybody announces that what we need is "publicity." Even this is vague. Do you expect the public to be intrusted with the cost sheets? If you do not, then what will your publicity amount to? If you mean by "publicity" such a statement as will enable the outsider to buy wisely, or the stockholder to sell at the true value, I fear we may be going beyond the province of free government, which certainly thus far has left the task of keeping his fingers out of the fire to the citizen whose fingers they were.

But can not we stop this stock-watering? Must we not do it? Well, the value of stock is very much a matter of opinion. It will be noticed that the stock of one of our greatest companies can be bought for less than \$40. The par value is one hundred. In the judgment of the world there is 60 per cent water, and in the market the water is squeezed out. Could a legislature do it more effectually? As that same stock sold at fifty-five, there was a time when there was only 45 per cent of water. Is it proposed in the new constitutional amendment to specify how often the test for water is to be applied? Are the stockholders to be assessed daily for the variations of each day, or are the directors to be indicted daily? Shall officers of the Government determine the value, or the public in open market?

There is a piece of wisdom as old as the world, which is worthy of all consideration. Let us not be in haste about great matters. When you don't know what to do, don't do it. If the proposition is to press an oak back into an acorn, it had better be carefully considered.

The proposed treatment of corporations, even if something ought to be done, is a fine example of how easily men mistake their wishes for their reasons. It is proposed to repeal such portions of the tariff act as have made these corporations prosperous. Of course, this is not intended to attack the tariff. All we are trying to do is to sap the prosperity of institutions which have grown so large as to frighten us. Why do they frighten us? Because they are great and strong and wealthy. Of course, then, their greatness and strength and wealth are fundamental facts beyond dispute. No tariff law, of course, can be made which does not apply to all. Hence, if the tariff is so reformed that the big, strong, and wealthy corporations go to destruction, how are small ones to be saved? Really, to the calm and judicious mind this seems like free trade for its own sweet sake.

Protection in some lands may be the subject of discussion and debate. How it can be that in this country, and at this time, passes all understanding. In the United States the policy of protection has had a century and a quarter of alternate triumph and defeat. The triumph has always been followed by prosperity, the defeat by hard times. The last decade has been of striking example. We saw fit to try tariff reform in an act called the "Wilson Act." So prompt were the evidences of failure to meet the hopes of its framers that the country rose as one man, repealed the act, and substituted therefor the Dingley Act, which was the result of care and skill; and immediately there followed a demonstration of the advantages of protection the like of which was never seen, even in this country. Owing to a combination of circumstances we found other countries ready to take our surplus, and, owing to the fact that we had not fairly started our demands on our own workshops, we had a surplus to send abroad.

This large export trade was misunderstood. It only indicated that, with strong prices abroad, with England paralyzed by a strike, and with our own demand only just awakening, we could send many things abroad. It did not mean that we could always do this. It meant that the primacy was in sight, but not yet gained. When our own demand reached its proper increase we found we could not supply it. On the contrary, we used up not only what we made, but in the article of iron and steel alone we have imported in the last year a million tons. Unfortunately, our exports came at a time when we were expanding, and everybody's mind was filled with the idea that we could supply the world. The free traders seized upon this state of the public mind and declared that we needed protection no longer and that the tariff must be abandoned. This idea that protection is in the nature of medicine, to be dropped as soon as possible, is an idea we had better examine. What if it is food? The medicine notion comes from the early arguments for the selection of infant industries to be fostered and cherished.

Time and experience have enlarged that notion of protection. They have shown that protection is not a privilege, but a system. A privilege might be robbery. A system must justify itself by results. The principle which underlies protection is the securing at all times to the American people the markets of America. It means that the work of this nation shall be done by the people of this nation. All wealth comes from the marrying of labor to the

raw material. In a country like ours, extending over such vast regions, there can be no lack of materials. Any system which enables our people to do our own work is the system which can give, and has given, the best results. The enemy have all along sneered at the idea that taxes can make us rich. But this is simply to beguile by words. Would it be any less absurd to say that taxes gave us good currency? And yet they did. We tax State currency. We do not raise one cent by the tax; it simply bars out the State currency.

We used the tax as a way of accomplishing a result, as means to an end. In like manner we used the taxing power to create a barrier behind which we could do our own work. All the theorists, the men who thought there was nothing in the world they could not think of, declared that we would be ruined. We have not been ruined, but we are to-day a very lively example of a people who do their own work. What would you say was the ideal industrial condition of a nation? Everybody at work. Just now we have everybody at work. And yet we think we want something else. *If we keep on fussing we shall get it.* With all the world, except England, including her own colonies, of our opinion, with success embroidered on all our banners, we are invited to surrender our views and give place to a beaten world.

Why? *Simply because of that human unrest which is part of the history of the race.* We, being also of limited knowledge, are much given to be beguiled by generalities. Here is one line of generalities. "Is the Dingley tariff bill the end of wisdom? If not, then it can be improved. A tariff bill could be framed, we think, which would be free from all the errors of that celebrated bill and retain its virtues." Where would you enact such a bill? Why, *in your own mind, of course.* Unfortunately, a bill enacted in the mind has no extraterritorial force. A bill enacted by Congress, like the progress of the world, is the result of a fierce conflict of opposing human interests, and must be so. When men talk carelessly of tariff revision they talk of a tariff never yet established and one that never can be. *They dream of a tariff which exactly suits them individually, while a real tariff bill is one which measurably satisfies the country as a whole.*

But can we not have, sitting in perpetual session, a body of men nonpartisan, judicious, wise, and incorruptible? Yes, in your mind. You can have anything in your mind. Imagination is unlimited, and it is very delightful to wander round among possible impossibilities. *Just think of a nonpartisan free trader sitting on a tariff tax!* Of course, he would be above any prejudice—except his own. I saw one tariff commission sit in 1882, and its report was not enacted into law; but *all its mistakes were,* and the result was satisfactory to nobody.

What we had better do is to remember where we are and what our dangers are. Enterprises of business are not entered upon by helter-skelter. They are the result of calculation. One of the first inquiries of the promoter or maker is, how many of our present conditions are to remain? If there are to be uncertainties in the future he will not dare to act. What can you imagine that would dampen a business man's ardor more than to be called on to guess what a new tariff bill would be? The prophetic instinct in the human creature is there beyond its limit.

We ought to let the tariff alone; we ought to defend it against all comers for the good of the nation. We are doing more than well and need not hunt for disaster. That will come in due time.

Meanwhile, let us see what people are trying to do. Nobody dares to attack the tariff directly. Every effort against it is a flank attack. The tariff is to be changed, not because it has not produced prosperity, but because it has produced large corporations. We so hate and fear large corporations that we will destroy prosperity rather than not destroy them. To argue such a proposition would be a discredit to the American people. The most plausible attack has come from the demand for reciprocity.

In my judgment, it will be found that when the glittering generalities of reciprocity are refined down to actual statement of what is proposed, the American people will never have it. The history of reciprocity the world over has been that any treaty thus far devised has been one-sided, and the country losing has put an end to it. We tried it with Canada. Our export trade increased 13 per cent and theirs increased in eleven years 500 per cent. That treaty no longer exists. We had one with the Sandwich Islands, and on the average we gave them \$5,000,000 remitted sugar duties a year and sold them \$4,000,000 worth of goods. In other words, we gave them all our exports and a million dollars besides. This is what the friends of free trade were trying to do for Cuba when we were so apprehensive that the island would be ruined if we did not give in charity what had no foundation in justice.

Protection, I repeat, is a system, and is justifiable because it is of general application. The whole nation gets the benefit of it. If you will examine reciprocity in detail you will find that in nearly every case the national revenue is sacrificed for the benefit of individuals. Hawaii alone cost us one hundred and one millions of unrequited dollars. Perhaps it may be a consolation to know that our own citizens, temporarily expatriated, were thereby greatly enriched. This example has led our citizens in Cuba to hope for like results, and they, too, are eager for remitted duties. But the scheme has been exposed, and Republicans must be blind indeed if they surrender any jot or tittle of protection of the beet industry in order to bestow largess upon citizens who expatriate themselves, while we refuse it to farmers who till our own soil. The low price of sugar in Cuba is the same low price which pervades all the West Indies, and is caused by the substitution of the beet, a better sugar producer than the cane.

In a word, a great output of sugar lowers the price. Suppose a great grain crop sent prices down. Would we make it up to our farmers out of our Treasury? Of course not. If we can not do this thing to our farmers who stay at home, why should we do so to those who go abroad to develop other lands? When we recall the way in which Congress was made to believe that there was a great popular uprising in behalf of Cuba and contrast it with the disclosures since made, we are amazed. Cuba had promises. By whom they were made, what they were, and when, nobody could ever tell. Mayors of towns just ready to starve sent us messages, and ruin or immediate action were the only alternatives. The whole year has gone and no ruin has come. This was simply a flank attack on protection, and many men were beguiled who had been its staunch champions. For the Republicans to desert the beet-sugar interest is to desert the farmer in the one conspicuous and clear case where his industry is fostered. Under the tariff as it now is all the sugar needed for this country can be made by the people of this country. That is in accord with our system. It is a part of our system, and should not be abandoned until the rest of it is abandoned. When we throw our markets open to the world in all things, then it will be time to do it for sugar.

Let us put this into a few words of a practical character. We have a tariff carefully drawn, which has served us well. That tariff is only five years old. It has brought us away upon the hillside of success. It has no connection with great corporations, except what it has with small corporations and individuals. *No attack by repealing the Dingley Act can hurt one without hurting all.* Any disturbance of that kind would disturb trade in ways with which we are all too familiar.

A tariff bill at any time is not and can not be the creature of one mind. It means the result of a contest by all interests and all minds. Hence, whenever any man thinks of a tariff he would make, he always thinks of a tariff bill which will never be enacted.

There was once a President of the United States of great power and in-

fluence. For four years he had no Congress behind him, and he dreamed of such a tariff-reform law as would suit him. By and by he had a Congress of his own party, and he started in to make such a law as would please both gods and men. There are those who remember the dismal looks of the Members of the House when they yielded to the Senate, and the averted looks of the President as he let the bill pass by, unsigned and friendless. To those men it became apparent, as it should be to the whole world, that *the tariff enacted is always different from the act in your mind.* Is the Republican party ready to open the box, knowing that once it is opened only hope is left behind?

APPENDIX C.

DEMOCRACY AND THE TRUSTS.

By Hon. LESLIE M. SHAW.

One of the most effective speakers on public questions in the United States to-day is Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, who was for four years governor of the State of Iowa and who is now Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. Mr. Shaw has many of the mental attributes of Abraham Lincoln. He has the happy faculty of stating a large truth in such a way as to make it clear to the average mind. Like Lincoln, he finds his illustrations in everyday life; and, also like Lincoln, he has a fine sense of humor. Abraham Lincoln was often referred to as "the great convincer." Leslie M. Shaw has good claim to a similar title.

On Wednesday evening, March 23, 1904, Secretary Shaw delivered an address before the Young Men's Republican Club of Providence, R. I. In view of prospective talk relative to the so-called "trusts" on the part of our Democratic brethren in the coming campaign, I insert in the RECORD a part of the speech of Mr. Shaw. He said:

No sooner was the result of the merger case announced than the opposition inaugurated widely varying and inconsistent tactics to rob the Administration of the fruits of its victory. Some demanded the institution of similar suits against every large business and producing enterprise and every consolidation of railroad interests, whether of competing systems or of continuous lines.

The most amusing effort to avoid a comparison of Republican and Democratic Administrations, to the great advantage of the former, appears in a recent interview by ex-President Cleveland. He does not claim to have recommended any antitrust legislation during either of his Administrations. He does not claim that any antitrust legislation was passed during either of his Administrations. He does not claim credit for any litigation ever instituted to suppress any trust or combination during either of his Administrations. He simply seeks to explain why nothing was done, and he places the responsibility therefor upon the courts and the Constitution and upon the fact that the Northern Securities Company was not organized during his Administration.

I am very glad that the ex-President has again commenced to take notice, notwithstanding the McKelway letter. Eight years is a long time to remain in mourning. But now that he has voluntarily entered the lists and invited comparisons, he can not complain if comparisons be made.

Mr. Cleveland was first inaugurated President March 4, 1885. Neither in his inaugural address nor in any message does he mention the subject of trusts until immediately preceding the election of 1888. In his last message preceding that campaign he refers to the existence of "combinations frequently called trusts," and closes with this sage conclusion: "The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes."

He recommends no relief and suggests to remedy. Nevertheless, the Congress to which this comprehensive statement of fact was submitted, a majority of the Members of which belonged to his school of political thought, appointed a commission to investigate the subject. The purpose of the commission was to convince the people that their interests were not being neglected, at least during the campaign, and that if Mr. Cleveland was reelected some remedial legislation would follow. To that end this commission held meetings from time to time throughout the campaign. Mr. Cleveland was not reelected, however, but when Congress reconvened, in a paragraph of five lines, he refers to the subject of trusts, and closes with this sad and terrifying announcement: "Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law and the servants of the people, are fast becoming the people's masters." But he recommends no relief and suggests no possible way of escape.

Two days before the inauguration of President Harrison the commission to which I have referred made its report, setting forth what evidently appeared to the commission as a most deplorable condition:

"Your committee respectfully report that the number of combinations and trusts formed and forming in this country is, as your committee has ascertained, very large, and affects a large portion of the important manufacturing and industrial interests of the country. They do not report any list of these combinations, for the reason that new ones are constantly forming and old ones are constantly extending their relations so as to cover new branches of business and invade new territories."

Their words of encouragement which follow must be read in the light of the fact that two days later a Republican Congress, elected some months before, was to convene. Listen!

"Your committee further report that owing to present differences of opinion between the members of your committee they limit this report to submitting to the careful consideration of subsequent Congresses the facts shown by the testimony taken before the committee."

Both the President and the committee acknowledge the existence of harmful trusts and combinations, but neither holds forth to the people any ray of hope except at the hands of those who were about to fill their seats.

The Republican Congress was not long inactive. The very first bill introduced in the Senate of the Fifty-first Congress was John Sherman's antitrust bill, Senate File No. 1. It passed both Houses and received the signature of Benjamin Harrison.

The passage of this act was followed by several suits for its enforcement, and several decisions by the Supreme Court were secured, declaring it constitutional and applying it to various conditions. Then, on March 4, 1893, President Cleveland was again inaugurated, and in his inaugural address he refers to trusts, saying:

"These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power, the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions."

He suggests no modification of the Sherman Act, and recommends nothing in its place, but in harmony with the teachings of State sovereignty statesmanship, of which he always had been, and therefore always will be, a diligent student, he suggests that it is very doubtful whether the Federal Government has any jurisdiction in the premises.

That was in his inaugural address. He does not again refer to the subject of trusts in message or proclamation until December, 1896, after the election of William McKinley, when he can throw the responsibility upon another. In this, his last message, he denounces combinations of every description in language as intemperate and inflammatory as was ever employed by his party's more recent candidate for the Presidency. He says: "Their tendency is to crush out individual independence and to hinder and prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character."

He then discouraged Federal legislation by saying: "The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making the Federal authority supreme in its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that can not be transgressed. The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through Federal action unless they seek directly and purposely, to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between States or between the United States and foreign countries."

This, so far as the record shows, is his last utterance, official or otherwise, on the subject of trusts, until he explains, in his recent interview, the reason why nothing was done during either of his Administrations. While the platform on which he was elected the second time promised much in the way of antitrust legislation, nothing was done except to include in the tariff act of 1894 a provision rendering "null and void any combination, conspiracy, trust, agreement, or contract between two or more persons or corporations engaged in importing articles from any foreign country into the United States intended to operate in restraint of trade or to increase the market price of any imported article or any manufacture into which imported articles have entered."

Their sole legislation was against combinations of importers with intent to put up the price of imported goods. In no way, shape, or form did they seek to prohibit a combination of American manufacturers, producers, or transportation companies. It is needless to say that no effort has been or ever will be made to enforce this act, for it is directed against an imaginary evil. Importers may represent foreign trusts, but they do not combine in this country to increase the price of their imported wares. It was intended to please the people, and I see no reason to presume that any existing or contemplated trust was scared thereby.

And now I want to refer to the language of Mr. Cleveland's explanation for the sad neglect of his Administration as set forth in his authorized interview. He says:

"The question of the Government taking legal action against the so-called 'trusts' was given much consideration during my last Administration, from 1893 to 1897. I recall that I examined closely the law and received reports from Mr. Olney, who was then Attorney-General. I was most anxious to have something done, but we were blocked by decisions of the Supreme Court, which at that time tied our hands. * * * The decisions of the Supreme Court, as pointed out in my message, restricted our action against trusts unless they were engaged in interstate transportation. There was a distinct difference drawn between railroads and purely producing combinations. It could not be said that the sugar trust, or the beef trust, or the Standard Oil Company was directly engaged in interstate transportation."

I think Mr. Cleveland has overlooked the fact that Attorney-General Knox has at this time an injunction in full force against seven corporations, one copartnership, and twenty-three individuals engaged in the production and transportation of meats and meat products, restraining them, as the opinion shows, from requiring their purchasing agents to refrain from bidding against each other when making purchases; from bidding up the price of live stock for a few days to induce large shipments, and then ceasing to bid, so as to obtain live stock at prices less than it would bring in the regular way; from agreeing between themselves upon prices to be adopted by all; from restricting the quantities of meat to be shipped; from requiring their agents to impose uniform charges for cartage, and from making agreements with transportation companies for rebates and other discrimination rates.

Of course this action is based upon the allegation admitted in the demurrer, that these packing concerns are engaged not only in the production of articles entering into interstate commerce, but that the concerns are themselves engaged in interstate commerce. Admittedly the Federal Government has no jurisdiction to restrain combinations between individuals or corporations, except such as is derived under the provision of the Constitution giving Congress control of interstate and foreign commerce. Thus, what Mr. Cleveland just last week said can not be done is an accomplished fact, and the action was brought under the Sherman Act, a Republican measure, promised in a Republican platform, passed by a Republican Congress, signed by a Republican President, and enforced by a little giant under the direction of the present Republican President. And, while the case has been appealed, it stands and holds and will remain effective until reversed.

Nor is this all, nor the most astonishing feature of Mr. Cleveland's interview. In the closing paragraph he takes no small pains to explain why nothing was done during his Administration, and by so doing indorses, in the most emphatic language, what has been done by his successors. Without admitting the sufficiency of his explanation, it is quite gratifying to have so distinguished a person unqualifiedly approve the institution, the prosecution, and the result of the merger case. Listen to the explanation he gives for his own inactivity:

"There was then no opportunity to take any such action as this merger suit. The case did not present itself. If contracts existed among these business combinations for the restraint of trade, they were kept secret and no evidence offered itself on which to act. At that time this merger of railroads had not been formed, so that there was no action of this sort to take."

How unfortunate it is for so many of us that opportunities never present themselves in our times. Those who lived before us, and those who come after us, have great opportunities. Of all men we are most miserable. And so Mr. Cleveland bewails his misfortune, in much the same tone, if not in the same language, that Ben King employs:

"Jane Jones keeps talkin' to me all the time,
An' says you must make it a rule
To study your lessons 'nd work hard 'nd learn,
An' never be absent from school.
Remember the story of Elihu Burritt,
An' how he clum up to the top,
Got all the knowledge 'at he ever had
Down in a blacksmithing shop?
Jane Jones she honestly said it was so!
Mebbe he did—
I dunno!

O' course what's a-keepin' me 'way from the top
Is not never havin' no blacksmithing shop."

"She said 'at Columbus was out at the knees
When he first thought up his big scheme,
An' told all the Spaniards 'nd Italians, too,
An' all of 'em said 'twas a dream.
But Queen Isabella jest listened to him,
'Nd pawned all her jewels o' worth,
'Nd bought him the Santa Maria 'nd said,
'Go hunt up the rest of the earth!'
Jane Jones she honestly said it was so!
Mebbe he did—
I dunno!
O' course that may be, but then you must allow,
They ain't no land to discover jest now!"

APPENDIX D.

ROOSEVELT AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

[By Hon. ELIHU ROOT.]

President Roosevelt is a man who acts in the open. Having no purposes to serve except the good of the public, he has nothing to hide. He is positive in his convictions and persistent in carrying them into execution. To use his own phrase, he lives "the strenuous life." Like most positive men, he has warm friends and bitter enemies. He will undoubtedly be the Republican candidate for the Presidency. His personality and his record will constitute an important element in the campaign. We Republicans feel that we can well afford to accept the issue.

President Roosevelt and his Administration will be the theme of enthusiastic eulogy by Republicans and of bitter attack by Democrats. It will be worth while in this connection for the American people to read with care the estimate of President Roosevelt on the part of an able and honest man who thoroughly knows the President, both as a man and as an Executive.

On his return to New York, after resigning from the Secretaryship of War, Hon. Elihu Root was the guest of honor at a banquet given by the members of the Union League Club, of New York, on February 3, 1904. In responding to his welcome home it was natural that Mr. Root should refer to the life and the duties from which he had just retired. In a delightfully frank and informal way he gave to his old neighbors and friends who were assembled around that banquet board an account of his experiences as Secretary of War, which necessarily included glimpses of the Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt, in the Cabinets of both of whom he had served.

It is a pleasure for me to insert in the RECORD, as an appendix to my remarks, the address delivered by Mr. Root on that occasion. Mr. Root said:

Mr. President and old friends, it is good to be home again [applause], good to be back in the place about which are gathered the sacred associations that came to us in the flush of young manhood. One of you said to me to-night, taking my hand, in the other room: "You look like old times." Old times, I thought, are good enough for me. The dear old times that go back beyond the foundation of this already old clubhouse, so simple in comparison with the palaces of later years, and yet so dignified by high ideals—back to the old days, to the old place on Madison Square, where we felt the first strong impulse of the men who combined to save and perpetuate the Union. [Applause.]

And yet old times pass away. During the short period, less than five years since—being still your president, I was called from my home to help hold up the hands of our beloved President McKinley; during that short period how many a beloved face has vanished—Richard Butler, and Wales, and Dodge, and Fuller, and Everts, and many another we shall see no more; and I can't come back to join the friends of early youth, the friends and loyal associates of the long struggle of life, to march with them through the few short years that remain, without feeling that stirring of the heart which excludes the cold activity of the mind. I come back, my friends, with renewed devotion to the principles that underlie and justify and account for the existence of this club. [Applause.] I come back able to say to you that the closest and most intimate association with two great men who have held the Presidency of the United States, has brought not that contempt which is said sometimes to result from familiarity, but much increased respect for the dignity of the office, and increased confidence in the stability of the institutions which we love [applause], in a country which can bring to the seat of the Chief Magistrate men like them.

I come back from a position in which criticism of representative government, criticism of the legislative branch, is most easy and most natural, for the legislative branch of our Government is always a drag upon the exercise of executive power. The executive is always asking appropriations, asking enabling acts, which the legislative branch is unwilling to give; the executive is always open to the suggestion of unnecessary legislative delay and vacillation, and failure to appreciate the exigencies of government, failure to appreciate the importance of doing what, to the men who are charged with the duty of conducting the Government, seems of the highest importance.

And I come back also from a period of exercise of wide and arbitrary power, for no power on earth is so arbitrary, so despotic, as military power; that power which enables the man who exercises it, with a single stroke of the pen, to make laws and unmake them, to sit in judgment superior to every court, and to execute the laws he has made and the judgment he has pronounced. Yet I come back, I am glad to say to you who are wedded to the principles of popular liberty, with a deeper sense of the soundness and the beneficence of our system of representative government [applause], with a deeper sense that arbitrary power, swift and effective as it is in its operation, should always be a thing of temporary expedient, adapted only to the time of war, and ceasing always at the earliest possible moment [applause], and that the slow and tedious processes of discussion in our popular assemblies, the discussion that often seems to us to be unnecessary, is essential to the formation of equal laws, the preservation of liberty, and the advance of justice on earth. [Applause.]

Old times pass away, but the fabric of our free institutions stands. The majestic progress of this great people, growing ever in power and in influence throughout the world, continues. The impulse that came from the great struggle of the civil war has not spent itself. Public administration, I believe, grows purer and better; public servants more unselfish and public

spirited year by year. The people of our country conform, I believe, more closely, year by year, to the ideals of the fathers; and from close and intimate association, from careful observation of all branches of our Government, I come back to you to say that I believe that never before have the principles of this club, the principles of civil and religious liberty, the principles of government for the people and by the people, been more illustrated, more safely conserved, in the history of America, than they are now. [Applause.]

I have not felt away from home, I have not felt in a strange atmosphere, because during all this time I have been in an atmosphere of loyalty and self-devotion. You may study the history of all the Administrations from Washington down, and I challenge you to find in any a more complete loyalty and devotion to the President who had called the Cabinet together, to the principles of government which they were sworn to apply, than can be found among my associates in Washington during the Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt. [Applause.]

As we are growing old [cries of "Not yet!"], as we are winding up our lives, the country goes on, the great mission—liberty and justice—is working out toward its fulfillment. McKinley, dear to our hearts—dearer to mine than I ever believed any man could become after I had passed the meridian of life—has passed away, and another, a vigorous, virile member of this club, has taken his place.

The problems that seemed to hang over us at the close of the war with Spain have gone far toward solution. We of America have discovered that we, too, possess the supreme governing capacity, capacity not merely to govern ourselves at home, but that great power that in all ages has made the difference between the great and the small nations, the capacity to govern men wherever they were found. [Applause.] Men trained to arms, men belonging to the class whom the Anglo-Saxon race has from time immemorial looked upon with doubt and distrust, men from the Regular Army, going among alien peoples, exercising arbitrary power and supreme control, have shown themselves most adaptable, most sympathetic and appreciative, not only of rights, but of feelings and prejudices and idiosyncrasies. Our army officers have become collectors of customs and internal revenue, governors of provinces, commissioners of charities, superintendents of schools, teachers—teachers not merely from books, but teachers of the art of self-government—and in Porto Rico and Cuba and the Philippines they have proved themselves by the score, by the hundred, by the thousand, to be simple American citizens. Gold lace, epaulets, and stars count for nothing. American citizenship has been demonstrated [applause], and American citizenship as the citizenship which has deep down at its center love of justice, of human freedom, of equal opportunity, and of progress, and helpfulness and happiness for mankind. [Applause.]

So the problems that seemed dark and doubtful when the war with Spain closed have solved themselves through this working of a great multitude of Americans competent to govern. As your President has said, Porto Rico is a prosperous and happy community. Cuba, poor Cuba, that had struggled so long under intolerable oppression, has its star set in the firmament, and the new Republic governs itself upon the principles of American freedom—a new Republic that has set its star in the heavens to lead on the Republics of all Spanish America. And let me tell you that they see it in the heavens. All over Central and South America men are looking at Cuba and seeing what Spanish-Americans can do when they have once learned the lesson of American freedom ordered by law. [Applause.] And in the Philippines, where they knew not law—for there was no rule of law in the Philippines—where the poor little brown men had never heard of aught but arbitrary power, they are beginning to learn what liberty means. They never knew what it meant.

When they raised the cry of independence they did not know what it meant. They are beginning to learn, and I look forward to the time when the Philippines shall assume toward this country substantially the same relation that Cuba occupies to-day. This could never have been done but by the exercise of the power that rests in the word "sovereignty." We never could have rescued those people from the turmoil and welter of savagery, the succession of military dictatorship following military dictatorship, under which the great body of the people would have had no choice except of tyrants, but by the exercise of sovereignty; and through that sovereignty there has already dawned for the people of the Philippines the better day of liberty and law, which they are beginning to understand.

New issues have come. The old issues of five years ago have passed away. New questions are upon the horizon. But the principles and the character that were adequate to the old will be adequate to the new. We shall dig the canal. [Applause.] And under the same honest and unselfish rule that has brought liberty and law to Cuba and the Philippines by the peace, the prosperity, and the individual freedom that gather under our flag, guarding the neutrality of the Isthmus, we shall teach to the people of Central and South America the same lesson, and shall give to them an example of how freedom ought to be used; and from that center of high example will come greater blessings to the Spanish-American republics of Central and South America than they have ever yet realized from the unregulated freedom they won themselves from Spain. [Applause.]

I count it, my friends, one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been able, when that sad day came—the day that I can not recall without the deepest emotion, when our President McKinley was taken away—to have been able to stand by and hold up the hands of his true and loyal successor. [Applause.] I am told that he is not popular in the city of New York; that he, who was born and grew to manhood among us, old member of this club, who made his first essay in public life going to represent us in the legislature at Albany more than twenty years ago—that he is not popular here in the city of his home! I am told that some people say that he is not safe. I could not come back to you—come back to you between whom and me there have been no concealments for all these thirty-five years—and not say to you what I feel on that subject. Men say he is not safe. He is not safe for the men who wish to prosecute selfish schemes to public detriment. [Applause.] He is not safe for the men who wish government to be conducted with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good. [Applause, and cries of "Good!"] He is not safe for the men who wish to draw the President of the United States off into a corner and make whispered arrangements, which they dare not have known by their constituents.

But I say to you that he has been, during these years since President McKinley's death, the greatest conservative force for the protection of property and our institutions in the city of Washington. [Applause.] There is a better way to protect property, to protect capital, to protect great enterprises than by buying legislatures. ["Good!" and applause.] There is a better way to deal with labor and to keep it from rising into the tumult of the unregulated and resistless mob than by starving it or by corrupting its leaders. There are some things to be thought of besides the speculation of the hour. There is the great onward march of American institutions; there is the development of our social system; there is the underlying faith and trust of our people in the laws under which they live; and the man who is put in the chair of the Chief Magistrate of this great people, President not only of you and me here in New York, but of all the eighty millions of people scattered from sea to sea, charged under his high responsibilities so to administer the law that it shall have the respect and the confidence of the peo-

ple who make the law—he must take a view broader than the exigency of the moment, broader than the business of the individual; he must see to it that he goes with the people who make the law, guiding them with wisdom and with strength, and guiding them always by the confidence that they have in him and the laws that he executes.

I have said that President Roosevelt was the greatest conservative force for the protection of property and of capital in the city of Washington during the years that have elapsed since President McKinley's death. He has been that indeed. I could give you specific instances where he has stood between the wish of men in Congress, who greatly desired to pass extreme and violent measures, by the strong and unwavering declaration, "I will veto your bill if you pass it;" and he has been able to do that because he was so fair, so appreciative of the rights and the feelings of every part of the great people whose President he was, that they trusted him, and he dared to say, "I will veto an unfair measure against capital." [Applause.]

I have said there was a better way to protect capital than by buying legislatures; that there was a better way to deal with labor, and to keep it from becoming a mob, than by starving it. That way is that capital shall be fair; that taking all the high rewards of brain—of the inventive, discovering, organizing brain, all the rich, the magnificent rewards that come in this country of enterprise and boundless wealth to the brain that invents, that discovers, and that organizes—yet capital shall be fair; fair to the consumer, fair to the laborer, fair to the investor; that it shall concede that the laws shall be executed [applause]; that its treatment of the laborer shall be so fair that the reasonable and most intelligent men among the laborers of our country shall have their hands held up, their strength increased, their power to lead their fellows supported, and that they shall be enabled to hold the labor of America solid for American freedom, and believing in American freedom as against the demagogue and the agitator who seeks to turn labor into a mob. [Applause.] Never forget that the men who labor cast the votes, set up and pull down governments, and that our Government is possible, the perpetuity of our institutions is possible, the continued opportunity for enterprise, for the enjoyment of wealth, for individual liberty, is possible only so long as the men who labor with their hands believe in American liberty and American laws. [Applause.]

And I say to you, my friends of The Union League Club, that our present President has, by fairness, by just sympathy with all his people, acquired the power to do more for the protection of the material interests, and for the spiritual interests of our country as well, than any man could ever have acquired by following the dictates of a narrow and limited view, which looked only to the speculation of the day, or the interests of particular enterprises. [Applause.]

The history of mankind is a history of growth in power, and growth in wealth, and growth in luxury, and then decay! And then despotism, alternating with anarchy! Take the large view of the statesman, and think of the future of America! The one thing that is needed is not what you and I will make to-morrow, not the success of this or that corporation for next year, or the next ten years, or during our lifetime, but for the perpetuity of our institutions, that our children and our children's children may live among a people devoted to American freedom and American justice. One thing necessary for that is that the great toiling mass of the American people shall feel that laws are just and justly administered; that every boy has his chance for the future, that the pathway to riches, and honor, and fame, and power is open to him; that no class, be it consolidated by the unfairness of capital, be it consolidated by the unwise excesses of labor, shall bar him from the noblest birthright of liberty. [Applause.] And it is that—it is that supreme and sacred interest that Theodore Roosevelt has been safeguarding in these years. [Applause.]

Property should be protected, capital should be preserved, enterprise should be fostered, liberty should be protected, the laboring man should have his fair wage. Yes! Yes! But for the sacred interests that gave birth to this club, for the perpetuity of the institutions which we love, for our children's children's sake, the one thing needful is that truth and honor and the eyes of the President of the United States; that the boys of America shall believe that the honest man, that the true man, that the loyal man, has honor in this land; that no arts of the politician, that no cajolery of wealth, that no social influence, that nothing but faithfulness to the duty of truth and honor and justice shall receive the supreme reward, shall win the great prize of popular approval, and shall rivet the esteem and the affection of the men of America. And I would rather have my boys taught to think that the finest thing in life is the honesty and frankness, the truth and loyalty, the honor and the devotion to his country of Theodore Roosevelt than to have them in possession of all the wealth in this great metropolis. [Applause.]

We are passing! This club goes on. Our country goes on. Whether the standards be low or high, whether they be the standards of the hour's expediency or the standards of civilization's progress, time only can tell; but that they shall be the latter, the work of Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, is more weighty than that of any one, of any score of all of his detractors put together. [Loud applause and "Three cheers for President Roosevelt."]

APPENDIX E.

PANAMA AND THE CANAL.

[By Hon. ELIHU ROOT.]

It will be remembered that three score years ago, in the campaign of 1844, Henry Clay, at that time the idol of a large part of the American people, was defeated for the Presidency by James K. Polk, who was a man whose opinions on public questions were comparatively little known. It will be recalled that on the tariff, then as now the paramount issue, the Democratic party took a position which meant one thing in the South and another and different thing in the North. The indications are that our Democratic brethren will this year make a desperate effort to win the election by the same general plan.

It will be remembered, also, that in order to divert attention somewhat from the tariff question our Democratic brethren in 1844 made considerable ado over the question of our northwest boundary. The effort was successfully made to stir the public pulse and arouse enthusiasm for the Democratic candidates by the use of the alliterative battle cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight." But, as usual, Democratic performances did not square with Democratic promises—more's the pity! The indications are that our Democratic brethren will this year seek to divert attention from the tariff question by directing the eyes of the country not to the northwest, as then, but to the south—to Panama.

In view of this probability I deem it an honor to insert in the RECORD, as an appendix to my remarks, a clear and comprehensive statement of the whole Panama matter by the Hon. Elihu Root, who recently resigned from the Cabinet of President Roosevelt, after more than four years of distinguished service as Secretary of War.

Following is an address delivered by Mr. Root in Chicago on February 22 last, in connection with the exercises in honor of Washington's birthday:

On the 3d of November, 1903, the people of Panama revolted against the Government of Colombia and proclaimed their independence. On the 13th of November the United States recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama by receiving a minister from the new Government, and at the opening of the regular session of Congress in December the President asked the consent of the Senate to a treaty negotiated between our Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, and the minister of Panama, Mr. Varilla, providing for the construction by the United States of a ship canal across the Isthmus, to be kept by us open, neutral, and free upon equal terms for the use of all mankind. After long and exhaustive discussion that treaty is about to be confirmed. In the meantime, the Senate by a great majority has approved the recognition of independence by confirming the nomination of William I. Buchanan as minister from the United States to Panama.

The revolutionary leaders have submitted their action to the people of Panama, who have, by a popular vote, given it their unanimous approval, and have elected a constitutional convention, framed and adopted a constitution, chosen a President and Congress, and established a Republican Government according to the forms which find their model in the constitutions of our own country. In the meantime, also, many other governments have followed the United States in receiving the new Republic into the family of nations. On the 18th of November, five days after our recognition, France recognized the Republic of Panama; on the 22d, China; on the 27th, Austria; on the 30th, Germany; and following them Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Nicaragua, Peru, Cuba, Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Costa Rica, Japan, Guatemala, Netherlands, Venezuela, Portugal, in the order named.

The independence of Panama, the grant to the United States of the right to construct the canal across the Isthmus, and the assumption by the United States of the duty to construct the canal and to maintain it for the equal benefit of mankind, are accomplished facts. Nothing can do away with them unless it be some future war of conquest waged against the liberties of Panama and at the same time against the rights of the United States held in trust for the commerce of the world.

The conduct of the United States Government in recognizing the independence of Panama, in making the treaty, and in exercising police power over territory traversed by the Panama Railroad and the partly constructed canal during the period of revolution has been severely criticised by some of our own citizens, who have said, in substance, that in this business our Government has violated the rules of international law, has been grasping and unfair, and has by the exercise of brute force trampled down the rights of the weaker nation, in violation of those principles of justice which should control the conduct of nations as of men.

In considering these charges we may well thrust aside as carrying no weight of authority the expressions of those who, while they condemn the conduct of our Government, are in favor of the treaty. They curiously reverse the divine rule, and seem to hate the sinner while they love the sin, and their adverse criticism may fairly be ascribed to the exigencies of the pending Presidential campaign. Some of them may be sincere, but upon that question they naturally invite the comment made upon Lady Macbeth, that "she might be a lady, but she did not show it by her conduct."

We need not pay very much heed either to that class of temperamental and perennial faultfinders whom we have and always will have with us, as an incident of free institutions, who are against every government of which they do not personally form a part, and in whose eyes everything done by others is wrong. This class of our citizens, with slight changes in personnel, would have condemned any course of conduct by our Government, whatever it was, and their condemnation of the particular course followed merely announces their existence.

Nevertheless, there remain good and sincere men and women who have thought our course to be wrong, and many others, whose character and patriotism entitle them to the highest respect, are troubled in spirit. They would be glad to be sure that our country is not justly chargeable with dishonorable conduct. May the time never come when such men and women are wanting, or are constrained to remain silent, in America! May the time never come when the conscience of America shall cease to apply the rules of upright conduct to national, as well as to personal, life! When our Governments feel absolved from the obligation to answer in that forum for conformity to the rules of right, or when material advantage shall be held to excuse injustice! For if such a time ever does come the beginning of the end of our free institutions will have come also.

I wish to present some of the fundamental facts bearing upon the question of right in the Panama business, although they have been stated already better than I can state them, with the hope that they may thus reach the attention of some of the good and sincere citizens who are troubled about the matter.

I am not going to discuss technical rules or precedents or questions whether what was done should have been done a little earlier or a little later, but the broad question whether the thing we have done was just and fair.

It frequently happens in affairs of government that most important rights are created, modified, or practically destroyed by gradual processes, and by the indirect effect of events; and that only an intimate knowledge of the process enables one to realize the change until some practical question arises which requires everyone interested to study the subject.

If the typical New Zealander, ignorant of our political history, were to read our Constitution and laws, he would suppose that a Presidential elector in the United States is entitled to exercise freedom of choice in his vote for President, and he would be quite certain that we were guilty of gross injustice in the treatment which we should certainly accord to an elector who voted for anyone but the candidate of his own party. In forming this judgment he would be misled by the form and appearance of things which he found upon the statute book, and would misjudge a people who were acting in accordance with the substance and reality of things as they knew them to be. In the same way they are in error who assume that the relations of Colombia to the other nations of the earth as regards the Isthmus of Panama were, in truth, of unequalled sovereignty and right of domestic control according to her own will, governed and protected by the rules of international law, which describes the attributes of complete sovereignty; that the relations of Colombia to the people of Panama were, in truth, those appearing in the written instrument called the constitution of Colombia; or that the rights and duties of the United States in regard to the Isthmus were confined to the simple duty of aiding Colombia to maintain her control over the Isth-

mus, and the simple right to ask from Colombia privileges which that country was entitled to grant or withhold at her own pleasure.

The stupendous fact that has dominated the history and must control the future of the Isthmus of Panama is the possibility of communication between the two oceans. It is possible for human hands to pierce the narrow 40 miles of solid earth which separate the Caribbean from the Bay of Panama, to realize the dreams of the early navigators to make the pathway to the Orient they vainly sought to relieve commerce from the toils and perils of its 9,000 miles of navigation around Cape Horn, through stormy seas and along dangerous coasts, with its constant burden of wasted effort and shipwreck and loss of life, and to push forward by a mighty impulse that intercommunication between the distant nations of the earth which is doing away with misunderstanding, with race prejudice and bigotry, with ignorance of human rights and opportunity for oppression, and making all the world kin.

Throughout the centuries since Philip II sat upon the throne of Spain, merchants and statesmen and humanitarians and the intelligent masses of the civilized world have looked forward to this consummation with just anticipations of benefit to mankind. No savage tribes who happened to dwell upon the Isthmus would have been permitted to bar this pathway of civilization. By the universal practice and consent of mankind they would have been swept aside without hesitation. No Spanish sovereign could, by discovery or conquest, or occupation, preempt for himself the exclusive use of this little spot upon the surface of the earth dedicated by nature to the use of all mankind. No civil society organized upon the ruins of Spanish dominion could justly arrogate to itself over this tract of land sovereignty unqualified by the world's easement and all the rights necessary to make that easement effective. The formal rules of international law are but declarations of what is just and right in the generality of cases. But where the application of such a general rule would impair the just rights or imperil the existence of neighboring states or would unduly threaten the peace of a continent or would injuriously affect the general interests of mankind, it has always been the practice of civilized nations to deny the application of the formal rule and compel conformity to the principles of justice upon which all rules depend. The Danubian principalities, and Greece, and Crete, and Egypt, the passage of the Dardanelles, and the neutralization of the Black Sea are familiar examples of limitations in derogation of those general rules of international law which describe the sovereignty of nations.

The Monroe doctrine itself, upon which we stand so firmly, is an assertion of our right for our own interest to interfere with the action of every other nation in those parts of this hemisphere where others are sovereign and where we have no sovereignty or claim of sovereignty, and to say if you do thus and so, even by the consent of the sovereign, we shall regard it as an unfriendly act, because it will affect us injuriously. It is said that the Monroe doctrine is not a rule of international law. It is not a rule at all. It is an assertion of a right under the universal rule that all sovereignty is held subject to limitations in its exercise arising from just interests of other nations.

By the rules of right and justice universally recognized among men and which are the law of nations, the sovereignty of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama was qualified and limited by the right of the other civilized nations of the earth to have the canal constructed across the Isthmus and to have it maintained for their free and unobstructed passage.

Colombia and her predecessor, New Granada, have not failed at times to recognize their position. In 1846 New Granada, through her secretary of foreign relations, Mr. Mallarino, applied to the Government of the United States to enter into a treaty which should protect that country against the seizure of the Isthmus by other foreign powers. In effect, she acknowledged the right of way and asked the United States to become the trustee of that right which qualified her sovereignty, to maintain it for the equal benefit of all nations and at the same time protect her against its exercise by them in such a manner as to destroy her sovereignty altogether. After describing acts which he conceived to be undue encroachments by Great Britain in South America, Mallarino said:

"And if the usurpation of the Isthmus in its channelizable portion should be added to these encroachments the empire of American commerce it is strictly useful or mercantile sense would fall into the hands of the only nation that the United States can consider as a badly disposed rival. It would be perfectly superfluous to mention the political consequences that would be entailed upon America. This dominion or ascendancy would be equally ruinous to the commerce of the United States and to the nationality of the Spanish American Republics, most direful for the causes of democracy in the New World, and a constant cause of disturbance of the public peace in this our continent.

"From these facts and general considerations may be inferred the urgent necessity in which the United States are of interposing their moral influence and even their material strength between the weakness of the new republics and the ambitious views of the commercial nations of Europe. * * * This end is simply and naturally to be obtained by stipulating in favor of the United States a total repeal of the differential duties as a compensation for the obligation they imposed upon themselves of guaranteeing the legitimate and complete or integral possession of those portions of territory that the universal mercantile interests require to be free and open to all nations. * * * When a treaty containing such a stipulation shall exist between New Granada and the United States, and it could be completed and perfected by a subsequent and supplementary convention, in which the transit of the interoceanic passage should be arranged and its permanent neutrality confirmed, half the plans of Great Britain would of themselves fail and it would no longer be possible for her to encroach upon the Isthmus."

He said he assumed that the United States would in the proposed treaty "guarantee to New Granada the Isthmus or at least as much of it as was required for the construction of a canal or railroad upon the most favorable route; and, moreover, that it was important that this guaranty should appear in the treaty as a condition for the right of way and the abolition of the discriminating differential duties, otherwise New Granada would be obliged to grant the same privileges unconditionally to England."

