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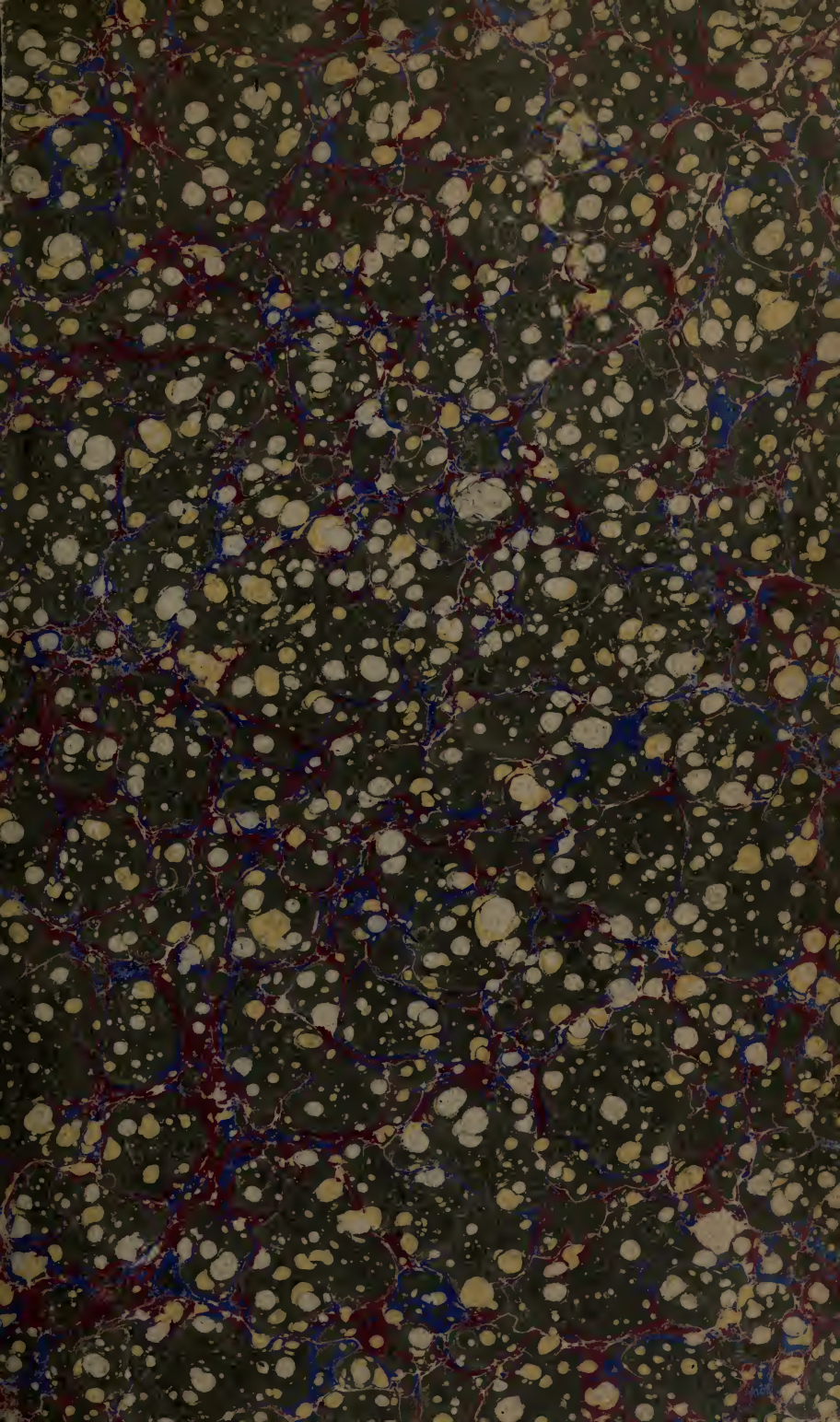
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THE TARIFF.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WM. E. MASON,

OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Thursday, May 17, 1888.