And he appealed to the declaration of the Monroe doctrine, reiterated by President Polk to the Congress of 1845-46, as the basis of his request. Upon this appeal the treaty of December 12, 1846, between the United States and New Granada was made and signed in behalf of Colombia by Secretary Mallarino, whose words I have quoted. The thirty-fifth article of the treaty contained the following provision:

"The Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may hereafter be constructed shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States. * * * And in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages and for the favors they have acquired by the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada by the present stipulation the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the free transit from the one to the other may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and in consequence the United States also

guarantees in the same manner the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

In transmitting this treaty to the Senate on the 10th of February, 1847, President Polk made these observations:

"1. The treaty does not propose to guarantee a territory to a foreign nation in which the United States will have no common interest with that nation. On the contrary, we are more deeply and directly interested in the subject of this guaranty than New Granada herself or any other country.

"2. The guaranty does not extend to the territories of New Granada generally, but is confined to the single province of the Isthmus of Panama, where we shall acquire by the treaty a common and coextensive right of passage with herself.

"3. It will constitute no alliance for any political object, but for a purely commercial purpose, in which all the navigating nations of the world have a common interest."

You will perceive that in this transaction New Granada recognized the subordination of her sovereignty to the world's easement of passage by railroad or by canal, and, apprehending that other nations might seek to exercise that right through the destruction of her sovereignty and the appropriation of her territory, she procured the United States to assume the responsibility of protecting her against such treatment. The United States assumed that burden and by way of consideration—

First, The United States received an express grant of the right of way which President Polk described as constituting a "common and coextensive right of passage with New Granada herself," and as making the United States "more deeply and directly interested in the subject of this guaranty than New Granada herself or any other country."

Second, The United States received a grant of power and assumed a duty herself to keep the transit free and uninterrupted and unembarrassed, and to keep the territory of the transit neutral.

The duties assumed by the United States to maintain neutrality and free passage were undertaken for the benefit of all the world. The right to maintain free passage was, however, not merely for the general benefit, but was specifically declared to be "in order to secure to themselves (the United States) the tranquil and constant enjoyment" of the right of way. The United States assumed the burden of protecting New Granada against an unjust exercise of the world's right of passage. She assumed the correlative duty of safeguarding the just exercise of the world's right of passage and she acquired for herself a specific grant of the right of way and the power to exercise for her own benefit in that territory the functions of sovereignty which were necessary for the peaceable enjoyment of the interest thus acquired by her.

Both countries have agreed in the construction that this treaty imposed upon the United States no duty toward Colombia to help her to put down domestic insurrection. With that form of assault upon the sovereignty of Colombia the United States has had no concern, except when it tended to interfere with free transit, and then the action of the United States has been, not in the exercise of a duty toward Colombia, but in the protection of her own rights.

Throughout the half century past since the treaty was made, the United States has been faithful to her obligations. The distinct announcement of her protection and her constantly increasing power have been an adequate barrier against foreign aggression upon the Isthmus. In all the long and monotonous series of revolutions and rebellions in which Colombia from the beginning showed herself wholly incapable of maintaining order, United States sailors and marines have policed the railroad, its terminal cities, and its harbors—sometimes by Colombia's request and sometimes without it—prohibiting action sometimes by the forces of the party in power and sometimes by the forces of the party out of power, but always enforcing peace upon the line of transit. In a long and unbroken series of formal binding official declarations by nearly every Administration for more than half a century, we have committed our country, as a matter of traditional policy, to the execution of the trust to protect and control the passage of the Isthmus for the equal uses of all nations.

It will be observed that one effect of the treaty of 1846 was that foreign powers were to be excluded from the opportunity to construct the canal themselves. It followed from this that if private enterprise should fail to build the canal, the United States assumed the obligation to build it herself. We could not play dog in the manger on the Isthmus. We could not refuse to permit the work to be done by anyone else competent to do it and refuse the burden ourselves. The obligation of the United States to build the canal and the obligation of Colombia to permit her to build it both followed necessarily from the relations and obligations assumed by them in the treaty of 1846.

Private enterprise has failed to build the canal. The great French company organized by de Lesseps, after spending and wasting an incredible amount of treasure and after the sacrifice of thousands of lives, has abandoned hope of completing the undertaking. No private company again will grapple with the colossal enterprise. Other nations are excluded from the attempt by the force of our agreement with Colombia. If the canal is to be built, we must build it.

The United States has answered to that obligation. Again upon the request of Colombia, she entered upon the negotiation of the further treaty described by the Granadian secretary, Mallerino, in 1846, as "a subsequent and supplementary convention, in which the transit of the interoceanic passage should be arranged and its permanent neutrality confirmed."

Colombia stood to profit more by the building of that canal than any other nation upon earth. Her territory, stretching across the northwestern end of South America, was without internal communication or unity. Her principal towns upon her Atlantic and her Pacific coasts were separated by ranges of lofty mountains not traversed by any railroad, and for the most part without roads of any kind. The building of a canal would, for the first time, establish practical and easy communication between her different provinces.

The work of construction would bring enormous sums to be expended in her territory, and the operation of the canal would set Colombia upon a great highway of the world's commerce, with incalculable opportunities for development and wealth. She had acknowledged the world's right to the canal. She had specifically granted the right of way to the United States. She had induced the United States to assume the moral obligation for its construction by excluding all other nations from the Isthmus for her protection. When she came to settle the terms of this "supplementary convention," the detailed arrangements under which this enormous benefit might be conferred upon mankind, and especially upon herself, she demanded to be paid.

Reluctantly, and with a sense that it was unjust exaction, the United States agreed to pay \$10,000,000 down, and \$250,000 per annum in perpetuity—substantially the entire amount exacted by Colombia. We were not going into the enterprise to make money, but for the common good. We did not expect the revenues of the canal to repay its cost, or to receive any benefit from it, except that which Colombia would share to a higher degree than ourselves.

Against the hundreds of millions which we were obligating ourselves to expend, Colombia was expected only to permit the use of a small tract of other-

wise worthless land already, in substance, devoted to that purpose. We were not seeking a privilege which Colombia was entitled to withhold, but setting the method in which the acknowledged right of mankind over a portion of her soil should be exercised, with due regard to her special interests. It was not just that we should pay anything, but it was better to pay than to coerce a weaker nation. The treaty was ratified by the Senate and forwarded to Bogota. At the same time we arranged that upon the final ratification of the treaty we should pay to the Panama Canal Company \$40,000,000, the entire appraised value of its work upon the canal, in which it had expended nearly \$20,000,000. The concessions made in the treaty to the Government of Colombia, however, seemed merely to inspire in that Government a belief that there was no limit to the exactions which they could successfully impose. They demanded a further \$10,000,000 from the Panama Canal Company, and upon its refusal they rejected the treaty.

This rejection was a substantial refusal to permit the canal to be built. It appears that the refusal contemplated not merely further exactions from us, but the spoliation of the canal company. That company's current franchise was limited by its terms to the 31st day of October, 1904. There was an extension for six years granted by the President and for which the company had paid 5,000,000 francs. These patriots proposed to declare the extension void and the franchise ended and to confiscate the \$40,000,000 worth of property of the company and take from the United States for themselves, in payment for it, the \$40,000,000 we had agreed to pay the company. The report of the committee on which the Colombian Senate acted contained the following:

"By the 31st of October of next year—that is to say, when the next Congress shall have met in ordinary session—the extension will have expired, and every privilege with it. In that case the Republic will become the possessor and owner, without any need of a previous judicial decision and without any indemnity, of the canal itself, and of the adjuncts that belong to it, according to the contracts of 1878 and 1900.

"When that time arrives, the Republic, without any impediment, will be able to contract and will be in more clear, more definite, and more advantageous possession, both legally and materially. The authorizations which would then be given by the next Congress would be very different from those that would be given by the present one."

By becoming a party to this scheme we might indeed have looked forward to the time when the appetite of Colombia being satisfied at the expense of the unfortunate stockholders of the French company, we could proceed with the work, but such a course was too repugnant to the sense of justice that obtains in every civilized community to be for a moment contemplated. We had yielded to the last point beyond reason and justice in agreeing to pay for a privilege to which we were already entitled, and we could not with self-respect submit to be mulcted further. We could negotiate no further. Rejection of the treaty was practically a veto of the canal. Every effort was made to bring Colombia to a realization of what it was that she was doing. The effort was in vain, and on the 31st of October, when the Colombian Congress adjourned, the inchoate treaty had expired by limitation.

The questions presented to the United States by this rejection were of the gravest importance. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, said in 1858:

"The progress of events has rendered the interoceanic route across the narrow portion of Central America vastly important to the commercial world, and especially to the United States, whose possessions extend along the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, and demand the speediest and easiest modes of communication. While the rights of sovereignty of the States occupying this region should always be respected, we shall expect that these rights be exercised in a spirit befitting the occasion and the wants and circumstances that have arisen. Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments, even if administered with more regard to the just demands of other nations than they have been, would be permitted in a spirit of eastern isolation to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world and justify the act by the pretension that these avenues of trade and travel belong to them and that they choose to shut them, or what is almost equivalent, to encumber them with such unjust relations as would prevent their general use."

The time had apparently come to stand upon this declaration or abandon the canal. The question was, should we submit to be deprived of the canal at the will of Colombia, whose sovereignty was justly subject to the world's passage? Should we continue to maintain upon the Isthmus that feeble sovereignty whose existence had depended for half a century upon our protection, in order that it might still bar the way of the world's progress and the exercise of our just rights? Should we prepare to protect that sovereignty, in its scheme of spoliation, against the justly indignant protests of France surely coming to the support of the stockholders of the French canal company? Or should we say to Colombia, you have no right to prevent the construction of this canal; you are bound to consent to it upon reasonable terms; by your request we have assumed a position in which we are bound to build it for the use of the nations, and in which we are entitled to build it for our own interest, and we shall now proceed to build it with due regard for your interest, whether you agree upon the terms and conditions or not.

I think that Secretary Cass answered the question forty-five years ago. In Europe a concert of the powers would have made short work of the question. In Central America they would have made short work of it but for the Monroe doctrine, to which New Granada appealed, and the protection which we guaranteed to her under the treaty of 1846. By the assertion of that doctrine and the engagements of that treaty we took the responsibility upon ourselves alone to do for civilization what otherwise all the maritime powers would have united in requiring; it was for us alone to act, and I have no question that our right and duty were to build the canal, with or without the consent of Colombia.

These were the conditions existing when the revolution of November 3 happened. To an understanding of that revolution a knowledge of the character and history of Panama is essential. Some uninformed persons have assumed that it was merely a number of individual citizens of Colombia living in the neighborhood of the proposed canal who combined to take possession of that part of Colombian territory and set up a government of their own. No conception could be more inadequate. The sovereign State of Panama was an organized civil society possessed of a territory extending over 400 miles in length from Costa Rica on the west to the mainland of South America on the east. It had a population of over 300,000, the greater part of whom lived in the western part of the country toward Costa Rica and farthest removed from South America. Between the inhabited part of this territory and inhabited part of Colombia stretched hundreds of miles of tropical forest so dense as to be impassable by the ordinary traveler, so that there was no communication by land between the two countries. The only intercourse was by long sea voyages, as if Panama were a distant island; and the journey from the Isthmus to the capital of Colombia was longer in time than from the Isthmus to Washington.

Panama was not an original part of Colombia, or of New Granada, but obtained its own independence from Spain, and established its own Government in November, 1821, and thereafter voluntarily entered the Granadian confederation. When that confederation was broken up into Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada in 1830, Panama remained with New Granada, and so continued until the year 1840, when she again became independent

and remained a separate sovereignty until 1842. She then returned to New Granada and remained a part of that country until 1853, when by amendment to the constitution these provisions went into effect:

"ART. 1. The territory which comprises the provinces of the Isthmus of Panama, to wit, Panama, Ezucero, Veraguas, and Chiriqui, form a sovereign, federal, integral part of New Granada under the name of the State of Panama."

"ART. 3. The State of Panama is subject to that of New Granada in the matters which are here mentioned:

- "1. All matters concerning foreign relations.
- "2. Organization and service of the regular army and of the marines.
- "3. Federal finances.
- "4. Naturalization of foreigners.
- "5. Official weights, balances, and measures.

"ART. 4. In all other matters of legislation and administration the State of Panama shall legislate freely in the manner it considers proper in accordance with the rules of practice of its own constitution."

Since that time, now nearly fifty years ago, the State of Panama has never voluntarily surrendered her sovereignty. In 1858, in 1860, and in 1861 new confederations were formed in which Panama became a contracting party. In 1863 a new constitution was formed, the first two articles of which were as follows:

"ART. 1. The sovereign States of Antioquia, Bolivar, Boyaca, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Magdalena, Panama, Santander, and Tolima, created respectively by the acts of the 27th of February, 1855; 11th of June, 1856; 13th of May, 1857; 15th of June of the same year; 12th of April, 1861, and 3d of September of the same year, unite and confederate forever, consulting their external security and reciprocal aid, and form a free, sovereign, and independent nation under the name of the 'United States of Colombia.'"

"ART. 2. The said States engage to aid and defend themselves mutually against all violence that may injure the sovereignty of the Union or that of the States."

This constitution undertook to distribute general and local powers between the Federal and the State governments upon the principles followed in the Constitution of the United States. But it provided:

"ART. 25. Every act of the National Congress or of the executive power of the United States, which shall violate the rights warranted in the fifteenth article, or attack the sovereignty of the States, shall be liable to abrogation by the vote of the latter expressed by the majority of their respective legislatures."

And it provided that it could be amended only in the following manner:

"1. That the amendments be solicited by the majority of the legislatures of the States:

- "2. That the amendments be discussed and approved in both houses, according to what has been established for the enactment of laws; and
- "3. That the amendments be ratified by the unanimous votes of the senate of plenipotentiaries, each State having one vote.

"It may also be amended by a convention called therefor by the Congress on the application of the whole of the legislatures of the States, and composed of an equal number of deputies from each State."

Under this constitution Mr. King, the American minister at Bogota, reported to the Secretary of State at Washington:

"The States comprising the union were vested with absolute and unqualified sovereignty. From them emanated all authority, and without their assent none could be exercised by the Federal functionaries of the nation."

Under that constitution the sovereign State of Panama lived in confederation with the other States of Colombia for twenty-three years, until the year 1863. She never legally lost her rights under that constitution, but she was deprived of them, in fact, by force in the manner which I shall now describe.

In the year 1863 Rafael Nunez, having been elected President of the Confederation of Colombia under the constitution of 1863, undertook to govern in disregard of constitutional limitations and was resisted in many parts of Colombia, including Panama. The resistance was overcome, and when that was accomplished Nunez declared "The constitution of 1863 no longer exists." He put Panama under martial law, not during the civil war, but after its close, and appointed a governor of the State. He also appointed governors for the other States in the confederation. He then directed these governors to appoint delegates to a constitutional convention, and the delegates thus appointed framed what is known as the "constitution of 1886."

The two delegates appointed to represent Panama in this convention were residents of Bogota. Neither of them had ever resided in Panama, and one of them never had set foot in Panama. The pretended constitution thus framed by the appointees of Nunez was declared to be adopted without compliance with a single one of the requisites prescribed by the constitution of 1863 for its amendment. It robbed the people of Panama of every vestige of self-government. It gave them a governor to be appointed by the President at Bogota, and he in turn appointed all the administrative officers of the department. It left to the other States their legislatures, but it took away from Panama its legislature and subjected the Isthmus directly in all things to the legislative authority of the Congress of Bogota. It provided that the President might at any time in case of civil commotion declare the public order to be disturbed, and that he should thereupon have authority to issue decrees having the force of legislative enactments. It gave him absolute power over the press, and power to imprison or expatriate any citizen at will. It took away the property, the powers, the corporate existence, the civil organization of the State, and placed the property and the lives of its people absolutely under the authority and power of a single dictator in a distant capital, with which there was no communication by land, and which it required longer to reach than it did to reach the city of Washington. This pretended constitution was never submitted to the people of Panama for their approval or rejection. It was never consented to by them. Our minister at Bogota, Mr. King, closed his dispatch describing the new instrument with these words:

"No generous mind can contemplate the disasters which have befallen this people, or meditate on the ills that may flow from their reckless experiment of violent political change, without feeling a deep sorrow for the pains endured by a weak and long-suffering race, who mourn the destruction of their chartered rights as the loss of a cherished freedom that must be recovered at the cost of every peril."

In an address made by President Nunez to this convention of his own appointees, he indicated clearly the way in which he proposed to make the new constitution effective in Panama. He said:

"To what has been stated is added the necessity of maintaining for some time a strong army, which shall serve as a material support to the acclimatization of peace, which can not be produced instantaneously by a system of government little in harmony with the defective habits acquired in so many years of error. The State of Panama alone requires a large and well-paid garrison, in order that acts may not again occur endangering our sovereignty; without such precaution excluding the most certain one, which is the prudent cultivation of our relations with the North American Government, which has just given us clear evidence of its good faith."

The evidence of good faith to which he referred was that our armed forces had just turned the Isthmus over from the control of the troops of Panama to the control of the troops of Nunez, and the meaning was that he intended

to hold the people of Panama subject by force of arms and the aid of the United States.

In May, 1886, our consul at Panama reported to the State Department: "The people of the Isthmus are ground down by excessive taxation, and they fear to acquire property lest they shall not only be robbed by the tax gatherers, but also imprisoned to cloak the robbery under a false charge. At the present time the revenue derived from the cities of Panama and Colon and intermediary villages is at the rate of \$1,000,000 a year. Not one-tenth of this revenue is spent for the benefit of the people. It is used to keep the forces to keep them in subjection."

On the 24th of December, 1883, four months after the promulgation of the Constitution, he reported:

"Three-fourths of the people of this Isthmus desire separation and the independence of the extinguished State of Panama. They feel but little more affection for the governor at Panama than the Poles did forty years ago for their masters at St. Petersburg. They would revolt if they could get arms and if they felt that the United States would not interfere."

A signed article published in the newspaper *El Relator*, of Bogota, sums up the story of oppression and spoliation under which the people of Panama have suffered during these recent years. The facts which the writer states appear also spread at large in numerous reports upon the files of our State Department. He says:

"When the Isthmus in 1821 had sealed its independence and had incorporated itself spontaneously to great Colombia, undoubtedly it had the conviction that we would not annul its rights and its liberty as a nation; it thought that we would always respect the integrity of its own government. Whether we have betrayed or not the confidence that the Isthmians had in our country, the history of the last twenty years and the work of inequity and spoiling realized in Panama will answer."

"We have converted the lords and masters of that territory into pariahs of their native soils. We have cut off their rights and suppressed all their liberties unexpectedly. We have robbed them of the most precious faculty of a free people—that of electing their mandataries, their legislators, their judges."

"We have restricted for them the right of suffrage; we have falsified the count of votes; we have made prevalent over the popular will the will of a mercenary soldiery and that of a series of employees entirely strange to the interests of the department; we have taken away from them the right of lawmaking and as a compensation we have put them under the iron yoke of exceptional laws; State, provinces, and municipalities have lost entirely the autonomy which they were enjoying formerly. * * *

"In towns of a cosmopolitan character of the Isthmus we did not find any national schools where children could learn our religion, our language, our history, and how to love their country. In the face of the world we have punished with imprisonment, with expulsion, with fines, and whippings the writers for the innocent expression of their thought. Since December, 1881, to October, 1903, the presidents, governors, secretaries, prefects, mayors, chiefs of police, military chiefs, officials and soldiers, inspectors of police, the police itself, captains and surgeons of harbors, magistrates, judges of all descriptions, State attorneys, everybody, came from the high plains of the Andes and from other parts of the Republic to impose on the Isthmus the will, the law, or the whims of the more powerful, to sell justice or speculate with the treasury."

"This series of employees, similar to an octopus with its multiple arms, was sucking the blood of an oppressed people and was devouring what only the Panamanians had a right to devour. We have made of the Isthmus a real military province; and when this nation of 350,000 souls had men of continental reputation like Justo Arosemana, legislators of the first order and of an irresistible popularity like Pablo Arosemana and like Gil Columbe, men of talent like Ardila, brilliant diplomats like Hurtado, and scientific celebrities of European reputation like Sosa, we leave them aside, we relegate them in contempt and in forgetfulness, instead of putting them at the head of the Isthmus, in order to quench the thirst of equity and justice and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all the Panamanians. Such a way of proceeding has wounded the pride, the dignity, and the patriotism of all the intellectual people of the Isthmus, and has provoked and developed the hatred and the anger of the popular mass."

The people of Panama fought to exhaustion in 1885 to prevent the loss of their liberty, and they were defeated through the action of the naval forces of the United States. Three times since then they have risen in rebellion against their oppressors.

In 1885 they arose and were suppressed by force; in 1899 they arose again and for three years maintained a war for liberation, which ended in 1902 through the interposition of the United States by armed force. The rising of November, 1903, was the fourth attempt of this people to regain the rights of which they had been deprived by the usurpation of Nunez. The rejection of the canal treaty by the Bogota Congress was the final and overwhelming injury to the interests of Panama, the conclusive evidence of indifference to her welfare and disregard of her wishes, and it also created the opportunity for success in her persistent purpose to regain civil liberty; for it was plain that under the strained relations created by that rejection the United States naturally would not exercise her authority again upon the Isthmus as she had exercised it before to aid the troops of Colombia. She was under no obligation to do so, and she could not do so without aiding in the denial of her own rights and the destruction of her own interests. Upon that the people of Panama relied in their last attempt, and they relied upon it with reason."

In the meantime there had been a curious grafting of usurpation upon usurpation at Bogota. In 1898 M. A. Sanclemente was elected President and J. M. Marroquin Vice-President of the Republic of Colombia. It is true that there was no freedom of election. Our minister had reported of a preceding election: "None but the soldiers, police, and employees of the Government voted, thus making the victory of the Government complete;" but there was a form of election, and Sanclemente became the only President there was and Marroquin the Vice-President. Article 24 of the constitution of 1886 provided:

"The Vice-President of the Republic shall perform the duties of the executive office during the temporary absence of the President. In case of the permanent absence of the President the Vice-President shall occupy the office of the President during the balance of the time for which he was elected."

On the 31st of July, 1900, the Vice-President, Marroquin, executed a coup d'état by seizing the person of the President, Sanclemente, and imprisoning him at a place a few miles outside of Bogota. Marroquin thereupon declared himself possessed of the executive power because of the absence of the President. He then issued a decree that public order was disturbed, and upon that ground assumed to himself legislative power under another provision of the constitution, which I have already cited. Thenceforth Marroquin, without the aid of any legislative body, ruled as the supreme executive, legislative, civil, and military authority in the so-called Republic of Colombia. The absence of Sanclemente from the capital became permanent by his death in prison in the year 1902. When the people of Panama declared their independence in November last no Congress had sat in Colombia since the year 1898, except the special Congress called by Marroquin to reject the canal treaty, and which did reject it by a unanimous vote and adjourned without legislating on any other subject. The constitution of 1886 had taken away from Panama the power of self-government and vested it in Colombia. The

coup d'état of Marroquin took away from Colombia herself the power of government and vested it in an irresponsible dictator.

The true nature of the Government against which Panama rebelled is plainly shown by the proposals to the United States by the Bogota Government upon receiving the first news of the revolution. On the 6th of November the United States minister at Bogota, Mr. Beaupré, telegraphed to Mr. Hay:

"Knowing that the revolution has already commenced in Panama, General Reyes says that if the Government of the United States will land troops to preserve Colombian sovereignty and the transit of the Isthmus, if requested by the chargé d'affaires of Colombia, this Government will declare martial law, and by virtue of vested constitutional authority, when public order is disturbed, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed, or, if the Government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of Congress with new and friendly members next May to approve the treaty."

On the 7th of November Mr. Beaupré telegraphed to Mr. Hay:

"General Reyes leaves next Monday for Panama invested with full powers. He has telegraphed chiefs of the insurrection that his mission is to the interests of Isthmus. He wishes answer from you before leaving to the inquiry in my telegram yesterday, and wishes to know if the American commander will be ordered to cooperate with him and with new Panama Government to arrange peace and the approval of canal treaty, which will be accepted on condition that the integrity of Colombia be preserved. He has telegraphed President of Mexico to ask the Government of the United States and all the countries represented at the Pan-American Conference to aid Colombia to preserve her integrity. The question of the approval of the treaty, mentioned in my telegram yesterday, will be arranged in Panama; he asks that before taking definite action you will await his arrival there, and that the Government of the United States in the meantime preserve the neutrality and transit of the Isthmus, and do not recognize the new government."

The General Reyes of these dispatches is now the President-elect of Colombia. Upon reading them who can fail to see that there was no constitutional government in Colombia; that no government of law protected the people of Panama and their interests against the will of an arbitrary and foreign power; that the deliberations and unanimous action of the special Congress at Bogota had been a sham and a pretense; that Panama's rights, that the rights of the United States, that the world's rights to the passage of the Isthmus had been the subject of disingenuous juggling at the hands of successful adventurers and not the fair expression of a free nation's will.

When these dispatches were received the die was not cast on the Isthmus; the United States had not recognized the new Republic of Panama; she had assumed no obligations toward the leaders of the new movement or toward their followers. Colombia and Panama then both held out to us the offer of the right and opportunity to build the canal. Colombia said: "We will ratify the treaty—we will ratify it by decree or we will call a Congress selected for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, as the preceding Congress was selected for the purpose of rejecting it—if you will preserve our integrity." Panama said: "Recognize our independence and the treaty follows, of course, for the building of the canal is our dearest hope." There was no question of interest on the part of the United States; the treaty was secure; the canal was secure; but there was a question of right, a question of justice, a question of national conscience to be dealt with. What was the duty of the United States toward the people of Panama and the dictator at Bogota?

The people of Panama were the real owners of the canal route; it was because their fathers dwelt in the land, because they won their independence from Spain, because they organized a civil society there, that it was not to be treated as one of the waste places of the earth. They owned that part of the earth's surface just as much as the State of New York owns the Erie Canal. When the sovereign State of Panama confederated itself with the other States of Colombia under the constitution of 1863 it did not part with its title or its substantial rights, but constituted the Federal Government its trustee for the representation of its rights in all foreign relations and imposed upon that Government the duty of protecting them. The trustee was faithless to its trust; it repudiated its obligations without the consent of the true owner; it seized by the strong hand of military power the rights which it was bound to protect; Colombia itself broke the bonds of union and destroyed the compact upon which alone depended its right to represent the owner of the soil.

The question for the United States was, Shall we take this treaty from the true owner or shall we take it from the faithless trustee, and for that purpose a third time put back the yoke of foreign domination upon the neck of Panama, by the request of that Government which has tried to play toward us the part of the highwayman? There was no provision of our treaty with Colombia which required us to answer to her call, for our guaranty of her sovereignty in that treaty relates solely to foreign aggression. There was no rule of international law which required us to recognize the wrongs of Panama or the justice of her cause, for international law does not concern itself with the internal affairs of states. But I put it to the conscience of the American people, who are passing judgment upon the action of their Government, whether the decision of our President and Secretary of State and Senate was not a righteous decision.

By all the principles of justice among men and among nations that we have learned from our fathers, and all peoples and all governments should maintain, the revolutionists in Panama were right, the people of Panama were entitled to be free again, the Isthmus was theirs, and they were entitled to govern it; and it would have been a shameful thing for the Government of the United States to return them again to servitude.

It is hardly necessary to say now that our Government had no part in devising, fomenting, or bringing about the revolution on the Isthmus of Panama. President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress of January 4, 1904:

"I hesitate to refer to the injurious insinuations which have been made of complicity by this Government in the revolutionary movement in Panama. They are as destitute of foundation as of propriety. The only excuse for my mentioning them is the fear lest unthinking persons might mistake for acquiescence the silence of mere self-respect. I think proper to say, therefore, that no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama, and that, save from the reports of our naval and military officers, given above, no one connected with this Government had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs."

The people of the United States, without distinction of party, will give to that statement their unquestioning belief.

All the world knew that there would be a rising by the people of Panama if the Colombian Congress adjourned without approving the treaty, as it did adjourn on the 31st of October. The newspapers of the United States were filled with statements to that effect, and our State and Navy Departments could not fail to be aware of it. They took the same steps they had always taken under similar circumstances, to have naval vessels present to keep the transit open and protect American life and property. If any criticism is to be made upon their course, it is that there was too little rather than too much provision and preparation. There was no naval vessel of the United States at the city of Panama, and there were no armed forces of the United States there when the rising occurred.

There was one small vessel at Colon which was able to land a force of 42 marines and bluejackets; that was the entire force which the United States had on the Isthmus at the time of the revolution. They were landed at Colon as our troops had many times before been landed, and they were landed under these circumstances: On the morning of November 3, the day of the rising at Panama, about 450 Colombian troops landed at Colon and their two generals proceeded by rail to the city of Panama, where they were arrested and placed in confinement by the insurgents, who had been joined by all the Colombian troops on the Isthmus except the 450 just landed, and who had a force of 1,500 men under arms. On the morning of the next day, the 4th of November, the remaining commander of this body of Colombian troops in Colon sent a notice to the American consul that if the officers who had been arrested by the insurgents in Panama the evening before were not released by 2 o'clock p. m. he would open fire upon the town and kill every United States citizen in the place.

There was then no American armed force of any description on the soil of the Isthmus. The *Nashville* was in the harbor. The American consul appealed to the commander of the *Nashville* for protection, and he landed the 42 marines and blue jackets. They took possession of the shed of the Panama Railroad Company, a stone building capable of defense, collected there the American men residing in Colon, sent the American women and children on board of a Panama Railroad steamer and a German steamer which were lying in the dock, and prepared to receive the threatened attack. The building was surrounded by the Colombian troops, and for an hour and a half this little force stood to its arms ready to fire and expecting to receive the threatened and apparently intended attack of ten times their number.

Then cooler judgment prevailed with the Colombian officers and the tension was relieved. On the following day a renewal of the threatening attitude of the Colombian troops led to a reoccupation of the railroad shed and a return of the women and children to the steamers; but again the danger passed without conflict, and on the evening of the second day, the 5th of November, after conferences with the insurgent leaders, in which the American officers took no part, the Colombian troops boarded a Colombian ship and sailed away from the harbor of Colon, leaving no Colombian force on the Isthmus. The commander of the *Nashville* closes his report of these occurrences in these words:

"I beg to assure the Department that I had no part whatever in the negotiations that were carried on between Colonel Torres and the representatives of the provisional Government; that I landed an armed force only when the lives of American citizens were threatened, and withdrew this force as soon as there seemed to be no ground for further apprehension of injury to American lives and property; that I relanded an armed force because of the failure of Colonel Torres to carry out his agreement to withdraw and announced intention to return; and that my attitude throughout was strictly neutral as between the two parties, my only purpose being to protect the lives and property of American citizens and to preserve the free and uninterrupted transit of the Isthmus."

Objection has been made that owing to American direction the Panama Railroad Company refused to transport the 450 Colombian soldiers to Panama to attack the 1,500 insurgents in arms there, and that the officers of the American Government were directed to prevent any troops of either party from making the line of the railroad the theater of hostilities; but this was no new policy devised or applied for this occasion, and it was impartial as to both parties to the controversy. The insurgents were anxious that the transportation should be given, for they outnumbered the Colombians more than three to one, and when it was refused they asked for transportation for themselves to attack the Colombians in Colon, and that was refused. The year before a communication had been sent to the commander of the Colombian forces and the commander of the insurgent forces on the Isthmus in these words:

U. S. S. CINCINNATI, September 19, 1902.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the United States naval forces are guarding the railway trains and the line of transit across the Isthmus of Panama from sea to sea, and that no persons whatever will be allowed to obstruct, embarrass, or interfere in any manner with the trains or the routes of transit. No armed men except forces of the United States will be allowed to come on or use the line.

All of this is without prejudice or any desire to interfere in domestic contentions of the Colombians.

Please acknowledge receipt of this communication.

With assurances of high esteem and consideration, I remain,

Very respectfully,

T. C. McLEAN,

Commander, U. S. N., Commanding.

The policy embodied in this official notice of 1902 was the same policy followed in November, 1903, and none other; it was the outcome of the experience gained during the long course of warfare and the painful experience of property destroyed and traffic suspended, which showed that if the rights of the United States on the Isthmus of Panama were to be protected they must be protected by the United States itself insisting that its right of way should not be made the field of battle, as it had been in 1885, when Colon was burned with the railroad terminals and wharves; when Panama was captured track was torn up, cars were broken open, telegraph wires were cut, and armored trains were a necessity. The warrant for the execution of that policy is the right of self-protection. The things done by our officers might not have been permissible in the territory of a country of strong and orderly government, possessing and exercising the power to prevent lawless violence and to protect the lives and property of citizens and foreigners alike; but action of this character is, according to the universal rules obtaining among civilized nations, not only permissible, but a duty of the highest obligation in countries whose feeble governments exercise imperfect control in their own territory and fail to perform the duties of sovereignty for the protection of life and property.

The armed force of American sailors who during the past few weeks have been protecting American life and property in the friendly capital of Korea have not been making war upon that power. The expeditionary force which marched to Pekin under Chaffee in the summer of 1900 and, carrying the capital of China by assault, rescued the residents of the American legation, was not making war upon that nation, which relies with just confidence upon our constant friendship. In that category of incapacity to protect the rights of others, Colombia has placed herself as to the Isthmus of Panama by the record of the past years. She could not maintain order upon the Isthmus because she did not seek to maintain justice; she could not command respect for her laws because she had abandoned the rule of law and submitted to the control of an arbitrary dictator. The right of self-protection for American interests rested upon these facts, emphasized and enforced by the grant of power in the treaty of 1846, and by Colombia's own appeals to the American Government to intervene for the maintenance of order.

It was not the neutral force of forty-two marines and bluejackets, or anything that the American Government or American officers said or did, that led the 450 Colombians to retire from Colon; it was the fact that they found themselves alone among a hostile and unanimous people with an overwhelming insurgent force in arms against them which left no alternative but capture or retreat. The recognition of independence and the treaty with

Panama are the real grounds of Colombia's complaint, and upon the justice of those acts America stands, fairly, openly, with full disclosure of every step taken and every object sought.

Upon the firm foundation of that righteous action, with the willing authority of the lawful owners of the soil, we will dig the canal, not for selfish reasons, not for greed of gain, but for the world's commerce, benefiting Colombia most of all. We shall not get back the money we spend upon the canal any more than we shall get back the money we have expended to make Cuba a free and independent republic, or the money we have expended to set the people of the Philippines on the path of ordered liberty and competency for self-government; but we shall promote our commerce, we shall unite our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, we shall render inestimable service to mankind, and we shall grow in greatness and honor and in the strength that comes from difficult tasks accomplished and from the exercise of the power that strives in the nature of a great constructive people.

APPENDIX F.

WHAT ROOSEVELT SAYS ABOUT THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Our aim should be to preserve the policy of a protective tariff, in which the nation as a whole has acquiesced, and yet wherever and whenever necessary to change the duties in particular paragraphs or schedules as matters of legislative detail, if such change is demanded by the interests of the nation as a whole. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

The general tariff policy to which, without regard to changes in detail, I believe this country to be irrevocably committed is fundamentally based upon ample recognition of the difference in labor cost here and abroad; in other words, the recognition of the need for full development of the intelligence, the comfort, the high standard of civilized living, and the inventive genius of the American workingman as compared to the workingman of any other country in the world. (New York, November 11, 1902.)

At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American workingman must be protected in his standard of wages—that is, in his standard of living—and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. (Logansport, Ind., September, 1902.)

A nation like ours can adjust its business after a fashion to any kind of tariff. But neither our nation nor any other can stand the ruinous policy of readjusting its business to radical changes in the tariff at short intervals. (Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

If a tariff law has on the whole worked well and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

The real evils connected with the trusts can not be remedied by any change in the tariff laws. The trusts can be damaged by depriving them of the benefits of a protective tariff only on condition of damaging all their smaller competitors and all the wage-workers employed in the industry. (Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.)

The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable; and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 7, 1903.)

There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a national policy. The first requisite to our prosperity is the continuity and stability of this economic policy. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being.

Our experience in the past has shown that sweeping revisions of the tariff are apt to produce conditions closely approaching panic in the business world. Yet it is not only possible, but eminently desirable, to combine with the stability of our economic system a supplementary system of reciprocal benefit and obligation with other nations. Such reciprocity is an incident and result of the firm establishment and preservation of our present economic policy. It was specially provided for in the present tariff law.

Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

This is an era of great combinations both of labor and of capital. In many ways these combinations have worked for good, but they must work under the law, and the laws concerning them must be just and wise or they will inevitably do evil; and this applies as much to the richest corporation as to the most powerful labor union.

Our laws must be wise, sane, healthy, conceived in the spirit of those who scorn the mere agitator, the mere inciter of class or sectional hatred; who wish justice for all men; who recognize the need of adhering so far as possible to the old American doctrine of giving the widest possible scope for the free exercise of individual initiative, and yet who recognize also that after combinations have reached a certain stage it is indispensable to the general welfare that the nation should exercise over them, cautiously and with self-restraint, but firmly, the power of supervision and regulation. (Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

ABOUT LABOR AND CAPITAL—SUPREMACY OF THE LAW.

The man who by the use of his capital develops a great mine; the man who by the use of his capital builds a great railroad; the man who by the use of his capital, either individually or joined with others like him, does any great legitimate business enterprise, confers a benefit, not a harm, upon the community, and is entitled to be so regarded. He is entitled to the protection of the law, and in return he is to be required himself to obey the law. The law is no respecter of persons. The law is to be administered neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such. It is to be administered for every man, rich or poor, if he is an honest and law-abiding citizen; and it is to be invoked against any man, rich or poor, who violates it, without regard to which end of the social scale he may stand at; without regard to whether his offense takes the form of greed and cunning or the form of physical violence. In either case, if he violates the law, the law is to be invoked against him; and in so invoking it I have the right to challenge the support of all good citizens and to demand the acquiescence of every good man. I hope I will have it; but, once for all, I wish it understood that even if I do not have it I shall enforce the law. (Speech at Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903.)

We have the right to ask every decent American citizen to rally to the support of the law if it is ever broken against the interest of the rich man; and we have the same right to ask that rich man cheerfully and gladly to acquiesce in the enforcement against his seeming interest of the law, if it is the

law. Incidentally, whether he acquiesces or not, the law will be enforced, and this whoever he may be, great or small, and at whichever end of the social scale he may be. (Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.)

This is an era of great combinations both of labor and of capital. In many ways these combinations have worked for good; but they must work under the law, and the laws concerning them must be just and wise or they will inevitably do evil; and this applies as much to the richest corporation as to the most powerful labor union. Our laws must be wise, sane, healthy, conceived in the spirit of those who scorn the mere agitator, the mere inciter of class or sectional hatred, who wish justice for all men, who recognize the need of adhering so far as possible to the old American doctrine of giving the widest possible scope for the free exercise of individual initiative, and yet who recognize also that after combinations have reached a certain stage it is indispensable to the general welfare that the nation should exercise over them, cautiously and with self-restraint, but firmly, the power of supervision and regulation. (Charleston, April 9, 1902.)

This is not and never shall be a government of a plutocracy; it is not and never shall be a government by a mob. It is, as it has been and as it will be, a government in which every honest man, every decent man, be he employer or employed, wage-worker, mechanic, banker, lawyer, farmer, be he who he may, if he acts squarely and fairly, if he does his duty by his neighbor and the State, receives the full protection of the law and is given the amplest chance to exercise the ability that there is within him, alone or in combination with his fellows, as he desires. (Butte, Mont., May 27, 1903.)

Above all, the administration of the government, the enforcement of the laws, must be fair and honest. The laws are not to be administered either in the interest of the poor man or the interest of the rich man. They are simply to be administered justly—in the interest of justice to each man, be he rich or be he poor—giving immunity to no violator, whatever form the violation may assume. Such is the obligation which every public servant takes, and to it he must be true under penalty of forfeiting the respect both of himself and of his fellows. (Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage; for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in very fact one law, and one law only, alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Corporations that are handled honestly and fairly, so far from being an evil, are a natural business evolution and make for the general prosperity of our land. We do not wish to destroy corporations, but we do wish to make them subserve the public good. All individuals, rich or poor, private or corporate, must be subject to the law of the land, and the Government will hold them to a rigid obedience thereto. The biggest corporation, like the humblest private citizen, must be held to strict compliance with the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. The rich man who does not see that this is in his interest is indeed shortsighted. When we make him obey the law we insure for him the absolute protection of the law. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

THE NEED FOR CAUTION.

Modern industrial competition is very keen between nation and nation, and now that our country is striding forward with the pace of a giant to take the leading position in the international industrial world, we should beware how we fetter our limbs, how we cramp our titan strength. While striving to prevent industrial injustice at home we must not bring upon ourselves industrial weakness abroad. This is a task for which we need the finest abilities of the statesman, the student, the patriot, and the far-seeing lover of mankind. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

The mechanism of modern business is tremendous in its size and complexity, and ignorant intermeddling with it would be disastrous. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The mechanism of modern business is altogether too delicate and too complicated for us to sanction for one moment any intermeddling with it in a spirit of ignorance, above all in a spirit of rancor. Something can be done, something is being done now. Much more can be done if our people resolutely but temperately will that it shall be done. But the certain way of bringing great harm upon ourselves, without in any way furthering the solution of the problem, but, on the contrary, deferring indefinitely its proper solution, would be to act in a spirit of ignorance, of violence, of rancor, in a spirit which would make us tear down the temple of industry in which we live because we are not satisfied with some of the details of its management. (Fitchburg, Mass., September 2, 1902.)

As a nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international industrial competition of the day. We can not afford by any freak or folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained. (Minneapolis, Minn., April 4, 1903.)

LABOR AND CAPITAL HAVE COMMON INTERESTS.

We are no more against organizations of capital than against organizations of labor. We welcome both, demanding only that each shall do right and shall remember its duty to the Republic. (Milwaukee, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do about what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults. Our average fellow-citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of wealth guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off, and for the man of small means who in his turn either feels or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Under present-day conditions it is as necessary to have corporations in the business world as it is to have organizations—unions—among wage-workers. We have a right to ask in each case only this: that good, and not harm, shall follow. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

There is no worse enemy of the wage worker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape, or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most shortsighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship and want and grim disaster among the poor. (Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

You must face the fact that only harm will come from a proposition to attack the so-called trusts in a vindictive spirit by measures conceived solely with a desire of hurting them, without regard as to whether or not discrimination should be made between the good and evil in them, and without even any regard as to whether a necessary sequence of the action would be the hurting of other interests. The adoption of such a policy would mean tem-

porary damage to the trusts, because it would mean temporary damage to all of our business interests; but the effect would be only temporary, for exactly as the damage affected all alike, good and bad, so the reaction would affect all alike, good and bad. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. In our Government we need above all things stability, fixity of economic policy, while remembering that this fixity must not be fossilization; that there must not be inability to shift our laws so as to meet our shifting national needs. There are real and great evils in our social and economic life, and these evils stand out in all their ugly baldness in time of prosperity, for the wicked who prosper are never a pleasant sight. There is every need of striving in all possible ways, individually and collectively, by combinations among ourselves and through the recognized governmental agencies, to cut out those evils. All I ask is to be sure that we do not use the knife with an ignorant zeal which would make it more dangerous to the patient than to the disease. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

It would be neither just nor expedient to punish the big corporations as big corporations; what we wish to do is to protect the people from any evil that may grow out of their existence or maladministration. (Cincinnati, September 20, 1902.)

Above all, let us remember that our success in accomplishing anything depends very much upon our not trying to accomplish everything. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

Very much of our effort in reference to labor matters should be by every device and expedient to try to secure a constantly better understanding between employer and employee. Everything possible should be done to increase the sympathy and fellow-feeling between them, and every chance taken to allow each to look at all questions, especially at questions in dispute, somewhat through the other's eyes. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

Every man who has made wealth or used it in developing great legitimate business enterprises has been of benefit and not harm to the country at large. (Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.)

It is foolish to pride ourselves upon our progress and prosperity, upon our commanding position in the international industrial world, and at the same time have nothing but denunciation for the men to whose commanding position we in part owe this very progress and prosperity, this commanding position. (Cincinnati, Ohio, September 20, 1902.)

The foundation of our whole social structure rests upon the material and moral well-being, the intelligence, the foresight, the sanity, the sense of duty, and the wholesome patriotism of the wage-worker. (Address at Labor Day picnic, Chicago, September 3, 1900.)

I am President of all the people of the United States, without regard to creed, color, birthplace, occupation, or social condition. My aim is to do equal and exact justice as among them all. In the employment and dismissal of men in the Government service I can no more recognize the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union as being for or against him than I can recognize the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him. (Statement to executive council American Federation of Labor, September 29, 1903.)

There is no objection to the employees of the Government Printing Office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire; but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce. (Letter to Secretary Cortelyou, July 13, 1903.)

Where possible, it is always better to mediate before the strike begins than to try to arbitrate when the fight is on and both sides have grown stubborn and bitter. (Address at Labor Day picnic, Chicago, September 3, 1900.)

Wise factory laws—laws to forbid the employment of child labor and to safeguard the employees against the effects of culpable negligence by the employer—are necessary, not merely in the interest of the wageworker, but in the interest of the honest and humane employer. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

THE FARMER A TRUE AMERICAN TYPE.

It remains true now as it always has been, that in the last resort the country districts are those in which we are surest to find the old American spirit, the old American habits of thought and ways of living. Conditions have changed in the country far less than they have changed in the cities, and in consequence there has been little breaking away from the methods of life which have produced the great majority of the leaders of the Republic in the past. Almost all of our great Presidents have been brought up in the country, and most of them worked hard on the farms in their youth and got their early mental training in the healthy democracy of farm life. (Speech at Bangor, Me., August 27, 1902.)

The countryman—the man on the farm, more than any other of our citizens to-day, is called upon continually to exercise the qualities which we like to think of as typical of the United States throughout its history—the qualities of rugged independence, masterful resolution, and individual energy and resourcefulness. He works hard (for which no man is to be pitied), and often he lives hard (which may not be pleasant); but his life is passed in healthy surroundings, surroundings which tend to develop a fine type of citizenship. In the country, moreover, the conditions are fortunately such as to allow a closer touch between man and man than, too often, we find to be the case in the city. Men feel more vividly the underlying sense of brotherhood, of community of interest. (Bangor, Me., August 27, 1902.)

The man who tills his own farm, whether on the prairie or in the woodland, the man who grows what we eat and the raw material which is worked up into what we wear, still exists more nearly under the conditions which obtained when the "embattled farmers" of '76 made this country a nation than is true of any others of our people. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

The true welfare of the nation is indissolubly bound up with the welfare of the farmer and the wage-worker—of the man who tills the soil, and of the mechanic, the handicraftsman, the laborer. If we can insure the prosperity of these two classes we need not trouble ourselves about the prosperity of the rest, for that will follow as a matter of course. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

The success of the capitalist, and especially of the banker, is conditioned upon the prosperity of both workingman and farmer. (The Law of Civilization and Decay—American Ideals, p. 367.)

In a country like ours it is fundamentally true that the well-being of the tiller of the soil and the wage-worker is the well-being of the State. (Sioux Falls, S. Dak., April 6, 1903.)

ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY—THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The Monroe doctrine is simply a statement of our very firm belief that on this continent the nations now existing here must be left to work out their own destinies among themselves, and that the continent is no longer to be regarded as colonizing ground for any European power. (Speech at Augusta, Me., August 26, 1902.)

We of the two Americas must be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and if we are wise we will make it understood as a cardinal feature of our joint foreign policy that on the one hand we will not submit

to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old World power, and that on the other hand, among ourselves, each nation must scrupulously regard the rights and interests of the others, so that, instead of any one of us committing the criminal folly of trying to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we shall all strive upward in honest and manly brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder. (Speech at opening of the Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

It is for the interest of every commonwealth in the Western Hemisphere to see every other commonwealth grow in riches and in happiness, in material wealth, and in the sober, strong, self-respecting manliness without which material wealth avails so little. (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

I believe in the Monroe doctrine with all my heart and soul; I am convinced that the immense majority of our fellow-countrymen so believe in it; but I would infinitely prefer to see us abandon it than to see us put it forward and bluster about it, and yet fail to build up the efficient fighting strength which in the last resort can alone make it respected by any strong foreign power whose interest it may ever happen to be to violate it. (Washington, D. C., November 13, 1902.)

I believe in the Monroe doctrine. I shall try to see that this nation lives up to it, and as long as I am President it will be lived up to. But I do not intend to make the doctrine an excuse or a justification for being unpleasant to other powers, for speaking ill of other powers. We want the friendship of mankind. We want to get on well with the other nations of mankind, with the small nations and with the big nations. We want so to carry ourselves that if—which I think most unlikely—any quarrel should arise, it would be evident that it was not a quarrel of our own seeking, but one that was forced on us. If it is forced on us, I know you too well not to know that you will stand up to it if the need comes; but you will stand up to it all the better if you have not blustered or spoken ill of other nations in advance. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

When a question of national honor or of national right or wrong is at stake, no question of financial interest should be considered for a moment. Those wealthy men who wish the abandonment of the Monroe doctrine because its assertion may damage their business, bring discredit to themselves, and, so far as they are able, discredit to the nation of which they are a part. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 280.)

We do not wish to bring ourselves to a position where we shall have to emulate the European system of enormous armées. Every true patriot, every man of statesman-like habit, should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot of American soil. At present it is not necessary to take the position that no European power shall hold American territory; but it certainly will become necessary if the timid and selfish "peace at any price" men have their way, and if the United States fails to check at the outset European aggrandizement on this continent. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 252.)

The United States has not the slightest wish to establish a universal protectorate over other American States, or to become responsible for their misdeeds. If one of them becomes involved in an ordinary quarrel with a European power, such quarrel must be settled between them by any one of the usual methods. But no European State is to be allowed to aggrandize itself on American soil at the expense of any American State. Furthermore, no transfer of an American colony from one European State to another is to be permitted, if, in the judgment of the United States, such transfer would be hostile to its own interests. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 248.)

The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that "the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

If the Monroe doctrine did not already exist it would be necessary forthwith to create it. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 249.)

The Monroe doctrine is not a question of law at all. It is a question of policy. It is a question to be considered not only by statesmen, but by all good citizens. Lawyers, as lawyers, have absolutely nothing whatever to say about it. To argue that it can not be recognized as a principle of international law is a mere waste of breath. Nobody cares whether it is or is not so recognized, any more than any one cares whether the Declaration of Independence and Washington's Farewell Address are so recognized. (The Monroe Doctrine, American Ideals, p. 248.)

THE NAVY A GUARANTY OF PEACE.

We need to keep in a condition of preparedness, especially as regards our Navy, not because we want war, but because we desire to stand with those whose plea for peace is listened to with respectful attention. (New York, November 11, 1902.)

Unreadiness for war is merely rendered more disastrous by readiness to bluster; to talk defiance and advocate a vigorous policy in words, while refusing to back up these words by deeds is cause for humiliation. It has always been true, and in this age it is more than ever true, that it is too late to prepare for war when the time for peace has passed. The shortsightedness of many people, the good-humored indifference to facts of others, the sheer ignorance of a vast number, and the selfish reluctance to insure against future danger by present sacrifice among yet others—these are the chief obstacles to building up a proper navy and carrying out a proper foreign policy. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 274.)

A nation should never fight unless forced to; but it should always be ready to fight. The mere fact that it is ready will generally spare it the necessity of fighting. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 281.)

The American people must either build and maintain an adequate navy or else make up their minds definitely to accept a secondary position in international affairs, not merely in political, but in commercial matters. It has been well said that there is no surer way of courting national disaster than to be "opulent, aggressive, and unarmed." (Annual message, first session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

There never is and never has been on our part a desire to use a weapon because of its being well tempered. There is not the least danger that the possession of a good navy will render this country overbearing toward its neighbors. The direct contrary is the truth. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 284.)

We ask for a great navy, we ask for an armament fit for the nation's needs, not primarily to fight, but to avert fighting. Preparedness deters the foe and maintains right by the show of ready might without the use of violence. Peace, like freedom, is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards or of those too feeble or too shortsighted to deserve it, and we ask to be

given the means to insure that honorable peace which alone is worth having. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 288.)

So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained navy is the best guaranty against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance. The cost of building and maintaining such a navy represents the very lightest premium for insuring peace which this nation can possibly pay. (Annual message, first session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

If in the first decade of the present century the American people and their rulers had possessed the wisdom to provide an efficient fleet of powerful battle ships, there would probably have been no war of 1812; and even if war had come, the immense loss to and destruction of trade and commerce by the blockade would have been prevented. Merely from the monetary standpoint the saving would have been incalculable; and yet this would have been the smallest part of the gain. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 278.)

In public as in private life, a bold front tends to insure peace and not strife. If we possess a formidable navy, small is the chance indeed that we shall ever be dragged into a war to uphold the Monroe doctrine. If we do not possess such a navy, war may be forced on us at any time. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 281.)

In all our history there has never been a time when preparedness for war was any menace to peace. On the contrary, again and again we have owed peace to the fact that we were prepared for war, and in the only contest which we have had with a European power since the Revolution—the war of 1812—the struggle and all its attendant disasters were due solely to the fact that we were not prepared to face, and were not ready instantly to resent, an attack upon our honor and interest, while the glorious triumphs at sea which redeemed that war were due to the few preparations which we had actually made. We are a great, peaceful nation—a nation of merchants and manufacturers, of farmers and mechanics; a nation of workmen who labor incessantly with head or hand. It is idle to talk of such a nation ever being led into a course of wanton aggression or conflict with military powers by the possession of a sufficient navy. ("Washington's forgotten maxim," American Ideals, p. 286.)

Any really great nation must be peculiarly sensitive to two things—stain on the national honor at home and disgrace to the national arms abroad. Our honor at home, our honor in domestic and internal affairs, is at all times in our own keeping, and depends simply upon the possession of an awakened public conscience. But the only way to make safe our honor, as affected not by our own deeds but by the deeds of others, is by readiness in advance. (Haverhill, Mass., August 26, 1902.)

ARBITRATION.

As civilization grows warfare becomes less and less the normal condition of foreign relations. The last century has seen a marked diminution of wars between civilized powers; wars with uncivilized powers are largely mere matters of international police duty, essential for the welfare of the world. Wherever possible arbitration or so similar method should be employed in lieu of war to settle difficulties between civilized nations, although as yet the world has not progressed sufficiently to render it possible, or necessarily desirable, to invoke arbitration in every case. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, second session.)

The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace, and this nation most earnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world of recent years wars between the great civilized powers have become less and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semibarbarous peoples come in an entirely different category, being merely a most regrettable but necessary international police duty which must be performed for the sake of the welfare of mankind.

Peace can only be kept with certainty where both sides wish to keep it; but more and more the civilized peoples are realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for the rights of others which will in the end, as we hope and believe, make world-wide peace possible. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes. It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational method for the settlement of disputes. (Annual message, second session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

INTERNATIONAL COURTESY.

We want friendship; we want peace. We wish well to the nations of mankind. We look with joy at any prosperity of theirs; we wish them success, not failure. We rejoice as mankind moves forward over the whole earth. Each nation has its own difficulties. We have difficulties enough at home. Let us improve ourselves, lifting what needs to be lifted here, and let others do their own work; let us attend to our own business; keep our own hearthstone swept and in order. Do not shirk any duty; do not shirk any difficulty that is forced upon us, but do not invite it by foolish language. Do not assume a quarrelsome and unpleasant attitude toward other people. Let the friendly expressions of foreign powers be accepted as tokens of their sincere good will and reflecting their real sentiments, and let us avoid any language on our part which might tend to turn their good will into ill will. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

Boasting and blustering are as objectionable among nations as among individuals, and the public men of a great nation owe it to their sense of national self-respect to speak courteously of foreign powers, just as a brave and self-respecting man treats all around him courteously. (Washington, D. C., November 13, 1902.)

I would like to impress upon every public man, upon every writer in the press, the fact that strength should go hand in hand with courtesy, with scrupulous regard in word and deed, not only for the rights, but for the feelings, of other nations. (Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.)

If is a good lesson for nations and individuals to learn never to hit if it can be helped, and then never to hit softly. I think it is getting to be fairly understood that that is our foreign policy. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

The duties of peace are with us always; those of war are but occasional; and with a nation as with a man, the worthiness of life depends upon the way in which the everyday duties are done. The home duties are the vital duties. (Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

The period of war is but a fractional part of the life of our Republic, and I earnestly hope and believe that it will be an even smaller part in the future than it has been in the past. (Chattanooga, Tenn., September 8, 1902.)

We all of us earnestly hope that the occasion for war may not arise, but if it has to come then this nation must win. (Annapolis, Md., May 2, 1902.)

The American flag stands for orderly liberty, and it stands for it abroad as it stands for it at home. (Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

Of course, the very first thing that any nation has to do is to keep in order

the affairs of its own household; to do that which is best for its own life (New York, May 20, 1902.)

The army never has been and, I am sure, it never will be or can be a menace to anybody save America's foes, or ought to be a source of pride to every good and far-sighted American. (The Presidency, p. 10.)

Again and again in a nation's history the time may, and, indeed, sometimes must, come when the nation's highest duty is war. But peace must be the normal condition, or the nation will come to a bloody doom. Twice in great crises, in 1776 and 1861, and twice in lesser crises, in 1812 and 1898, the nation was called to arms in the name of all that makes the words "honor," "freedom," and "justice" other than empty sounds. On each occasion the net result of the war was greatly for the benefit of mankind. But on each occasion this net result was of benefit only because after the war came peace, came justice and order and liberty. (Speech at Galena, Ill., on Grant's birthday, April 27, 1900.)

ABOUT EXPANSION AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The inevitable march of events gave us the control of the Philippine Islands at a time so opportune that it may without irreverence be called providential. Unless we show ourselves weak, unless we show ourselves degenerate sons of the sires from whose loins we sprang, we must go on with the work we have undertaken. I most earnestly hope that this work will ever be of a peaceful character. (Speech at San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

If we are wise, if we care for our reputation abroad, if we are sensitive of our honor at home, we will allow no question of partisan politics ever to enter into the administration of the great islands which came under our flag as a result of the war with Spain. (Speech at Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

If we do our duty aright in the Philippines, we will add to that national renown which is the highest and finest part of national life, we will greatly benefit the people of the Philippine Islands, and, above all, we will play our part well in the great work of uplifting mankind. (Strenuous Life, p. 20.)

Fundamentally the cause of expansion is the cause of peace. ("Expansion and peace," Strenuous Life, p. 34.)

The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a mediæval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work. (Strenuous Life, p. 11.)

Our greatest statesmen have always been those who believed in the nation—who had faith in the power of our people to spread until they should become the mightiest among the peoples of the world. ("Manhood and statehood," Strenuous Life, p. 205.)

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundredfold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope ultimately a self-governing people. In short, in the work we have done we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good will toward others, in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist or the shortcomings inherent in humanity; but across blundering and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across shortsightedness and cowardice we gaze steadfastly toward the far horizon of golden triumph. ("National duties," Strenuous Life, p. 243.)

Our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity. For every act of cruelty by our men there have been innumerable acts of forbearance, magnanimity, and generous kindness. These are the qualities which have characterized the war as a whole. (Memorial Day address at Arlington, May 30, 1902.)

The progress of the American arms means the abolition of cruelty, the bringing of peace, and the rule of law and order under the civil government. Other nations have conquered to create irresponsible military rule. We conquer to bring just and responsible civil government to the conquered. (Memorial Day address at Arlington, May 30, 1902.)

Taking the work of the army and the civil authorities together, it may be questioned whether anywhere else in modern times the world has seen a better example of real constructive statesmanship than our people have given in the Philippine Islands. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

No policy ever entered into by the American people has vindicated itself in more signal manner than the policy of holding the Philippines. The triumph of our arms, above all the triumph of our laws and principles, has come sooner than we had any right to expect. Too much praise can not be given to the army for what it has done in the Philippines both in warfare and from an administrative standpoint in preparing the way for civil government; and similar credit belongs to the civil authorities for the way in which they have planted the seeds of self-government in the ground thus made ready for them. (Annual message, second session, Fifty-seventh Congress.)

In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the Tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations. (Annual message, first session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

I have felt that the events of the last five or six years have been steadily hastening the day when the Pacific will loom in the world's commerce as the Atlantic now looms, and I have wished greatly to see these marvelous communities growing up on the Pacific slope. (Barstow, Cal., May 7, 1903.)

Our place as a nation is and must be with the nations that have left indelibly their impress on the centuries. Men will tell you that the great expanding nations of antiquity have passed away. So they have; and so have all others. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

The insurrection among the Filipinos has been absolutely quelled. The war has been brought to an end sooner than even the most sanguine of us dared to hope. The world has not in recent years seen any military task done with more soldierly energy and ability; and done, moreover, in a spirit of great humanity. (Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902.)

The empire that shifted from the Mediterranean will in the lifetime of those now children bid fair to shift once more westward to the Pacific. (San Francisco, Cal., May 13, 1903.)

In short, we are governing the Filipinos primarily in their interest and for their very great benefit. And we have acted in practical fashion—not trying to lay down rules as to what should be done in the remote and uncertain future, but turning our attention to the instant need of things and meeting that need in the fullest and amplest way. * * * It would be hard to find in modern times a better example of successful constructive statesmanship than the American representatives have given to the Philippine Islands. (Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.)

There is no question as to our not having gone far enough and fast enough in granting self-government to the Filipinos; the only possible danger has been lest we should go faster and further than was in the interest of the Filipinos themselves. (Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1902.)

It is natural that most nations should be thus blind to the possibilities of the future. Few indeed are the men who can look a score of years into the future, and fewer still those who will make great sacrifices for the real, not the fancied, good of their children's children; but in questions of race supremacy the look ahead should be for centuries rather than decades, and the self-sacrifice of the individual must be for the good, not of the next generation, but perchance of the fourth or fifth in line of descent. The Frenchman and the Hollander of the seventeenth century could not even dimly see the possibilities that loomed vast and vague in the colonization of America and Australia. They did not have, and it was hardly possible that they should have, the remotest idea that it would be well for them to surrender, one the glory gained by his German conquests, the other the riches reaped from his East Indian trade, in order that three hundred years later huge unknown continents should be filled with French and Dutch commonwealths. (Winning of the West, vol. 4, p. 27.)

Stout of heart, we see across the dangers the great future that lies beyond, and we rejoice as a giant refreshed, as a strong man girt for the race; and we go down into the arena where the nations strive for mastery, our hearts lifted with the faith that to us and to our children and our children's children it shall be given to make this Republic the mightiest among the peoples of mankind. (Detroit, Mich., September 22, 1902.)

ABOUT THE FOREIGN-BORN AMERICAN.

From his own standpoint, it is beyond all question the wise thing for the immigrant to become thoroughly Americanized. Moreover, from our standpoint, we have a right to demand it. We freely extend the hand of welcome and of good-fellowship to every man, no matter what his creed or birthplace, who comes here honestly intent on becoming a good United States citizen like the rest of us. ("True Americanism," American Ideals, p. 45.)

The only way to teach our foreign-born fellow-citizens how to govern themselves is to give each the full rights possessed by other American citizens. ("Phases of State legislation," American Ideals, p. 102.)

We can not have too much immigration of the right kind, and we should have none at all of the wrong kind. (Annual message, second session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen—every immigrant who comes here to stay—who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way, and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. (Annual message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected, so far as it is possible, from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. (Annual message, first session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

A Scandinavian, a German, or an Irishman who has really become an American has the right to stand on exactly the same footing as any native-born citizen in the land, and is just as much entitled to the friendship and support, social and political, of his neighbors. Among the men with whom I have been thrown in close personal contact socially, and who have been among my staunchest friends and allies politically, are not a few Americans who happen to have been born on the other side of the water, in Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and there could be no better men in the ranks of our native-born citizens. ("True Americanism," American Ideals, p. 43.)

ABOUT HONESTY IN PUBLIC LIFE.

No community is healthy where it is ever necessary to distinguish one politician among his fellows because "he is honest." Honesty is not so much a credit as an absolute prerequisite to efficient service to the public. Unless a man is honest we have no right to keep him in public life, it matters not how brilliant his capacity, it hardly matters how great his power of doing good service on certain lines may be. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," The Strenuous Life, p. 108.)

We need absolute honesty in public life; and we shall not get it until we remember that truth-telling must go hand in hand with it and that it is quite as important not to tell an untruth about a decent man as it is to tell the truth about one who is not decent. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," The Strenuous Life, p. 112.)

We can as little afford to tolerate a dishonest man in the public service as a coward in the Army. The murderer takes a single life; the corruptionist in public life, whether he be bribe giver or bribe taker, strikes at the heart of the commonwealth. (Speech at Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

There can be no crime more serious than bribery. Other offenses violate one law, while corruption strikes at the foundation of all law. Under our form of government all authority is vested in the people and by them delegated to those who represent them in official capacity. There can be no offense heavier than that of him in whom such a sacred trust has been reposed, who sells it for his own gain and enrichment; and no less heavy is the offense of the bribe giver. He is worse than the thief, for the thief robs the individual, while the corrupt official plunders an entire city or State. He is as wicked as the murderer, for the murderer may only take one life against the law, while the corrupt official and the man who corrupts the official alike aim at the assassination of the Commonwealth itself. Government of the people, by the people, for the people will perish from the face of the earth if bribery is tolerated. The givers and takers of bribes stand on an evil pre-eminence of infamy. The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The disgrace lies in toleration, not in correction. (Annual message, second session Fifty-seventh Congress.)

We can divide and must divide on party lines as regards certain questions. As regards the deepest, as regards the vital questions, we can not afford to divide, and I have the right to challenge the best effort of every American worthy of the name to putting down by every means in his power corruption in private life, and above all corruption in public life. And remember, you, the people of this government by the people, that while the public servant, the legislator, the executive officer, the judge, are not to be excused if they fall short of their duty, yet that their doing their duty can not avail unless you do yours. In the last resort we have to depend upon the jury drawn from the people to convict the scoundrel who has tainted our public life, and unless that jury does its duty, unless it is backed by the public sentiment of the people, all the work of legislator, of executive officer, of judicial officer are for naught. (Washington, D. C., November 16, 1903.)

There are plenty of questions about which honest men can and do differ very greatly and very intensely, but as to which the triumph of either side may be compatible with the welfare of the state—a lesser degree of welfare or a greater degree of welfare, but compatible with the welfare of the state. But there are certain great principles, such as those which Cromwell would

have called "fundamentals," concerning which no man has a right to have more than one opinion. Such a question is honesty. (Washington, D. C., October 25, 1903.)

It is well for us in this place, and at this time, to remember that exactly as there are certain homely qualities the lack of which will prevent the most brilliant man alive from being a useful soldier to his country, so there are certain homely qualities for the lack of which in the public servant no shrewdness or ability can atone. (Washington, D. C., October 15, 1903.)

There are many qualities which we need alike in private citizen and in public man, but three above all—three for the lack of which no brilliancy and no genius can atone—and those three are courage, honesty, and common sense. (Antietam, Md., September 17, 1903.)

It is an even graver offense to sin against the commonwealth than to sin against an individual. The man who debauches our public life, whether by malversation of funds in office, by the actual bribery of voters or of legislators, or by the corrupt use of the offices as spoils wherewith to reward the unworthy and the vicious for their noxious and interested activity in the baser walks of political life—this man is a greater foe to our well-being as a nation than is even the defaulting cashier of a bank or the betrayer of a private trust. No amount of intelligence and no amount of energy will save a nation which is not honest, and no government can ever be a permanent success if administered in accordance with base ideals. The first requisite in the citizen who wishes to share the work of our public life, whether he wishes himself to hold office or merely to do his plain duty as an American by taking part in the management of our political machinery, is that he shall act disinterestedly and with a sincere purpose to serve the whole commonwealth. ("The manly virtues and practical politics," American Ideals, p. 51.)

Character is shown in peace no less than in war. As the greatest fertility of invention, the greatest perfection of armament, will not make soldiers out of cowards, so no mental training and no bodily vigor will make a nation great if it lacks the fundamental principles of honesty and moral cleanliness. ("Character and success," The Strenuous Life, p. 105.)

There are not a few public men who, though they would rebel with indignation at an offer of a bribe, will give certain corporations special legislative and executive privileges because they have contributed heavily to campaign funds; will permit loose and extravagant work because a contractor has political influence; or, at any rate, will permit a public servant to take public money without rendering an adequate return, by conniving at inefficient service on the part of men who are protected by prominent party leaders. Various degrees of moral guilt are involved in the multitudinous actions of this kind, but after all, directly or indirectly, every such case comes dangerously near the border line of the commandment which, in forbidding theft, certainly by implication forbids the connivance at theft, or the failure to punish it. ("The eighth and ninth commandments in politics," The Strenuous Life, p. 103.)

ABOUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES RESTING ON THE EDUCATED MAN.

A heavy responsibility rests on the educated man. It is a double discredit to him to go wrong, whether his shortcomings take the form of shirking his everyday civic duties or of abandonment of the nation's rights in a foreign quarrel. He must no more be misled by the sneers of those who always write "patriotism" between inverted commas than by the coarser but equally dangerous ridicule of the politicians who jeer at "reform." It is as unmanly to be taunted by one set of critics into cowardice as it is to be taunted by the other set into dishonesty. ("The Monroe doctrine," American Ideals, p. 258.)

The man who is content to go through life owing his alma mater for an education for which he has made no adequate return is not true to the ideals of American citizenship. He is in honor bound to make such return. He can make it in but one way; he can return what he owes to his alma mater only by making his alma mater proud of what he does in service rendered to his fellow-men. That is the type of return we have the right to expect of the university men in this country. (Speech at Charlottesville, Va., June 16, 1903.)

Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full in the shape of good citizenship. I do not ask of you, men and women here to-day, good citizenship as a favor to the State. I demand it of you as a right, and hold you recreant to your duty if you fail to give it. (Speech at Berkeley, Cal., May 14, 1903.)

If a college education means anything, it means fitting a man to do better service than he could do without it; if it does not mean that it means nothing, and if a man does not get that out of it he gets less than nothing out of it. No man has a right to arrogate to himself one particle of superiority or consideration because he has had a college education, but he is bound, if he is in truth a man, to feel that the fact of his having had a college education imposes upon him a heavier burden of responsibility, that it makes it doubly incumbent upon him to do well and nobly in his life, private and public. (Cambridge, Mass., June 25, 1902.)

Every educated man who puts himself out of touch with the current of American thought, and who on conspicuous occasions assumes an attitude hostile to the interest of America, is doing what he can to weaken the influence of educated men in American life. ("The Monroe doctrine," American Ideals, p. 258.)

If an educated man is not heartily American in instinct and feeling and taste and sympathy, he will amount to nothing in our public life. Patriotism, love of country, and pride in the flag which symbolizes country may be feelings which the race will at some period outgrow, but at present they are very real and strong, and the man who lacks them is a useless creature, a mere incumbrance to the land. ("The college graduate and public life," American Ideals, p. 75.)

If a man does not have belief and enthusiasm, the chances are small indeed that he will ever do a man's work in the world; and the paper or the college which, by its general course, tends to eradicate this power of belief and enthusiasm, this desire for work, has rendered to the young men under its influence the worst service it could possibly render. ("The college graduate and public life," American Ideals, p. 69.)

An educated man must not go into politics as such; he must go in simply as an American; and when he is once in, he will speedily realize that he must work very hard indeed or he will be upset by some other American with no education at all, but with much natural capacity. His education ought to make him feel particularly ashamed of himself if he acts meanly or dishonorably, or in any way falls short of the ideal of good citizenship, and it ought to make him feel that he must show that he has profited by it; but it should certainly give him no feeling of superiority until by actual work he has shown that superiority. In other words, the educated man must realize that he is living in a democracy and under democratic conditions, and that he is entitled to no more respect and consideration than he can win by actual performance. ("The college graduate and public life," American Ideals, p. 65.)

It is proper to demand more from the man with exceptional advantages than from the man without them. A heavy moral obligation rests upon the man of means and upon the man of education to do their full duty by their country. ("The college graduate and public life," American Ideals, p. 63.)

ABOUT OUR REUNITED COUNTRY.

If ever the need comes in the future the past has made abundantly evident the fact that from this time on Northerner and Southerner will in war know only the generous desire to strive how each can do the more effective service for the flag of our common country. The same thing is true in the endless work of peace, the never-ending work of building and keeping the marvelous fabric of our industrial prosperity. The upbuilding of any part of our country is a benefit to the whole, and every such effort as this to stimulate the resources and industry of a particular section is entitled to the heartiest support from every quarter of the Union. Thoroughly good national work can be done only if each of us works hard for himself, and at the same time keeps constantly in mind that he must work in conjunction with others. (Speech at Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

The war with Spain was the most absolutely righteous foreign war in which any nation has engaged during the nineteenth century, and not the least of its many good features was the unity it brought about between the sons of the men who wore the blue and of those who wore the gray. This necessarily meant the dying out of the old antipathy. Of course embers smolder here and there, but the country at large is growing more and more to take pride in the valor, the self-devotion, the loyalty to an ideal, displayed alike by the soldiers of both sides in the civil war. We are all united now. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 59.)

Nobody is interested in the fact that Dewey comes from Vermont, Hobson from Alabama, or Funston from Kansas. If all three came from the same county it would make no difference to us. They are Americans, and every American has an equal right to challenge his share of glory in their deeds. As we read of the famous feats of our army in the Philippines, it matters nothing to us whether the regiments come from Oregon, Idaho, California, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, or Tennessee. What does matter is that these splendid soldiers are all Americans; that they are our heroes; that our blood runs in their veins; that the flag under which we live is the flag for which they have fought, for which some of them have died. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 61.)

The devout, the self-sacrifice, the steadfast resolution and lofty daring, the high devotion to the right, as each man saw it, whether Northerner or Southerner—all these qualities of the men and women of the early sixties now shine luminous and brilliant before our eyes, while the mists of anger and hatred that once dimmed them have passed away forever. (Speech at Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.)

Virginia has always rightly prided herself upon the character of the men whom she has sent into public life. No more wonderful example of governmental ability, ability in statecraft and public administration, has ever been given than by the history of Virginia's sons in public life. (Speech at Charlottesville, Va., June 16, 1903.)

I am sure that none of my friends who fought in the Confederate service will misunderstand me or will grudge what I am about to say when I say that the greatest debt owed by this country to any set of men is owed by it to those men of the so-called border States—the men who in statesmanship followed Clay and the Crittendens and the Blairs; the men who, as soldiers, fought on the same side with Thomas and Farragut; the men who were for the Union, without regard to whether their immediate associates were for it or not. (Speech at Washington, D. C., December 9, 1902.)

Besides the material results of the civil war, we are all, North and South, incalculably richer for its memories. We are the richer for each grim campaign, for each hard-fought battle. We are the richer for valor displayed alike by those who fought so valiantly for the right and by those who, no less valiantly, fought for what they deemed the right. We have in us nobler capacities for what is great and good because of the infinite woe and suffering, and because of the splendid ultimate triumph. (*American Ideals*, p. 19.)

Knowing the Southern people as I do, I would heartily advocate fighting twice as hard as you fought from 1861 to 1865 for the privilege of staying in the same Union with them. (Speech at Washington, D. C., December 9, 1902.)

MAXIMS.

In life, as in a football game, the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard; don't foul and don't shirk, but hit the line hard! ("The American boy," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 137.)

Any healthy-minded American is bound to think well of his fellow-Americans if he only gets to know them. ("Fellow-feeling as a political factor," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 64.)

No nation has ever prospered as we are prospering now, and we must see to it that by our own folly we do not mar this prosperity. (Speech at Union League banquet, Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902.)

If there is any one quality that is not admirable, whether in a nation or in an individual, it is hysterics, either in religion or in anything else. The man or woman who makes up for ten days' indifference to duty by an eleventh-day morbid repentance about that duty is of scant use in the world. (Boston, Mass., August 25, 1902.)

Wherever a deed is done by an American which reflects credit upon our country, each of us can walk with his head a little higher in consequence; and wherever anything happens through the fault of any of us that is discreditable it discredits all of us more or less. (Danville, Va., September 9, 1902.)

Throughout our history no one has been able to render really great service to the country if he did not believe in the country. (Speech at Augusta, Me., August 23, 1902.)

It is all right and inevitable that we should divide on party lines, but woe to us if we are not Americans first and party men second. (Speech at Logansport, Ind., September 23, 1902.)

Practical politics must not be construed to mean dirty politics. On the contrary, in the long run the politics of fraud and treachery and foulness are unpractical politics, and the most practical of all politicians is the politician who is clean and decent and upright. ("The manly virtues and practical politics," *American Ideals*, p. 55.)

The American who is to make his way in America should be brought up among his fellow-Americans. ("True Americanism," *American Ideals*, p. 41.)

There is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great. (Address at Minnesota State Fair, September 2, 1901.)

The prosperity of any of us can best be attained by measures that will promote the prosperity of all. The poorest motto upon which an American can act is the motto of "Some men down" and the safest to follow is that of "All men up." (Speech at opening of Pan-American Exposition, May 20, 1901.)

A nation's greatness lies in its possibility of achievement in the present, and nothing helps it more than the consciousness of achievement in the past. (*American Ideals*, p. 80.)

Cynicism in public life is a curse, and when a man has lost the power of enthusiasm for righteousness it will be better for him and the country if he abandons public life. ("Latitude and longitude among reformers," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 53.)

The best boys I know—the best men I know—are good at their studies or their business, fearless and stalwart, hated and feared by all that is wicked and depraved; incapable of submitting to wrong-doing, and equally incapable

of being aught but tender to the weak and helpless. ("The American boy," *The Strenuous Life*, p. 136.)

I think that the average American is a decent fellow, and that the prime thing in getting him to get on well with the other average American is to have each remember that the other is a decent fellow, and try to look at the problems a little from the other's standpoint. (Speech at Barstow, Cal., May 7, 1903.)

The future welfare of our nation depends upon the way in which we can combine in our men—in our young men—decency and strength. (Speech at Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 16, 1903.)

I call special attention to the need of strict economy in expenditures. The fact that our national needs forbid us to be niggardly in providing whatever is actually necessary to our well being should make us doubly careful to husband our national resources, as each of us husbands his private resources, by scrupulous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustifiable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine. (Annual Message, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.)

Life can mean nothing worth meaning unless its prime aim is the doing of duty, the achievement of results worth achieving. (Speech at Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.)

Duty, a word that stands above glory or any other word. Glory is a good word, too, but duty is a better one. (Speech at Washington, D. C., February 19, 1902.)

The man who does not care to do any act until the time for heroic action comes does not do the heroic act when the time does come. (Address at Arlington, May 21, 1902.)

All I ask is a square deal for every man. Give him a fair chance. Do not let him wrong anyone, and do not let him be wronged. (Speech at Grand Canyon, Ariz., May 6, 1903.)

No man is warranted in feeling pride in the deeds of the Army and Navy of the past if he does not back up the Army and the Navy of the present. (Speech at Sherman statue unveiling, October 15, 1903.)

I believe in the future—not in a spirit which will sit down and look for the future to work itself out, but with a determination to do its part in making the future what it can and shall be made. (Speech at Detroit, Mich., September 22, 1902.)

It is a good thing that the guard around the tomb of Lincoln should be composed of colored soldiers. It was my own good fortune at Santiago to serve beside colored troops. A man who is good enough to shed his blood for the country is good enough to be given a square deal afterwards. More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have. (Speech at Lincoln monument, Springfield, Ill., June 4, 1903.)

APPENDIX G.

Some years ago the publishers of the *American Economist* called upon a large number of leading Americans for a brief statement of their reasons for being protectionists. Some of the best answers are given below, under the general title—

WHY I AM A PROTECTIONIST.

[By Hon. Justin S. Morrill, former United States Senator from Vermont, father of the Morrill tariff act of 1861.]

First. It brings together diversified industries which never fail to vastly increase the personal intelligence, industry, and wage earnings of the people.

Second. It adds prodigiously to the power of increasing, by machinery and steam and water power, the necessities of life and of advanced civilization, and also greatly cheapens the cost of subsistence.

Third. It furnishes an opportunity for every person to find the employment best adapted to his or her genius and capacity that will secure the largest income or the greatest happiness.

Fourth. It creates a home market, without which the cultivators of land in America would be but a little better off than our aborigines.

Fifth. It is the bulwark of national independence in peace or war.

[By Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, United States Senator from Massachusetts.]

I am a protectionist because I think by that policy the workmen of America will be well paid and not underpaid.

Because I think by that policy the variety of industry will be created here which will make America strong in peace and in war.

Because the industries so fostered will develop the skill and brain power of my countrymen and raise the people of the United States to the first rank in intelligence among the nations of the earth.

Because that policy has already made us the richest and strongest nation on earth, and under a properly restricted immigration will bring to us much that is most valuable in the population of other lands.

[By Hon. S. M. CULLOM, United States Senator from Illinois.]

First. Because as a result in a large degree of our protective-tariff system the United States has become one of the foremost nations of the world.

Second. Because by the policy of fostering American industries the development of our manufacturing interests have been secured; the inventive genius of our people has found a field; American labor has become the best paid, and consequently our laborers the best housed, clothed, and fed; and the wonderful development and progress in this country in all that makes a people great, have elicited the admiration of the civilized world.

In view of these facts, which are well known, I believe in such a protective tariff as will secure reasonable protection to American labor and industry.

[By Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE, United States Senator from Maine.]

Because facts confront us, not theories. I have seen the wage-earners of Great Britain and continental Europe; know how they live; that they are homeless and landless as far as ownership is concerned; that they are helpless and hopeless as to any brighter future for themselves or their children; that in their scant wages there is no margin for misfortune and sickness, pauperism being the only refuge.

I know that in this Republic the prudent, temperate, and industrious worker is sure of an abundant reward; that his ambition to succeed seldom meets with failure; that he owns land and home; that luxuries to the European laborer are necessities to the American. How then can we compete with the former and maintain our superiority in these regards? Steam and electricity have made of the world one neighborhood, eliminating largely the protection once afforded by time, distance, and transportation. There is one way only of solving this problem: Legislation for our own, a tariff for protection.

[By Hon. N. D. SPERRY, M. C., of New Haven, Conn.]

Because I am an American citizen and wish to see the people of this country prosperous. Experience of more than forty years in business has taught me that under a low, or revenue, tariff, business depression and financial distress has been the rule, while under protection good business and general prosperity has been the result.

If the people will stand by the McKinley bill, so called, prosperity will follow.

[By Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, of New Jersey.]

Because protection promotes the prosperity and welfare of the country by giving employment to labor and developing the resources of the nation. The more general the employment of the people, the larger the production, and the greater the production the cheaper the price of the commodities produced will be to the consumers who use them. Protection or self-preservation is a principle implanted by God upon all animated matter, and it is better, not only for the nation itself, but for the people of the whole world, that such protection should be given to labor in each nation as will produce the same results in production in each separate country.

[By Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER, United States Senator from Iowa.]

I believe in the doctrine of protection because the facts of our national experience thoroughly exemplify its truth. No great American statesman, except the half-forgotten leaders of the slave power, have disowned the protective system. The importers' trust and the slave trust have been alone in their hostility to that system, each for obvious reasons peculiar to itself. If the doctrine of protection is not true, our people have blindly followed a blind leadership. If the policy of protection is not wise, it indicates that the human race, outside of England, has not sense enough to take care of itself. I will not thus disparage the average common sense of our own country, nor thus discredit the average common sense of mankind.

[By David Hall Rice, of Boston.]

Between nations but two systems have ever existed, the free-trade-tariff system and the protective-tariff system.

The fruit of the free-trade-tariff system is, in the words of the British Royal Commission, intermittent and consequently dear production and absence of reliable profits; in the words of General Booth, over 3,000,000 of helpless and starving British workmen, begging for work to earn the bare bread of daily existence; in the words of Cardinal Manning, "the capital that stagnates" and "the starvation wages of the [British] labor market."

The fruit of the protective-tariff system is—by reserving the sure home market to the competition of American producers—continuous and consequently economical and profitable production, giving cheap prices to the ultimate consumer, fair returns on invested capital, and the highest wages in the world to labor. Under it neither capital stagnates nor labor starves, but both do their work together.

That is why I am a protectionist.

[By Hon. B. F. Jones, of Pittsburg.]

I am a protectionist because our country has prospered with protection and languished without it.

Because revenue can more easily, more surely, and with less objection be raised by judicious protective tariff laws than otherwise.

Because protection diversifies employment and largely relieves wage-earners from foreign competition, thereby enabling them to be liberal consumers as well as producers.

Because, as has been demonstrated, the effect of protection is the cheapening of products.

Because defense against injurious importations is as necessary and justifiable as is an army and navy.

Because the theory of free trade between nations is as fallacious, impracticable, and utterly absurd as is that of free love between families.

[By Hon. L. R. Casey, former United States Senator from North Dakota.]

Protection steadily enlarges the home market for farm products. England buys the world's surplus wheat. She demands "a big loaf for tuppence." Accordingly, she glutts her markets from every source and usually is able to dictate unprofitable prices for American grain.

When our exportable surplus is large, prices are rarely good; when small, always; so that, strangely, a deficient yield is sometimes good luck for the farmer.

Well-paid wage-earners are generous consumers.

Protection alone insures American labor against European pauper wages.

When, under protection, American industries shall employ bread eaters sufficient to nearly consume American cereals, then the farmer will no longer sell his grain at cost of production or less. He will escape the competition of the ryot and the serf. His industry will be profitable, his calling honored and truly independent.

[By Col. William L. Strong.]

First. I am a protectionist because I am an American, thoroughly imbued with American ideas, American principles, American enterprises, and American thought.

Second. For the reason that it guarantees to the wage-earners, whether male or female, a better remuneration for their services than they can possibly obtain in any country on the face of the globe; and this remuneration does not apply simply to factory operatives, manufacturing textile fabrics, but applies equally to the employed in every vocation in life, whether it be clerks, salesmen, professors of colleges, or salaried officers in railroads, banks, or incorporated companies of any kind, so that any human being in any vocation in this country who works for a salary, either by the day or year, is benefited by the American policy of protection.

Third. It has caused the balance of trade to turn in our favor during the last thirty years to such an extent that the nations of the earth, during this time, have paid us eighteen hundred million of dollars, and our country is just that much richer than it would have been had it not been for our system of protection. The result of this is that instead of being compelled to pay the money lenders of the country from 7 to 10 per cent per annum interest for their money they are very well satisfied with from 4 to 5 per cent per annum, reducing the rate of interest quite one-half from what the average was to the borrower thirty years ago.

Fourth. For the reason that it encourages manufacturing enterprises of all kinds to increase throughout the country, and the competition between the manufacturers prevents large profits from being made and prevents monopolies of all kinds in consequence of this competition. The result of our manufacturing interests is we furnish the people a better class of goods at a less price than they would have to pay if these different manufacturing establishments were not established in this country, creating a demand for our agricultural products and realizing a better price for them in our own home market than we get abroad.

Fifth. The United States Government collected in 1890 about \$230,000,000 from imports, and the most of this revenue was collected from importers who bring in a class of merchandise that is not used generally by the medium and lower classes, and particularly so since the duties have been taken off sugar.

The lowest estimate of the amount of money earned by the wage-earners of all classes in this country is about fifteen thousand millions of dollars annually, an excess of at least six thousand millions over the earnings of the same number of people living in other countries.

Can this country do away with our protective policy without reducing the wages of the breadwinners to the level of wages paid in foreign countries?

If not, then the wage-earners could well afford to pay the \$230,000,000 collected by the Government, mostly from foreign producers, in 1890, and keep up the present rate of wages.

As the wealthier classes use at least seven-tenths of the amount of our imports, that portion of the duty paid by consumers bears very lightly on the poorer classes; consequently all of our legislation favoring protection is almost wholly in the interest of these classes, and the passing of such laws by a Republican Congress is legislating the greatest good to the greatest number of people.

[By Hon. D. B. Henderson, former Speaker United States House of Representatives.]

First. Because the civilized world substantially protects itself, thus forcing us to protect ourselves.

Second. Because all the conditions of men and of women in this country are better than in other countries, and protection is needed to preserve our happier conditions.

Third. Because I want labor to get the best possible wages for its efforts.

Fourth. Because I want agriculture to find a near, sure, and rich market.

Fifth. Because I want to keep the capital and labor of this country all actively employed, each helping the other.

[By Edwin A. Hartshorn, of Troy, N. Y.]

Because protection insures the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number.

Because steam and electricity have practically annihilated space, while climatic conditions render living impossible upon the same income in all countries.

Because self-government under a labor system so degraded as to prohibit universal education is an impossibility.

Because protection is the first law of national, as well as individual, preservation, and self-preservation is the first law of nature.

Because cheap labor and free foreign trade were the fundamental principles of the Southern Confederacy, which threatened the destruction of our priceless Government.

[By H. K. Thurber.]

I am a protectionist because thrift follows the enactment of wise laws.

Because I love my own country better than I do foreign countries.

Because protection builds up our towns into cities and enhances the value of our houses and lands.

Because every dollar sent abroad to purchase goods that we can produce at home makes us a dollar the poorer.

Because protection in this country gives labor better wages than free trade.

Because it is better for this country to feed, clothe, and house our own labor in this country than to support foreign labor in other countries with our money.

Because it is true, as Peter Cooper well said: "No goods purchased abroad are cheap that take the place of our own labor and our own raw material."

[By Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, Treasurer of the United States.]

In my judgment the purpose in raising revenue should be first to promote production, from which spring a nation's wealth and power. Consumption will follow.

In home production the whole cost of the commodity is kept here to buy materials and to pay wages.

With agriculture and manufactures developed by stable protection a surplus will be produced to seek external markets by ships made by American mechanics from our native products.

Home markets are best for our own producers, and their development is the condition of a foreign trade large and varied enough to endure and expand.

[By Hon. P. C. Cheney, ex-governor of New Hampshire.]

I believe in the inherent right of self-preservation, both for man and government. My observation and experience, both in this and foreign countries, assure me that a "free-trade" policy for America inures only to the benefit of those abroad. All foreign nations know this, and hence urge us to adopt it. Our loss would be their gain. Only by protection are we enabled to pay the highest for labor and sell the lowest to the workman.