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

Mr. MASON said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN : I was much pleased but not surprised at the knowledge of the gentleman from New York who just took his seat [Mr. COX] of the wardrobe of the devil. [Laughter.]

"His scarlet pants and coat of blue, And a little hole for his tail to come through—" were very beautiful; but if the devil was half as patriotic as I suspect him of being he bought his garments, of whatever color, hole and all, in the recesses of hell. [Laughter.] I can imagine from the acquaintance the gentleman shows with his satanic majesty that when his earthly career is closed he will approach the gate, and, after having been refused admittance by Peter, he will approach that other warmer spot and give his name, "SAMUEL SULLIVAN COX, late of New York." The devil will say, "Why, Mr. COX, could you not make it up there?" "No." The devil : "F. T.?" "Yes; free-trader; couldn't make it." Whereupon his majesty says : "Walk right in, Mr. SAMUEL SULLIVAN COX; we take everything that comes to this shore; it is the only free-trade corner in the universe." [Applause and laughter.]

A farmer once having left home received

the following letter from a fox : "My dear Mr. Farmer : I am informed and believe that your hen and chickens are not well, and I desire to tender you my most earnest solicitude and my attention as their physician. Please have your man leave the hen house open nights that I may treat them. Your true friend, A. Fox." To which the farmer modestly replied : "My dear Mr. Fox : Your kind and neighborly letter has just been received. Your relations with me and my chickens in the past have not been such as would warrant me in employing you as their physician. The doctor should be the friend of his patient. I expect to be at home after the fourth of March next, and I will look out for my own chickens. Respectfully yours, A. Farmer."

So you understand, after the manner of Æsop, we do not want him to doctor our chickens. The tariff chicken belongs to the Republican party, and your anxiety to doctor it leads us to suspect you are more interested as an undertaker than as a physician. [Applause.]

I represent a Republican district, a district in favor of tariff reform, and I stand ready to vote for any bill to reform the inconsistencies of the tariff consistent with the best interests of the industries of this country.

I charge that the Democratic party, or a majority of that party, is in favor of free trade. The Republican party is in favor of





protection; and while many of us believe there should be a reform of the tariff, as I have suggested, still the great underlying difference between the two parties is there to stay.

To prove that the Democrats are free-traders I make a very few extracts of the many that could be cited to prove my position.

The gentleman from Texas [Mr. HARE] said :

I believe that a tariff for protection is the foundation and principal cause of all the complaints and unrest that has either threatened or actually disturbed the public peace and quiet for years, because it fosters one industry at the expense of another, it transfers the labor and production of one class and gives it to another, thereby building up a small class of great wealth and impoverishing the great body of our people.

I am opposed to any tariff whatever for protection simply.

If we did not require money to defray the expenses of government, I would be an absolute and uncompromising free-trader.

The argument of those who favor protection is (among other things) that such tariff is necessary to protect labor and production, and, to prove it, it is shown that the laborer is paid higher wages in America than anywhere else on the globe

Admitting the fact that in dollars and cents the United States pays higher wages than England; that England pays more than other countries in Europe, and that Europe pays higher than India, yet it is also an established fact that the laborer in the United States cannot, as a general rule, save anything from the result of his toil at the end of each year; nor can he do so in England, nor elsewhere in Europe, nor in India. It is equally as well established that in all those countries the laborer does eat and wear clothes adapted to his country and climate. Then what is the difference between earning \$1 per day or 10 cents per day, if the result is the same, namely, sufficient to eat to preserve life, and sufficient to wear to protect the body?