This condition makes the United States conspicuously prosperous.

Our Government should be as exacting from foreigners as from Americans. Make them pay duty while we pay taxes.

[By James M. Swank, general manager of the American Iron and Steel Association.]

I am a protectionist because I am an American. The free admission of foreign commodities, or their admission at rates of duty which are levied for purely revenue purposes, may suit the economic conditions and meet the financial needs of other countries, but history teaches that the prosperity of our own country is best promoted by a tariff which is levied for protection as well as for revenue. Many of our great industries, including the silk industry, the pottery industry, the carpet industry, and the steel-rail industry, had only a nominal existence until adequately protective duties were imposed on competing foreign products.

All other considerations aside, older manufacturing countries could command lower wages for labor than this country, and protective duties were therefore needed to equalize the labor cost of production. Our tin-plate industry is to-day an infant industry because we have not had a protective duty on foreign tin plates. We shall always need protective duties as long as our people insist upon a higher standard of wages and scale of living than prevail abroad. If they were now willing to accept the same wages and the same social conditions which the people of other countries are compelled to accept, our protective policy could be greatly modified, if not wholly dispensed with. Whatever it may have been in the past, this policy is therefore to-day chiefly a question of wages.

[By Hon. William W. Bates, former Commissioner of Navigation.]

1. Because instinct and reason teach the right and duty of self-defense for individuals, families, society, and the State.

2. Because protection assures peace, without which human life has no true object, intellectual and moral improvement no prospect, and the general good no existence.

3. Because I believe in human freedom, in the improvement of man, and the happiness of mankind. To this end everyone should direct his course, each government intelligently guide its people, securing to each employment and to all a due reward for toil.

4. Because I prefer my own country to every other; and to develop its resources, increase its wealth, augment its power, and improve its people, before any other, is the bounden duty of loyal citizens.

5. Because without protection all these things are left to chance—to doom and disappointment—the poor to live in ignorance and vice, the weak to fall before the strong, and the good to serve the bad. As wisdom leaves nothing to chance, so good government cares for every useful pursuit, that it may rear its pillars on solid ground.

[By Hon. George H. Ely, of Ohio.]

It is obviously the right and the duty of this nation to care for its own.

Whatever, from geographical position, commercial relations, and existing social and industrial conditions, may apparently be the policy of any other nation, it is our duty to make the utmost of American resources—resources in men and in material things. That was the underlying thought of the new nation, planted on the new continent.

It proposed a higher type of manhood than could be realized under Old World conditions.

It meant, first of all, a higher wage level. Men, not class interests, were to count in the new social and political framework. That higher wage level aimed at by the fathers of the Republic, the policy of protection which they inaugurated secured and still maintains. By carefully adjusted rates of duty the low-wage products of other countries which compete with ours, or with such as we can and ought to produce, are made to pay to a large extent the necessary expenses of our Government; while our free list of noncompetitive products swings wide open the gates in every clime to the products of our agriculture and manufactures.

Within the lines of these defenses we are now working out our great destiny.

The theater is an isolated continent banded from ocean to ocean by every zone of climate between tropical heat and arctic cold.

The instrument is a diversified industry, which, along the whole range of invention, discovery, and human labor, lifts into the sunlight the dormant and unutilized natural resources of our country.

By this policy the farm, the shop, the mine, and the factory each furnish a market for the other, and while taxation of foreign products at the gates is an unflinching reliance for revenue, home production, with competition the moment the defensive duty has established the industry, invariably lowers the cost of commodities to the consumer. In other words, "the tariff is a tax" only on the foreign producer. In no other land does a day's wages secure to the toiler so much to cover his necessities and to brighten his life. Whenever, at different periods in the one hundred years behind us, this economic policy has prevailed, and to just the extent it has been fully operative, its vindication has glowed upon the pages of our national history.

The McKinley tariff act is now working out its claimed and prophesied results. In the first ten months of its operation it has increased our foreign trade \$33,435,123. It is at this moment bringing in more than one-half of our foreign imports on the free list, and it has reduced the per capita revenue from duties from \$3.62 to \$2.59. Its provisions for the enlargement of sales of United States products to South and Central American States have already resulted in important treaties with Spain, Santo Domingo, and Brazil, with other negotiations pending.

These provisions for reciprocal trade are certain to increase our export sales \$50,000,000 within a year, and yet this patriotic and successful undertaking is characterized by "tariff reform" as "the Blaine reciprocity humbug."

[By Judge William Lawrence, of Ohio.]

I favor protection because it is essential to national power, wealth, and independence; it makes a demand for skilled labor, including that for infirm men, for women and children, who would otherwise be idle; secures fair wages and adds to general intelligence; it makes a home market, always reliable, and the best for farm products and for vegetables and fruits which can not be exported and for which there would otherwise be no market; it improves the productive capacity, especially by stock raising and the value of lands; it saves to the world the useless expense and labor of shipping products from one country to another and turns these into productive sources of wealth; it secures national revenues paid largely by foreigners, and multiplies the sources which share the burdens of local taxation; its ultimate effect is to furnish more abundant and cheaper products by home competition, by preventing foreign monopoly and extortion, and by the invention of labor-saving machinery; it adds to the sources of individual wealth, education, comfort, and happiness.

Every period of adequate protection has been prosperous; every period of "tariff for revenue only," unaided by abnormal conditions, has been attended with depression in business and consequent idleness and crime, verifying the truth that "he that provideth not for his own household is worse than" a protectionist—he is a free trader or free trader.

[By Hon. Joseph Nimmo, jr.]

1. Because protection is in conformity with the dictates of common sense and patriotism.
 2. Because protection is founded upon the hard teachings of experience, and not upon any fancied eternal fitness of things.
 3. Because protection defends home markets entirely our own and in the aggregate at least five times as large as the total foreign market, in which we are forced to compete sharply with all other nations.
 4. Because the McKinley Act is already justified by results—prices of manufactured goods no higher, prices of agricultural products advanced and fairly remunerative as the result of the stimulus given to manufactures, labor well employed, and wages never before higher.
- All the lies in regard to a rise in prices consequent upon "the McKinley bill" have fallen to the ground, and the protective policy is to-day ready for a national campaign.

[By Prof. R. H. Thurston, of Cornell University.]

I am a protectionist because I can see very clearly that the political independence which every patriot would sacrifice his life to preserve to his country, can only be safely assured when we are industrially independent, and I am glad, if it requires that lesser sacrifice, to forego a few pennies of my savings to do my part to secure that assurance.

I am a protectionist because I can see, I think with equal clearness, that the greater the diversification of our industries the greater the prosperity of our people.

I am a protectionist because it seems to me evident that a carefully arranged tariff—arranged, I should say, by a special commission of honest, disinterested, and wise men—must be kept up to preserve us from industrial crises and disturbances due to foreign industrial changes and crises.

I am a protectionist because I think that ultimately we shall insure the most uniform, moderate, and satisfactory markets when the manufacturing and the agricultural classes are most thoroughly intermingled, so that we shall have a minimum expenditure for transportation and maximum labor applied in actual production.

I am a protectionist because I find my views confirmed by the practice of the whole world, with the single exception of Great Britain, where I see that the principles just enunciated are violated by excess of productive capacity in manufactures, and, naturally, to relieve her people from their difficulties, open markets and free-trade must be sought by that nation, Great Britain in this respect standing alone.

[By Hon. H. B. Metcalf, Pawtucket, R. I.]

Why am I, an American citizen, an advocate of such a tax upon imports as will actually assure to American industry the highest attainable degree of prosperity, whatever law may be required to that end; or, in other words, why am I "Protectionist?"

Because for forty years I have been both an active business man and an actual observer of actual events. I have read and listened to the theories of the opponents of protection and actually seen those theories refuted in living experience. I have studied the policy and promises of the advocates of protection, and actual evidence on every hand confirm those promises.

I have seen it to be an actual fact, abundantly sustained by evidence, that under the system of protection every hour of honest toil purchases more of material comfort for the toiler than is attainable under any other system, the degree of such advantage being contingent upon the completeness and accuracy of the application of the protective system. This advantage comes directly or indirectly to all classes of toilers, be they weavers, spinners, carpenters, painters, machinists, farmers, doctors, editors, or teachers.

I am convinced that the system of protection fosters a spirit of national self-independence, such as is indispensable to the highest standards of citizenship under a government of the people.

[By Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, ex-governor of Pennsylvania.]

I am a "protectionist" because the welfare and happiness of the people in America depend on their ability to enjoy the necessities, conveniences, and comforts which our manufacturers supply. There is no other source of adequate supply for many such commodities except American manufacturers, so that the American manufacturer is more indispensable to the American people than the American people is to the manufacturer.

While American labor is more efficient and more productive than labor elsewhere, it yet remains incontestably true that there are thousands of commodities which can not be made by our artisans in competition with low priced labor elsewhere. If the laborers here are to consume this class of manufactured goods, the industries which produce them must be shielded from destructive competition or the producer must live in some other country. If he lives here he must either make them or go without them; he can not buy them, for the reason that there is no "something else" he can do by which he can earn the purchase money for the foreign article. Nobody but an economic idiot would now contend that the protective duty adds a "sou-maque" to the cost of the commodity. Its only effect is to give the market to the American producer. The free trader may beat about the bush with his speculation, dogmatism, sophistries, and insolence, but the root of the matter lies within the compass of the foregoing proposition of facts.

[By David H. Mason, of Chicago.]

All the prosperity enjoyed by the American people—absolutely all the prosperity, without any reservation whatever—from the foundation of the United States Government down to the present time, has been under the reign of protective principles; and all the hard times suffered by the American people in the same period have been preceded either by a heavy reduction of duties on imports or by insufficient protection, thus refuting all free-trade theories on the subject. As I desire my native land to be on the apex of prosperity, rather than under the heel of hard times, I am a protectionist.

[By George M. Steele, D. D., principal Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass.]

I am in favor of the protective policy:

First. Because it furnishes a steady and uniform market to our producers at a cost which is insignificant in comparison with the benefits it confers.

Second. Because it tends to multiply the industries to which our country is well fitted, and this is a vast advantage to our workingmen.

Third. Because, by the multiplication of industries in a nation where they would not otherwise exist, there is an increase of competition and thus a diminution in the price of commodities, making thereby an advantage to all consumers.

[By David J. Hill, D. D., LL. D., president University of Rochester.]

I am a protectionist for the following reasons:

First. The policy of protection enables our country to develop industries of which other countries, if it were not for protection, would enjoy a practical monopoly. Although not profitable in the United States unless protected, these industries are important to our national development and independence and should not be allowed to become extinct.

Second. A protective tariff unquestionably increases the rewards of labor (a) by creating a demand for skilled labor, (b) by diversifying the kinds of labor in a country and thus differentiating both demand and supply, and (c) by making for producers of every kind a home market. This increase of the laborer's reward is not confined to the protected industries, but elevates wages in every sphere (a) by the sympathetic effect of high wages generally and (b) by withdrawing from the nonprotected industries and from agriculture a surplus of wage-earners who would divide and reduce wages if they competed against each other.

Third. Although a protective tariff increases prices immediately after its adoption, the resulting activity and the abundant home production under protection tend constantly to reduce the prices of manufactured articles as industry becomes better organized. As a result the country becomes wealthier both absolutely and relatively—absolutely, because the aggregate of home-produced commodities is vastly increased; and relatively, because wages are kept above the European level by a high-tariff barrier to foreign competition. Under free trade or a tariff for revenue only we would have to send our gold out of the country to pay for imported goods and to compete with the entire world in disposing of our own products at home, thus lowering our wages to the level of those paid to the cheap labor of Europe.

Fourth. The United States is a continental nation and should adopt a continental policy. Free trade is adapted only to insular nations, and no continental nation has adopted a free-trade policy. We are the most continental of all the continental peoples and have the most diversified products. A naturally specialized nation, like Great Britain, can always drive us out of the market in that nation's specialty in the long run, because it must do so to maintain its own existence. On the one hand, we should not plunge our people into so desperate a competition with a specialized competitor, for this could end only in driving our people from the field; and, on the other hand, we should not permit our country to be itself specialized by being limited to those productions only in which it has a natural superiority under existing conditions. The only way out of the dilemma is to protect those industries which it is necessary to foster in order to secure diversified and harmonious national development.

Fifth. The deepest root of my adherence to a protective policy is, however, a moral one. I believe that we, as a nation, have great material advantages for the building up of a free, intelligent, and happy people such as the world has not yet seen. I believe that these advantages are surrendered if too widely shared. We are divinely set as a nation to work out the political problem of mankind. As a patriot, I claim that, having a manifest national destiny to be worked out by a historic process, we should not part with our birthright. As well might a father of a family, just started in a prosperous business with a small capital, distribute his little property equally among the poor of his neighborhood, depriving himself of the means of providing for and educating his children, as for this nation to share with the Old World every increment of power and superiority to be found in the new, assuming its burdens of mendacity and debt, and receiving the peasant as the peer of the American citizen.

The greatest anomaly in our history is the free reception accorded to those who have come to our shores to claim rights which they were unfitted to exercise. Free trade secures to every other country all the advantages that belong to this, as soon as it is adopted, by putting American labor in open competition with the labor of Europe and Asia. Free immigration at least obliges the participant in American prosperity to come to America; free trade would send him the fruit of American industry without the trouble of crossing the ocean. Whether it be against foreign goods, ideas, or men, I would raise a protecting barrier that would secure this God-given continent to the preservation and development of the institutions of our fathers. The article in our political creed that most needs emphasis is "America for Americans."

[By Santa Claus.]

I have traveled the world over, I have seen millions of homes, and I know the children of every country. I would not like to see the rich get all the presents, and since I have made my headquarters here I find that nowhere in the world do the children of the laboring classes get so many presents as in the United States. They all have nice warm stockings here, while the stockings of children in other countries are full of holes or the children have no stockings at all to fill. All seem to have plenty of money here saved up for Christmas, and that must mean big wages all over the United States, and this, I am told, is because of a protective tariff. So I shall always be a protectionist.

Delegate from Alaska.

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARLIN E. OLMSTED,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Monday, April 25, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13356) providing for the election of a Delegate from the Territory of Alaska to the House of Representatives of the United States, and defining the qualifications of electors in said Territory—

Mr. OLMSTED said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The discussion pending the consideration of this bill has already taken a wide range, and availing myself of the latitude allowed in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, I propose to devote some time to a discussion of the beneficial effect upon American labor, American agriculture, and American prosperity generally, of the American protective tariff, as enacted and enforced by a Republican Administration. Before entering actively upon that discussion, but, nevertheless, as having some bearing upon it, I introduce, and will cause to be inserted in the RECORD as part of my remarks some papers which have been handed to me by my excellent friend from Iowa [Mr. LACEY], and which but for lack of time and opportunity would have been introduced in his own remarks. The first is a copy of the address of Secretary Shaw, showing the inaction and insincerity of the last national Democratic Administration upon the subject of trusts.

ADDRESS OF HON. LESLIE M. SHAW, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE YOUNG MEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury, before the Young Men's Republican Club, Providence, R. I., Wednesday evening, March 23, 1904, said in part:

No sooner was the result of the merger case announced than the opposition inaugurated widely varying and inconsistent tactics to rob the Administration of the fruits of its victory. Some demanded the institution of similar suits against every large business and producing enterprise and every consolidation of railroad interests, whether of competing systems or of continuous lines.

The most amusing effort to avoid a comparison of Republican and Democratic Administrations, to the great advantage of the former, appears in a recent interview by ex-President Cleveland. He does not claim to have recommended any antitrust legislation during either of his Administrations. He does not claim that any antitrust legislation was passed during either of his Administrations. He does not claim credit for any litigation ever instituted to suppress any trust or combination during either of his Administrations. He simply seeks to explain why nothing was done, and he places the responsibility therefor upon the courts and the Constitution and upon the fact that the Northern Securities Company was not organized during his Administration.

I am very glad that the ex-President has again commenced to take notice, notwithstanding the McKelway letter. Eight years is a long time to remain in mourning. But now that he has voluntarily entered the lists and invited comparisons, he can not complain if comparisons be made.

Mr. Cleveland was first inaugurated President March 4, 1885. Neither in his inaugural address nor in any message does he mention the subject of trusts until immediately preceding the election of 1888. In his last message preceding that campaign he refers to the existence of "combinations frequently called trusts," and closes with this sage conclusion:

"The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes."

He recommends no relief and suggests no remedy. Nevertheless, the Congress to which this comprehensive statement of fact was submitted, a majority of the Members of which belonged to his school of political thought, appointed a commission to investigate the subject. The purpose of the commission was to convince the people that their interests were not being neglected, at least during the campaign, and that if Mr. Cleveland was reelected some remedial legislation would follow. To that end this commission held meetings from time to time throughout the campaign. Mr. Cleveland was not reelected, however, but when Congress reconvened, in a paragraph of five

lines, he refers to the subject of trusts, and closes with this sad and terrifying announcement: "Corporations, which should be the carefully restrained creatures of the law and the servants of the people, are fast becoming the people's masters." But he recommends no relief and suggests no possible way of escape.

Two days before the inauguration of President Harrison the commission to which I have referred made its report, setting forth what evidently appeared to the commission as a most deplorable condition:

"Your committee respectfully report that the number of combinations and trusts formed and forming in this country is, as your committee has ascertained, very large, and affects a large portion of the important manufacturing and industrial interests of the country. They do not report any list of these combinations, for the reason that new ones are constantly forming and old ones are constantly extending their relations so as to cover new branches of business and invade new territories."

Their words of encouragement which follow must be read in the light of the fact that two days later a Republican Congress, elected some months before, was to convene. Listen!

"Your committee further report that owing to present differences of opinion between the members of your committee they limit this report to submitting to the careful consideration of subsequent Congresses the facts shown by the testimony taken before the committee."

Both the President and the committee acknowledge the existence of harmful trusts and combinations, but neither holds forth to the people any ray of hope except at the hands of those who were about to fill their seats.

The Republican Congress was not long inactive. The very first bill introduced in the Senate of the Fifty-first Congress was John Sherman's antitrust bill, Senate File No. 1. It passed both Houses and received the signature of Benjamin Harrison.

The passage of this act was followed by several suits for its enforcement, and several decisions by the Supreme Court were secured, declaring it constitutional and applying it to various conditions. Then, on March 4, 1893, President Cleveland was again inaugurated, and in his inaugural address he refers to trusts, saying:

"These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by Federal power, the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions."

He suggests no modification of the Sherman Act, and recommends nothing in its place, but in harmony with the teachings of State sovereignty statesmanship, of which he always had been, and therefore always will be, a diligent student, he suggests that it is very doubtful whether the Federal Government has any jurisdiction in the premises.

That was in his inaugural address. He does not again refer to the subject of trusts in message or proclamation until December, 1896, after the election of William McKinley, when he can throw the responsibility upon another. In this, his last message, he denounces combinations of every description in language as intemperate and inflammatory as was ever employed by his party's more recent candidate for the Presidency. He says:

"Their tendency is to crush out individual independence and to hinder and prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character."

He then discouraged Federal legislation by saying:

"The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making the Federal authority supreme in its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that can not be transgressed. The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through Federal action unless they seek, directly and purposely, to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between States or between the United States and foreign countries."

This, so far as the record shows, is his last utterance, official or otherwise, on the subject of trusts, until he explains, in his recent interview, the reason why nothing was done during either of his Administrations. While the platform on which he was elected the second time promised much in the way of antitrust legislation, nothing was done except to include in the tariff act of 1894 a provision rendering "null and void any combination, conspiracy, trust, agreement, or contract between two or more persons or corporations engaged in importing articles from any foreign country into the United States intended to operate in restraint of trade or to increase the market price of any imported article or any manufacture into which imported articles have entered."

Their sole legislation was against combinations of importers with intent to put up the price of imported goods. In no way, shape, or form did they seek to prohibit a combination of American manufacturers, producers, or transportation companies. It is needless to say that no effort has been or ever will be made to enforce this act, for it is directed against an imaginary evil. Importers may represent foreign trusts, but they do not combine in this country to increase the price of their imported wares. It was intended to please the people, and I see no reason to presume that any existing or contemplated trust was scared thereby.

And now I want to refer to the language of Mr. Cleveland's explanation for the sad neglect of his Administration, as set forth in his authorized interview. He says:

"The question of the Government taking legal action against the so-called 'trusts' was given much consideration during my last Administration, from 1893 to 1897. I recall that I examined closely the law and received reports from Mr. Olney, who was then Attorney-General. I was most anxious to have something done, but we were blocked by decisions of the Supreme Court, which at that time tied our hands. * * * The decisions of the Supreme Court, as pointed out in my message, restricted our action against trusts unless they were engaged in interstate transportation. There was a distinct difference drawn between railroads and purely producing combinations. It could not be said that the sugar trust, or the beef trust, or the Standard Oil Company was directly engaged in interstate transportation."

I think Mr. Cleveland has overlooked the fact that Attorney-General Knox is at this time an injunction in full force against seven corporations, one copartnership, and twenty-three individuals engaged in the production and transportation of meats and meat products, restraining them, as the opinion shows, from requiring their purchasing agents to refrain from bidding against each other when making purchases; from bidding up the price of live stock for a few days to induce large shipments, and then ceasing to bid, so as to obtain live stock at prices less than it would bring in the regular way; from agreeing between themselves upon prices to be adopted by all; from restricting the quantities of meat to be shipped; from requiring their agents to impose uniform charges for carriage; and from making agreements with transportation companies for rebates and other discrimination rates.

Of course this action is based upon the allegation admitted in the demurrer, that these packing concerns are engaged not only in the production of articles entering into interstate commerce, but that the concerns are themselves engaged in interstate commerce. Admittedly the Federal Government has no jurisdiction to restrain combinations between individuals

or corporations, except such as is derived under the provision of the Constitution giving Congress control of interstate and foreign commerce. Thus, what Mr. Cleveland just last week said can not be done is an accomplished fact, and the action was brought under the Sherman Act, a Republican measure, promised in a Republican platform, passed by a Republican Congress, signed by a Republican President, and enforced by a little giant under the direction of the present Republican President. And, while the case has been appealed, it stands and holds and will remain effective until reversed.

Nor is this all, nor the most astonishing feature of Mr. Cleveland's interview. In the closing paragraph he takes no small pains to explain why nothing was done during his Administration, and by so doing indorses, in the most emphatic language, what has been done by his successors. Without admitting the sufficiency of his explanation, it is quite gratifying to have so distinguished a person unqualifiedly approve the institution, the prosecution, and the result of the merger case. Listen to the explanation he gives for his own inactivity:

"There was then no opportunity to take any such action as this merger suit. The case did not present itself. If contracts existed among these business combinations for the restraint of trade, they were kept secret and no evidence offered itself on which to act. At that time this merger of railroads had not been formed, so that there was no action of this sort to take."

How unfortunate it is for so many of us that opportunities never present themselves in our times. Those who lived before us and those who come after us have great opportunities. Of all men we are most miserable. And so Mr. Cleveland bewails his misfortune, in much the same tone, if not in the same language, that Ben King employs:

"Jane Jones keeps talkin' to me all the time,
An' says you must make it a rule
To study your lessons 'nd work hard 'nd learn,
An' never be absent from school.
Remember the story of Elihu Burritt,
An' how he clum up to the top,
Got all the knowledge 'at he ever had
Down in a blacksmithing shop?
Jane Jones she honestly said it was so!
Mebbe he did—
I dunno!
O' course what's a-keepin' me 'way from the top
Is not never havin' no blacksmithing shop."

"She said 'at Columbus was out at the knees
When he first thought up his big scheme,
An' told all the Spaniards 'nd Italians, too,
An' all of 'em said 'twas a dream.
But Queen Isabella jest listened to him,
'Nd pawned all her jewels o' worth,
'Nd bought him the Santa Maria 'nd said,
'Go hunt up the rest of the earth!
Jane Jones she honestly said it was so!
Mebbe he did—
I dunno!
O' course that may be, but then you must allow,
They ain't no land to discover jest now!"

In this connection, it is proper to quote, also, a recent editorial in that great Democratic organ, the New York World, showing clearly and candidly the respective relations of the two great political parties to trusts. The article is entitled "Facts," and is as follows:

The antitrust law was framed by a Republican, was passed by a Republican House and a Republican Senate, was signed by a Republican President. The law remained a dead letter on the statute books during the entire second term of Grover Cleveland, a Democratic President.

Through those four years of Democratic Administration all appeals and all efforts of the World to have the law enforced were met with sneers, jeers, and open contempt from a Democratic Attorney-General, Richard Olney, who pretended that the law was unconstitutional, and who would do nothing toward prosecuting violators of it.

The first effort to enforce the law was made by Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican President.

The first Attorney-General to vigorously prosecute offenders and to test the law was a Republican Attorney-General—Philander C. Knox.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, given as a finality from which there is no appeal, upholding the law as perfectly constitutional and absolutely impregnable in every respect, as the World for twelve years constantly insisted, was due to five judges every one of whom is a Republican.

The dissenting minority of the court included every Democratic judge of that tribunal, to wit, Chief Justice Fuller, of Illinois; Mr. Justice White, of Louisiana, and Mr. Justice Peckham, of New York.

I do not suppose that the World intended to impute to any justice of the Supreme Court any political bias or influence in the rendering of his decision. If such imputation were intended I for one should be prompt to refute it.

SENATOR HANNA'S ADVICE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

I will incorporate into my remarks, so that it may go into the RECORD, where all may read it, the now famous speech of the late lamented Marcus A. Hanna. He was one of the best posted and most successful business men in this country, and was universally recognized as one of the truest and best friends of labor. Now that he has gone from us, so that we may no longer hear his words of counsel and advice, it will be useful as well as interesting to note what Senator Hanna did say in one of his latest and most notable utterances upon a subject of such great importance.

"COMPARE THE CONDITIONS BY YOUR FIRESIDE WITH THOSE WHICH EXISTED EIGHT YEARS AGO, AND THEN MAKE UP YOUR MINDS."

[Address by Hon. M. A. Hanna at Chillicothe, Ohio, September 19, 1903, in opening the Ohio campaign.]

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND FELLOW-REPUBLICANS: A political campaign is always interesting, and it is peculiarly so this year because of conditions which can not be understood from observation. It is unique. The Republican party with its proud record behind it, with present conditions which have redeemed every promise made and which hold out bright hopes for the future, is our position before the people to-day. We have opposed to us the Democratic party. I don't recognize it. [Laughter

and cries of "Nobody else!"] I think we may naturally ask ourselves the question, "What is it?" [Laughter.] A nondescript party with a crazy-quilt ticket and without a single flavor of Thomas Jefferson in its platform. We are in alignment, then. The position, I say, and the situation is unique, and I am glad to say that we have the advantage.

REPUBLICAN ADHERENCE TO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

We hold the fort. We have strengthened our position year after year by adhering to the fundamental principles upon which the foundation of this party rested. We never have swerved from those principles since the day the party was born. We have grown stronger in their advocacy because we have appealed to the reason of the people and from them have received the response that we were right. And they have upheld us and convinced others that we were right. I said, my friends, that this campaign is a unique one, and so it is. There seems to have come a change over the condition of our old time adversaries, the Democratic party. Either they have lost heart in repeated defeats at the polls or else they have stood and fought. * * *

CRY OF PANIC IS CRIMINAL—ONLY ONE THING TO INTERFERE WITH PROGRESS.

Now, there are other issues, my friends, and, briefly, I want to touch upon those regarding national questions.

Mr. Clarke, whether he did it thoughtlessly or intentionally, in a public utterance at Akron, Ohio, I believe it was, made this statement: "This country is on the verge of financial and industrial collapse." He sounded that note of danger. Why so, God only knows. But to my mind it was a criminal act, because it is not true. As far as the financial and industrial interests of this country are concerned, they never have been in any better shape than to-day. There is nothing to interfere with the onward progress of this development except one thing, and that one thing is to shake the confidence of the people in the principles and policies exercised by the party in power. * * *

SUCH EXPRESSIONS SHOULD CONDEMN CANDIDATE AND PARTY TO OBLIVION FOREVER.

Either Mr. Clarke knows absolutely nothing about business affairs or else that single utterance, standing alone, as affecting the results of this campaign, should condemn him and the party he represents to oblivion forever. [Long-continued applause.] It is worse than criminal. A man who assumes to speak for a great party and who has at heart the best interests of the men who have been associated with that party, and who are inclined to take the utterances that fall from the lips of their leaders as truth, is, I say, worse than criminal to thus deceive ignorant men.

SUCH POLITICAL VAPORINGS INVITE BITTER EXPERIENCES OF THE PAST.

Suppose that, predicated upon that speech, an alarm had been sounded that would have had practical effect. Suppose even—which is not true—that conditions in this country had been such that a spark like that would have ignited the dynamite, and then, after the harm was done, after wretchedness and woe had come to thousands of families, after it had been demonstrated that there was no cause for alarm, but merely the vaporings of a politician seeking to bewilder the minds of honest people, what ought to be done with such a man? Is he fit or is any such man fit to stand before an intelligent people, such as we have, and be called a leader or an adviser as to the best methods and best policies to be adopted in the interests of our country? Oh, my friends, you have had experiences; you have had object lessons, and the results of those experiences and those lessons have not yet faded from your memories. There is not a workingman in this country nor in this State who has not had them vividly impressed upon him through avenues that reached his heart, because they have caused misery at his fireside.

THE CHANGE CAME THROUGH M'KINLEY'S LEADERSHIP, BACKED BY HIS FRIENDS, THE WORKINGMEN.

The change came, and it became the privilege as well as the duty of our own dear William McKinley to come to the front with the confidence of the whole people behind him, and assuming the reins of government at that opportune time, not only by his living example, not only as a result of those principles which had guided him all his life, but preeminently because during that public life he had stood the friend of the workingman and had taught the principles which had filled their minds and filled their hearts with gratitude until confidence grew so that they were willing to follow him, and, to a man, they did follow him in 1896 and in 1900. [Long-continued applause.]

M'KINLEY'S ADVICE WOULD BE, "REMEMBER THE POLICIES AND PARTY THAT BROUGHT PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS."

Those principles are living to-day, although he has gone from us forever. [Applause.] But he has left behind a record which every Ohio man cherishes as a heritage to him. He has left behind an example to that class of which I speak, and if he could speak to-day it would be to remind every man in the State of Ohio who works with his hands: "Remember all that you have passed through in years gone by; remember how, step by step, you learned those lessons of economic policy which have brought prosperity and happiness to your hearthstones, and, remembering that, remember the party and the teachers of these policies, who have been your friends in all the past, and stand to-day where they stood in 1896, when the millennium came. [Great applause.]

ONLY POSSIBLE DANGER IN A CHANGE OF POLICIES.

I say, my friends, that the only danger that can possibly come—and I make this statement from the standpoint of a business man, and I think I know my business [great laughter and applause]; better, at least, than my friend Clarke does, anyway [renewed laughter and great applause]—the only danger that can possibly come to the people of this country is through their own acts, by their own power, and the will to change those policies which have made us what we are to-day.

A SUSPICION OF A CHANGE WOULD CHECK INDUSTRY.

If it were thought that the heresies of Tom Johnson and his socialistic followers could make any impression upon the people of Ohio so as to change the political conditions here, I will tell you what would happen. The men who control these great industries, the men whose power and money are moving all this enormous trade, the men who are associated with them as partners, together with the men who work with their hands in this great business development, would be the first ones to take notice of that change if it were imminent, and they would act upon the hypothesis that it is better to wait and know the truth than to surmise it and speculate upon it. The result would be—and I tell you it is true—that if a single cloud came into the commercial sky of this country which looked to any change of policy different from what we have had in the last six or seven years, the change would come, the wheels of industry would slow down, and there would be a waiting policy—waiting to know what the result might be; waiting to know whether the American people would tire of the conditions which have brought to them wealth and prosperity, just for the sake of a change, as it did in 1892, and were prepared to throw aside the benefits and experiences of those principles and try new pastures or not.

OHIO A BAROMETEF OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS FOR PAST FIFTY YEARS.

On this great national proposition, as Senator FORAKER has said, the whole country stands to-day "attention," watching Ohio. [Long-continued applause.]

The time has always been, during our political history of fifty years, when Ohio seemed to be the initiatory State, and when the people of Ohio had registered their verdict, even in the October election days of by-gone years, it was looked upon as a barometer of what we might expect as to the future policy of that State and its effect upon national affairs. [Applause.]

STAND BY ROOSEVELT AND REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES AND COUNTRY IS AS FAR FROM DISTRESS AS EVER.

I say the whole country has its eyes upon Ohio, knowing that this is the skirmish battle for 1904, and I join with Senator FORAKER in making the appeal to our people, under these circumstances, to send a word of greeting and confidence to the young President at Washington, and let him know that Ohio never falters in the right, and will not this time, and that we will lead in the campaign of 1904. [Long-continued applause.] Do that. Show by your action, show by your votes, that you intend to stand by those principles; that you intend that the men who represent you in the Halls of Congress and in the legislative body of the State shall be sent there with instructions to carry out these principles, and that you will have no other kind of representation. [Prolonged applause.] Do that, and this country is just as far from any prospect of distress, to say nothing of panic, as it was three years ago.

CONDITIONS PROSPEROUS BECAUSE WE ARE NOW BETTER OFF IN EVERY WAY THAN ANY OTHER NATION.

These conditions, my fellow-citizens, in this country are normal. That is to say, they are not abnormal. There is no reason why we should not have long and continued periods of prosperity in this country, because our natural resources are beyond those of any nation in the world. This great cosmopolitan people have shown themselves better as a nation, industrially, commercially, politically, than any other nation in the world. [Enthusiastic cheering.] We have achieved that position upon pure merit, and that merit is exemplified in the fact that under these influences and during the times of peace we are making such rapid progress in industrial development that we can enter the markets of the world with our products and still maintain the American price of wages. [Great applause.]

OUR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT A PROUDER PRESTIGE THAN OUR NEW POLITICAL POWER.

That is even a prouder prestige, my friends, than the new political power which has come to us since the Spanish war, because that prestige is an inspiration to every man who works with his hands, to every man who has the ingenuity which God may have given him, to prepare for himself conditions, within the limits of his ability, along the line of those industries which gives him equal opportunity with any other man. And when I hear the men who are pretending to lead the Democracy of Ohio to-day talk about capturing the labor vote—well, I smile. [Great applause, and voices, "We all smile."] Were it not in some phases of it a serious question, I should even laugh. But there is a serious side to it, my friends.

OHIO'S DEMOCRATIC LEADERS STAND FOR ABSOLUTE FREE TRADE.

There is a serious side to it, because if, through ignorance of the true conditions or through any undue excitement created during a campaign, the laboring men of this State should be led away from the party and the principles which have done so much for them, then it would be serious, because that element which leads and dominates the Democratic party to-day stands not for a tariff for revenue, but absolute free trade. Mr. Clarke qualifies his position on the tariff by saying that he would take the tariff entirely off of every article manufactured by trusts. What does that mean? Every iron and steel industry in the United States, everything connected with the metal trades, with the cotton trades, and in fact nearly all of our great industries would come within the scope of his proposition.

INDUSTRIES WOULD CLOSE UNTIL PRICE OF LABOR WENT DOWN TO EUROPEAN LEVEL.

Why, is there any intelligent man among the workmen of my State who does not know what would be the result of that policy? Absolute free trade through all the schedules of our tariff would shut up 75 per cent of the industrial institutions of the United States until we could get labor down to the price where we could compete with Europe. That is what you are up against, boys. [Laughter and long-continued cheering.] They fooled you in 1892 by the "clack" about "tin cans." They pulled the wool over your eyes about the McKinley bill.

M'KINLEY'S THOUGHT WAS FOR SUFFERING OF THOSE DELUDED THROUGH DEMAGOGY.

But McKinley, although his bill was defeated, never lost courage, and I have heard him say many times, "Yes, it is hard, but it is no humiliation to me, because I know I am right, and I know that soon the people will be right. I am only thinking of those homes where suffering and want will enter during the period which must pass before the men come to their sober senses and learn from bitter experience what it means to have this great structure of protection, built up in their interests more than any other, stricken to the ground, and all through the influences of demagogy." [Long-continued applause.]

NOW, AS ALWAYS, PROTECTION IS BEST FOR WORKINGMEN.

No, as far as your interests lie in the direction of national questions, let me repeat, the questions have not changed, the principles have not changed, the results have not changed, and you stand here to-day just exactly where you stood years ago in this State, when, under the leadership of the gallant man who believed in the protective policy and in safe money, you followed him to the polls and year after year registered your verdict, and that was the policy for the working classes of this State and country. [Enthusiastic applause.]

A SOLEMN WARNING AGAINST THE SOCIALISTIC DOCTRINES OF JOHN-SONIAN DEMOCRACY.

Now, in conclusion, my friends, I want to sound a note of warning not only to my Republican friends, but to every man who owns a home in this and all other counties in this State. If the socialistic doctrines advocated by this new form of Democracy should by any possibility become a law, or that policy could by any possibility become established, then God help us. Whenever that socialistic, anarchistic, populist doctrine seizes the minds of the people of this or any other State, so as to dominate their reason and their judgment, and lead them to do almost what I would call an act of political suicide, then God help us.

Because all that we have sought for in the past, all that we have gained through our efforts and industry, all the battles we have fought for liberty to man, all the efforts that we have made to make this country what it is—an example to the world, the most powerful Christian influence in the world—to build up a government which belongs to the people, and which looks to the people for its enactment and for the enforcement of the laws

which will protect it; when such "isms" as that can prevail, then all is lost. It is a serious thought that I want you to take home. Republican or Democrat, take it home to-night and think it over. Compare the conditions by your fireside to-day with those which existed eight years ago, and then make up your minds, and when you have reached a decision "stand pat." Good-by. [Prolonged applause.]

MR. BRYAN'S OPINION OF JUDGE PARKER, SENATOR HILL, AND THE NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Quite frequently within the past few days gentlemen upon the other side of the floor have been sounding the praises of one Judge Parker, of New York, who, it is said, is to be the Democratic Presidential nominee. So little is known of him here that one gentleman upon this floor, most earnest in his behalf, was unable, in response to interrogatories by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. LANDIS], to give either the first name or the post-office address of his candidate. His chief political manager is Ex-Senator David B. Hill, of New York, and under his manipulation and control the recent Democratic convention in that State endorsed Judge Parker for the Presidency and adopted a platform which is understood to be to his liking and upon which he is willing to stand. The suggestions in that platform are put forth in the hope that they will be adopted by the Democratic national convention. Mr. Bryan, the idolized standard bearer of the Democratic party during the last two Presidential campaigns, has some views upon this New York platform and upon the candidacy of Judge Parker, which can not fail to interest Republicans as well as Democrats, and they are worthy of consideration here. They were delivered within the past forty-eight hours before a vast assemblage of people in the Second Regiment Armory, in the city of Chicago. I quote his speech from the Chicago Chronicle of yesterday's date, as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. BRYAN—TEXT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED LAST NIGHT AT THE SECOND REGIMENT ARMOY.

Mr. Bryan spoke as follows:

"As it is somewhat unusual for a political speech to be made as this one is to-night, let me preface my remarks with an explanation. I have hired this hall and I introduce myself because I do not care to speak under the auspices of any club or organization which is committed to any particular aspirant for office. My concern is not about the name or the personality of the nominee, but about the principles for which the Democratic party is to stand. While many of the papers seem to assume that the contest for the Democratic nomination is necessarily between Judge Parker and Mr. Hearst, and that every Democrat must either be for one or the other, such a position is illogical and without foundation.

"Those who are classed as reorganizers—and by that I mean those who would carry the party back to the position that it occupied under Mr. Cleveland's Administration—are not entirely agreed among themselves as to the proper candidate upon whom to concentrate their votes, and so those who are in sympathy with the spirit of our recent platforms may differ as to the relative availability of those who represent the progressive element of the party. My own position is one of neutrality. I regard as available all candidates who are in favor of making the Democratic party an honest, earnest, and courageous exponent of the rights and interests of the masses; and I regard as unavailable all who are in sympathy with or obligated to the great corporations that to-day dominate the policy of the Republican party and seek through the reorganizers to dominate the policy of the Democratic party. I have no favorites among those on our side and no special antagonism to those who represent the reorganizers. I believe that the line should be drawn between principles, not between men, and that men should only be considered as they may be able to advance or retard the progress of Democracy.

WANTS A LARGE AUDIENCE.

"I have come to Chicago because from this point I can reach a large number of voters in the Mississippi Valley and I have expressed a desire to have the ministers attend, because they can and should exert an influence in behalf of honesty and fairness in politics. When, some two years ago, I became satisfied that ex-Senator David B. Hill was planning to be a candidate I pointed out the objections to his candidacy. When the Cleveland boom was launched I pointed out the objections to his candidacy, and now that Mr. Parker seems to be the leading candidate (though not the only candidate) among the reorganizers, I desire to present some reasons why he can not be considered as an available candidate for a Democratic nomination, and I find these reasons not in his personality, but in his position upon public questions. For a year he has been urged to speak out and declare himself upon the important issues of the coming campaign, but he has remained silent.

"If this silence meant that nobody knew his views, those who have been loyal to the party in recent years would stand upon an equal footing with those who deserted, but it is evident now that while to the public generally his views are unknown they are well known to those who are urging his nomination. Whatever doubt may have existed on this subject heretofore has been dispelled by the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty and fair dealing in politics. I can not hope to convince those who favor deception and fraud in politics, but I am satisfied that we now have evidence sufficient to convict Judge Parker of absolute unfitness for the nomination. If he did not know of the platform in advance, if he did not himself dictate it or agree to it, he has allowed it to go out as his utterance, for the convention was dominated by his friends and adopted a resolution presenting him as the candidate of the State.

DISCUSSES NEW YORK PLATFORM.

"This platform, then, can fairly be regarded as his declaration upon public questions, and what does the platform say? The first plank reads:

"This is a Government of laws, not of men; one law for Presidents, cabinets, and people; no usurpation; no executive encroachment upon the legislative or judicial department."

"This is a general plank that says nothing definitely. It is probably intended as a condemnation of the President's pension order, but the idea is so vaguely expressed that those who support the platform can deny that any criticism was intended if they find that such criticism is unpopular.

"The second plank reads:

"We must keep inviolate the pledges of our treaties; we must renew and reinvigorate within ourselves that respect for law and that love of liberty

and of peace which the spirit of military domination tends inevitably to weaken and destroy.

"This is probably intended as a rebuke to the President for his action in the Panama matter, but this, too, is so indefinite that the supporters of the platform can repudiate any such intention if it ever becomes convenient to do so.

"The third plank reads:

"Unsteady national policies and a restless spirit of adventure engender alarms that check our commercial growth; let us have peace, to the end that business confidence may be restored and that our people may again in tranquillity enjoy the gains of their toil."

"This possibly is intended as a criticism of the rashness of the President and of his emotional temperament, and yet it is so impersonal that those who support the platform can very plausibly insist that it has no particular reference to any person, but is intended as a very broad statement of a very general principle.

"The fourth plank reads:

"Corporations chartered by the state must be subject to just regulation by the state in the interest of the people; taxation for public purposes only; no Government partnership with protected monopolies."

"This plank might find a welcome place in any platform. It would be difficult to conceive of a party that would object to 'just regulations by the State in the interest of the people,' nor is there any party that is likely to defend taxation for any other than a public purpose. Even the Republican party has never declared itself in favor of 'Government partnership with protected monopolies.' The plank, therefore, has no meaning at all as it stands, unless there is a secret suggestion that the regulation of corporations must be left entirely to the States. This is the position that is taken by the trust magnates. Whenever Congress attempts to interfere with a trust the friends of the trust at once insist that the State must do the regulating. That is the position taken by the dissenting members of the Supreme Court in the merger case, and if this plank means anything it is an indorsement of the minority members of the court rather than an indorsement of the decision of the majority. The fact that the platform is silent about the merger decision lends color to this construction.

"TAKES UP ANTITRUST PLANK.

"The fifth plank reads:

"Opposition to trusts and combinations that oppress the people and stifle healthy industrial competition."

"This is the antitrust plank of the platform! At least it is the only plank in which the trust is mentioned by name. The plank contains fourteen words and it will be noted that the opposition is not to all monopolies, or even to all trusts, but simply to those that 'oppress the people and stifle healthy industrial competition.' That is the position taken by Judge Brewer in his separate opinion. He contends that the Sherman law was not intended to prevent all restraint of trade, but only 'unreasonable restraint,' and so Mr. Hill and the other New York friends of Judge Parker so have worded their trust plank as to make their meaning uncertain. They have so worded the plank as to present the trust view of the question, rather than the view entertained by the people at large.

"In order to excite the opposition of the friends of Judge Parker the trust must be shown to be 'oppressive.' It must be shown that it is not only stifling industrial competition, but that it is stifling a 'healthy industrial competition.' The trust magnates claim that the object of the trust is to stifle unhealthy industrial competition and to promote a 'healthy industrial competition.' The qualifying words used in this very brief and ambiguous plank destroy whatever vitality it might have had without them. The Kansas City platform declared a private monopoly to be indefensible and intolerable. It not only arraigned private monopoly as an unmitigated evil, but it pointed out specific remedies for the destruction of this evil. Compare the Kansas City platform with the cowardly and straddling antitrust—or rather trust—plank of the New York platform and you will understand why Mr. Hill and Judge Parker are so afraid of the Kansas City platform.

"The sixth plank reads:

"A check upon extravagance in public expenditures; that the burden of people's taxes may be lightened."

"There is another plank that is as meaningless as those that have preceded it. Who advocates extravagance? Even when the Republican party is guilty of the largest appropriations it insists that it is not extravagant, but that it is simply legislating for a large country.

CALLS TARIFF PLANK EVASIVE.

"The seventh plank reads:

"Reasonable revision of the tariff; needless duties upon imported raw material weigh upon the manufacturer, are a menace to the American wage-earner, and by increasing the cost of production shut out our products from foreign markets."

"This plank is also evasive. The tariff revision must be 'reasonable.' What party ever advocated what it believed to be unreasonable on any subject? The duties upon raw material must not be 'needless' duties. What party ever admitted that it put needless duties on anything? This plank justifies the criticism of one of the leading Republican papers of the West, which says that the platform 'does not even dare to recommend the abandonment of the Republican doctrine of protection of home industries, which had been fondly supposed by the old-fashioned Jeffersonian fellows to be about the only thing the party dared to cheep about at St. Louis.'

"The eighth plank is as follows:

"The maintenance of State rights and home rule; no centralization. Now, here is a plank that is a model of obscurity and brevity. Only ten words in the plank. To what issue is it to be applied? How is it to be construed?"

"The ninth plank reads:

"Honesty in public service, vigilance in the prevention of fraud, firmness in the punishment of guilt when detected."

"As President Roosevelt prides himself upon his enthusiastic advocacy of honesty in the public service, and as his friends boast of his vigilance in the prevention of fraud and his firmness in the punishment of guilt, that plank might be regarded as an indorsement of him but for the fact that it is contained in a platform that suggests a candidate to oppose him.

FAILS AS TO LABOR.

"The tenth plank reads:

"The impartial maintenance of the rights of labor and of capital; no unequal discrimination; no abuse of the powers of law for favoritism or oppression."

"Senator ALLISON has a reputation of being able to walk on eggs without breaking them, and this plank if it appeared anywhere else than in a Democratic platform, might be attributed to him, for it is about as nice a piece of balancing as has appeared in many a day. The party stands 'impartially' between labor and capital. If any discrimination is made it must be an 'unequal' discrimination. That is, if the party discriminates in favor of one side, it must offset it by an equal discrimination in favor of the other side. There must be no abuse of the powers of the law either for favoritism or oppression. Why this prodigality in the use of type? If the convention had said that it was in favor of doing right as between capital and labor the plank would have been

just as clear and just as useful as a guide to the party. In fact, the whole platform is so noncommittal, so absolutely colorless, and so capable of being construed in any way that 'we will do right' would have answered as well for the whole platform. A Republican could run on that platform and after the election construe it as an indorsement of every policy for which the Republican party stands, or at least he could find nothing in that platform that would rebuke him for doing anything that a Republican might want to do.

"What are the issues before the country? The trust question is certainly an issue, and yet there is nothing in that platform that gives any encouragement to the opponents of the trusts. There is not a word or syllable that binds a person elected on such a platform to do anything that trusts are unwilling to have done. The Kansas City platform stated the party's position on the trust question, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the last national platform, but also fails to propose any definite or positive plan of relief.

LACKS ANTI-IMPERIALISM PLANK.

"Imperialism is an issue. Our Government is now administering a colonial policy according to the political principles employed by George III a century and a quarter ago, and yet there is not in this platform a single word relating to the question of imperialism, not a plank that defines the party's position on that subject, not a protest against the surrender of the doctrines of self-government. The Kansas City platform stated the party's opposition to a colonial policy, but the New York platform not only fails to indorse the Kansas City platform, but fails to take any position on this important question."

"The labor question is an issue. The laboring men have been before the numerous committees of Congress endeavoring to secure three important measures. One is the arbitration of differences between corporations engaged in interstate commerce and their employees. Both the Chicago and Kansas City platforms declared in favor of arbitration, but the New York platform not only fails to refer to the arbitration plank of these platforms, but it fails to write a new plank covering this subject.

"The laboring men are also trying to secure an eight-hour day, but the New York platform is silent on this subject.

"The laboring men are trying to secure the abolition of government by injunction. Both the Chicago and Kansas City platforms contained planks on this subject, but the New York platform dodges this, as it does all other vital questions. As the capitalists now have what they want and are in the position of defendants in a suit, while the laboring men are in the attitude of plaintiffs seeking relief, the failure of the New York platform to advocate what the laboring men desire is really a declaration against them.

"On the tariff question no issue is joined. It was reasonable to suppose that on this question, at least, something would be said, but Mr. Hill and Judge Parker seem to be as much afraid of the tariff question as of other issues.

SILENT AS TO MONEY.

"The money question is ignored entirely. No reference is made to bimetallicism at any ratio—not even to international bimetallicism to what Mr. Hill seemed to be so attached in the Chicago convention. No reference is made to the measure now before Congress to melt up nearly 600,000,000 legal tender silver dollars into subsidiary coin that is only a limited legal tender. Nothing is said about the asset currency which is a part of the scheme of the financiers. Nothing is said about the Aldrich bill which proposes to subsidize the banks into opposition to tax reduction by loaning them the surplus money in the Treasury. There is no condemnation of the corruption that such a system would lead to. The platform does not antagonize the proposition now before Congress to give the national banks unlimited control over the volume of paper money. In other words, there is not a line in the platform that is written in behalf of the people, not a line that will excite criticism in Wall street.

"The platform ignores the income tax; it fails to indorse the election of Senators by direct vote and also omits the plank of the Kansas City platform denouncing corporate domination in politics.

"The New York platform is a dishonest platform, fit only for a dishonest party. No one but an artful dodger would stand upon it. The submission of such a platform to the voters of a State is an insult to their intelligence, for it is intended to deceive them, and a deliberate attempt to deceive—especially so clumsy an attempt as this platform is—a reflection upon the brains of those to whom it is submitted.

OPPOSES EVERY REFORM.

"This platform proves that the opposition to the Kansas City platform is not opposition to silver, but opposition to every needed reform and opposition to all that the masses desire.

"I had expected that a platform prepared by Mr. Hill for Judge Parker would be evasive and lacking in frankness, but I did not conceive that any body of men calling themselves Democrats would present such a platform as a recommendation of a candidate. If we are to take the New York platform as an indication of what the next Democratic platform is to be, in case the reorganizers control the convention, then who ever will be able to deny the secret purpose of the reorganizers to turn the party over to predatory wealth? It is to this danger that I desire to call your attention to-night. With such a platform and a candidate who would be willing to run upon it the party could secure as large a campaign fund as the Republican party has ever secured, but in securing it it would, like the Republican party, secretly pledge the administration to a construction of the platform satisfactory to the corporations and the combinations.

CITES H. O. HAVEMEYER.

"If you would know why the corporations contribute to campaign funds, read the testimony given by H. O. Havemeyer before the Senate committee in the spring of 1894. The answers made by Mr. Havemeyer to Senator Allen's questions are conclusive as to the purpose of the campaign contributions made by the great corporations:

"Senator ALLEN. Therefore you feel at liberty to contribute to both parties?"

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. It depends. In the State of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is doubtful, they probably have the call.

"Senator ALLEN. In the State of Massachusetts, do you contribute anything?"

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. Very likely.

"Senator ALLEN. What is your best recollection as to contributions made by your company in the State of Massachusetts?"

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. I could not name the amount.

"Senator ALLEN. However, in the State of New York you contribute to the Democratic party, and in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts you contribute to the Republican party?"

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. It is my impression that wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters.

"Senator ALLEN. Then the sugar trust is a Democrat in a Democratic State and a Republican in a Republican State?"

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. As far as local matters are concerned, I think that is about it.

"Senator ALLEN. In the State of your nativity, or the nativity of your corporation, New Jersey, where do your contributions go?

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. I will have to look that up.

"Senator ALLEN. I understand New Jersey is invariably a Democratic State. It would naturally go to the Democratic party?

"Mr. HAVEMEYER. Under the theory I have suggested if they were there it would naturally go to them.

"Here we have the head of the sugar trust admitting that his corporation contributes to campaign funds and that its contribution is determined, not by political convictions, but by its desire to stand in with the winning party. Senator Allen tried to ascertain the amounts contributed to the various campaign funds, but Mr. Havemeyer refused to answer.

DEMOCRATS BLOCK INQUIRY.

"The two Republican members of the committee, Senator Davis and Senator LODGE, joined Senator Allen in calling the matter to the attention of the Attorney-General for the District of Columbia. Senator Allen individually reported a resolution in favor of calling the witness before the Senate for contempt, but Senator Gray and Senator Lindsay, both gold Democrats, presented a minority report in which they opposed taking any action in regard to the witness.

"If you desire further testimony in regard to the purpose of corporations in contributing, you will find it in a letter sent by A. B. Hepburn, of the National City Bank, of New York, to Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury. The letter bears date of June 5, 1897, and is published in House document 284 of the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. In closing the letter, after asking for deposits, Mr. Hepburn says: 'Of course the bank is very strong and if you will take the pains to look at our list of directors you will see that we also have great political claims in view of what was done in the campaign last year.'

"Here is the president of the most influential bank in the country calling attention to political service rendered by the directors of the bank as a reason why the bank should be remembered in the distribution of Government money. Now, with the testimony of the head of one of the great trusts and the testimony of an official of one of the great banks, can anyone doubt that contributions are made by the corporations for the purpose of controlling the policy of the party after election? Can anyone doubt that with such a platform as was adopted in New York, and with a candidate whose conscience would permit him to run upon such a platform—does anyone doubt that with such a platform and candidate the party would be mortgaged beforehand to the corporations that are now using the Government as a private asset and plundering the people at will?

DISCUSSES MERGER CASE.

"But there is another reason why the Democratic party can not afford to go before the country with an ambiguous platform and an uncertain candidate. No matter how people may differ as to the relative importance of issues, all must recognize that the trust question to-day presents an important phase of the great conflict between plutocracy and democracy. We have recently had a Supreme Court decision on the merger case. This decision was rendered by a bare majority of one, and that one (Judge Brewer) in a separate opinion has stated his position in such a way as to leave no doubt that in the first case involving a trust he may join the minority and defeat the Sherman law. Judge Brewer construes the antitrust law to apply only to reasonable restraint of trade. He would have the court decide whether the restraint is reasonable or unreasonable. His decision, taken in connection with the dissenting opinions of Justices Fuller, Peckham, White, and Holmes, shows that the appointment of a new judge might throw the decision to the one side or the other.

"The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President, and the President to be elected this fall will doubtless have the appointment of one or two, and possibly three, Supreme Court judges. If his sympathies are with the corporations he will doubtless appoint judges satisfactory to the corporations, especially if obligated to the corporations by large campaign contributions, and these judges can make it impossible to secure any remedial legislation for years to come. If four years hence the people should secure a President, a Senate, and a House opposed to private monopolies, they may find themselves unable to get any remedial legislation past the Supreme Court for several years.

"The opinion filed by Judge White and concurred in by the others denies the power of Congress over monopolies organized in a State. These dissenting judges insist that Congress has no power to regulate or restrain the creation of a monopoly within a State. It will be remembered that the decision in the Knight case, known as the sugar-trust case, turned upon that very question. It was admitted in that case that the sugar trust controlled the production of sugar, but the court held that the Sherman law did not prevent the buying up of the individual refineries, even though the product of the refineries might ultimately enter into interstate commerce.

MAKES STATES HELPLESS.

"The division of the Supreme Court in the merger case shows the cleavage on the trust question. The dissenting judges would deny the power of Congress to prevent a private monopoly, and when the power of Congress to destroy monopolies is denied the people are left helpless because some of the States, such as Delaware and New Jersey, find it profitable to permit the creation of these monopolies, and so long as they are created and can evade Federal laws no separate State can fully protect itself against them.

"The dissenting judges in the merger case refuse to draw a distinction between an individual and a corporation. Justice White says: 'The principle that the ownership of property is embraced within the power of Congress to regulate commerce whenever that body deems that a particular character of ownership, if allowed to continue, may restrain commerce between the States or create a monopoly thereof, is, in my opinion, in conflict with the most elementary conceptions of rights of property,' and Justices Fuller, Peckham, and Holmes concur.

"Rights of property are, according to the dissenting judges, supreme, and when Congress tries to prevent a monopoly it is interfering with 'the most elementary conception of the rights of property.' The issue presented to-day in the trust question, and in all the other questions with which we have to deal, is the question between human rights and so-called 'property rights,' or, more properly speaking, between ordinary people and the great corporations. Those who believe that property rights are supreme take the side of the trusts. If we have a President who is in sympathy with this theory it means that the dollar will be given consideration before the man. It means that organized wealth can continue to trample upon the rights of the people. It means that the instrumentalities of government can be used for the protection of every scheme of exploitation that the capitalists can conceive.

"I for one am not willing that the Democratic party shall become the tool of the corporations. I am not willing that it shall be the champion of organized wealth. And it is because I believe that the party has a higher mission than to be the exponent of plutocracy that I am protesting against the

schemes of those who would put it into competition with the Republican party for the support of Wall street financiers. It is for this reason that I protest against mortgaging the party to the capitalists to secure an enormous corruption fund.

"If any who are present to-night or who read what I say think that I am trying to interfere with Democratic success, let me answer that no Democrat is more anxious for the party to succeed than I am. No one has suffered more from dissensions and divisions in the party, and no one, I believe, is more eager for the country to enjoy the great benefits which a triumph of real Democracy would bring. But I do not desire that the party shall win offices only. If that is the only purpose of the party, let its principles be abandoned and let its platform simply declare the party hungry for the patronage. The lesson of 1894 shows the folly of hoping to win by a surrender to the corporations; but even if success could be bought in such a way, it would not be worth the price.

"No one can defend the Democratic party without defending its principles, and its principles ought to be so clearly set forth as to be easily understood. We ought to appeal to the conscience of the public and arraign Republican policies as hostile both to the principles of free government and to the principles of morality. We have an opportunity to make the Democratic party a power in this country, not only a power, but a power for good. Let us array the party against every abuse of government and against every policy that is hurtful to the people. Let us drive out of the party every Democrat who betrays his trust, every official who would administer the office for his private advantage. Let us make Democracy stand not only for good government—for honest government—but for a government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.' And the first step in this direction is the adoption of a platform that recognizes the right of the people to decide public questions as well as their capacity for understanding public questions. To present a platform which is evasive and ambiguous shows that those who write the platform either distrust the people who are to act upon it or have purposes that they desire to conceal.

CALLS PLATFORM A DISGRACE.

"The New York platform is ambiguous, uncertain, evasive, and dishonest. It would disgrace the Democrats of the nation to adopt such a platform, and it ought to defeat as an aspirant for a Democratic nomination any man who would be willing to have it go forth as a declaration of his views on public questions. In Illinois, in Wisconsin, in Michigan, in Minnesota, in Indiana, in Ohio, and in every other State that has not acted it behooves the Democrats to arouse themselves and organize to the end that they may prevent the consummation of the schemes of the reorganizers. Their scheme begins with the deception of the rank and file of the party. It is to be followed up by the debauching of the public with a campaign fund secured from the corporations, and it is to be consummated by the betrayal of the party organization and of the country into the hands of those who are to-day menacing the liberties of the country by their exploitation of the producers of wealth."

Leaving the gentlemen upon the other side of the Chamber to ponder the views entertained by their "peerless leader" of 1896 and 1900 concerning those now in apparent control of the Democratic organization and their probable nominee, I return to the subject which prompted me to seek recognition to-day.

BENEFIT OF THE REPUBLICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

One by one the low-tariff countries of the world have recognized the advantages of protection and adopted its principles, and now the stronghold of free trade, Great Britain, seems about to surrender to the popular demand for protection.

With the prosperity which came to the United States, to France, and to Germany through the protective system, the principal European countries, with the exception of Netherlands and the United Kingdom, have adopted the protective system. More recently, Japan, India, and China have increased their tariff duties, the increase on many articles being large; and now the two remaining countries of consequence, Netherlands and the United Kingdom, are respectively moving toward protection. In Netherlands a new tariff has recently been proposed by the Government which increases materially the rates of duty, especially on many articles; and, as is well known, a strong demand is now being made in the United Kingdom for the adoption of a protective system.

The chief argument urged in the United Kingdom in favor of abandoning free trade and the adoption of protection is that it is only by a protective tariff that the home markets can be retained to the home manufacturer and workman. The Germans, with low wages, skilled mechanics, plentiful supplies of raw material, and the highest technical education known to the manufacturing world, have invaded the British market on the one side, while on the other hand the manufactures of the United States, produced with highly paid labor, but with effective machinery, great supplies of raw material, low-priced fuel, cheap transportation, and the economies resulting from great organizations, are also proving a serious competitor in the home markets of Great Britain and her colonies. This dissatisfaction is based upon the fact that, under the free-trade system, the importation of manufactures into the United Kingdom from the United States, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, and France, nearly all of these being protective countries, has grown from \$250,000,000 in 1875 to \$580,000,000 in 1902, and is intensified by the further fact that the exports of manufactures to the same protected countries fell from \$355,000,000 in 1875 to \$285,000,000 in 1902. These two great facts—that the countries whose manufacturing systems are developed under a protective tariff are capturing the home markets of the United Kingdom and at the same time excluding her manufactures from their own markets, as shown by the official figures published by the British Government—are the probable causes of the rigorous demand now being made in England for the adoption of the protective system.

REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH WORKINGMEN ON LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

No greater compliment could be paid to the protective system of the United States and the great manufacturing industries which have grown up under it than that of the visit of the Mosely Industrial Commission in the closing months of 1902. This commission, headed by Mr. Alfred Mosely, a prominent British capitalist and manufacturer interested in the prosperity of the industries and workingmen of his country, was composed of the secretaries of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom. They visited all the great manufacturing centers of the United States, investigated during the months of October, November, and December, 1902, the various classes of industries in which they as practical men, through their practical knowledge, felt a personal interest, and, returning to England, presented an elaborate report or series of reports, under the title, "Reports of the Mosely Industrial Commission to the United States of America, October-December, 1902." From these reports of these experts—men of long training in the various industries which they here investigated—I propose to quote extracts and statements showing their views regarding the manufacturing system of the United States and the advantages which labor has under our system as compared with that of free-trade England.

On his return to London Mr. Mosely wrote the London Times as follows:

AMERICAN VIEWS ON BRITISH TARIFF PROPOSALS.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR: I find on my return to England that there is a vast amount of curiosity on the part of the public as to how Mr. Chamberlain's proposals are viewed by the mercantile community on the other side of the Atlantic.

Of course they realize that a tariff imposed upon our imports would not be to their advantage; nevertheless they do not allow their judgment to be warped by the consideration of their own personal interests, and I found on all sides but one comment, amounting practically to "Why has it not been done before? We could never see the utility of allowing other nations to dump their surplus products on the market and put one's own people out of work." This was the opinion of every business man with whom I conversed, with the exception only of Mr. Carnegie.

The subject of our tariff-reform movement is as interesting to the people of the United States as it is to ourselves, and is continually discussed in the newspapers and forms the topic of endless debates in their universities and societies. Nowhere have I heard it condemned as being unpractical. Their authorities on political economy, with many of whom I discussed the subject, one and all agree that it is the only course open to England in view of the conditions that have arisen since she adopted free trade—amongst whom I may name Mr. John H. Gray, professor of economics at Northwestern University, Chicago, who expressed wonder that there should be any opposition to Mr. Chamberlain's scheme except from "cranks" and people incapable of moving with the times. Professor Gray, I may state, is considered in the United States as a high authority, and he was chosen two years ago by their Government to come to this country to investigate labor conditions here. The results of his inquiries are to be published shortly by Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, of the United States Labor Bureau.

Whilst I was in America I read a report of a speech by Lord Goschen, in which he stated that whilst we were about to adopt protection the United States was tending entirely in the opposite direction, toward the removal of tariffs. No one, of course, doubts his sincerity in making this assertion, but it shows how lamentably he is out of touch with conditions as they are. The tariff question there is absolutely a closed book; all that the people of the States ever propose to discuss is whether perhaps they are not taxing themselves unnecessarily in certain industries by the high tariff that exists, and there is a disposition in some sections of the community (although even these are not very large) to make a revision of the tariff by reducing the duty on certain articles; but nobody dreams for a single instant that such reduction should be sufficiently large to allow the foreigner to come in and compete with them, lowering the standard of wages and injuring industry. The workingman of the United States is quite sufficiently alive to his own interests to keep this matter always before him, and no Presidential candidate would have the smallest chance of election if he proposed to attempt anything in the way of tariff reform likely to lower the standard of living and affect the wage-earning power of the American workman.

Yours faithfully,

A. MOSELY.

UNION BANK BUILDINGS, ELY PLACE,
London, E. C., December 22, 1903.

Mr. Mosely himself, on the opening page of the report, says:

In my travels round the world, and more particularly in the United States, it became abundantly evident to me that as a manufacturing country America is forging ahead at a pace hardly realized by either British employer or workman. I therefore came to the conclusion that it would be necessary for the workers themselves to have some interest in these developments, and I decided to invite the secretaries of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom to accompany me on a tour of investigation of the industrial situation across the Atlantic. * * *

In my previous trips to America I had been favorably struck by the up-to-date methods of protection there, both from a business standpoint and as regards the equipment of their workshops. The manufacturers there do not hesitate to put in the very latest machinery at whatever cost, and from time to time to sacrifice large sums by scrapping the old whenever improvements are brought out. Labor-saving machinery is widely used everywhere and is encouraged by the unions and welcomed by the men, because experience has shown them that in reality machinery is their best friend. It saves the workman numerous miseries, raises his wages, tends toward a higher standard of living, and, further, rather creates work than reduces the number of hands employed. In England it has been the rule for generations past that as soon as a man earns beyond a certain amount of wages the price for his work is cut down, and he, finding that working harder and running his machine quicker brings no larger reward, slackens his efforts accordingly.

In the United States the manufacturers rather welcome large earnings by the men so long as they themselves can make a profit, arguing that each man occupies so much space in the factory, which represents so much capital employed, and therefore that the greater the production of these men the greater must be the manufacturer's profit. * * * The United States has advanced by leaps and bounds. She is beginning to feel the beneficial effects of the education of her masses and an enormous territory teeming with natural resources as yet but meagerly developed. At the present time the home

market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the markets of the world. * * *

How is it that the American manufacturer can afford to pay wages 50 per cent, 100 per cent, and even more in some instances both ways, and yet be able to successfully compete in the markets of the world? The answer is to be found in small economies which escape the ordinary eye. That the American workman earns higher wages is beyond question. As a consequence, the average married man owns the house he lives in, which not only gives him a stake in the country, but saves payment of rent, enabling him either to increase his savings or to purchase further comforts. Food is as cheap (if not cheaper) in the United States as in England, whilst general necessities may, I think, be put on the same level. * * * It is generally admitted that the American workman, in consequence of labor-saving machinery and the excellence of the factory organization, does not need to put forth any greater effort in his work than is the case here, if as much. He is infinitely better paid, therefore better housed, fed, clothed, and, moreover, is much more sober.

Under such conditions he must naturally be more healthy. * * * Fuel and raw material are much the same price in the United States as in Europe, and it therefore can not be claimed that she has very much advantage on this; but facilities for transport, both by rail and water, are undoubtedly better and cheaper. * * * In the United States one hears a great deal against "trusts" (as they are known, or what we term "large corporations"), but personally I am rather inclined to welcome these concerns, because large organizations that employ capital are best able to compete in manufactures on the most economical lines, can fearlessly raise wages within given limits, are in position to combat unhealthy competition, can provide up-to-date machinery ad libitum, can erect sanitary and well-ventilated workshops, and generally study better the comfort and well-being of the workmen than small individual manufacturers struggling against insufficient capital and old machinery. It is in the organization of capital on the one hand and a thorough organization of labor on the other that I believe the solution of industrial problems will be found.

PERSONNEL OF THE MOSELY COMMISSION.

Mr. Mosely's commission was composed of twenty-three men, secretaries or leading officers of the trades unions representing the principal industries of the United Kingdom. Among the associations represented were cotton spinners, eng neers, compositors, bookbinders, iron and steel workers, carpenters, shipbuilders, plasterers, paper makers, tailors, furnishing tradesmen, cutlery operatives, boot and shoe makers, lithographers, printers, leather workers, iron foundry, bricklayers, shipwrights, weavers, and several general trades councilors and federations. Each of these twenty-three representatives of great labor organizations was required to present a report upon his observations of conditions in the industries of the United States, and especially among those engaged in the particular industry which he represented. I propose to present herewith some brief extracts from the reports of these practical men—men trained under the free-trade system of England—in the industries which have grown to such magnitude and prosperity under the protective system of the United States.

Before beginning my quotations from these reports I summarize briefly the history of the commission by which they were made:

The Mosely Industrial Commission, composed of officers of the leading labor unions of England, visited the United States in 1902. Each member was required to carefully investigate and report upon conditions of American labor in the industry which his union represented, and to also make specific answers to certain questions supplied to each member of the commission. The words here quoted are from the reports submitted by these men after their return to England.

James Cox, secretary of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, said in his report:

It was my first visit to America. I could not avoid many preconceived ideas. I had been led to expect one perpetual rush and hustle pervading every aspect of life. I was also led to believe that this hustle and rush permeated and actuated all kinds of workmen in every department of labor. The cost of living was another matter upon which I had wrong impressions. To the ordinary traveler the difference will be perhaps two to one, but to the ordinary workman the cost of living is not so much higher in America as we are led to believe. * * * The total production of pig iron in the United States in 1901 was 15,878,354 tons. * * * In the production of these enormous quantities it is generally thought that the United States Steel Corporation has a complete monopoly.

I remember well the panic caused by the reports of its formation. The fact of a billion-dollar steel trust being formed was such an unheard-of and gigantic combination as to almost turn the brains of English manufacturers. * * * Manufacturing prices had sharply receded in the United States just at that period—October, 1900—and the American manufacturer, taking advantage of our abnormally high prices, slipped in and completely wined the English manufacturer. The pity is that several of them ever recovered. The British iron trade and the workmen engaged in it would be infinitely better off if an earthquake could swallow up many of the works of manufacturers who bleed their works to death in times of good trade and grind their workmen in periods of adversity.

Large trusts have their inherent defects, but I am convinced from my investigations that the workman has less to fear in the long run from the operations of concentrated capital than he has from the impecunious employer in his frantic efforts to dip into the wages of his underpaid workmen. * * * During the years of depression from 1893 to 1897 American industry was much more depressed than our own; failures and bankruptcies were common, and a general demoralization of trade existed unequaled in intensity throughout the world. The present cycle, unprecedented in the United States, has lasted longer and contained greater elements of stability than in our own country, and to a far greater degree than in Belgium or Germany. Undoubtedly the greatest factor in America has been their own increased requirements resulting from the natural development of the country. * * *

The boom is as much a surprise to the American manufacturers as to anyone. At the beginning of 1899 there were only 200 blast furnaces blowing, but before the year was out I am told by a good authority that many of the producers earned an amount equal to the entire investment of their plant.

Under great consolidations prices are immediately controlled into greater uniformity and lowered to a more reasonable level, and it is, I believe, largely attributable to this fact that no such collapse occurred in America as took place in this country. Throughout the United States there are universal evidences of having entered upon a new era in the demand for iron and steel for purposes hitherto undreamed of. The home demands or requirements are stupendous, and the resources of the producer have been taxed to the utmost. * * *

The tin-plate industry of the United States is of relatively recent origin, dating practically from 1890 and built up under their tariff, which imposes an import duty of 1½ cents per pound. Prior to 1892 the States obtained practically all their supply from this country, and in 1891, the year their tariff came into operation, they imported nearly 335,000 tons. Many attempts have been made by American manufacturers to produce both tin and tinsheets during the last fifty years, but such was the control over the American markets by British manufacturers that they were all unsuccessful. In the agitation for a protective tariff in order to develop these industries the reports on Welsh wages were constantly cited. This ultimately was secured, and from that period their imports have decreased almost in ratio to their increased manufacture.

In 1892 they produced 18,803 tons; in 1896, 160,362 tons; in 1901, 339,291 tons. * * * I would like, in concluding, to indicate three general features of American industries to which I largely attribute their success: (1) The enormous mineral deposits, waterways, and cheap transit. (2) The control or ownership by the manufacturer, through combination or direct purchase, of the raw materials—ore, lime, coal, and coke. (3) The marvelous engineering ingenuity and initiative, remarkable through every phase of manufacture in its reduction of manual labor combined with great productiveness. * * * In the matter of wages the American workman is far better off than in this country. * * * The question may be asked, Is it possible for British producers to compete in the American market? I confess I think not so long as the present tariff exists.

Mr. J. Madison, secretary of the Friendly Society of British Iron Founders, said in his report:

I have come to the conclusion that the American molder turns out something like 25 per cent more work than the English molder. Ten per cent may be due to extra effort and the other 15 per cent to better facilities. I come now to the important question of wages, which I conclude will work out at three and one-quarter dollars per day, equal to £4 ls. 3d. per week. Our investigations were confined to large centers of industry. Therefore comparison should be made with our own large centers, where the wages are £2 per week. It will thus be seen that the American's wages are more than double those of the English molder.

Replying to a series of questions which each member of the commission was expected to answer, Mr. Madison, in response to the question, "Are there greater opportunities for the workman to rise in America than in England?" said: "There are greater opportunities in America." Responding to the question, "Are American workers better fed than the English?" his answer was: "Yes; they are better fed." Responding to the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" he said: "I should say, taken on the whole, it is about the same." Responding to the question, "Are the American workers better clothed than the English?" his answer was: "They are probably a little better clothed." In response to the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his answer was: "Undoubtedly the American has a great deal the best of the English worker—that is to say, he will have a much larger residue after living out of his wages."

Mr. P. Walls, an officer of the National Federation of English Blast-Furnace Men, said in his report:

Skilled mechanics and leading men in our factories—the iron and steel works—are as well clothed and fed as the same classes in America, but when it comes to the unskilled or the general body of workers there is a marked difference. In the former case the difference in wages is not so great, but in the latter it is not less than 60 per cent, and when we come to what is termed the "common laborer" the Americans get practically double the wages paid in England. After a careful investigation I come to the conclusion that, comparing wages and the cost of living, there is an average of at least 25 per cent in favor of the American workman. A careful, sober man can undoubtedly save more money than in England. The encouragement given to invention has, no doubt, contributed to the Americans having more modern machinery, but there is, above and beyond all other causes, the tariff. If we take it for granted that the cost of production is equal in both countries and that in an open market equal profits could be made, what an enormous advantage the tariff gives to the American manufacturer, who has an almost unlimited home market.

Responding to the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English?" Mr. Walls answered: "As a whole, yes." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was: "The difference is little; if anything, it is cheaper." To the question, "Are the American workers better clothed than the English?" his response was: "Better; generally much better; only artisans dress well." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his answer was: "About 40 per cent higher." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his answer was: "Cost of food is no higher; the chief difference is in rent. Making allowance for that, the American is fully 25 per cent better off." To the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man save more in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes." To the question, "Is a larger or smaller proportion of American workmen dependent upon the public purse than is the case in England?" his response was: "From what we were told, a smaller proportion." To the question, "Do you consider the general conditions of life of the workingman better in America

than in England?" his answer was: "Yes. Better education, better houses, better wages would pay our employers in the long run."

Mr. G. N. Barnes, an officer of the Amalgamated Society of British Engineers, in his response to certain questions, said:

I believe that American employers or their representatives are more accessible than the British. I had constant opportunities of seeing this in the shops. I was particularly struck with the free-and-easy manner of addressing each other, as between workmen on the one hand and managers on the other, even where the conditions of labor appeared to be somewhat hard. There are greater opportunities for the workingman to rise in America, and the reason is, I think, mainly because of the expansive nature of American industry.

Mr. D. C. Cummings, secretary of the English Iron and Steel Shipbuilders and Boilermakers' Society, in response to certain of the questions submitted to each member of the commission, said:

American workmen are greater feeders than the British; in fact, it is surprising the amount of food and food stuffs they manage to consume. Food stuffs compare favorably with our own—bread, meat, groceries, vegetables, and fruit being as low, if not lower, than in London; prices are certainly lower than in our north country cities and towns. House rent is dear. Americans insist upon more roomy dwellings than the general run of Britishers. The American mechanic generally lives in a six-room house, with both hot and cold water and electric light. The average wages of time workers are 75 to 100 per cent higher in our trade in America than at home, and I am inclined to the opinion that notwithstanding the greater cost of outer clothing, house accommodation, and fuel, a careful, steady man could, while keeping himself, efficiently provide for several more in America than in England, food stuffs being certainly cheaper.

Mr. T. Jones, representing the Midland Counties Trades Federation of England, responding to certain of the inquiries which each member of the commission was expected to answer, in answer to the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" said: "It is higher." In response to the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" he answered: "The American has the advantage." Responding to the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man, whilst keeping himself efficient, save more in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes."

Responding to the question, "Are a larger or smaller proportion of American workmen dependent upon the public purse than is the case in England?" his answer was: "Smaller." Responding to the question, "Do you consider the general relations of life of the workman better in America than in England?" his answer was: "Yes, in many respects." In his general statement Mr. Jones said:

As to how America is able to pay higher wages and yet successfully compete with us in the markets of the world, I believe it is due to the vast natural resources she has in mines and minerals, improved methods in mining, the utilization of her vast waterways, and the superior railways she possesses combined with the low rates charged for transportation of all kinds of products. Manufacturers are helped by these considerations, to which must be added the more modern and ever-changing machinery, the adoption of every improvement, no matter how often introduced, and their safety from foreign competition in consequence of their protective tariff.

Mr. T. Ashton, secretary of the Corporation Cotton Spinners of England, responding to questions propounded to each of the members, said:

The average wages of mule spinners of the New England States are £15, or £3 6s. 8d. per week, against 12½ ls. in Oldham, being an advance of 75 per cent. Taking into account the cost of living, I consider the American spinner has an advantage over the English spinner of fully 40 per cent on his wage-earning power. I am of opinion that a careful, sober, and steady workman, whilst keeping himself efficient for his duties, can save more money in America than he can in England, and I am confirmed in this view by the evidence of workmen residing in America who formerly lived in Lancashire. As to whether the American workmen are better fed than the English, my impression is that they are, and this is the opinion of workmen who formerly lived in England, but are now working in the American factories. There are fewer of the American working people, in proportion to their number, who are dependent on the public purse than is the case in England. The American workmen consider it almost a crime if they are compelled to go to a poorhouse on account of their poverty. I consider that the general conditions of life of the American workman are better than what obtain in England.

Mr. T. A. Flynn, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of British Tailors, said:

The amount of capital invested in American clothing factories must be enormous. It can not be claimed that any invention has yet superseded the essential principles of the old sewing machine; that is, nothing similar to the automatic machines, where the workman gives the machine its daily food and lingers around during the time the digestive process completes itself. Every detail of the old machine has been subjected to the perfecting hand of human ingenuity. In every factory visited experiments were being tried with some form of improved machinery. The American manufacturer organizes his factory with the object of turning out a suit of clothes very much superior to that placed upon the market by nine-tenths, if not all, of the English manufacturers. * * * There can be no doubt that the American workmen—and this includes women—live on a higher plane than their cousins in England. The cost of food is very similar, but the American workman gets more of it and of a better quality.

Clothing is as cheap in America as it is with us—that is, for those who buy inferior articles. The whole trend of opinion in America, however, is against cheap or "sloppy" suits. Wages in the tailoring trade are governed by conditions of labor. If the best firms in London be taken as against the best in New York and Chicago, American tailors are paid 200 per cent higher wages. Outside these centers wages vary in first-class houses; but even in these, if taken against the ordinary English towns, wages are from 100 to 150 per cent higher. How far these wages enable the American workman to save is a question for statisticians. So far as inquiries give result, there is no manner of doubt that the working classes of America save more money and save it more easily than the working classes of England.

Mr. H. R. Taylor, an officer of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, of England, responding to the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" said: "Much higher. The lowest wage in England is 13 cents per hour and the highest 21 cents, while the lowest wage paid in any of the towns I visited in America was 45 cents per hour." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" he said: "I feel that I am well within the mark by saying that the American bricklayer is quite 50 per cent better off than the English bricklayer."

Mr. M. Deller, representative of the National Association of Operative Plasterers, in response to the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English?" said: "It naturally follows that with wages much higher in America than in England those who desire to live well can do so much easier than in England." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was: "Favorably." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was: "More than double." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was: "At least 25 per cent better."

Mr. H. Crawford, of the General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners, states, in concluding his general discussion, that "in London the average weekly wage for joiner and carpenter is £2 2s. 6d.; board and lodging, 15s., leaving a balance of £1 7s. 6d. In New York the wages," he says, "are, for forty-four hours (as against forty-eight in London), £5 8s. 2d.; board, £1 9s. 2d., leaving a balance of £3 14s. Hence the American can save nearly double, though he works four hours less per week." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade compare in America, expressed in money, with the average wage in England?" his response was, "Very much higher." To the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man save more money in America than in England?" his response was, "Yes; if he chooses, certainly he can." To the question, "Do you consider the general conditions of life of the workman better in America than in England?" his response was, "Yes; I found there was plenty of employment and generally much better paid. I found all classes aiming at elevating the laboring classes and making them feel that they were citizens with duties to perform to the State."

Mr. Harry Ham, of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, responding to certain of the inquiries, and answering the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English?" responded, "Yes." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was, "A trifle higher, but not a great difference." To the question, "Do more workers, relatively, own the houses they live in than is the case in England?" his answer was, "Yes; they are receiving better wages, and employment is more secure." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was, "The hours worked in America vary from forty-four to sixty, wages from \$2.25 to \$3.75; in England the hours from forty-eight to fifty-five, wages from £7½ to £10½ per hour." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was, "Most favorably." To the question, "Can the careful, steady man save more in America than in England?" his response was, "Undoubtedly."

Mr. W. Dyson, of the Amalgamated Paper Makers' Union, to the question, "Are the American workers better paid than the English?" responded: "Yes; they are paid better, and they live better than the English workers." To the question, "How does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" his response was: "There is very little, if any, difference." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was: "I should estimate the average wage in American paper mills for skilled labor to be 25 shillings per week higher and unskilled labor 10 shillings per week higher than in England." To the question, "Are a larger or smaller proportion of American workmen dependent upon the public purse than in England?" his answer was: "A much smaller proportion." To the question, "Do you consider the general conditions of life of the workman better in America than in England?" his response was: "Yes. The great majority of American workmen certainly follow their occupation under more favorable conditions than the English workmen, there being more attention paid to sanitary arrangements, ventilation, etc., which, of course, tends to keep a man fresh and more active."

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, of the London Society of Compositors, to the question, "Are American workers better off than the English?" said, "American workers are able to keep a better table;

food, meat, etc., being considerably more reasonable in price than in this country; fruit also is very plentiful and exceedingly cheap. They are as well clothed and at about the same cost as here." To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average wage in England?" his response was, "An average of about \$1 per day more than in England." To the question, "Can the careful, sober, steady man, whilst keeping himself efficient, save more in America than in England?" his response was, "Wages being generally much higher, and taking into account the difference in the cost of rent, I am satisfied that a careful, sober, steady man is in a considerably better position to save money in America than in England."

Mr. W. Coffey, of the London Consolidated Society of Journey-men Bookbinders, to the question, "Are the American workers better off than the English, and how does the price of food in America compare with that in England?" answered:

So far as I was able to observe there is a general appearance of good health and physical vigor amongst both men and women workers in our trade, leading to the inference that they are on the whole well cared for and properly nourished—a proof that food is not higher than with us. Meat has risen considerably in the last few years, but, notwithstanding this result of the trust, the prices range about the same as our market rates.

To the question, "How does the average wage in your trade in America, expressed in money, compare with the average rate in England?" his response was, "Wages rule at from 70 to 100 per cent higher than in England." To the question, "How does the value of the American wage compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?" his response was, "The workman in our trade in America is quite 25 per cent better off than his English colleague. A man who is careful, sober, and steady can certainly save more money than is possible here."

The report of the Mosely Industrial Commission closes with a general statement, entitled "Progress in manufacture in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century." It begins by calling attention to the fact that manufactures, which formed in 1875 but 16½ per cent of the exports of domestic merchandise, formed in the period 1899-1901 29½ per cent of the exports of domestic merchandise. It also calls attention to the fact that the growth of exports of manufactures from the United States from 1889 to 1901 has been much more rapid than the growth of manufactures exported from the United Kingdom, and says:

Comparison between detailed headings in the trade accounts of the two countries is probably somewhat unsafe, but some idea of the prospect of the United States becoming a greater exporter than this country—the United Kingdom—may be gathered by noticing that the values of machinery exported as well as that of the total exports of iron and steel manufactures, which were both, five years ago, less than a quarter of the corresponding values in this country, amounted at the end of the century to more than half those values.

It also calls attention to the fact that the production of pig iron grew from 4,000,000 tons, average, in 1884 and 1885 in the United States to 13,705,000 tons in 1899-1900, while that of the United Kingdom only grew from 7,614,000 tons to 9,191,000, and that the growth in production of steel in the United States was even more rapid.

It also calls attention to the growth of the tin-plate industry in the United States, saying:

Previous to 1890 the United States produced practically no tin plates and sheets, and the industry owes its existence almost wholly to the protective tariff placed upon these goods in 1890, which became operative on July 1, 1891. The growth of the industry since that date has been very remarkable and has resulted in this country (the United Kingdom) to a large extent losing its best customer. * * * Much of our loss, due to the closing of the American markets against us, has been made good by markets having been found elsewhere; but, in spite of this, the blow to the trade has been very severe.

In closing the general discussion of prosperity in American manufactures, the report says:

Before concluding, it may be as well to suggest, briefly, the causes that have contributed to the enormous expansion of manufacturing industries in the United States. This is not the place to discuss in detail the causes which may be credited as political. That a certain proportion of the growth of the manufacturing industries of the United States is attributable to the direct action of government, and especially to the operation of the tariff, is obvious, and, indeed, has been referred to incidentally in discussing the growth of tin-plate manufacture in the United States.

A word, however, may be said as to the causes of growth which depend on the natural advantages possessed by the United States and the personal characteristics of her citizens. Under the first head come the enormous coal resources of the United States, coupled with the rich deposits of iron ore. Under the second comes a whole group of characteristics, which to a large extent evade statistical analysis. There is, first, the readiness of the manufacturer to adopt, and of the workman to accede to, the use of labor-saving devices. Allied to this is the largeness of scale, with its resultant economies, with which manufactures are conceived and carried on.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE BRITISH IRON TRADE ASSOCIATION ON IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Another tribute to protection is paid by another representative commission from England which visited the United States in 1902, namely, the commissioners appointed by the British Iron Trade Association to inquire into the iron, steel, and allied industries of the United States. This commission, which visited the great iron-manufacturing centers of the United States, presented an elaborate report, forming a volume of nearly 600 pages. It contains reports on all features of the iron and steel production, including

the supplies of ore and coal, freights, labor conditions, hours of work, strenuousness of labor, cost of production, organization and administration in industrial affairs, transportation systems, the great corporations and other work in iron and steel production, and many other kindred subjects. Throughout this elaborate report the writers point to the advantageous conditions existing in the United States, the higher prices paid for labor, the better conditions of the laboring men than those of their own country, England, and the wonderful prosperity which has come to the iron and steel industry in the United States, where, in the words of the secretary of the commission, Mr. J. Stephen Jeans, "In no country has protection been adopted in such a whole-souled manner. In no other country have the shibboleths of free trade been more emphatically held at arm's length."

Commenting upon the remarkable development in the United States in this industry, Mr. Jeans says:

The cost of production of iron and steel is made up of three main elements—raw materials, labor, and transportation. No one of these matters can properly be dealt with unless in relation to the others. Raw materials, however cheap and abundant, are of little value as a basis of industrial prosperity without cheap transport and labor at a reasonable cost. Similarly, cheap labor is of little value without adequate supplies of raw materials of the right kind plus a reasonable rate of charge for transport. The interrelation of these three subjects has made it necessary to devote much space to all three of them in this report. Labor is perhaps the most fundamental of the trio, because in one form or another the ultimate cost of all commodities is mainly that of labor. In the United States, paradoxical as it may appear, we have to face conditions that make at once the dearest and the cheapest labor that is probably to be found in any part of the world—dearest with respect to nominal remuneration, the cheapest with respect to industrial and economic results.

It is the purpose of the following pages to demonstrate how American ironmasters and engineers have been able to so discipline and apply the labor at their command as to reconcile high wages with cheap production in a degree not hitherto attained elsewhere. * * * The influence of trades-unionism is not nearly so strong nor so aggressive in the United States as in Great Britain. * * * The almost absolute freedom of labor has been the chief instrument whereby it has won such conquests in the field of industrial economy during the last quarter of a century. In all countries industrial processes have been greatly cheapened during that period, but in America the cheapening appears to have been carried farther than anywhere else. Within that time a wire-rod roller has seen his earnings per ton reduced from \$2.12 to 12 cents, and yet he earns larger wages at the lower figure, while 5 cents are paid to-day for heating billets to make wire rods against 80 cents during the period referred to. * * * Wages, in short, are generally so good and the men have their futures so much in their own hands that they have every encouragement to do the best they can both for their employers and for themselves. The human factor and the personal equation appear to count in the United States for more than they generally do in Europe. Workmen appear to enjoy a larger measure of independence, based on a knowledge of the fact that work is more easy to obtain than in older countries, and they are able as a rule to save money and are therefore less dependent than when living, as is not unusual in Europe, from hand to mouth, and that they are living under a political régime which is founded on democratic principles.

Two features of the relations of employers and employed may be named as exercising a powerful influence on the amity of their connections: First, the encouragement and reward of workmen's inventions, and second, the readiness with which workmen of exceptional capacity can themselves become employers and capitalists. * * *

The vast scale of operations is a feature of American works that can not be paralleled elsewhere. The total number of hands employed at Homestead is over 7,000, and the capacity of output of steel something like 2,000,000 tons a year. One individual customer takes 1,000 tons a day of this output, and all the other operations are on a similarly colossal scale. This fact enables the management to spread the standing charges over a large output in such a manner as to bring them down to a percentage of total cost of which probably no European works has any experience. * * *

The commissioners naturally found that the influence of the corporation was almost all-pervading in certain districts, and that its future policy and its financial issues were regarded from very different aspects and with very different ideas by different observers. The United States Steel Corporation, in the opinion of the majority, has come to stay. As it controlled nearly two-thirds of the total iron ore, coke, pig iron, and steel capacities of the United States at the time of its organization, it is natural that it should be looked to as the leader of all movements of prices and wages, and the prominent part which it took in the settlement of the important labor dispute of 1901 supplied an evidence, if any were needed, that it means to use its power and influence when occasion demands that it should do so. At the same time, there is reason to believe that its power is not relatively increasing—in other words, that the production of iron and steel controlled by independent concerns, or likely to be so in the near future, is or will be greater than that at the time of the consolidation.

It is natural that both here and on the other side of the Atlantic the vast influence and the commanding position secured by the United States Steel Corporation should have induced a degree of apprehension lest smaller plants may be swamped, and both production and price become largely a matter of monopoly. This is not, however, the opinion of the best informed and most far-seeing men with whom I have had the opportunity of discussing the situation in the United States. That private enterprise in that country is not afraid of the Steel Corporation is made evident by the unprecedented activity that is being displayed in the establishment of new independent plants while I write. In every part of the United States plants are entering the lists to compete against the Steel Corporation, and the capacity of the private plants opposed to it to-day is probably considerably greater than it was at the time it was founded, although that was only February, 1901. A recent writer has accurately noted that small plants well located and economically managed are remarkably tenacious of life. It has also been observed that the best returns on American capital during the period known as the "lean years" were not generally those of the largest enterprises, but those of a few smaller firms, and those in some cases outside the range of what are known as "the cheap centers."

THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY.

The British Iron and Steel Commission after its visit to the United States in 1902, devotes a chapter of its report to a discussion of the tin-plate industry in the United States, and begins by saying:

The tin-plate industry is one of the most recent in the United States and has been built up on the McKinley tariff of 1890, which levied a duty of 2 1/2

cents per pound on all tin plate imported into the country and practically caused the customs to claim as much on imports into the United States as the price of the product at works in the principality.

At the time the McKinley tariff came into force there was practically no tin plate manufactured in the United States, and the imports of that commodity ranged from 300,000 to 400,000 tons a year. In the following year the home production was only 532 tons, and the imports of British tin plates were 327,882 tons. Since then the American production has increased year by year, while the American imports have as rapidly declined. In 1900 the total American output of tin plates exceeded 400,000 tons, and the imports had fallen to only 53,000 tons, or about a sixth part of what they were in 1890.

The following table shows the British exports, American imports, and American output of tin plate for the last thirteen years:

Year.	Exports from Great Britain to all countries.	Imports into United States of America.	American production.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1889	430,623	331,311	.....
1890	421,797	329,435	.....
1891	448,732	327,882	552
1892	395,580	268,472	18,803
1893	379,233	253,155	55,182
1894	354,031	215,068	74,290
1895	365,082	219,545	113,663
1896	265,955	119,171	169,362
1897	271,230	83,851	256,593
1898	250,453	67,222	329,915
1899	256,629	58,915	397,767
1900	273,954	60,386	302,665
1901	171,657	.....	.....

The imports of the past three or four years have been confined almost entirely to tin plates, which are reexported in the shape of cans containing oil, fruit, fish, etc. By the terms of the Dingley law 90 per cent of the duty originally placed on such tin plate is refunded by the Government on its reexport. * * *

It seems to be pretty certain from the available records that whatever "virtual monopoly" of the tin-plate trade the steel corporation may have possessed when it was founded, or whatever the amount of control exercised over the trade at an earlier date by the American Tin Plate Company, competitive concerns have increased largely and rapidly, until the twenty-six tin-plate works under the control of the steel corporation are less than one-half of the whole number. While, therefore, the action of that consolidation can not be regarded as unimportant in the affairs of the tin-plate trade, it is not likely to be all important, as it would have been while independent concerns were less numerous.

The number of completed tin-plate works in the United States at the end of 1901 was fifty-five, compared with sixty-nine in April of 1893, and the same number at the end of 1895. Hence the number of existing works at the end of 1901 was less than that of either of the two previous periods. But the amount of enterprise being shown at the end of 1901 in addition to the productive capacity of American tin-plate plants was greater than at either of those previous dates. Mr. Swank's figures show that at the end of 1901 no fewer than seven new tin-plate works were in course of construction, against one in April, 1893, and four at the end of 1895. Of the new works being built at the end of 1901, three were in Pennsylvania, two in West Virginia, one in Ohio, and one in Wisconsin, while one other was at that time projected in Illinois. The aggregate capacity of the whole of the tin-plate works of the United States is not quite known, but it is computed at over 700,000 tons, which is a good deal in excess of any actual output hitherto reached in the United Kingdom. * * *

COLLATERAL PHASES OF THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Militant aspects: In considering the tariff of the United States from the point of view of its influence on British industry, we can not ignore the possible example that it has set to other nations and which in the future it may conceivably offer to our own. We need not discuss this point at any length. It would be unsatisfactory to attempt to discuss it from a purely controversial standpoint. But it is at least permissible to point out that not a few leading manufacturers have expressed dissatisfaction with a condition of things that enables other countries to enter British markets without let or hindrance, while excluding us from their own, and under which Britain is steadily increasing her imports of foreign manufactured goods, while leading statesmen have pointed out that this country, having by its economic policy given a practical sanction to this system of unrestricted imports, has no equivalent to offer in commercial negotiations with other nations.

THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW.

From the British point of view the main interest in and the chief effect of the United States tariff takes two forms—that of excluding our products from the markets of that country and that of underselling us in our own. As regards the former, the fact is so well known that I need not pile up figures to prove it. Suffice it to say that our total iron and steel exports to the United States are now only about one-fifth of what they were ten years ago, although even now the tariff does not entirely shut out European iron and steel, seeing that pig iron and billets are being imported from Europe while I write. * * *

I may here point out that while Great Britain, according to the official records of the United States, took from that country an average of more than \$500,000,000 worth of merchandise during the last four years, the average imports of British produce into the United States have not exceeded one-third of that figure, while of that one-third from one-half to two-thirds are subject to more or less prohibitory duties. This is not a trade relationship which the people of this country can regard with perfect equanimity. Americans can hardly be surprised if in Great Britain there is an increasingly strong impression that in matters of commerce our American friends, like the Dutch described by Hudibras, have a habit of "giving too little, and asking too much."

EFFECT OF THE TARIFF ON PRICES.

The Americans generally dispute the argument that a tariff for protection tends to keep up prices to the home consumer, and in support of their attitude on this subject they point to the fact that the prices of coal, iron, steel, and other commodities are, and have been, materially lower in the United States than in Great Britain. This view opens up questions of vast range, which it would take much space to handle. The other side of the argument obviously is that prices of commodities in the United States have declined, not because, but in spite of the tariff. * * *

At the same time it is by no means clear that a high tariff does necessarily involve a high range of prices in the protected country, and in the United States within the last few years prices have touched a very low level in spite of the tariff. Take as a case in point the statistics of steel rails. When the steel-rail industry was begun in the United States, in 1867, the rate of duty

on imports was 45 per cent ad valorem. This rate was continued until 1871, when it was made a specific duty of \$28 per ton, which was reduced to \$17 per ton in 1883, to \$13.44 in 1890, and to \$7.84 in 1894, at which figure it has since been maintained. In spite of these duties, however, the average price of steel rails in the United States fell from \$28 in 1897 to \$17.62 in 1898, and in the latter year the average American price was probably under the average of any other country.

EFFECT OF THE TARIFF ON INDIVIDUAL CONCERNS.

Many hold that the tariff has mainly been responsible for the great fortunes made by the typical millionaire, and the case of Mr. Andrew Carnegie is often quoted as a conclusive proof of this theory. I should not have dealt with an individual example in this connection but for the fact that it stands out so prominently in the recent history of the American iron trade as to make it almost impossible to ignore it in the consideration of this phase of the question. Moreover, I have had the privilege on more than one occasion of comparing notes with Mr. Carnegie and of knowing something more of the facts than "the man in the street;" and while I would not, of course, make use of any of the facts and figures brought to my knowledge in this way, I am quite at liberty to deal with facts that are common property in the light of the aspects thus presented.

Everyone who makes any pretensions to a knowledge of the recent history of the American iron and steel industries must be fully aware that during one of the most critical periods in its career the operations of manufacturing firms, and not the least so those engaged in the steel-rail industry, were not uniformly successful. In the years 1896-1898 the principal firms connected in the American rail industry were the Carnegie Steel Company and the Illinois Steel Company, afterwards merged in the Federal Steel Company. But it is a well-known fact that over a large part of this period the Illinois Company failed to make profits, while the Carnegie Steel Company did remarkably well. The difference of results is mainly, if not wholly, due to differences in location, resources, and administration, and it is hardly likely to be claimed that the tariff was the cause of those differences, since its influence equally affected both. No doubt in the earlier history of the rail trade profits were large, but on a relatively small product, for in 1875, when the Carnegie Company started, the total American production of steel rails was only 250,000 tons.

TRUSTS AND THE TARIFF.

In America the question has been many times raised of late whether there is not a large degree of interdependence between industrial combinations and tariff duties. On this subject the United States Industrial Commission recently reported:

"Protective tariffs do not seem to have been of special significance in the formation of industrial combinations in Europe, although in many cases the combination has been enabled to take advantage of the protective tariff in the way of securing higher prices. In free-trade England the combination movement seems to have developed considerably further than in protectionist France; but, on the other hand, the movement toward combination has gone much further in extent in Austria and Germany, both protectionist countries, than in England, although in England the form of combination is generally more complete. Doctor Liefmann, in an article on combinations in England, expresses the opinion that the chief reason for the lesser development of monopolistic combinations in England and the continuance of severe competition in branches of industry in which in Germany there have existed for a long time very rigid combinations—for example, the coal industry—scribes the cause rather to the principle of extreme individualism in England, which has a much firmer hold on business men, in his judgment, than in Germany, and this appears, on the whole, to be the right conception.

"On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the combinations at times make use of the tariff. In France, Germany, and Austria the tariffs seem in general to have been levied with the idea of furnishing a sufficient protection against foreign competition without placing them much higher than was necessary to cover the normal difference in cost of production. The Governments seem inclined to stand firmly by their protective policy, and there seems to be no very active propaganda hostile to it."

ENGLISH ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF ADOPTING THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

The quotations which I have already made from commissions of experienced Englishmen visiting the United States and studying her industries at the seat of operation are not the only tributes which the English are paying to the protective system. As is well known, a proposition for the abandonment of free trade and the adoption of a protective system is now before the British people, being urged by some of the most distinguished students of economic subjects and men prominent in public life under the lead of Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who resigned from the cabinet in order to make this fight for a return to the protective system. This agitation in behalf of protection has resulted in discussions in many forms. Mr. Chamberlain's arguments, presented before audiences in England, have already been brought to the attention of the House and published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, also extracts from the elaborate discussions in the London Telegraph, discussions which have attracted the attention of men in all parts of the world.

These discussions are participated in not merely by great leaders of public thought and great writers, but by men in all ranks of life, and I present as an indication of the general interest which is being felt in the subject and the strength of argument in favor of protection being presented to the people of the United Kingdom some extracts from a series of letters on protection contributed to the London Shoe and Leather Record. These were offered in response to a proposition by the editors of that journal to award prizes aggregating some \$300 in value to those presenting the best arguments in favor of the adoption of the protective system in the United Kingdom. The extracts here given are from the letters of three leading participants in that contest, as follows:

Mr. T. J. Macpherson, 1 Mortonhall road, Edinburgh, said:

SIR: Availing myself of your invitation to your readers to express their views on the fiscal question, I write in support of the proposed change of policy, and I submit the following propositions as the chief points in favor of the proposed alteration:

(1) That the export trade of this country is practically stagnant, whereas the export trade of our chief commercial rivals has increased immensely in recent years.

(2) That the nature of our export trade is changing, and that to our serious disadvantage. Formerly we exported mainly manufactured goods, the

making of which gave employment to large numbers of work people; now we export larger quantities of raw material (the production of which requires less labor), including coal, and the exportation of coal lessens our national assets, as it can not, like other goods, be replaced.

(3) That the nature of our import trade is likewise changing. We import less raw material and larger quantities of manufactured goods which compete with and displace our home products, thus lessening the demand for labor as well as the profits of the employers. The position is aggravated by the fact that many of these imported articles are sold under the dumping system at less than the cost of production, and moreover our manufacturers work under restrictions as to sweating, factory regulations, hours, etc., from which our foreign competitors are free.

(4) The foreigner, not content with excluding our productions from his markets by high tariffs and capturing our home trade by dumping his surplus stock here, is competing with us in neutral markets, such as our own colonies, and seriously impairing our trade with them.

(5) That our colonies are desirous of giving us a preference in their markets over our foreign rivals, but expect that we shall reciprocate by giving them a similar advantage in our markets for their produce. The granting of this demand would tend to bind the colonies closer to the mother country, thus strengthening the Empire.

I do not propose to argue at length in support of these propositions, but, while not wishing to trouble your readers with too many figures, I would point out that our exports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods in 1890 amounted to £228,805,000, and in 1902 to £227,645,000, thus showing a decrease of over one million sterling. The German export of manufactured goods in 1890 was £107,000,000, and in 1900, £143,000,000, an increase of no less than 79 per cent, while the American exports in the same period rose from £31,000,000 to £90,000,000, showing the enormous increase of 190 per cent. Of the twelve leading articles in our export trade there has been during the last ten years a decrease in nine, including cotton goods, steel, woolen goods, hardware, linen, steam engines, and leather. This last item, in which your readers are specially interested, has fallen by one and a half millions. All these decreases mean a great displacement of British labor.

I will now deal with the argument of those persons who hold that under the dumping system we are not losers but gainers, and that the cheaper the foreigner sells us his goods the better for us. To purchase raw material at the lowest price is certainly a good thing, but it is another matter when manufactured goods are sent into a country at prices below the cost of production, or under conditions of manufacture which render it impossible for the home producer to compete with success. It is not for the national welfare for a people to become merely a distributing nation, and goods may be bought too cheaply, however low their nominal price, if their purchase leads to a decrease of employment and an increase of pauperism. I was told a few days ago by a Bermondsey carrier that there are scores of men bred to the tanning and currying trade in London who are now sweeping the streets or doing any odd job they can get because of the depression in their own trade.

I may also point out that there has been an alarming increase in the number of paupers in this country in recent years. In 1878 the expenditure in the relief of the poor was at the rate of £97 per 1,000 of the population and in 1901 it was £267 per 1,000. In 1878 there were 21,000 able-bodied paupers in the workhouses; in 1902 there were 39,852. The proportion to the population in 1878 was 86 per 100,000 and in 1902 it was 121. On the other hand, it is said the deposits in the savings banks have increased, but as a matter of fact they have increased at a greater rate in every other country in which a savings-bank system exists. Our country is actually at the bottom of the list in this respect.

The object of these foreigners who dump their surplus goods on us is not to benefit us at all, but to displace us from our position as a great manufacturing nation. Whenever they have killed competition in any particular line, their prices will go up. While our exports of manufactured goods have fallen, as stated in a former part of this paper, our imports of manufactured articles have increased by 50 per cent, equal to £50,000,000. No wonder our paupers are increasing.

On the ground of fair play to our own countrymen, is it right that while we impose factory rules and regulations for the preservation of the health and comfort of employees, we should allow goods made in countries where no such restrictions exist to be brought here to undersell our home productions? The Scottish woolen trade has suffered grievously from this evil, added to prohibitive tariffs in America, where a large business was formerly done by Scottish manufacturers. The populations of Galashiels and Hawick, chiefly engaged in the woolen trade, have fallen by about 4,000 and 2,000, respectively, and a large number of factories have been completely demolished in these towns.

Under the conditions now existing our country is really at the mercy of any foreign state which wishes to injure our trade by the imposition or increase of tariff rates. Our statesmen's hands are tied. They have nothing to bargain with, and can only make an ineffectual protest against proposals which they know are designed to inflict injury on the trade of their own country. How different would be their position if they could say to foreign diplomatists, "Unless you give us what we consider fair and just treatment to our commercial interests, we will retaliate on your own trade." A bargain can not be made unless both parties have something to give and something to withhold.

I have already mentioned that within the last ten years the leather and export trade has decreased by one and a half millions sterling. Taking the years from 1893 to 1902, we find that the exports of boots and shoes have decreased by £920,000, while the imports of the same goods have increased by £2,150,000. In a speech delivered at Leicester lately, Sir Thomas Wright said, "I have been to a certain extent, in friendship and otherwise, associated with the boot and shoe trade for forty or fifty years. At one time, Northampton heads of firms told me, enormous business was done in South America, Canada, France, and even Austria. One by one every one of these markets has been closed to us by hostile tariffs."

In Australia the duties on boots and shoes at the foundation of the Commonwealth was put up 30 per cent. In France there has been an advance of 50 per cent on the duty formerly levied. In Norway, formerly a good market, the duty is about 1s. 6d. per pound. In Denmark there is a duty of £3 15s. per cwt., and in Germany, £1 12s. per cwt. These duties, and others which I need not enumerate, are in most cases absolutely prohibitory, and where they do not prohibit they greatly retard and diminish our export trade.

Even if the shoe manufacturer had to pay a little more he would stand to gain very considerably by the fiscal change. In the first place, his position against foreign competition would be greatly improved by the tariff on boots, which, being manufactured articles, would have to bear a higher duty than that put on leather. His position would thus be strengthened in the home market. The boot manufacturer, with a stronger position in both the home and colonial markets, should be able to increase his output and work his plant to full capacity, which would, of course, be an immense advantage to him, even if he were unable to secure any great advance in price. The interest of the purchasing public would be safeguarded by the competition among manufacturers, which would prevent any unreasonable rise in price, and in all probability boots would be procurable at the present low prices, although the manufacturers, by doing a larger business, would earn a larger profit.

This is really what manufacturers of all commodities in this country most urgently require—some security that if they fully employ their capital in production they will be able to dispose of their goods at a remunerative price, and not find their market absolutely destroyed by enormous importations of foreign goods sold here at prices actually below the cost of production.

The want of this security leads capitalists to employ their money in investments abroad, and the interest on these investments coming back to this country in the form of imports is actually hailed by ardent upholders of the present so-called free-trade system as a sign of our national wealth. If that capital instead of being sent abroad was employed in productive work at home, what an enormous improvement would take place in the labor market and in the condition of that large section of our population whom a certain well-known statesman has told us are on the verge of starvation.

Is it not a lamentable state of affairs that after sixty years of all the advantages of our so-called free-trade system we should have this large proportion of our population living, if not on the verge of starvation, at any rate in such an impecunious condition that a slight increase in the cost of food would, according to free-food advocates, bring them to that verge, or beyond it?

Can we say that our industrial condition is satisfactory when large amounts of both capital and labor are unable to find profitable employment in our own country, and are forced, the one into foreign investments and the other either to emigration or to existence on this verge of starvation? This question of employment is really the substance of the whole matter. What is the advantage of cheap food to men who are unable to earn the money with which to buy it? Surely any change in our fiscal system which would decrease the number of men out of regular employment and give some security to capital against unfair competition is worthy of our earnest support. * * *

It is surely a reasonable proposal to protect our home industries against unfair competition or the disastrous effect of extreme tariffs imposed by countries which at present have a free entrance for their products into our markets.

It has been pointed out that it is absurd to protect labor, as we do in this country by factory legislation, etc., and to leave the products of labor unprotected. Municipal corporations, such as the London county council, place large contracts for tramway rails, etc., with foreign firms, and congratulate themselves that they are saving a few thousand pounds to the ratepayers. Are they really saving? By sending their orders abroad they help to swell the ranks of the unemployed at home and thus to increase the demand for poor relief. They save so much in their contracts and pay so much more in poor rates. Is that sound policy?

Our contractors, too, are at a disadvantage in that they are bound by a clause in such contracts to pay the regular trade rate of wages and to conform to the other trade regulations, but the foreigner is exempt from those conditions. Now, we can not have real free trade without the labor market being free, so that an employer may take labor at the lowest rate at which it can be got and on the most favorable terms. Free trade and trade unionism, as John Bright said long ago, are antagonistic the one to the other. Yet, I take it that no one would now advocate complete free trade in labor. We recognize that although trade unions have done much harm when misdirected, yet they are of advantage to workmen. At any rate they can not now be abolished, and we must, therefore, see to it that the fruit of labor as well as labor itself has some protection.

According to a calculation by Mr. John Holt Schooling, the number of persons employed in the boot and shoe industry in the year 1901, as compared with the number in 1881, has fallen by 29,000, considering the increase in the population of the country. In many industries the decrease will be even greater. This is one result of protecting the worker against his employer, but not against his foreign competitor. But here let me refer to the great advantage the boot manufacturer, in common with the manufacturer of all other commodities of daily use, would derive from any policy which leads to a more general employment of labor at good rates of wages. Such a state of affairs would greatly increase the purchasing powers of the working classes. At present the large portion of our people already referred to as on the verge of starvation, estimated by some free-trade advocates at almost one-third of our total population, require all their earnings for the bare necessities of life, and can not afford to buy new boots and shoes, being thankful to get any old worn-out ones to cover their feet. Give these people good wages, and immediately you create a demand for boots and other articles of daily wear and household use.

The home demand is thus capable of an enormous extension, of which the manufacturer in this country will reap the harvest if only he is secure against unfair competition from abroad. It is estimated that in 1902 the amount paid to foreign workmen in wages for the production of manufactures imported to this country amounted to eighty millions, being thirty millions more than in 1890. Had that money been paid to British workmen a large portion of it would have been expended on the purchase of boots and shoes and the other articles required by the workman and his family. Thus if any one trade is injured all sections of the business community suffer, and the salvation of any trade from the evil effects of dumping, etc., means the retention of purchasing power, of which all trades share the advantage. * * *

Mr. Frank H. Stevens, 7 King street, Cheapside, said:

Sir: When Great Britain first freed her ports and markets to all the world we were warned by a great statesman, one of the most far-seeing men of his own or any other time, Benjamin Disraeli, that the policy would be a disastrous one for this country, and that foreign countries, so far from throwing open wide their doors to us, would only close them more and more. In recent years we have had many a warning from eminent men whose experience well qualified them to speak with authority, including the late Cecil Rhodes, who despaired of ever making us realize our true position. * * *

My case in support of the proposed changes, apart from the question of colonial preference, is that we are a mercantile nation, and are not justified in continuing to extend to foreign countries the great benefits which we now do extend to them, while they, in return, refuse to us any similar privileges, unless our business as a nation be not only sound now, but give promise of continued prosperity in the future and of being sufficient for the needs of an ever-increasing population.

Now, as we all know, we are dependent for the greater part of our food supplies and of a large portion of our other requirements upon our imports from abroad, which have been steadily increasing, our imports for home consumption having doubled during the last forty-five years. I do not complain of such increase provided it be consistent with the present and future prosperity of the country; but imports have to be paid for, and I would ask you to consider for a moment the sources from which our income to pay for these imports is derived, bearing always in mind that it is not only our present position that we have to note, but also the general tendencies, which latter many opponents of change are apt to overlook.

These imports are paid for by means of our exports, our services as carriers by sea, commissions earned as commercial agents for foreigners, and by the income derived by a portion of our community from moneys invested abroad; and it is highly important that none of these sources of income should become impaired, for in any such case either we should have to reduce the amount of our imports or we should have to pay for a portion of them out of capital, as foreign countries would certainly not supply us free.

Firstly, then, how fare our exports?

Objection has been taken to the making of any comparison with the year 1872, it being contended that the volume and value of our exports was in that year abnormal and due largely to the waging of the Franco-German war, so I propose to take for comparison the averages for the quinquennial periods from that ending 1899 back to that ending 1879 (i. e., over a period of twenty-five years), thus omitting the periods of the Franco-German war and the recent war in South Africa. My figures, except where otherwise stated, are taken or worked out from the Government blue book recently published.

Now, it will be found that the yearly average of our total exports per head of the population to all destinations amounted, for the five years ending 1879, to £6; 1884, to £6 13s. 2d.; 1889, to £6 3s. 8d.; 1894, to £6 2s. 11d.; and for 1899 to £5 19s., thus showing during the period a decrease per head, while the average of total exports for the period ending 1899 (£237,850,000) was only £3,000,000 more than in the period to 1894, £11,000,000 more than in the period to 1889, £3,000,000 more than in the period to 1884, and £36,000,000 more than in the period to 1879, the bad-trade period following the Franco-German war.

But these figures include our exports of coal, which must, without question, be left out of consideration in our endeavor to gauge the tendencies of our trade, for it is part of our capital, which the iron or steel of other countries, for which it is exchanged, can never be, such things being essentially consumable commodities. Again, a large portion of the coal exported should properly be credited not to our export trade, but to our home trade, going, as it does, to bunker our own ships abroad. Further in the course of time oil seems destined to a great extent to supersede coal as the fuel for vessels, and on the extent to which in years to come foreign ships and our own will use liquid fuel in lieu of our steam coal will depend the volume and value of this branch of our exports and the demand for labor in our coal mines, so that, even if my previous objections to the inclusion of coal in our figures be held to fail, it is clear that on the last ground we can not rely on such exports as a constant source of income in the future.

Deducting coal, then, we find that our average export during the five years ending 1899 (£220,000,000) was £3,000,000 more than in the period to 1894, £5,000,000 more than in the period to 1889, £4,500,000 less than in the period to 1884, and only £27,000,000 more than in the period to 1879.

That is not a state of things to give one much cause for gratification, but we are essentially a manufacturing community, and taking our average exports of manufactured and partly manufactured goods during the same periods we find that the average export to all destinations during the period to 1899 (£203,000,000) was £1,500,000 more than for the period to 1894, £4,000,000 more than for the period to 1889, £5,000,000 less than for the period to 1884, and only £23,000,000 more than for the period to 1879.

But it is only when we split up these figures that we find their true inwardness. Separate our exports to the chief protected countries (viz. the whole of Europe and the United States) and to the British colonies, India, and other countries, we find that the average export of the whole of Europe and United States of America during the period to 1899 (£74,000,000) was £3,000,000 less than for the period to 1894, £3,000,000 less than for the period to 1889, £10,000,000 less than for the period to 1884, and £1,750,000 less than for the period to 1879, that period of bad trade following the Franco-German war. Thus we find that our exports of manufactures to those countries which, until recently, were our largest and most important customers, show a striking and steady tendency to decline, a decline which we have failed to realize, owing to the increase of our trade to our colonies, India, and the few free markets, the corresponding average for which during the period to 1899 (£129,000,000) being £4,250,000 more than for the period to 1894, £7,000,000 more than for the period to 1889, £6,000,000 more than for the period to 1884, and £25,000,000 more than for the period to 1879.

Is this a satisfactory state of affairs and of a happy augury for the future?

No, sir; emphatically it is not, especially when we take into consideration the fact that the nature of our trade is essentially altering, for whereas in times gone by these foreign countries used to send us their raw material and take from us our finished article, the tendency now is for these countries to send us more and more of their own fully manufactured goods while taking less of ours, the result being a loss to labor in this country. This gradual transferring of the bulk of the work to be done in producing the finished article from our own people to the foreigner is one of the great evils with which we have to deal. These countries are sending us an increasing percentage of manufactured goods imported from the United States, which, during the five years from 1890 to 1894, formed 12.98 per cent of our total imports from them, while the average for the five years 1898 to 1902 had increased to 17.22 per cent. Likewise Germany increased her percentage of manufactured goods from 37 per cent to 44 per cent; Belgium, from 72.5 per cent to 75 per cent; Germany, Belgium, and Holland, taken together, from 56.2 per cent to 58 per cent; France, from 56.76 per cent to 59.56 per cent, and Russia, from 13.29 per cent to 14.54 per cent.

The decline in the exports of our manufactured goods to foreign countries and the lessening of the demand in those countries for our finished articles is not confined to merely one or two of our trades, but affects such varied industries as the manufacture of textiles, tin plate, copper, hardware, cutlery, glass, china, cement, hats, matches, saddlery and harness, skins, umbrellas, steam engines, etc.

"To what is this due?" you will ask, "and have things reached their worst?"

Sir, our trouble is only beginning if we can infer anything at all from the policy of the various countries which not long ago were our best customers. This state of things is due in a very large measure to that policy, which is to provide as much employment as possible for their own work people by insuring them the custom of their home markets, out of which for that purpose they endeavor with no little success to exclude foreign-made goods.

As an example of the manner in which such policy affects our export trade to foreign protected countries, take our tin-plate trade with America. Between 1887 and 1890 Great Britain exported to the United States on an average 304,685 tons of tin plate annually—i. e., 76 per cent of our then total export. The United States did not then manufacture, and their import duty was 24 1/2 per cent, which was not protective, as there was no industry to be protected. Then the United States started to manufacture under the protection of the McKinley tariff of £10 12s. per ton. The result was that during the years 1892 and 1895 our average export of tin plate to the States dropped to 237,040 tons, or 69 per cent of our total export. Under the Wilson tariff and the Dingley tariff the decline continued, the price of the British manufacture in the States, cut our prices as we might and did, being always kept by the tariff above that at which the American could sell in his own market. Accordingly, during the years 1898 to 1901 our average export to the States had declined to only 65,687 tons, or 25 per cent of our total export.

In certain quarters it is sought to explain away the effect of this result by pointing out that our export of tin plate to other countries had, on the other hand, been increasing. That is the very position in which our American trade was before the imposition of the tariff to protect the infant American industry. Let any other protected country determine to make tin plate—and other countries will do so if they find they have a market for it, and that they have a market for it is clear, or they would not buy from us—their infant industry will be protected in the same way, and others of our present markets for tin plate will be practically closed to us, except when there may be a big boom in the home demand and the home manufacturers can not supply in sufficient quantities.

It may not be amiss here to remind your readers that to enable a country

to obtain control of its home market it depends not so much on the magnitude of the duty imposed, but rather on the state of the particular home industry to be protected, a small duty being ample where the home industry is well established, while a new industry will require a high duty to protect it, as we have seen in the case of American tin plate. Although in the early stages of an industry no duty, however high, will keep foreign goods out of the market, the amount of these will gradually decrease as the output of the protected industry increases, till at last the protection becomes practically a prohibition of our goods and that market is closed to us.

Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Russia, Italy, their policies are all the same, the efficacy or otherwise of their protection at the moment depending only on the present strength of their industries. Take an example in our export woolen trade, and compare the average yearly export to foreign protected countries during the five years ending in 1894 with the similar average for the five years ending in 1902, and you will find a decrease of no less than £3,716,900.

Whatever opponents of change may say, education, energy, and enterprise alone can never insure the holding by British manufacturers of a fair share of foreign protected markets nor enable them to recover their lost ground. It is only a question of time before the chief foreign protected markets will be closed to us, and one of the most important sources of the revenue wherewith we pay for our imports, and now already decreasing, will be gone.

Again, many foreign countries at the present time protect their carrying trade by navigation laws, and the application of these has but recently been enlarged to the detriment of our shipping. In 1901 the United States, which reserves the whole of its coasting trade, including that between its Atlantic and Pacific seaboard, for its own vessels, closed the trade between the States and Porto Rico and Hawaii to foreign vessels. In the year 1900 the entries and clearances of shipping in that trade were 709,000 tons, of which 110,000 were foreign, of which we lost our share. Again, until 1909 our vessels are to be accorded the right to enter the ports of the Philippines on the same terms as American vessels, but British vessels from the Philippines to the States are to pay tonnage dues, which American vessels do not pay, a preference that can not but operate to our detriment.

And even this regulation will only continue until 1909, when the trade between the Philippines and the United States will be reserved for national vessels; and our loss will be seen from the fact that in 1901 British ships entered and cleared at ports of the United States in the trade with the Philippines 122,015 tons (with cargo), out of a total of 179,459 tons and 85,444 (in ballast), out of 68,508. France, too, reserves to national vessels her coast trade, and has extended this reservation to trade between her own ports and Algeria, while Russia, who also reserves her coast trade, has closed the trade between her European and far eastern ports. Thus, sir, not only has expansion of our shipping in certain directions been rendered impossible, but even a portion of the trade we had has been or is about to be taken from us. Surely in the face of such examples of what can and does happen, we should not be too confident that our shipping will look after itself, notwithstanding a falling off in our exports. I would ask you to consider the position and prospects of our working population under the present policy.

In this connection one can not help wondering how many of those who talk so glibly about "Cobden" really appreciate the spirit which actuated that great man. He was no theorist, but an eminently practical man, who saw the plight of the people, diagnosed the cause, and set himself to find a remedy. His cry in all his speeches in Parliament and in the country was "Look at the condition of the people!" He pointed out the numbers who were either starving or could only just live, and rightly attributed that condition to lack of employment. What good would cheap food alone have been to the people who had no money to buy it? To create employment was his self-imposed task, and his method was to throw open our ports to the corn of foreign countries so that they, with the money we paid them for it, might be able to buy the manufactures which they were only too anxious to buy, and which we alone could supply. That was his remedy!

Had he been alive now, I venture to think his cry would have been, as ever, "Look to the condition of the people! Keep them employed!" But he would have seen that the countries who were then anxious to buy from us, having themselves since developed national ideas, were now inspired by no such helpful purpose, and that the future promised us no such continuance of employment from foreign sources, and he would have speedily realized that our present policy, which had been so admirably calculated to make the most of the grand start which we had acquired under protection, could now no longer have been pursued with advantage.

Can it be contended that the high protective tariffs of foreign countries are not responsible for the decrease in the demand for labor at remunerative wages in this country, and that their tendency is not to further reduce employment? I have shown how between 1890 and 1902 our exports of woollens to foreign countries declined by nearly 4,000,000 pounds. Can you say that such decrease is in no way responsible for the fact that between 1891 and 1901 the number of persons employed in this trade in England and Wales alone decreased by 25,250? Again, in the like period the numbers employed in our silk industry, in which our exports to foreign protected countries also declined, fell by 13,000 persons, and in our linen industry, likewise declining in foreign exports, the drop was 3,575. The foreign tariffs are very largely responsible for the reduction in the people employed in these industries. Only lately it has been pointed out that Messrs. Lever, the manufacturers of Sunlight soap, acknowledging the impossibility of holding their own in the markets of America and Germany in face of the high tariffs, have had to establish works in those countries.

Likewise, Messrs. Twyford & Sons, the great sanitary ware manufacturers of North Staffordshire, and Messrs. Johnson, the well-known pottery manufacturers of the same district, have been compelled to open factories in Germany; to say nothing of the Bradford firms who during the last ten years have opened factories in Russia to avoid the effects of the import duties. Are not tariffs which necessitate the removal of work from England to foreign countries detrimental to the interests of the working and business classes of England, and should not something be done to rectify this?

Sir, employment is the great question raised in this controversy. Though the assets of the country be never so great, though the income-tax assessments and the value of the checks cleared annually continue to increase, yet, if the working classes should be largely unemployed, could you say honestly that the condition of the country was satisfactory?

And the foreign tariffs have another serious effect upon our workers here, for it is the skilled men among them who are sought for and employed by foreign countries in their competing and protected industries. Who are the workers in the New England woolen mills? Mr. J. F. Fraser, in his interesting book "America at Work," tells us that a few are American born, but that the best workmen employed are imported English folk, of whom there are in certain places whole colonies. It is the same with the American cotton industry at Fall River. Mr. Fraser was struck by the tremendous percentage of the skilled men who were Englishmen. And this leads me to the consideration of other evils which are inflicting injury on the trade of this country and those engaged in it, namely, "dumping" and unfair competition.

"Dumping" is the outcome of the policy pursued by all the protected countries, the policy of providing for the constant employment of the people and the continual running of machinery at full output, thus insuring that the means of production may never lie idle, and in the result a relatively low cost of production.

All this can only be insured by first of all controlling the home market, which is done by means of the tariffs. If trade at home be brisk, the factories are busily employed meeting the home demand, and the proportion which, out of the total output, may be exported will be small; and in exporting at all the manufacturers in many cases will be actuated only by the desire to keep together their foreign business connections, for the home trade, in which they themselves have little or no outside competition, of course pays them better than the foreign trade, in which they have to cut prices.

But when the home demand slackens what is the manufacturer's position? If he would limit his output so that his own market be not glutted he would have to discharge a portion at least of his employees or work them only short time. His machinery would lie idle and depreciate, and instead of being able to buy his raw material at his usual favorable rates for large quantities, he would have to pay relatively more for the smaller quantity he actually required, while all the time the fixed charges in connection with his factory would be running as usual. In accordance with his policy he continues to run his factory full time, and the resulting surplus production has to be got rid of. To Great Britain—the only large free market—it is accordingly sent.

The public can not be blamed for buying as cheaply as it can, but the British manufacturer's stock is left on his hands, his capital is locked up in it, and if he is to keep his work people employed he must spend more capital in the purchasing of more raw material and in payment of wages, with the possibility of again being deprived of the market. Only the wealthy can carry on business under such conditions, and only they for a limited time, until their resources become exhausted. The result is that the British manufacturer has to cut down expenses, to curtail his expenditure on large machinery, to abstain from extending his premises, and to discharge a large proportion of his hands, or if he keeps them on he can only employ them and pay them for short time. All this injuriously affects not only those who are directly thrown out of employment, the factory hands, clerks in the countinghouse, etc., but also the other dependant trades.

And the great evil of this dumping is that it is spasmodic. One can never be sure for how long any British industry may be free from such unfair competition, as it depends almost entirely on the proportion of the product which the foreign home market for the time being is able to absorb. In times of deep commercial depression abroad this dumping of surplus product may continue without intermission for two or three years, and in the meantime the British industry will have declined very considerably. When the home demand again increases, the surplus supplies are cut off, but our industries do not automatically revive and extend. A favorite argument of the "free importers" is that the foreign countries, in pursuing their policy of protection, are only hurting themselves and that their people are already intensely disheartened with the results of that system. If that be true, sir, then the sooner we add fuel to their discontent and hasten their conversion to fair trade by closing to them the only large free market, the existence of which alone enables them to pursue their policy, the better for themselves and for us.

And what about the condition under which a large portion of our imported foreign goods is made? Is it not strange and futile to legislate at the cost of the employer for the improvement of the conditions of British labor and for trade unions to secure for the workman a fair wage when all the time we allow the British man's work to be ousted by foreign product produced under the very conditions we have abolished?

Sir, there is a crying evil to be remedied. The prosperity of all classes in this country depends on the expansion of our trade and increase of employment for our people. This can only be attained by controlling to a certain extent our home market by a moderate tariff while at the same time making a preference in favor of our colonies.

"But," it is said, "in this case, as well as in the case of every other manufacture, a tariff will raise the price of the homemade article as well as the foreign, and the consumer will accordingly have to pay more, or the home manufacturer will not benefit."

That is not so at all, for every manufacturer knows that prices are fixed chiefly on the basis of turnover. If the manufacturer is enabled to more successfully compete with his foreign rivals, he will be turning out more goods, the fixed charges of his factory will remain the same, the cost of production will be relatively less, and he will be able not only to sell his goods at the same price as of old, but to make more profit in doing so. Home competition may be trusted to keep prices down, but even if that competition failed, with the proposed 10 per cent duty on foreign goods, there would be no room for the feared upward leap in prices. The same with every other trade. With business increased, the greater the number of your people who would be fully employed and the greater profits for the manufacturer.

Every trade which increases its prosperity in turn benefits other trades; new machinery is wanted, stationery, etc., is used up more quickly, raw-material dealers are kept more busy, and so on ad infinitum. And all these trades will react on yours, for the more numerous the people who earn money the greater the number of your customers and the greater the amount of their purchases. Think what the increased employment will mean for Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's 12,000,000 on the verge of starvation! Supposing prices should rise a bit, would not the man earning money, the price of boots being 10s. a pair, be better off than the man out of employment with the price of boots at 9s. 1? "But," you will say, "what about those who are already employed, and how would they be able to pay an increased price?" Each trade requiring more labor, the man who now works short time will have full time, and consequently more pay, and as the demand for labor increases, the rate of wages which, like the price of any other marketable commodity, depends on supply and demand, will in the natural course of events rise. But even if wages should not rise, I say that it is for the good of the whole community that as many of the people as possible shall be employed, and each, if necessary, must make a trifling sacrifice for the whole. Further, bear in mind that if our present policy be continued a far greater sacrifice awaits the working classes, for if employment decreases, as it tends to do, the same law of supply and demand will bring down the rate of wages. There is the alternative.

Now, you will say that I have only been considering the workers and ignoring the professional classes and those with fixed incomes. The professional classes, sir, are dependent for their living upon the business community. You will wonder how this can apply to a doctor, for instance, but when he can not get his money in he finds his way to the bankruptcy court in the same way as the trader. I knew a very sad case in the bankruptcy court recently, entirely due to the doctor being unable to obtain payment of his accounts, and this owing to bad times among his patients, who were, many of them, of a poorer class. And as regards all classes, we must not forget that the army and navy have to be kept up and the expenses of government provided for. If trade should decline incomes would become reduced, every penny in the pound of the income tax would produce less, indirect taxation would produce less, and taxes direct and indirect would have to be increased and multiplied.

The whole question resolves itself into one of alternatives. Will you run the risk of a slight sacrifice in the immediate future, coupled with the great probability of an increase in the prosperity of the community as a whole, or will you, who live on fixed incomes, shut your eyes until a larger and more certain sacrifice be demanded of you?

In conclusion, sir, I would say one word to working men. I would tell them that their present condition is better than that of any workmen in the

world, their rate of wages higher (with the exception of America), that they are protected by factory acts, a compensation act, and numerous statutes, all tending to increase the cost of production. I would have them keep every benefit. Not one would I take from them. But I would ask them how long they can keep these benefits if our present policy be continued, for their markets are being closed, and no markets, no employment, no money, and without money cheap food would be but a mockery. The workman must help his employer to save his declining markets and to expand his colonial ones, and so provide himself with work. It is futile for the trade unions to proclaim that the rate of wages here is, say, 30s. against 25s. in Germany, without reference to the amount of employment in the two countries.

Mr. C. J. Pearse, 1 St. Stephens road, Leicester, said:

SIR: I am a free trader given free trade, as it is the natural order of things, but I do not believe in free trade on the one hand and protection on the other. I can not for the life of me see why any foreign country should be allowed to send (and in many cases dump) their (say) boots here and the British manufacturer be made to pay a heavy duty when sending goods made here into these very same countries. This duty, or tariff, drives English-made goods clean out of their markets, as the decrease in our manufactured exports demonstrates. It is not equitable, logical, or businesslike. I would meet tariff by tariff: if free, it would be free; if 10 per cent, then 10 per cent; if 50 per cent, then 50 per cent. Now, what do our free-trade friends say?

Briefly. As we have prospered under free trade there is no necessity to alter our fiscal arrangements. This is only half the truth. For what had we done under protection previous to 1845? We had established ourselves mistresses of the seas, we were the carriers, the warehousemen, the manufacturers, and the bankers of the world, our exports increased by 250 per cent, whilst under free trade (apart from coal) they have increased by less than 40 per cent. It was Mr. Cobden's wonderful good fortune to float his system (which originated with Huskisson's administration, in 1823, as John Morley shows in the Life of Cobden: "The tariff duty was reduced on almost every article of foreign manufacture") on the eve of the following economical and political events, over which he (Mr. Cobden) had not the slightest control:

(1) The discovery of gold in California, and again three years later in Australia, turned both these comparative wildernesses into first-class markets.

(2) The huge developments of railways in 1845, and again in 1871. In the former year no less than 347 acts passed through Parliament empowering the spending of capital estimated at £190,344,000 in this country alone.

(3) The almost continual foreign wars which followed Napoleon's downfall and which prevented the nations engaged turning their attention to manufacturing. A change was coming, and the passing of the treaty of Frankfurt marked the end of the commercial supremacy which we had held for a century.

I say, therefore, under the foregoing circumstances it did not matter a pin's point whether we were free traders or protectionists, because foreign countries wanted merchandise and railways, and they had them from the only nation which could supply them, viz. England; therefore free traders have no right to credit their system with the advance made during "the golden age," from 1845 to 1875. Did free imports reduce the cost of living? No; both wheat and meat increased in price, wages were higher, and profits larger, which proves it is successful production that creates prosperity, not cheap consumption.

The appearance of foreign competition really commenced in 1876. First America, then France, Germany, Belgium, and Italy, began to attack our trade, and it only remains for me to give you a rapid history of the tariff movement before showing you the damaging results to British industries.

From 1861 to 1865 the United States duties were largely increased. Why? In order to encourage the American capitalists to invest their money in and create new industries. Of the many men who have benefited under protection probably none have done so more than Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who tells us that after the American war the Government asked how much would induce manufacturers to enter the steel trade? Thirty per cent was the reply; and they got it, and everyone knows the result. America is to-day supplied with cheaper steel than any other nation, and it is certain that a large part of the world is to be supplied by the works of that country, and it clearly proves that the country in control of a profitable home market can successfully invade the foreign market.

France followed in 1871, and after ten years' experience—in 1881—raised her duties by 20 per cent. England protested, but France made the unanswerable reply: "The British markets were free to all alike, and since France enjoyed no special privileges in the British markets, how could she claim any special exemption from French duties?"

Germany followed in 1879, when Bismarck, with marvelous foresight, said: "I base my opinion on the practical experience of our time. I see countries under protection prospering and the countries under free trade decaying. England, herself, is slowly returning to protection, and some years hence she will adopt it, if only to save her home markets."

The Iron Chancellor gained the day, and all but the poor Cobdenite realized that the free import doctrine had received its death blow.

Eighteen hundred and eighty-one the Russian tariff was increased, and 1884 still further. Eighteen hundred and eighty-five the German tariff was again increased. In 1887 and 1888 the Russian and Italian tariffs were again increased.

In 1890 the Americans, well satisfied by their previous tariff experience, passed the McKinley bill, and in 1897 the Dingley bill. The effect on our trade is shown below:

Exports to United States.	
1897	£32,100,000
1891 (first year after the McKinley bill)	27,500,000
1902	23,800,000
or a decline in twelve years of £8,300,000 at the same time our population had increased.	
Imports from United States.	
1890	£97,233,349
1902	126,961,601

an increase of £29,728,252.

Yet, in the face of these figures, if we follow the illogical advice of some politicians we must utterly disregard America, because she is a young and energetic country with wonderful natural resources, and therefore we must "lie down" and allow her to beat us in all the markets of the world, more especially in our colonies, and then, I suppose, these keen-sighted gentlemen will "be against" whatever government may be in power when the crisis arrives for allowing such a state of affairs to have existed? Neither America nor Germany was always one huge Republic or one huge Fatherland. After their wars they settled down, combined together, and established free trade within their domains and raised a protective wall against all foreigners. This is precisely Mr. Chamberlain's idea. He wishes, as far as possible, to establish free trade within the Empire, to make us self-contained and, with the help of the wonderful natural resources of the colonies, dependent on no other country for our food supply. In fact, to make it cheaper for one end of the Empire to trade with the other than with any foreign country. * * *

As I approach British trade I find:

(1) That under free imports we have made less progress than any protectionist country, as the following figures show:

[From the Daily Telegraph.]

	1872.	1902.	Increase.
British exports:			
To British possessions.....	£61,000,000	£109,000,000	79
To foreign countries.....	196,000,000	174,000,000	a11
Total.....	257,000,000	283,000,000	.....
German exports.....	116,000,000	241,000,000	108
French exports.....	150,000,000	170,000,000	13
Belgian exports.....	42,000,000	74,000,000	76
Austro-Hungarian exports.....	39,000,000	81,000,000	108
Italian exports.....	46,000,000	59,000,000	28
United States exports.....	89,000,000	282,000,000	217

a Decrease.

Free traders object to 1872 as a basis of comparison because prices were inflated. Yes; but they were inflated all over the world. Yet there is only one class of trade which shows a decline, and that is British trade with foreign countries.

(2) That our trade with British possessions has largely increased both in value and quality. In 1890 it amounted to £79,154,000; in 1902, to £95,959,000; increase, £16,805,000.

(3) That our trade with neutral markets has slightly increased.

(4) That our exports to competing markets of manufactured articles have decreased. Blue Book (Cd. 1761, folio 53) shows me that the exports to certain continental competitors and United States in 1890 amounted to £83,629,000; in 1902, £69,837,000; a decrease of £13,792,000, and that imports from the same countries in 1890 amounted to £78,431,814, and in 1902 to £113,578,374, or an increase of £35,146,560.

These figures are astounding, and require very careful analysis, because, in spite of the rise in our population, our manufactured exports show a decrease, yet the demands of the population for merchandise have not suddenly ceased, so where do they come from? The answer is from foreign countries, as shown in the foregoing table of imports, and if this goes on long enough, it means Britain's descent to a third-class power.

In this national stock taking it is a department which is not paying, yet it is a principal department and must be made to pay. "Exports pay for imports," writes the editor of the Record in his pamphlet, The Tribute of the Nations. If this be so, then I ask him in common with all free traders to explain to me why it was that the United States sent to us last year goods to the value of £126,961,601, as against our exports to them of £23,800,000. I am prepared to admit that there are certain additions to be made to our exports on account principally of—

(1) Our investments abroad, which yield say £70,000,000.

(2) Our share of the carrying trade of the world, estimated at £90,000,000.

But allowing America a very ample share of these amounts, there is but one answer, however unpalatable it may be: "That so far as America is concerned, we are living on capital." * * * However, let me give a few illustrations of ruined or partly ruined industries.

Agriculture.—Mr. Cobden foretold that free trade would benefit British agriculture. Unfortunately, it is not so; and what was a thriving industry is now a ruined one. Thousands of acres of excellent corn-growing land lie uncultivated, as the following figures show:

Acreage under all corn crops, 1875, 3,737,000; 1901, 1,746,000; decline nearly 50 per cent.

And so with flax, green crops, and hops. It takes about £14 per acre to stock and farm land in this country, so that millions of capital are lying idle. Again, arable land employs, roughly, four times the labor that pasture land does, so that thousands of hands are deprived of work and wages.

In addition to ruining this industry, the nation is now dependent for four-fifths of her food supply upon the very foreigners, and conceivably hostile countries, who are the cause of the mischief. The Royal Commission of 1897 sums the matter up as follows: "The grave situation we have described is due to long-continued fallen prices. This fall is attributed by the great majority of witnesses to foreign competition. We must look forward to a further reduction of the area of British land with a corresponding contraction of our production, and a diminution of our rural population."

It means the backbone and stamina of the nation is being destroyed; that the villages are being depopulated and the inhabitants are flocking to the towns, there to live unhealthy lives in dull dreary streets and alleys, thereby causing a great overcrowding of our cities. The only remedy is protection. Tax corn sufficiently to drive up the price to such a point that our farmers can grow it at a profit, and thus bring the laborer back to the land, and then, and not till then, shall we have a prosperous, happy, rural England. In addition, it will help our colonies, because, if every acre of available arable land were in cultivation, we should still require to purchase a huge quantity of corn.

The glove trade is really part of the leather trade, but I shall deal with the boot and shoe industry by itself. We imported into this country last year about £1,718,829 of gloves. What is the reason of this? Again, foreign competition, which has caused the great firm of Dent, Allcroft & Co., and other manufacturers, to establish large factories all over Europe, employing between them many thousands of hands of foreign workmen, who are depriving our work people of probably £700,000 of wages annually. It is penny wise and pound foolish to purchase foreign gloves and find them wages and employment at the expense of our own operatives.

Glass trade.—I have been going to Newcastle some ten years now, and can testify to the effect of foreign competition there. On inquiry I find no less than fifteen well-known firms have closed down during the past few years. In 1902 we imported £3,606,000; we exported £1,068,000; so that we purchased three and a half times as much as we sold. I presume this is also to our advantage?

Cement trade.—Although not a large trade compared with those that follow, imported cement last year robbed our workers of about six weeks' employment, besides forcing down wages. It was dumped here free, whereas foreign import duties on British cement reach as much as 18s. per ton.

Iron and steel trades.—The situation is summed up in Bluebook (Cd. 1761), which shows in no uncertain way the effect of diminished production and increased importation on employment of iron and steel trade workers. In Northumberland, Durham, and Cleveland districts the total employed at twenty-one establishments was as follows, viz: In 1900 there were employed 15,528 hands; in 1903 there were employed 13,592 hands; decrease in thirteen years of 1,936, or nearly 13 per cent.

The woolen trade.—In 1891 we exported £18,446,640; in 1902 we exported £15,261,359. Decrease, £3,185,281. Although it may not be ruined, the most eloquent free trader can not but admit the export trade is not increasing, yet

our imports have increased by £1,174,056. A slow but sure process of decay.

I shall now deal with the boot, shoe, and leather trades, and I endeavor to show how the imports and exports of boots and shoes affect the operatives, manufacturers, and consumers of the country.

In order that my readers may more readily grasp the damage manufactured imports do to a community, I propose to reduce the matter to a simple problem.

First, let us assume that an English firm of boot factors buys £10,000 worth of various kinds of boots and shoes from foreign countries at, say, 10 per cent less than they can buy them from any manufacturer in this country.

(1) Is it to the advantage of the consumer and country generally? A free trader says: "Yes; buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest."

(2) Is it to the advantage of our manufacturers and operatives? A free trader says: "If our manufacturers are beaten in price, it is their fault." The result will be, of course, that they must close down their works and the operatives seek work in some other industry. But they fail to name a trade in which, say, a clicker, laster, finisher, or pressman of, say, thirty-five years of age can command a living wage and bring to bear the skill it has taken him years to acquire. "No," is the answer in both cases.

Take 10 per cent on £10,000, and we find the purchasers have gained £1,000 by buying abroad. But these boots and shoes were all made by foreign labor, so what is the loss to our operatives? If we include the masters' remuneration with the operatives' wages, 40 per cent is well within the mark, so that 40 per cent on £10,000 is a loss to our operatives of £4,000. Deduct the gain to the purchasers of £1,000 and we have a net loss to the community of £3,000.

The foregoing example can fairly be applied to almost any industry, and clearly proves the damage and loss that the import of manufactured articles is to this country. We had better far have dearer goods and plenty of work. What is the exact loss on our gross imports of boots and shoes?

Imports.—The last Blue Book tells us that in 1902 we purchased \$872,118 of boots and shoes. This means a loss in wages to operatives of \$348,847, or taking fifty weeks as a full year, after allowing for holidays, \$6,977 weekly.

The compilers of the Blue Book deem Mr. Guthrie's evidence before the United States Industrial Commission so important that it is given verbatim: Q. So you want to make a dumping ground of England—a dumping ground for yourselves?—A. Not especially England and Germany, but their colonies.

Here is a clear and, to my mind, grave admission of what the American manufacturer hopes to do. It is our business to stop him before it is too late. He has made considerable progress, as is seen below:

American export of manufactures only to British colonies.

[Taken from Bureau of Statistics at Washington.]

1893	£6,400,000
1902	20,700,000
Increase	14,300,000

You see Mr. Guthrie's statement was no fairy tale. * * *

FOREIGN OPINIONS.

The late President McKinley: "The people of no nation in history has ever permanently prospered under a policy which sacrificed its home industries to build up and develop the resources and give employment to the labor of foreign states."

Mr. Procter, Civil Service Commissioner at Washington: "Mr. Chamberlain will surely win in the long run. We may have to meet England halfway with a better proposition than the Dingley tariff, which taxes British goods prohibitively."

M. Paulient, a French Senator: "You must not think for a moment that the ideas put forward by the colonial secretary are visionary, transient, and unpremeditated. It is essential for her to keep her own markets for herself, just as the United States, France, Germany, and other countries have done."

Would I tax boot and shoe and other machinery? "Yes; up to the hilt. I would, however, encourage any American or foreigner who has the brains and who can invent a machine which will benefit trade to patent that machine in Great Britain, and then that machine must be made here by British workmen for the use of British people. The patent laws would probably require some adjusting."

Trades unions.—The position adopted by the labor leaders is an enigma to me, for they do not allow their members to work too many hours, they may not work for less than a minimum wage, they will not permit sweating, and rightly so. In fact labor, under trade unions and the factory acts, is protected in this country in the strictest sense of the word. One of the chief aims of the unions is to find their members continuous employment, yet the Leicester congress voted against Mr. Chamberlain's proposals almost without discussion. Had they studied the problem they would have found that free trade encourages the dumping of surplus produce into this country, often the result of sweated labor, and that it deprives thousands of "hands" of work. Again, dumping insures "short time" for many more, besides forcing down the prices both of master and man.

Free traders urge that protection means starvation for the workers, inasmuch as the cost of living will be more, with no corresponding rise in wages. A greater fallacy never existed. Assuming the cost of living increases, which I do not admit, what are the labor leaders for but to look after the interests of the workers? Previous experience shows that the moment our manufacturers become busy, the moment increased dividends are paid, which will follow protection as surely as night follows day, so soon will these leaders ask for a rise. If it is not granted, then they have a power in their hands, which they well know how to use. Labor in Britain was never better organized, never more keenly alive to its interests than it is to-day, and if their present leaders are incompetent they will be promptly replaced by others.

POPULAR RESPONSES TO THE LONDON IRONMONGER ON THE ABANDONMENT OF FREE TRADE.

The Ironmonger, a London publication, in its issue of January 23, 1904, summarizes as follows the result of a vote by its readers on the question, "Do you think it would be to the advantage of the United Kingdom to abandon free trade?"

The replies received to this question work out as follows:

Yes	54.2
No	42.8
Uncertain	3.0

Majority in favor of abandoning free trade

The percentage proportion of replies received was as follows:

From retailers	53.3
From manufacturers	27.7
From merchants and shippers	11.5
From agents, buyers, travelers, etc	5.2
From factors	2.3

And the percentage proportion of the result of the voting was as follows:

	For abandoning free trade.	For maintaining free trade.	Majority.	
			For free trade.	Against free trade.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Retailers	48.4	51.6	3.2	
Manufacturers	70.6	29.4		41.2
Merchants and shippers	55.9	44.1		11.8
Agents, buyers, travelers, assistants, etc	53.8	46.2		7.6
Factors	59	41		18

PROTECTION IN GREAT BRITAIN—INTERESTING SKETCH OF THE SITUATION AND OUTLOOK BY SIR HOWARD VINCENT, M. P.

LONDON, October 13, 1905.

The editor of the American Economist asks me for a few lines upon the protectional position in Great Britain. As a constant reader of that exceedingly smart, interesting, and well-conducted paper I gladly comply.

At the same time it must not be thought that I am a member of the American Protective Tariff League. If I was an American I certainly should be, for by its labors American labor and industries have been brought up to their present commanding and prosperous condition. It has, however, wrought great injury to British labor and industries. On this account I have for nearly twenty years past devoted myself to urging my countrymen by my voice and pen to adopt similar steps.

For a long time I worked alone or with but little help. Twelve years ago I founded the United Empire Trade League. Its policy has been and is expressed in a single sentence:

"The development of trade within the Empire on mutually advantageous terms and on a preferential basis."

That is the policy to further which Mr. Chamberlain resigned the office of Secretary of State for the colonies, and to which he is devoting all his energies and eloquence.

He will win. Nothing can be more certain. It may not be the first time, but it will be the second.

Sheffield and Glasgow have proved this. At Sheffield there assembled upon October 1 the greatest convention ever held by the National Union of Conservative Associations. Two hundred members of Parliament were present and 2,000 delegates from every constituency in England and Wales. There was only one subject of discussion—the new fiscal policy. Everything else was tabooed.

The Free-Trade Unionist Association sent a strong representation. It quartered itself at Manchester under the shadow of the free-trade hall. It came from the home of Cobden and Cobdenism by special train. No one cared whence they came, who they were, what they said. Official rank, noble birth, eloquent speech, threats of dear food had no effect. They could hardly get out a connected sentence so great was the disapproval. At the mention of Mr. Chamberlain's name, at a hint of his policy or action, the entire delegation, save an insignificant minority, went wild with enthusiasm. The convention was with the greatest difficulty restrained from voting for Mr. Chamberlain without regard to the prime minister or his expected speech.

With that there was general disappointment. Mere retaliation was no good. Empire trade and downright tariff legislation were wanted.

Nor was Glasgow less remarkable. The departure of Mr. Chamberlain from Birmingham and his journey to the north was as a royal progress. The night of the meeting was awful. Scotch weather did its worst. It blew hard from the west. America sent her best storms over the Atlantic. But Glasgow cared neither for wind nor rain. It poured thousands into St. Andrew's Hall as the doors were opened. For two hours they hung upon Mr. Chamberlain's words. Not a word, not a gesture, not a breath of dissent. He spared nothing, no one. He was frankness itself.

Even so at Greenock. The working masses stood for hours in hopes of standing room in the hall.

Liberals of light and leading men coming over in masses. Mr. Storey, president of the Workmen's Liberal Federation; Mr. Firth, president of the Ireland Liberal Association, and Mr. Brassey, president of the Birkenhead Liberal Association, had led the way. A Liberal tariff league is being formed. The Unionist party, the Conservative party, the Liberal party, the Radical party, the Home Rule party may go under. On one side there will be Fiscal Reformers, on the other there will be some noodles.

But there is no drawing back now. Fathers and sons, brothers and brothers, may be divided. But the tariff will win. The lesson of the United States is too real. Thanks to the American Protective Tariff League, Britons are becoming men of the twentieth century—practical, farsighted, able to take care of themselves. Go on, American economist. Lead the way and falter not. We may have a tariff war, but we shall always, please God, be good friends.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT, M. P.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH ON PROTECTION—A BRITISH PROTECTIONIST'S BELIEF IN THAT POLICY AS A FISCAL RELIGION.

[By Sir Guilford Molesworth, K. C. I. E.]

1. Extremes are injurious.
2. Unlimited free import is one extreme, prohibitive tariffs the other, protective tariffs the practical mean.
3. It is a fallacy to suppose that a tariff must necessarily raise the price of the article taxed.
4. As general rule, when an article is or can be produced at home, a tariff, if it be not prohibitive, stimulates production, promotes internal competition, prevents a permanent increase of prices, and in many cases eventually decreases the cost to the consumers.
5. When, however, an article is not of home production—such as tea, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, wines, etc.—the tariff naturally increases the price.
6. A tariff on a competing import is frequently paid by the foreign producer, and does not fall on the consumer.
7. Experience has shown that the imposition of a tariff is frequently followed by a fall in the price of the article taxed.
8. It sometimes happens even that the anticipation of a tariff causes a fall in the price.
9. The imposition of a tariff frequently kills a foreign monopoly, or enables a new industry to arise.
10. Unrestricted foreign competition often prevents the establishment of a new home industry, or crushes out an existing one.
11. Even when a tariff raises prices, it adds to the revenue and saves other taxation.

12. Direct taxation of capital and profits is a burden on our industries and reaches on the working classes by reduction of wages and employment.

13. Industries burdened by direct taxation are at a disadvantage in competition with those foreign industries which do not share that burden.

14. Indirect taxation (derived from tariffs) is in many cases no burden.

15. The term "free trade" (libre exchange), as explained by economists, means the free exchange of commodities between nations, which England has never had, and has no signs of ever having.

16. We have no free import for our productions to any country—not even to our self-governing colonies.

17. We have thrown away our bargaining power with foreign countries by abolishing our tariffs on competing products, and have handicapped our trading relations with our colonies.

18. We admit free of duty those articles which compete with our industries, but tax those which do not compete.

19. We impose taxation in a form which must fall solely on our own people, but remit it when any portion, if not the whole, is likely to fall on the foreigner using our markets.

20. The "big and little loaf" of free trade is only a delusive electioneering fiction, and the cry of seeking to "tax the poor man's loaf" an absurdity, since the loaf produced at home is already taxed to the hilt.

21. The influence of the price of wheat on the price of bread is generally exaggerated, no account being taken of the fact that the retail price of the loaf includes many more items than the wheat itself, namely, the labor employed in the milling, the baking, and the distribution, besides the profits of the middlemen and employees at each stage, the rent of premises, etc., which do not vary with the price of wheat.

22. Our dependence on foreign nations for wheat supplies tends in war time to raise prices to famine rates. During the Crimean war the price of wheat was higher under free imports than it had been under the corn laws since 1818, the average price for the year 1855 being 74s. 8d. per quarter.

23. The price of wheat is less affected by tariffs than by the general level of the world's prices.

24. A tariff does not, as a rule, raise the price of wheat, provided that the duty be not so high as to be prohibitive, or nearly so; but the present prohibitive duty of 12s. 2d. per quarter in France, when the outside price is only 2s. or 2s. 6d., necessarily raises the price.

25. The price of wheat in protectionist countries is not necessarily higher than in free-trade England; in some cases it is lower. Bodio's analysis of the price of wheat in the principal markets of Europe for the average of the sixteen years, 1894-1894, shows that the price in Brussels and Paris was 3 per cent. higher than in London, but in Amsterdam it was 1 per cent. lower; in London 14 per cent. lower; and in Vienna 25 per cent. lower than in London.

26. The repeal of the corn laws in 1846 was followed by a rise in the price of wheat from 38s. 5d. (the average of ten years preceding the repeal) to 50s. 5d. for the average of the ten years succeeding their repeal.

27. During the French war (period 1809-13, prior to the enactment of the 1815 corn laws) the average price of wheat rose to 107s. under free import.

28. After the enactment of the corn laws in 1815 the average price fell gradually so that in the three years, 1843-1845, preceding the repeal of the corn laws the average price was 50s. 9d. per quarter.

29. The price of wheat for the three years preceding the repeal of the corn laws in 1846 was slightly lower than the average of thirty years succeeding their repeal.

30. The present low price of wheat is mainly consequent upon the diminished cost of transport by steamers and railways and improved processes of agriculture, but should we be engaged in war with strong maritime powers there would be the utmost risk of famine prices.

31. The distress in 1840-1842, which gave rise to the anti-corn-law agitation, was not due to dear bread, but to a temporary monetary crisis caused by a sudden drain of gold to the United States.

32. The average price of wheat for the five years preceding the repeal in 1846 was almost the lowest that had been touched during the half century, 1800-1850.

33. The reimposition of the registration corn tax in 1902 did not raise the price of wheat; but after the remission of the tax in 1903 the price of wheat and flour rose.

34. We enjoyed extraordinary prosperity and acquired our commercial and industrial superiority, as well as our position as the capitalist nation of the world, under a policy of strict protection.

35. We are losing these advantages under the so-called "policy of free trade."

36. In the United States the periods of protective tariffs have uniformly been marked with prosperity, and the periods following their several repeals have been marked by depression and distress.

37. The prosperity which we enjoyed in the "fifties," although unfairly claimed as the work of free trade, was due to other causes, namely, gold discoveries, inventions and science, steam navigation, railways, etc., which have been shared by foreign nations.

38. Having laid the foundations of our industrial prosperity under protection, and having thereby secured the command of the world's markets, we were not merely the first but the only country able to utilize these new forces that then came into play.

39. For more than twenty years fortuitous events, such as the Crimean war in the "fifties," civil war in the United States, and continental disturbances in Europe in the "sixties" and early "seventies," retarded the progress of foreign nations.

40. As soon as foreign protectionist nations were able to avail themselves of the new industrial conditions they successfully competed with us even in our own markets, and our country is flooded with the productions of the very nations which we formerly supplied.

41. Since that time most of our industries have either been ruined or have struggled hard for existence.

42. Our colonies are also becoming more and more protectionist, and are flourishing under that policy, and Canada and our South African possessions are able to give the mother country preferential treatment, and to their honor do so as yet without reciprocity on our part.

43. Many of our best workmen have emigrated to the United States, where they obtain higher remuneration for their labor.

44. The capital recklessly expended by us in purchasing abroad that which might have been produced at home has armed protectionist nations with the sinews of war in competition with us.

45. Instead of fostering our own industries and providing employment for our working classes, we purchased from the foreigner in 1901 produce to the value of £416,000,000, much of which we could well have produced ourselves or in our colonies. The value of exports to these nations in return was only £175,000,000.

46. Canada is being thrown into the arms of the United States by our policy and our refusal to respond to her advances for reciprocal trade.

47. We are constantly raising our direct taxes, while the United States lower theirs.

48. Since 1868 our direct Imperial taxation has increased from £19,000,000 to £59,000,000, and our direct local taxation by rates from £20,000,000 to £40,000,000.

49. The cost of food and the necessaries of life is not less in England than in protectionist countries.

50. The wages in protectionist America are, in the majority of cases, nearly double those prevailing in our "free-trade" country.

51. The prophecies which induced our people to adopt free trade have proved to be false.

52. We stand alone, excepting Denmark, as "free traders" amongst civilized nations, and free trade is now recognized as either all British or a savage custom.

53. The predictions of ruin to those countries which have adopted protection have altogether failed.

54. The volume of commerce is no criterion of the prosperity of our industries.

55. The excess of £241,000,000 per annum of our foreign imports over our foreign exports shows that we are consuming more than we produce; we are living, to a great extent, on the interest of that capital which we have gained in former days of prosperity.

56. We have of late years been parting largely with our foreign securities in payment to protectionist nations.

57. Much of our import consists of food, which is absolutely consumed. Much of our export consists of our national assets of coal and mineral wealth, which can not be replaced.

58. Since the passing of the McKinley bill in 1891, which the free-trade apologists prophesied would ruin the United States, the industries of that country have developed by leaps and bounds.

59. The special exports of the United States increased in 1898 by £76,000,000 when compared with 1890, while those of the United Kingdom decreased by £30,000,000. * * *

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION, FROM THE BRITISH WORKMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

[Extract from paper by M. Maltman Barrie in Nineteenth Century.]

What is the value of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to the British workman? Are they good enough? Are they any good? Are they useless? Are they actually injurious? Which of the three policies—free trade, free imports, or protection—is best for him? Is the best attainable, and how? These are the questions I propose to examine.

The first point to be observed is the condition—the economic condition—of the worker. What is that condition? I am averse to the use of strong language—it usually weakens the effect of an argument; but, after all, things should have their proper names, and, in my opinion, the economic condition of the worker is one of slavery. I know there will be protests and objections here, but protests are not evidence. Let us look at the facts. Nominally, no doubt, the wage-paid worker is a free man, but practically he is a slave. Indeed, he must work harder and longer, and with less security for the means of life, than did the average slave in slavery days, and under penalties for default that the slave had not to fear. * * *

Such is the condition of the worker, a virtual slave, condemned to labor on a subsistence wage. How is that condition to be altered? How is the doom to be evaded? To answer that question we must first ascertain why the worker is in that condition, what is the cause of his economic subjection. The cause lies upon the surface; it is competition. This competition confronts the worker in two forms—firstly, in the form of the labor of his fellows in the labor market, and, secondly, in the form of the finished article, the product of foreign labor, in the product market. * * *

Some years ago I witnessed a curious incident bearing on this point. A large building in a leading London thoroughfare was being erected. All the outer walls were up, but the woodwork was barely started. At this stage the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, for some reason or other, ordered a strike, and called their members off this particular job, amongst others. I observed the society's "pickets" for some time, and saw them turn back several "blacklegs" who wished to go in to work. So far, well. But presently down the street came, slowly and leisurely, an open lorry laden with ready-made doors and windows, an importation from Sweden. The gates of the works swung slowly on their hinges and the lorry, with its load, passed slowly in. The "pickets," who would have broken the head of any Englishman who had gone in that gate to make those doors and windows, lifted no finger, uttered no word to prevent the passing of the finished foreign-made article. To have done so would have been a "violation of the sacred principle of free trade."

In striking contrast to the free-trade religion of the average British trades-unionist leader is the protectionism of the working class in all our colonies and in the United States of America. These workmen are as ardent trade unionists as are their British fellows; but they are protectionists to a man. The reason for this is, in my opinion, that these colonists and Americans had the advantage of starting life in practically new countries, under virgin conditions, and absolutely untrammelled by prepossessions. They were free to judge all questions on their merits, and had a clean slate on which they could write their own unbiased judgments.

What is free trade? It is free exchange. But we have not got it. We have free imports, with slight exceptions, and taxed exports, with slight exceptions, and all the other nations and our own colonies have practically protection. Free exchange, the absence of all obstacles to commercial intercourse, is, no doubt, the ideal method of exchange from the consumer's point of view, for by it he would obtain his commodities at prices lower than would otherwise be possible. * * *

What, on the other hand, is protection? It is a system by which nations set up barriers at their ports and frontiers against the trade of other nations. The barriers take the form of duties, or taxes, levied on such trade, and are erected for two separate and distinct objects. In some cases the tax is levied for the sake of revenue only; in others for the purpose of wholly or partially excluding from the country commodities which the country can, and wishes to, produce itself. The effect of this tax, or customs duty, is, of course, to increase the natural cost of the commodities so taxed, and protection is therefore as obnoxious to the idle consumer as free trade is acceptable. * * *

To the merchant who buys and sells, the manufacturer who produces and sells, the carrier, and the dealer free trade is likewise preferable to protection, being more conducive to the expansion of commerce. But to the manufacturer, at least, it is essential that the free trade shall be universal, that he shall not be handicapped in the race by having markets closed against him that are open to his rivals. And if he can not have general free trade he would prefer, with all its waste and restrictions, general protection. Whichever it is to be, he asks that it shall be equal all round, a fair field and no favor, so that every man shall obtain such results as his skill and energy deserve. * * *

But to the worker free trade is and must be most disadvantageous, for under it the product of his labor is subject to the competition of the whole world. And to the worker in highly civilized and prosperous communities like Great Britain, our own great colonies, and the United States of America free trade is or would be specially disadvantageous, for the competition of the poorer and less civilized races of the earth would tend inevitably to lower his standard of living. * * *

THE STORY OF AMERICAN TIN PLATE.

[From the Pall Mall Gazette, London, November 21, 1903.]

The story of the tin-plate trade and its experience of American hostility is typical enough to be made the test of all that is in dispute about our fiscal policy. If we are satisfied with what has happened to South Wales through the operation of foreign tariffs, then we may address ourselves to that commercial repose which is recommended by Lord Rosebery. Our average annual export of this commodity to the United States before the days of the McKinley tariff was 304,695 tons, valued at £4,278,667. We mention quantity as well as price just to assure the Cobdenites that there is no loophole such as they sometimes look for in the "fall of values." The export in 1902 was 65,142 tons, valued at £887,432. There is not much ambiguity there.

The demand for tin plates has not fallen off, for other countries have increased their requirements very fast. Their orders, which amounted in 1887 to 94,634 tons, valued at £1,408,974, had risen last year to 246,727 tons, valued at £3,445,734. The gain in one direction does not, as often suggested, counter-balance the loss in the other, for there is a net deficit of 87,460 tons, of the value of £1,349,475. And this is obviously nothing like the measure of what the foreign tariff has cost us. We see the consumption of tin plates by other countries than America rising by leaps and bounds, and our home demand must have risen at a substantial rate to keep the total production at the level we are told of. If we had continued to enjoy not free trade in tin plates with America, but admission under the old duty, the fair inference is that we should have claimed her, too, for a much larger customer than she was fifteen years ago.

The effect of foreign protection upon the output for the American market is that instead of rising to twice the dimensions of 1887 (which is a conservative estimate) it has declined to one-fifth, and even that proportion we retain, as Mr. Chamberlain says, only on sufferance, while the American industry, established behind the tariff wall, is developing to its fullest capacity. This is an example of the first stage in the conflict between protection and free imports. The foreigner begins by cutting off our exports to his own country. The Americans have all but completed this process in the case of tin plates, and they are busily laying the foundations of a similar achievement in the case of cotton. When our competitor has succeeded in monopolizing his home market the time is ready and the conditions are always favorable for carrying his conquests into ours. The foreign door opens outward, the British inward. The tariff-armed foreigner is only confronted by the proverbial "man in his shirt." The way is open for him to capture one trade after another, first in its export branches and then in the market at its doors. And in the face of this process we are to go to sleep in accordance with Lord Rosebery's suggestion, our most vital industries will probably awaken at last, as the Irishman said, to find that they are already corpses.

SIR VINCENT CAILLARD ON PROTECTION VERSUS FREE TRADE.

The following are extracts from Sir Vincent Caillard's discussion of the effect of free trade in England as compared with that of protection in the United States and Germany. His work on this subject, entitled "Imperial Fiscal Reform," has attracted much attention in the United States and abroad:

As a concrete example of how far events falsify the conclusions of the sanest minds owing to change of conditions, I will cite the manner in which Lord Farrer in 1886 considered the question of the competition of the United States with ourselves in the matter of trade. After stating that the labor and capital of America were largely employed in providing Europe, and England especially, with food, and that to tax that food would be to drive her into providing the manufactures we want to sell to her, he continues:

"At present, in spite of, or possibly in consequence of, her system of protection, the sale of her highly forced and highly priced manufactures is in a great measure confined or nearly confined to her own subjects and she is no rival to England in her own markets or in the markets of the world. * * * In 1880 we exported to her twenty-four and a half millions of manufactures and imported from her two and a half millions. Out of her total exports about 10 per cent are manufactures and 90 per cent food and raw materials, chiefly agricultural produce. But if we deprive her of her market for agricultural produce we shall drive her into manufacture, and there is no saying how formidable a rival she may become."

The inference is that if our markets remained unrestrictedly open to her, her rivalry was not to be feared either in our own or foreign markets, possibly in consequence of her system of protection. Our markets have remained open, her system of protection has only been intensified, and the comparative figures are now as follows:

In the year 1880 our total imports from the United States amounted to £107,081,000, and our exports to her to £37,954,000; in 1899 our imports from her were £120,081,000, and our exports to her £34,975,000. Out of her total exports in 1880 about 10 per cent were manufactures and about 90 per cent food and raw materials; in 1899 about 29 per cent were manufactures and about 71 per cent were food and raw materials.

These percentages say something, but the absolute figures say more. The value of her manufactures exported in 1880 was £17,165,000, and in 1899 £75,698,000; of food and raw materials in 1880, £154,490,000; in 1899, £185,329,000.

As to the general foreign trade of the two countries, the following table is very instructive:

[Expressed in thousands of pounds sterling.]

Year.	United Kingdom.		United States.	
	Imports. ^a	Exports. ^a	Imports. ^b	Exports. ^c
1880	347,876	248,935	136,721	171,655
1889	361,021	248,935	152,711	152,142
1899	419,994	425,631	155,507	261,027

^a Foreign and colonial produce reexported not included.

^b Retained for home consumption.

^c Of domestic produce.

^d Not including shipping (9,111,000) previously unrecorded.

Thus while our export trade in 1899 showed an increase over that of 1880 of £32,000,000 that of the United States showed an increase of £90,000,000 while of that total fifty-eight and one-half millions are accounted for by the increase of her exports of manufactures. * * *

As a further comment upon Lord Farrer's complacent observations, the following quotation from a paper read by Mr. A. S. E. Ackerman, recently returned from a four-months' engineering tour through the United States,

before the Civil and Mechanical Engineers' Society, on January 2, 1902, is pointed out enough:

"Americans have been very much awake for many years past, and their progress during the past six years has been phenomenal. Each day almost sees them surpass us in some branch of trade, and to my mind it is almost hopeless for us to get ahead of them again."

At it is equally interesting and to the point, and still more recent, are Mr. Moseley's remarks in his preface (p. 7) to the reports of the Moseley Industrial Commission, in the course of which, after pointing out that the United States have already attained the position of the leading manufacturing country of the world and that they must be placed "in the same position relatively that England herself occupied some fifty years ago," he continues thus:

"It is more than necessary that both capital and labor should bear this point well in mind. At the present time the home market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing, America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the market of the world."

One further change has to be noted before this preliminary discussion is brought to a conclusion. It must be remembered that at the time free trade was established England was already in a position of preeminent advantage over all possible competitors in the field of trade. The enterprise of her sons had carried her commerce to all parts of the world, and had established it everywhere. The statistics available for those early years are not very reliable, I fear, but such as I have may serve as an indication of what was then the relative position of England in regard to other countries.

From the Statistical Abstract we learn that the export trade of the United Kingdom in 1840 was £51,509,000. For the same year the export trade of the German States was £27,000,000, that of the United States £27,500,000, and that of France £40,000,000. As Mr. F. Mertens said in an able paper on "The growth of foreign competition," read before the Manchester Statistical Society on April 24, 1901:

"We were the first to take advantage of the revolutionizing inventions of our great countrymen, such as Hargreaves, Watt, Arkwright, Bessemer, and others; and, indeed, by great natural resources and facilities of transport possessed by no other country, England got an enormous start in the industrial development. She manufactured goods with modern machinery at a lower cost than others by more antiquated methods, and gained a prestige for her productions which secured her the trade of the world."

She was, in fact, in respect of the development of her trade, of machinery, of trained labor, and of commercial enterprise, far ahead of all the rest of the world, and was in the best position to take advantage of all improvements, whether in communications, in machinery, or of whatever kind, and of every "fresh market" opened. No competition was to be feared in her home markets, since, even as it was, she could produce her own manufactures more cheaply and better than any other nation, and "distance was a protection."

No wonder that the early apostles of free trade believed—for their belief under the then existing conditions was well founded—that by the throwing open of her markets nothing but advantage could accrue to her. England was the best-fitted workshop in the world, manned by the most intelligent and most highly trained mechanics and artisans in the world. She must inevitably become the principal workshop for the world, for the manufacture of all articles she made the best—chiefly articles of everyday use, such as all kinds of linen and cotton goods, woolen and worsted goods of every description, iron and steel goods; in fact, all the "lines" in manufactures which most served the common daily wants of mankind, and for which there was, therefore, by far the largest demand, were practically her monopoly.

It followed that the more the world flooded us with raw material or manufactures the better. They could only do us good, for since we could produce our own raw material and manufactures more cheaply and better than others could, they would send us only what we could not produce or make so well as they, we paying them in commodities which they could not produce or make so well as we. Thus the whole productive energy of the nation would be conducted into the most remunerative channels, and all its working power turned to the very best account. * * *

But at the root of the whole theory there lay a fallacy which the change of conditions from that age to ours is gradually bringing to light. There was no reason why our virtual monopoly of certain industries should remain with us, or that other nations should not be able to manufacture every class of commodity just as well and just as cheaply as we; specialization could not be fixed as an eternal principle. * * *

As a matter of fact, other nations very soon found this out for themselves, and it would not be far from the truth to say that the consequence of our adoption of free trade was the precise reverse of what was expected; we thereby drove other nations still farther into the ways of protection instead of inducing them to follow our example.

The Americans, seeing the truth of English trade propositions for the England of that time, commenced by taking a step in our direction, with anything but good results for themselves. Hoping to effect a remedy by means of a hair of the dog which bit them, they advanced still further in the same direction in 1857 and only found their malady aggravated. Our industries flooded their markets. They then took two steps backward for each one they had taken forward, and began to feel better.

The internecine struggle of 1861-1864 intervening, their trade from 1861 to 1866 was temporarily shattered. But thereafter, and ever since, with the exception of the two relatively short periods, following on the lower tariffs of 1883 and 1894, their trade has leaped up at a rate which puts us in the shade, whether relative or absolute figures be considered. The result is that described in Mr. McKinley's last speech and Mr. Roosevelt's first Presidential message, both of which are well within the memory of all.

The course of German trade is not at all dissimilar. Germany also, in 1861, became inoculated with free-trade doctrines, and, with the help of the French war indemnity which followed some years afterwards, seemed to bid fair to demonstrate in her own case the truth of those principles which had seemed to bring such great prosperity to England. But it proved to be a false start, depression set in, and under the guidance of Bismarck, Germany, "ruled by the acutest brain that this century has seen in Europe," returned (in 1879) to the heresy of protection. Finding that it answered she added to her sins in 1885, and if Count von Bülow's efforts are attended by success, she is just about to become a worse sinner than ever.

Behind the wall of protection other nations have been learning to manufacture our own specialties as well as we do, and have thus been effecting that vast change in the industrial world which has taken place since the United Kingdom embarked on the policy of free trade, and which is beginning to prove the unshaken clinging to that policy, become a part of the English gospel, to be a mistake, however genuinely believed in and well meant.

It may be that, as a distinguished American free trader once said to me, "nations which are protected carry on their trade with a succession of losses," but certainly the results do not support that view.

First let us consider some figures in regard to the internal economic conditions of the United Kingdom, the United States, and Germany, respec-

tively. The production of coal (in thousand tons) in the three countries from 1890 to 1900 has been as follows:

Year.	United Kingdom. ^a	United States. ^b	Germany. ^c
1890.....	181,614	140,883	70,238
1893.....	164,326	162,815	73,852
1897.....	232,130	178,930	91,055
1900.....	225,181	240,966	109,290

^aIn 1872: United Kingdom, 123,947,000 tons; Germany, 33,306,000 tons. No returns for the United States.
^bIncludes lignite.
^cTons of 2,240 pounds.

Of iron ore, in thousand tons, as follows:

Year.	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany. ^a
1890.....	513,781	16,036	511,406
1893.....	11,203	11,588	11,458
1897.....	13,788	17,518	15,460
1900.....	14,028	27,553	18,964

^aIncluding Luxemburg.
^bIn 1872 the United Kingdom produced 16,585,000 tons; Germany, 5,896,000. There are no returns for the United States.

The production and total consumption (domestic and foreign) of pig iron in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Germany, were as follows:
 [All amounts expressed in thousands of tons.]

Year.	Production.			Total consumption, domestic and foreign.		
	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany. ^a	United Kingdom.	United States.	Germany. ^a
1890.....	7,904	9,203	4,658	6,819	7,731	4,897
1893.....	6,977	7,125	4,986	6,168	7,167	5,032
1897.....	8,796	9,653	6,881	7,749	8,476	7,202
1900.....	8,959	13,789	8,521	7,710	13,573	9,143

^aIncluding Luxemburg.

In 1872 the figures were: United Kingdom, 6,741,000 tons; United States, 2,548,713; Germany, 1,388,000.

In 1872: United Kingdom, 5,509,915 tons; United States, 1,952,150; Germany, 2,501,000.

The following gives the increase of spindles in the cotton mills of the principal countries:

Country.	1889.	1899.
United Kingdom.....	40,000,000	45,400,000
United States.....	10,700,000	18,600,000
Germany.....	4,000,000	8,500,000
Rest of Europe.....	15,500,000	25,000,000

Whilst the consumption of cotton rose, in bales of 500 pounds, according to Mr. Ellison:

	1880-81.	1899-1900.	Increase.
United Kingdom.....	2,858,000	3,334,000	17
United States.....	1,094,000	3,856,000	128
Continent of Europe.....	2,365,000	4,578,000	94

Moreover, since the above observations were originally written, the American shipping combine of 1902—by which, as Mr. Elzbacher graphically puts it, America "scooped off the ocean the very cream of our merchant fleet"—has made its appearance and dealt a severe shock to our insular self-complacency. This sudden carrying of the commercial war into the heart of our country—the very region which had been so confidently pointed to as the proof, in spite of all that might be said to the contrary, of the maintenance of our commercial supremacy, and the superiority of our fiscal policy—is the most patent evidence of the effect of the tariffs, subsidies, and trusts, which are revolutionizing economic conditions, and of the futility of our pathetic constancy to free-trade principles to combat them. * * *

It is simply not true that the supremacy of our mercantile marine was founded upon free trade; it was the result of the bitter century-long struggle between England and Holland for commercial supremacy, a struggle in which the former employed all her resources, whether of war or of carefully conceived protective policy. Our navigation laws played their part with supreme success, and the Dutch attempted to meet them by free-trade methods with complete failure. In spite of this patent object lesson we, engaged now in a similar struggle with other rivals, are blindly following the example set us by our former foes in the misplaced faith that by our adherence to "orthodox" principles we shall escape the fate which overtook them, whereas we shall most certainly share it. * * *

It may be safely surmised that if we arrange our own internal affairs without regard to others we may possibly not lessen their dislike, but we shall certainly increase their respect.

Nor need we fear that by so doing we shall sacrifice our trade with foreign countries, as "orthodox" free traders profess to believe, or even "dislocate"

it to any appreciable extent. The reasons on which this belief is based are so obscure as not to be forthcoming, for there is no reason in mere assertion. Reason in this matter must be based on some facts or some analogy, and neither facts nor analogy will bear the contention out. Indeed they emphatically contradict it. * * *

In 1880 the export trade of France amounted to £3 18s. 2d. per head, and the total trade to £8 10s. 7d. per head, and in 1899 to £4 6s. 2d. per head and £9 per head, respectively; while for the United Kingdom the export trade amounted to £7 7d. per head, and the total trade to £18 8s. 1d. per head in 1890, and in 1899, respectively, to £9 9s. 9d. and £18 7s. 8d. It is true that in 1900 the exports per head for the United Kingdom were £7 1s. 6d., and that the total foreign trade amounted to £19 15s. 3d.; but, for the reasons before stated, I do not believe these figures to be a reliable index of trade conditions. I give them, however, for what they are worth.

The exports of Germany rose from £3 7s. 2d. per head in 1890 to £3 15s. 5d. in 1899, and her total trade from £7 11s. 5d. to £8 13s. 9d. per head; and the United States exported per head £3 7s. 5d. in 1899 against £2 18s. 2d. in 1890, the total trade per head having slightly receded, namely, from £5 7s. 7d. to £5 5s. 10d., as is not, indeed, surprising, seeing the extraordinary internal development which took place in that country during the period named. The three foreign countries above mentioned all endure a system of severe protection; yet their foreign export trade per head increased, as also their total foreign trade, with a slight exception in the case of the United States, while our export trade distinctly decreased, and the progress of our total foreign trade was insignificant.

The fact is that nations, whether protectionist or not, seek foreign markets; that our markets, "under the comparatively light protective system in view, would still be their best and largest; and that nations have no more inclination to spite their faces by cutting off their noses than have individuals. The fear of dislocation of trade is a mere bogey. * * *

Those who have any doubts as to the pass to which agriculture has been brought may well be referred to the final report (published in 1898) of the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression, appointed in 1893. It would be hopeless to attempt here the shortest summary of those most interesting but most depressing volumes. A few extracts taken here and there, however, may be useful as an illustration.

Thus, "rentals (in Essex) have been greatly reduced, arrears blotted out, remissions given, large sums expended on buildings, and in spite of it all tenants are still unable to pay in full." In Suffolk: "Taking the farmers of Suffolk as a whole, there was not a more capable, frugal, industrious, worthy class of men, and the bankruptcy of a farmer in all my early experience was a thing quite unknown. Now that same class of men have seen the great bulk of their savings, or their fathers' savings, swept away." "The reductions of rent in Suffolk have averaged about 50 per cent." "The condition of farmers in Norfolk is verging on absolute ruin and wholesale bankruptcy." In Cambridgeshire the effects of the depression upon the farmer were stated to have been absolutely disastrous. In Lincolnshire rentals had been reduced, freehold values had largely decreased, and land was a drug in the market.

From all parts of Great Britain came much the same dismal story, although the depression was less severely felt in Wales, owing to its being a pastoral country advantageously endowed with many large towns, watering places, and industrial districts. Generally speaking, the grazing lands had done, on the whole, a little, but only a little, better.

The decrease of the capital value of agricultural land between 1875 and 1895 in Great Britain was estimated at £234,834,000. Adopting the same method of calculation, the loss had increased in 1900 to £293,346,000, or over 53 per cent, since 1875. Again in 1878 Sir James Caird estimated the farming working capital in the country to be £400,000,000, while Mr. R. Henry Row estimated it in 1895 to be £319,000,000, an additional capital loss of £81,000,000.

Sir James Caird, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry (1886), entered upon a calculation acknowledged by Lord Farrer ("Free Trade versus Fair Trade," p. 183) to be "the most recent and most trustworthy estimate of agricultural losses," by which he estimated that between 1875 and 1886 the landlords had lost in "spendable income" 30 per cent, the tenants 60 per cent, and the laborers 10 per cent, on a rental of £65,000,000. * * *

The average acreage of wheat in the United Kingdom fell from 2,533,858 acres in 1884-1886 to 2,035,571 acres in 1898-1900; of barley, from 2,408,659 acres to 2,125,014 acres; of oats, from 4,326,140 acres to 4,103,160 acres. The average annual production of the three crops was, respectively: Wheat, 9,325,000 quarters in 1884-1886 and 7,978,000 quarters in 1898-1900; barley, 10,159,000 quarters and 9,070,000 quarters; oats, 20,419,000 quarters and 20,948,000 quarters, this crop alone showing a slightly larger yield, which has since been more than lost. Meanwhile imports rose and prices fell. * * *

It is a curious fact, worthy of attention, that the consumption of both barley and oats per head has decreased in spite of the concurrent reduction in prices; but the chief lesson to be drawn from these figures is that our home production falls hopelessly, while our dependence on countries beyond the seas for our food supplies grows always.

As bearing upon these facts and figures, it will not be out of place to give a few extracts from Mr. Rider Haggard's admirable work, "Back to the Land," which was the result of a most painstaking investigation of the state of British agriculture undertaken on behalf of the Daily Express, in the pages of which it first appeared as a series of articles during the year 1901. In the summary of that investigation Mr. Haggard writes as follows:

"The general impression left upon my mind at this point in my extensive wanderings is that English agriculture is fighting against the mills of God. Many circumstances combine to threaten it with ruin, although it is not actually ruined. Of these the chief is unchecked foreign competition. * * * Should this competition become still more acute, it will, indeed, no longer be possible to raise corn and meat at a profit in England."

I often wonder whether men actually realize in England what is going on before their eyes; whether they understand what is truly meant by the vast losses above figured forth—upward of £900,000,000 of capital, and nearly £50,000,000 in spendable income; whether they would contemplate with the same serenity losses of such magnitude in any other branches of British productive industry; losses—and worse still—which will certainly come upon them at no very distant time if the present happy-go-lucky system is continued. * * *

Which of the two policies may be the most advantageous for a given nation may be unhesitatingly declared to depend on the industrial position which that nation holds in regard to other nations. It is admitted by all economists that, whether in volume or in value, it is the home trade which is of incomparably greater importance to an industrial nation. If, then, a nation finds its home markets threatened—in other words, if other nations commence to undersell its staple industries in its home markets, and there are distinct signs of its capital and labor transferring themselves abroad—then it must revert to customs duties to serve, as Chaptal said, as the bulwarks of its manufacturing industry. * * *

When it is considered in what close relation, for an industrial country like England, the production and consumption of pig iron must stand to almost

all industries, it is surely most significant that that production is virtually stagnant, although last year the United States took from us some 504,000 tons (as against 45,000 tons in each of the years 1901 and 1902), while at the same time our imports of manufactures are increasing by millions a year.

When the export trade to the competing countries shows a decline, it means that those countries can make the staple manufactures of the exporting country as well and cheaper themselves, and that they will in their turn, commence to export those manufactures not only to "neutral markets," but also to the exporting country itself. It must necessarily follow that the loss, or a great part of it, would be irreparable, since all home industries—I, of course, do not include special industries working monopolies under the protection of patents—would already be pressed so hard by both home and foreign competition that no place could be found for any fresh competitor, while to expect that some new industry would always be forthcoming at the right moment is to lean on a very broken reed. Ultimately the only possible remedy, apart from a fresh or extended demand, would be found in a general decline of wages, which would cause, probably, a social upheaval, or, as previously stated, the emigration of both labor and, if possible, capital elsewhere.

An impartial examination of our trade and emigration returns will show that these are the very conditions which, in regard to competing countries, are fast approaching. The statistics already given in Chapters V, VI, and VII show not only that while our exports of manufactures are in absolute figures (values) declining, our imports are increasing, but that this is taking place both absolutely and relatively in our staple textile and steel and iron industries. In the interesting compilation made by Sir Alfred Bateman for the board of trade last year special figures are given in regard to our trade with the countries which are our keenest competitors, from which the following general statement has been made up:

Imports into United Kingdom.

[Five-year averages.]

Country.	Averages of 1880-1884.		Averages of 1896-1900.	
	Total in million pounds sterling.	Per head.	Total in million pounds sterling.	Per head.
From France.....	39.4	£ s. d. 1 2 5	52.3	£ s. d. 1 6 0
From Germany.....	25.0	0 14 3	28.7	0 14 3
From United States.....	96.8	2 15 0	120.9	3 0 2
Total.....	161.2	4 11 8	181.9	5 0 5

Exports from United Kingdom.

[Five-year averages.]

Country.	Averages of 1880-1884.		Averages of 1896-1900.	
	Total in million pounds sterling.	Per head.	Total in million pounds sterling.	Per head.
To France.....	16.9	£ s. d. 0 9 7	15.3	£ s. d. 0 7 7
To Germany.....	18.1	0 10 3	23.6	0 11 9
To United States.....	28.7	0 16 4	18.8	0 9 4
Total.....	63.7	1 16 2	57.7	1 8 8

If these figures be analyzed, it is found that while our coal exports to France and Germany have increased largely, especially in the case of France, our exports of manufactures, both to France and the United States, more particularly to the latter, have decreased both relatively and absolutely, and those to Germany relatively also. At the same time our imports of silk, woolen, cotton, glass, and iron and steel manufactures have increased from one or other of all three countries.

It is now necessary to complete the examination by observing the movements of our export trade with "neutral" countries and our colonial possessions and dependencies, both as regards itself and in relation to the trade of our chief competitors. In order to do this, I venture to transcribe bodily a set of very important tables:

Proportion of imports from the United Kingdom to total imports into the following groups of countries in 1884-85, 1890-1892, 1893-1895, and 1898-1900.

Group of countries.	Proportion of imports from the United Kingdom.				Total value of imports from all countries.			
	Average of 1884-85.		Average of 1890-1892.		Average of 1884-85. ^a		Average of 1898-1900. ^a	
	P. ct.	P. ct.	P. ct.	P. ct.	£	£	£	£
Europe ^b	18	17	16	15	701	806	777	1,011
Egypt.....	39	37	34	38	9	9	9	13
United States, Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Chile.....	26	25	24	21	164	210	190	186
China.....	25	21	18	17	22	32	29	36
Japan.....	45	34	33	21	6	11	13	26
British possessions.....	54	51	52	45	194	226	216	268

^a Amounts expressed in million pounds sterling.

^b Excluding Austria-Hungary in order that the figures may be comparative throughout.

NOTE.—This table takes no account of the imports of British goods into China or Japan from Hongkong or the Straits Settlements.

Increase or decrease in total imports between 1884-1885 and 1898-1900.

Groups of countries.	Amount. ^a	Per cent.
European countries, exclusive of Austria-Hungary ^b	+908,733	+ 44.2
Egypt.....	+ 3,827	+ 44.1
United States, Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Chile.....	+ 22,401	+ 13.7
Far East:		
China.....	+ 13,544	+ 61
Japan.....	+ 20,062	+356.7
British possessions.....	+ 73,505	+ 37.9
Total.....	+443,732	.....

^a Expressed in thousands of pounds sterling.

^b Not distinguished.

Increase or decrease in imports between 1884-85 and 1898-1900.

[Amounts expressed in thousands of pounds sterling. Increase +, decrease -.]

Groups of countries.	From United Kingdom.		From German Empire.	
	Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
European countries, exclusive of Austria-Hungary ^a	+28,682	+ 22.8	+53,466	+ 34.3
Egypt.....	+ 1,322	+ 38.8	+ 355	+936.8
United States, Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Chile.....	- 3,774	- 8.7	+ 5,514	+ 31.3
Far East:				
China.....	+ 510	+ 9.2	.....	.....
Japan.....	+ 3,010	+116.7	+ 1,796	+432.8
British possessions.....	+14,726	+ 13.9	+ 6,003	+394.7
Total.....	+44,476	.....	+47,135	.....

Groups of countries.	From France.		From United States.	
	Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
European countries, exclusive of Austria-Hungary ^a	+3,927	+ 6.9	+ 88,346	+217.2
Egypt.....	+ 186	+ 18.7	+ 183	+167.9
United States, Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and Chile.....	-2,720	- 14.4	+ 1,319	+ 52.1
Far East:				
China.....	+ 350	+117.3	+ 2,033	+262.0
Japan.....	+ 881	+ 37.6	+ 3,538	+636.4
British possessions.....	.....	.....	+ 14,958	+ 90.1
Total.....	+2,624	.....	+110,377	.....

^a Not distinguished.

France is a long way behind in progress of her exports, but the special conditions of France—her stationary population, the nature of her national industries, and the comparatively unenterprising spirit of her traders—are such that it is not a surprising fact. She never has been, and probably she never will be, a serious competitor for the great mass of the world's trade with other industrial nations.

The case, however, of Germany and of the United States is altogether different. Whether in absolute figures or in percentages, the rate of expansion of the export trade of the latter leaves us hopelessly behind in all parts of the world except Egypt and British possessions, while that of the former is well ahead of us also. Even in British possessions we are beaten both absolutely and relatively by the United States and relatively by Germany.

The greater proportion of the trade with European countries is not in our hands; at the same time we have lost 5 per cent of the import trade of the country which shows the second greatest rate of expansion (Russia), while Germany gained 11 per cent of it, and in the case of the greatest expansion (Belgium) we gained 2 per cent, probably accounted for by German trade through Belgian ports; Germany gains 1, which may possibly be accounted for in the same way, and the United States gains 5.

As to American countries we lose all round, except with Mexico, where we gain 1 per cent and Germany 3; Germany remains stationary, except for her advance in the latter case, and the United States gains all round, except, also, with Mexico, where she loses 3 per cent of the trade.

In the Far East we lose heavily; Germany gains, so far as the returns show, and the United States gains almost as rapidly as we lose.

The worst proportionate position of all is shown in regard to British possessions. Here, with the exception of Ceylon and the Mauritius, where we gain 3 and 4 per cent, respectively, but the trades of which are relatively insignificant, and in the case of the second stationary, and of British Guiana (where we lose 1 per cent of a trade which declines from two millions to one), our relative losses of trade are heavy all round, while those of Germany and the United States generally show advances, especially in the case of the more important colonies, the United States progressing far the more rapidly.

Even the relative satisfaction with which we might regard the fact that our export trade has gained in absolute figures some forty-four and a half millions must be largely diminished when we bear in mind the counterbalancing fact (previously referred to) which has been pointed out by Mr. Holt-Schooling—that if exports of coal be deducted our "special" exports fell thirty millions in the decennial period 1891-1900, as compared with 1881-1890.

On a general review of the situation as revealed by Sir Alfred Bateman's figures, it is clear that, while our exports of manufactures are gradually contracting, those of our chief rivals are expanding at a very rapid rate. Further, the fair inference which may be drawn from the previous discussion is that our manufacturing industries have no longer an expanding market at home—certainly not one which even approximately keeps pace with the increase of population, since this is supplied at the rate of £10 per head with manufactures imported from foreign countries. In regard to manufactures, the whole of the expansion of the world's markets, the chief part, if not the whole, of the expansion of our home market, and virtually the whole of the expansion—which is enormous, especially in the United

States—of their own home markets are at the disposal of our rivals; the main characteristic of their manufacturing trade is expansion, the main characteristics of ours are stagnation or contraction.

If I am right, then it is evident, as a first conclusion, that within a limited time, of which the duration will be fixed by the capacity of our employers (joint-stock or private) of labor to continue the unequal struggle—and seeing the energy and resource of the British race that capacity must still be great—as an industrial nation we must collapse. Meanwhile the demand for labor is bound gradually to fall off, wages must decline, and that disaster for the working classes anticipated on a previous page must occur, however cheap commodities may be for the consumer.

The headway which the United States made in thirty years—her exports increased from £78,500,000 in 1870 to £250,000,000 pounds in 1899—is prodigious, and was quite unforeseen by our free traders of the former time. Those of modern days are shutting their eyes now as closely to the future of our three great self-governing colonial systems, which is—and in no long time, for things move even faster—little, if at all, less great than that of the United States; they cling to the shadow of our stagnant foreign trade, because, owing to our marvelous start over other nations, it looms bigger than the substance of our imperial trade. But it is the latter which has in it the germs of almost indefinite expansion, and the former the germs, already too apparent, of gradual decay.

The well-nigh immeasurable advantages which are thus placed within our grasp will, if we persist in not seizing them, be transferred from us to those competitors who are already ousting us from the world's trade by means and for reasons already described, with a disastrous political effect.

As a conclusion to this part of my subject, I will venture to give another quotation from List's National System of Political Economy: "Modern Germany, lacking a system of vigorous and united commercial policy, exposed in her home markets to competition with a foreign manufacturing power in every way superior to her own, while excluded at the same time from foreign markets by arbitrary and often capricious restrictions, and very far indeed from making that progress in industry to which her degree of culture entitles her, can not even maintain her previously acquired position. . . . until at last the German States have resolved to secure their home markets for their own industry by the adoption of a united vigorous system of commercial policy."

The admirable success of that "united vigorous system" is there for all the world to see. Let us, then, follow that example, and, substituting for "Germany" and "German" the words "British Empire" and "British" in the above declaration, adopt for ourselves that "united vigorous system of commercial policy" which shall lead us to a success immeasurably greater.

SOME PENNSYLVANIA COMPARISONS.

Mr. Chairman, having shown how trained and experienced experts in various branches of trade and commerce in other countries view the effect of the present Republican tariff upon the labor, industries, and commerce of this country, as well as of their own, I present a few figures from my own State, showing the difference in effect between the Democratic Wilson-Gorman tariff bill enacted during the last Cleveland Administration and the present Republican Dingley protective tariff bill enacted during the first year of President McKinley's Administration.

I propose to compare the condition of our iron, steel, and tin-plate industries in 1896, the last full year of President Cleveland's Administration, with 1902, the first full year of President Roosevelt's Administration. The figures are for these great industries in the State of Pennsylvania only, but they represent fairly the conditions in these lines in all parts of our country. The completed figures for 1903 are not yet available.

For the following official tables I am indebted to Hon. Robert C. Bair, the very efficient chief of the bureau of statistics of Pennsylvania:

Employment, wages, yearly and daily earnings in the manufactures of pig iron, tin, tin plate, and iron and steel rolled into finished form, in the State of Pennsylvania, in the years 1896 and 1902, respectively, showing the increase in 1902 over 1896.

	1896.	1902.	Increase 1902 over 1896.	Per cent of increase 1902 over 1896.
PIG IRON.				
Production..... gross tons..	4,026,350	8,111,642	4,085,292	101.7
Workmen employed.....	11,589	17,101	5,521	47.6
Average days of employment.....	289	314	25	8.6
Aggregate wages paid to workmen.....	\$4,589,165	\$10,191,739	\$5,602,574	124.2
Average yearly earnings.....	\$396.30	\$595.97	\$199.67	50.3
Average daily wage.....	\$1.37	\$1.89	\$0.52	37.9
IRON AND STEEL, ROLLED.				
Iron and steel rolled into finished form..... net tons..	3,757,070	9,429,265	5,671,295	153.3
Workmen employed.....	63,573	95,720	32,147	78.6
Average days of employment.....	251	285	34	13.5
Aggregate wages paid workmen.....	\$23,832,628	\$60,721,858	\$36,889,230	154.7
Average yearly earnings.....	\$444.89	\$634	\$189.11	42.5
Average daily wage.....	\$1.77	\$2.23	\$0.46	26
BLACK PLATE TIN WORKS.				
Total production of black plate for tinning..... pounds..	158,306,490	428,443,562	270,137,102	170.6
Quantity tinned..... do..	97,814,762	352,544,962	254,730,200	260.4
Workmen employed.....	3,194	8,905	5,711	179
Aggregate wages paid workmen.....	\$1,437,226	\$4,506,105	\$3,068,879	213.5
Average yearly earnings.....	\$456.55	\$506.02	\$49.47	10.8

Employment, wages, yearly and daily earnings, etc.—Continued.

	1896.	1902.	Increase 1902 over 1896.	Per cent of increase 1902 over 1896.
BLACK PLATE TIN WORKS—continued.				
Average daily wage.....	\$1.80	\$2.55	\$0.75	41.6
Number of plants.....	13	22	9	69.2
STEEL PRODUCED.				
Bessemer..... gross tons..	2,502,814	4,208,354	2,005,544	90.5
Open hearth..... do.....	1,009,608	4,220,279	3,210,671	31.8
Crucible..... do.....	43,107	82,562	39,455	91

From the foregoing figures it will be seen that in the iron, steel, and tin-plate industries alone there were employed in Pennsylvania 53,379 more men in 1902, under President Roosevelt, than there were in 1896, under President Cleveland, and that these employees received in wages in 1902 a total of \$75,419,722, as against \$29,859,019 in 1896, a difference of \$45,560,703 in favor of a Republican Administration.

From the same source I learn that a comparison of results in 548 plants operating in 44 other different industries shows that the aggregate number of men employed in these 548 plants was, in 1896, 88,349, and in 1902, 131,575, an increase of 43,226. The aggregate of wages paid in these 548 plants in 1896 was \$33,151,563, and in 1902, \$66,618,463, an increase of more than 100 per cent.

But even this does not take into account the scores of new plants which have sprung up since 1896 and are therefore not involved in the comparison. There was not only afforded employment for thousands of additional men in 1902, but also each man received largely increased wages.

Through the kindness of Hon. Frank Hall, chief of the bureau of mines of Pennsylvania, I am able to submit the following table, showing conditions in the coal industry in Pennsylvania, viz: Annual production of coal in Pennsylvania in both the anthracite and bituminous regions for the years 1892, 1893, 1896, and 1903.

Year.	Anthracite.	Bituminous.	Total.
1892.....	51,226,978	46,576,576	97,803,554
1893.....	52,841,111	45,421,898	98,263,009
1896.....	53,843,250	50,273,657	104,116,907
1903.....	75,232,535	103,496,012	178,728,547
Total.....	233,143,924	243,768,143	476,912,067

This table is also very significant. Eighteen hundred and ninety-two was the last year of President Harrison's administration. In 1893, the first year of President Cleveland's second term, the coal production was actually reduced about one and a half million tons, and in 1896, President Cleveland's last year, the total production was less than six and one-half million tons greater than it had been four years previously, while 1903, the last year under President Roosevelt, showed an increase of more than 74,500,000 tons over President Cleveland's last year. The amount of wages paid for mining coal in Pennsylvania in 1903 was over \$100,000,000 in excess of that paid in 1896. It makes all the difference in the world whether American money is being paid out in the purchase of foreign products or is being expended at home among our own people. It is a low estimate that the workmen of Pennsylvania alone received in 1903, under President Roosevelt, \$200,000,000 more than they did in 1896, under President Cleveland. What it means to every interest in a State to have that vast additional sum expended I need not stop to discuss. The benefit is too apparent to require argument.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES HAS RESULTED IN LOWER PRICES TO CONSUMERS.

I call particular attention to the showing made by the tin industry in one of the tables I have already given. That industry in America is purely the product of the Republican protective tariff. The first tin-plate plant in this country was established in the city of Pittsburg in October, 1871. At that time foreign tin was selling here at \$14 per box. In 1873 another plant was established at Leechburg, and still another at Demmler, known as "The United States Iron and Tin Plate Manufacturing Company." These plants were mechanically successes, but financially they were made failures by the action of the British manufacturers, who, under the prevailing low tariff of that period, flooded the country with their product, reducing their prices more than 50 per cent below that they had charged before the American plants were started, and the latter were finally driven out of business. After the failure of The United States Iron and Tin Plate Manufacturing Company, no further attempt was made by that or any

other firm to make tin plate in this country until after the passage of the McKinley tariff law, the tin-plate clause in which did not become operative until July 1, 1891.

In the Presidential campaign of 1892 the increased duty on tin plate formed a prominent feature in the arguments of free trade or "tariff-for-revenue-only" orators, who contended that tin plate could not be successfully made in this country, and that the only effect of the tariff would be to increase to the American consumer the price of the foreign article. Their predictions have utterly failed, for, as I have already shown, there were in 1902 employed in this industry in my State alone 8,905 men who received in wages an aggregate of \$4,506,105. The result of encouraging and enabling our own citizens to engage in this industry instead of increasing has actually decreased the cost of tin plate to the consumer. The lowest price ever reached before the present tariff was imposed was \$5.18, to which figure our British friends reduced it in their successful effort to drive the early American plants out of business. As soon as that was accomplished they put it up again at least as high as \$7.50. But to-day, the domestic industry having been protected since 1891 by a heavy tariff, our own people are able to, and do, produce and sell tin plate at \$3.65.

DEMOCRATIC TARIFF REVISION NOT DESIRED.

Mr. Chairman, the demoralization of business which set in so instantaneously became known that the Democratic party had triumphed in the election of 1892 and was to revise the tariff, and the financial disaster and distress which followed the enactment of the Wilson-Gorman bill, can not be denied; neither can it be gainsaid that prosperity followed the election of McKinley and the enactment of the Republican Dingley tariff bill, nor that conditions are to-day in every way vastly better than they were at any time during the "four years more of Grover."

But now, from the very beginning of this session to the present day, we have been told repeatedly, and all the time, that the tariff must be revised and that the Democratic party must be put in power to revise it. It is well to consider, therefore, the views of the gentlemen who will have charge of that revision should the Democrats have a majority in this House in the next Congress. It is well known now who in that event would compose and control the Ways and Means Committee. Under the rules and practice of the House those Democrats who are now upon the committee would remain upon it. Instead of being in the minority they would then be in the majority. There is one from Mississippi, one from Louisiana, one from Virginia, one from New York, one from Texas, and one from Missouri—all from the South save one, and he a free trader of the most pronounced type. The ranking Democrat upon that committee declared himself upon this floor, during the discussion of the Dingley bill in 1897, to be in favor of free trade. Another Democrat now upon that committee said, during the discussion of that bill:

Mr. Chairman, after nine days of sore travail at least one truth has been brought forth on the Republican side of this House, and that by the gentleman from North Carolina when he said that I would destroy every custom-house in America. He is entirely correct. If I had my way to-day, sir, I would tear them all down from turret to foundation stone, for from the beginning they have been nothing but a den of robbers.

And a little later, in the same discussion, he said:

I repeat, so that all men may hear, that I am a free trader, and proudly take my stand with Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Henry George. I may be an humble member of that illustrious company, but it is better to be a doorkeeper in the house of honest free traders than to dwell in the tents of wicked protectionists.

In the Democratic campaign text-book, prepared by the Democratic Congressional committee and used at the election of 1902, at which the Members of this present Congress were elected, that party officially declared in favor of free trade. It said:

The theory of free trade is that both seller and buyer are benefited by an exchange of commodities and that, as all are consumers, the greatest good to the greatest number requires that there be no barriers to trade in order that goods may be as cheap as possible and the cost of living be reduced to a minimum. Free trade would open our markets to benefit our own country. * * *

Reciprocity is based upon the same false theories as is protection, and, like protection, is a sham and a humbug, and to most people has been, and will ever continue to be, a delusion and a snare.

During the present session some of those same gentlemen who ran upon that platform and who helped to prepare and to circulate that campaign text-book have been singing very low and "hedging" in their statements until I had almost begun to think that they had been "converted by squads and baptized in battalions" into the true faith of Republican protectionism. They had given us to understand that they proposed to deal with the tariff very gently; not cut it all off at once, but wipe it out by degrees, as the revenues would permit.

But within the past ten days we have listened to as radical free-trade speeches as ever were made on this floor, and every Democrat in this Hall applauded until the very rafters trembled, while one of their most popular orators, also a member of the Ways and

Means Committee, planted his party squarely upon a free-trade platform. He said:

Republicans believe that prosperity can be created by legislation; we believe that if it be genuine it must be created by labor. You believe that success in manufacture should depend on the favor of Government; we believe it should depend solely upon the excellence of the product.

In other words, no matter how poorly paid labor may be in other countries, if the article produced equals in excellence similar articles produced in America, then the foreign articles should be admitted here and fill our markets unless the American laborer is willing to accept the foreign wage, which, as shown by the members of the Moseley commission, is much lower than the American wage. In the course of his remarks the same distinguished gentleman also said:

The gentleman from Iowa has taunted the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] for saying he would like to see every custom-house shattered

"From turret to foundation stone."

That line, sir, referred to Tantallon Castle. Tantallon Castle was a feudal structure in Scotland, around which raged constantly a tide of war and plunder, as some men sought to enrich themselves by seizing the property of others. Tantallon Castle has fallen with the feudalism and barbarism of the age which it typified. I hail it, sir, as an auspicious feature of this discussion that a phrase applied to the feudal castle which has perished before the march of civilization and the spread of peace should be used to express a hope that the world may some day see the disappearance of custom-houses, which are survivals of a barbaric distrust that tends to isolate men from each other and to prevent them from uniting and cooperating in the cultivation of the soil for the benefit of each man. [Applause on the Democratic side.] What is the essential difference between civilization and barbarism? Civilization means the close intercourse of men for peaceful and productive cooperation; barbarism means the isolation of men, or else their meeting in savage and destructive conflict. Factories from whose chimneys the smoke of industry rises like incense to heaven are outposts of civilization. It is the fervent hope of Democrats that they be multiplied. Fortresses and custom-houses are the twin relics of barbaric distrust which prevent profitable cooperation and encourage wasteful plunder. Surely it is patriotic and humane, as well as Democratic, to cherish the hope that ultimately this earth will be purged of both. [Applause.]

So, then, the custom-houses, which stand as the barriers between the American laborer and the stocking of our markets with the products of the illy-paid labor of foreign countries, are to be torn down like the castle of barbaric days. "The smoke of industry" will then rise from chimneys of foreign factories and not offend the air of this free country unless the American laborer shall be willing, at lower wages, to equal the excellence of the foreign product. The Republican party is not wedded to any fixed rate of tariff upon any particular article. It does believe that stability of tariff rates is essential to stability of business, and is not in favor of constant tariff tinkering. It has revised the tariff heretofore when occasion required, and is ready to do so again. It believes, and a very large majority of the American people believe, that any necessary revision of the tariff should be made by the friends of protection to American industries, and not by those who are at heart free traders, and who, when they vote for any tariff at all, do so under protest and only because of the necessities of the Federal revenue.

Undoubtedly there will come periods of depression. There is apt to be more or less stagnation during a Presidential election. Capital is timid and business ventures will be curtailed until the result is absolutely certain. But, Mr. Chairman, there need be no hesitation. The American people are not yet ready to depart from the protective-tariff system which, under Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, has enabled this country to make within the past seven years greater commercial advancement than was ever made in a like period by any other nation in the world's history. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Post-Office Appropriation Bill.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES T. McCLEARY,

OF MINNESOTA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, March 16, 1904.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 13521) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, and for other purposes—

Mr. McCLEARY said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: "The best friend of truth is time." How often during the last few days of turmoil these words of my good mother have come to me! I have also frequently thought of another precept of hers: "No one can permanently injure your reputation except yourself." Knowing that I not only had not done any wrong in connection with the securing of increases of allowance for clerk hire and so forth in the post-offices of my district, knowing that for me to have failed to do everything that I

did do would have been neglect of duty, knowing that I not only have not been wrong, but, on the contrary, in every move that I have made in these matters I have been *absolutely right*, it never occurred to me to be disturbed.

I have been rather surprised upon examination of this report to find that any Member of this House should have been at all agitated. So far as I can see, there is not one thing in the report that any Member of Congress should be otherwise than glad to have every one of his constituents know all about.

Of course there is natural resentment among the Members that, having spent a lifetime in building up a good name, they should thus baselessly have it even questioned. "Some one has blundered," of course. But the truth as to that will probably all appear in due time.

What is alleged in the report? In essence the allegation is simply that those whose names appear have been exceptionally active and earnest in securing every possible improvement in the mail facilities of their respective districts. My name appears in this report in connection with twelve cases. It appears more frequently, I think, than the name of any other Representative. I regard this fact as one to be proud of. In ten of the cases the report itself makes it clear that no charge of wrong-doing is made. The other two cases I shall refer to later.

Let us look into this matter first in a general way.

In this Federal Republic of ours all local matters are regulated by State authority. The school district, the road district, the town, the village, the city, the county—all of these are organized and do their work under authority of the State, under laws made by the respective State legislatures. As a rule, wherever government touches us closely, it is the State government or one of its subordinate divisions, and not the National Government, that does so.

Our General Government does not have anything to do with the regulation of local affairs. Thirteen States formed a Union for common defense. Very naturally they called the nation thus brought into being the United States. This National Government, as I have said, was formed primarily for the common defense. The nation primarily looks outward toward other nations. It is the nation which raises and maintains armies and navies. It is the nation which regulates commerce with other countries and among the States. It is the nation which regulates our intercourse with Indian tribes, who are in fact dealt with as foreign peoples.

About the only place where the people feel the touch of the nation is through the Post-Office Department, whose subordinates are found in every neighborhood. The work of the Post-Office Department is that of a great educator and civilizer. It is felt everywhere as a beneficent influence.

Naturally those at the head of the Post-Office Department can not know local people and conditions. What more natural thing than that the Department should ask for counsel from those who do know? And what more natural thing than that the Department should turn for such counsel to the man from each Congressional district, who is here in Washington much of the time to be consulted personally, and to whom the people of that district themselves have given the highest evidence of their confidence by sending him to the capital city to represent them in Congress? This is the theory upon which the President and the Department invite, receive, welcome, and act upon the recommendations of Members of Congress in the matter of the appointment of postmasters, and things of that nature.

On the other hand, the people at home can not know personally the officers in charge of postal matters in Washington. They know that those officers are not acquainted with them, and therefore they naturally feel that their recommendations, however meritorious, might not receive due consideration. What more natural thing under such circumstances than that the people at home should write to the man here whom they do know, whom they sent here by their votes, whom they feel that they have a right to call upon for assistance in such matters?

Mr. Chairman, the relation of intermediary between the Department and the people whom he represents is thus seen to be a perfectly natural and proper one for the Representative in Congress to occupy.

Speaking for myself—and in so doing I speak for substantially everyone in this House—I deem it not only a duty but a pleasure to look after all such matters for my constituents. Having served them a long time, it is generally known in my district that any of my constituents, rich or poor, regardless of party or creed, can depend upon getting from me a prompt and respectful answer to every letter that he writes me, and prompt and careful consideration of every request that he makes to me.

And, Mr. Chairman, if by long service, if by so dealing with my colleagues in the House and with the executive officers of the Government I have secured their confidence and have, therefore, acquired "influence" with them, the humblest person in my dis-

trict hardly needs to be assured that that influence will be cheerfully exercised in every proper way that will advance his interests.

Now let us look at the immediate question.

Post-offices are graded into four classes, known as the first class, the second class, the third class, and the fourth class. Postmasters in the first three classes are appointed by the President; those in the fourth class by the Postmaster-General.

Fourth-class post-offices are those out in the rural districts and the smaller villages, the salaries of whose postmasters amount to less than \$1,000. When, under the scale of allowances adopted by the Post-Office Department, the salary of a postmaster reaches \$1,000 a year the office is promoted to the third class, the lowest class of the "Presidential" offices.

When under the regulations of the Department the salary of a postmaster reaches \$2,000 a year the office is promoted into the second class, and at \$3,000 a year into the first class. Above the first-class post-offices there are a few "special" offices in very large cities, like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and others.

Postmasters in fourth-class offices get their remuneration from "cancellations." Up to a certain amount they receive all of the proceeds of the stamps canceled at their offices. Above that point they receive a certain percentage of the cancellations. These offices are usually conducted in private houses or in stores. The remuneration being based on cancellations, the Department does not usually allow any clerk hire in a fourth-class office, except for what is known as "separation." Nor is clerk hire allowed in third-class offices except for "separation;" that is, for making up mail for other offices which does not originate at the office in question.

Right here is where this trouble has arisen.

The amount of "separation" at any third or fourth class office varies greatly with circumstances. With the establishment of the rural free-delivery service many small fourth-class offices have been discontinued, and the allowances for separation at many of the third and fourth class offices have, therefore, within the last two or three years materially decreased.

Being unable to determine upon a general rule for using the money required to pay for this separation service, Congress has for years been in the habit of making a lump appropriation for that purpose, leaving its expenditure to the Post-Office Department. This expenditure is made under a rule which the Department has deemed it best in the public interest to keep as a Department secret. I do not know now what that rule is, nor do I suppose that a single member of either House of Congress knows.

Now, when a postmaster in my district writes me to the effect that he is receiving inadequate allowance for clerk hire, I bring the matter to the attention of the proper officer in the Department, with the request that he look into the matter carefully and make the best allowance that he properly can under the rules of the Department.

This is the whole of my offending.

I think that any reasonable person will see that for me to do otherwise would be a neglect of duty not only to the postmaster, but also to the people for whose convenience and service the office was established.

Mr. Chairman, under our theory of government the three branches of the Government—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial—are to be kept as independent of one another as possible. The legislative branch—although it is the greatest of all in power and authority, being the branch which makes the laws—is not expected to undertake to dominate or control more than is necessary the executive branch or the judicial branch. Nor is the executive branch to undertake to dominate or control the legislative branch.

But, on the other hand, it is absolutely necessary that these branches of the Government act in harmony with each other so far as possible. As I have indicated, the executive officers find it advisable and proper to consult with Members of Congress to the end that the public interest may be promoted. On the other hand, in legislation we find it advisable to consult with the executive officers. For instance, all bills introduced into this House relating to the public domain are referred to the House Committee on Public Lands. If that committee regards a given bill as worthy of consideration, the committee, through its chairman, sends a copy of the bill to the Secretary of the Interior, under whom are executed the laws relating to public lands, asking him for his judgment as to the merits of the bill.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these relations of confidence and respect and mutual helpfulness between the branches of our Government are obviously natural and proper. Hence, there is little room for much of the loose talk that has been indulged in about this matter—most of it by people who had only a very dim notion of what they were talking about.

By the way, Mr. Chairman, I take a good deal of satisfaction in the fact that during all this hubbub—this "tempest in the teapot," this "much ado about nothing"—not a single Democratic

paper in my district, so far as I know, has uttered one word in criticism of me! And of the Republican papers only one has said an unkind word. And the motives which prompted the publisher of that paper to his utterances are so well understood in the neighborhood where the paper is published that they did me absolutely no harm and simply helped, to undermine whatever confidence the people may have had in the editor of the paper.

On the other hand I have had hundreds of letters from the leading citizens of the several counties—from judges, lawyers, doctors, ministers, teachers, merchants, farmers, and other classes of citizens—expressing surprise at the small allowances for clerk hire in the offices with which they are acquainted and indorsing my action in endeavoring to secure more adequate allowances, to the end that the burden should not all fall on the postmaster and yet that the service should be maintained and improved.

Here in my hand I hold a table showing that in eighteen of the third-class post-offices of my district the postmasters receive as clerk-hire allowances an aggregate of \$1,610, while they actually pay \$9,531 for necessary clerical assistance. That is, Mr. Chairman, out of salaries amounting in all to less than \$30,000 these postmasters pay out nearly \$8,000 clerk hire more than they receive; that is, they pay out about 27 per cent of their own salaries for clerk hire, in order to maintain the kind of service which they are determined to give the people of the community. They also pay nearly \$400 more for rent than the allowances that are made to them.

Under these circumstances, is it any wonder that they sometimes write me about securing for them an increase of allowance for clerk hire, and that in those requests they are backed by hundreds of the best people in the district?

Mr. Chairman, in first and second class offices all expenses for clerk hire, rent, fuel, and light are paid by the Government, so that the postmaster has his salary, whatever it may be, without any deductions. It seems to me, sir, that it is time that we were giving consideration to these third-class postmasters, for I presume the condition in my district is typical of the condition all over the country.

It has occurred to me, sir, that it would be well for us here in Congress to fix definitely by law what the allowances shall be for clerk hire in third-class post-offices. In thinking the matter over I have concluded to offer an amendment providing that where the salary of the postmaster is \$1,000 or \$1,100 the clerk hire allowance shall be \$100 a year; where the salary of the postmaster is \$1,200 or \$1,300 the clerk hire allowance shall be \$200; where the salary of the postmaster is \$1,400 or \$1,500 the clerk hire shall be \$300; where the salary of the postmaster is \$1,600 or \$1,700 the clerk hire shall be \$400; and where the salary of the postmaster is \$1,800 or \$1,900 the clerk hire shall be \$500 a year. This will illustrate the principle that I have in mind, namely, that the clerk hire should be gauged upon the amount of work done by the office, which can probably be best determined by the salary paid the postmaster.

Since I made this table I have been very much pleased to find in the report of the First Assistant Postmaster-General a recommendation along exactly the same lines.

Mr. Chairman, I presume it will be impossible to do otherwise under all the circumstances than to continue the policy of appropriating a lump sum for "separation" work, and permit that sum to be expended, as heretofore, in the discretion of the Post-Office Department. But we can, and probably should, require that the general rule under which the lump sum for separation service is expended shall be submitted to Congress for its approval.

The law authorizes a special allowance to be made for clerk hire where, in the judgment of the Department, there is what may be properly called "unusual business;" but the appropriation bill has heretofore not specifically appropriated money with which to pay for this unusual service. Until recently the Department has uniformly held that it would be a proper expenditure of the public money to pay for that "unusual service" in the smaller offices out of the fund appropriated for "separation," to the end that the evident purpose of Congress should be carried into effect. On this theory an allowance of \$300 was made some three or four years ago for unusual service at Sanborn, Redwood County, then in my district.

Recently the law officer of the Post-Office Department has held that the appropriation for "separation" can not be properly used for "unusual business." This is undoubtedly a prudent and proper construction of the law. But, in part by reason of this change in interpretation, I am made to appear as having done something wrong relative to the clerk-hire allowance at Sanborn, Redwood County, Minn., which was formerly in my district.

Sanborn is a junction point of two railways, one of them a new road, built some three or four years ago. The post-office there is of the fourth class.

For some time after that new road was established there was no railway mail service upon it, and the postmaster at Sanborn had to "pouch" the mail for nearly a dozen post-offices along

this new line in addition to his regular work. The trains on the two roads ran in such a way that it was physically impossible for him to do this work without clerical assistance. This was clearly "unusual business" and temporary in character.

The postmaster wrote me a clean-cut statement of the facts in the case. I submitted the letter to the Department with the request that the matter be investigated and that such allowance be made as was proper under all the circumstances. An allowance at the rate of \$300 a year was made. It was none too much at the time when it was made.

Since then, I understand, railway mail service has been established on the new line, thus largely doing away with the "unusual business." Rural free-delivery routes have been established, doing away with many country post-offices, thus reducing the clerk-hire allowance for "separation." And as a result of these changes in conditions the clerk-hire allowance of Sanborn has been reduced to \$50 a year. How natural and how entirely proper it all is when the matter is understood!

By the way, there is such a thing as "unusual business" in different parts of the country—at summer resorts, etc.—and we should in this bill specifically appropriate a proper amount for that purpose.

The only other place where the report criticises me is in relation to the allowance for rent of the post-office at New Ulm. The report does me an injustice by not telling the whole truth.

The New Ulm post-office had been raised to second class, showing that its business had increased. Several rural free-delivery routes had been started from New Ulm. From these two causes it became necessary to increase the amount of space for the post-office. The owner of the building, in view of the fact that he had not only to furnish additional space, but also to put in more and better furniture, heating apparatus, etc., demanded an increase in rent. An inspector was sent to examine the situation. He reported that he could get another building, not so well located as the building where the post-office then was, for less than the owner of that building demanded. On my recommendation the old site was retained, though the rent was somewhat higher.

So much the report tells, but beyond that it is rather short on information.

The building in which the office was then and is now conducted is very centrally located. It is the place where the office has been ever since I have known the town. Probably 90 per cent of the people wanted it to remain there. Moreover, the other building was not in existence. It would have had to be erected. It has been my purpose for two or three years to secure for New Ulm the erection of a post-office building by the Government. So it did not seem to me right, under such circumstances, to allow a man to put up a building with the expectation that in the United States Government he would have a good tenant for a long period of years. Hence my recommendation.

The report also fails to say that since then the Department itself, without any recommendation from me, so far as I can now recall, has again increased the rent in order to secure still further facilities, necessitated by the growth of business.

By the way, Mr. Chairman, this brings me to another matter about which I desire to say a word at this time.

Inasmuch as rent for the post-offices is one of the things about which Members of Congress have been criticised in this report, I suggest now what has long been in my mind, namely, that it might be good policy for the Government to erect its own buildings in towns that have clearly and permanently entered the second class. This arrangement could serve at once as a matter of pride to the community and of economy to the Government.

For instance, at New Ulm the rent is, as I remember, \$750 a year. Suppose that the Government were to erect an appropriate building adequate for post-office purposes, to cost, with the site, say, \$30,000. To the Government money is worth about 2 per cent, so on a plant at that cost the interest would be \$600 a year; that is, the Government could erect such a building in New Ulm and save money by doing so.

It seems to me that this would be a good permanent policy for the Government to adopt. I propose at this session to introduce a bill for a building at New Ulm, to cost, with the site, \$30,000. I know that nothing can be done with it at this session, but the introduction of the bill will, I trust, be the initiation of a policy which it will prove wise to continue. Later on, I propose to introduce similar bills, for appropriate amounts, for buildings in other towns in my district having second-class offices.

Mr. Chairman, I have been moved to make these few remarks less for my own sake than for the sake of the people themselves. Nothing is more demoralizing to anyone than to have his confidence shaken in one whom he feels that he ought to be able to trust. People ought to be able to have a good opinion of their own Representatives. And my long acquaintance with men in this House shows me that practically without exception its Members are worthy of that confidence.