Think of it! "Sufficient to eat to preserve life." Is the average Democratic heart not too kind to the laborer? Life can be "preserved" on 20 cents per day or less. Is he afraid our laborers if they get \$1.50 per day would die of the gout? Will even a free-trader say the workmen are to have nothing but a bare sufficiency for the stomach and back? Is there to be no home and no home-life for him? No food and clothes and books for his children; no pictures to light his wall; and no music or ray of refinement in his home? God pity this nation when such despair shall settle upon the hearts of those who labor.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LANE] says, "the nations of the earth are striving to draw near to each other." Yes, every nation in the world employing pauper and cheap labor is trying to draw near to us. Every tramp he meets on the street will try to draw near to him. The filth and vermin on the tramp will try and draw near to him

in order to indulge in free trade. But why does my colleague draw back from the festive tramp? Why erect a Chinese wall between yourself and the tramp? Oh! he says, I am on a different plane of life; I do not need him. But my country should get down and trade freely with any other country in the world.

Do you not know and can you not see that in this country every citizen, however humble his trade or calling, is his own master, and that our country, therefore, as compared with most others, was built under the providence of God by brave ancestors upon a more certain foundation, and a higher plane?

Mr. MILLS, chairman of the committee, and the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party, says :

We will increase wealth if we lower the duties and let importations come in of those things which can be produced cheaper in other countries than our own.

There is not a manufactured article on this earth wherein the raw materials are common and wherein labor creates a part that can not be produced cheaper in any other country in the world than in our own. Why? Simply because the labor is cheaper. No man can live in this country on the wages paid in other countries; not because he can not "exist," but he must clothe and educate his children or violate the public sentiment of his country, which sentiment is our chief honor and glory.

This proposition of Mr. MILLS, carried to its legitimate results, would do one of two things. It would either close every manufacturing and labor-employing establishment in this country or reduce those employed there to the cheap wages of other countries. This would drive the children of the laborer from the school-house to the factories and mines, and may the Great Father of nations long delay the day when the American youth (the foundation stones of our future glory) shall be dwarfed in mind and body by this free-trade process.

*Table showing rates of wages paid in free-trade England and in the United States under protective laws :*

	England.	United States.
Book-binders...	\$6.00	\$15.00 to \$18.00
Brush-makers..	6.00	15.00 to 20.00
Boiler-makers..	7.75	16.50
Brick-makers..	3.54	11.86
Brick-layers....	8.00	21.00
Blacksmiths ...	6.00	13.30
Butchers.....	6.00	12.00
Bakers.....	6.25	12.75
Blast - furnace keepers.....	10.00	18.00
Blast - furnace fillers.....	7.50	14.00
Bolt-makers....	6.50	16.50
Bolt-cutters....	3.00	10.00

## Rates of wages paid, &amp;c.—Continued.

	England.	United States.
Coal-miners.....	5.88	13.00
Carpenters.....	7.50	15.00
Coopers.....	6.00	13.25
Carriage-makers.....	6.75	13.00 to 25.00
Cabinet-makers.....	7.00	18.00
Farm hands.....	3.00	7.50 to 9.00
Glass-blowers..	6.00 to 9.00	25.00 to 30.00
Glass (partly skilled).....	6.00 to 7.00	12.00 to 15.00
Glass (unskilled).....	2.00 to 4.00	7.00 to 10.00
Glove-makers (girls).....	2.00	6.00 to 9.00
Glove-makers (men).....	4.50	10.00 to 30.00
Hatters.....	6.00	12.00 to 24.00
Iron-ore miners.....	5.50	12.00
Iron molders.....	7.50	15.00
Iron, per ton (finished).....	2.00 to 3.00	5.31 to 8.71
Heaters and rollers.....	10.00 to 12.00	20.00 to 30.00
Instrument-makers.....	7.00	18.00 to 20.00
Laborers.....	4.10	8.00
Longshoremen.....	8.00	15.00
Machinists.....	8.50	18.00
Masons.....	8.00	21.00
Printers (1,000 ems).....	0.20	0.40
Printers, week hands.....	6.65	13.40
Pattern-makers.....	7.50	18.00
Painters.....	7.50	15.00
Plumbers.....	8.00	18.00
Plasterers.....	7.50	21.00
Potters.....	8.67	18.30
Paper-makers.....	5.20	12.00 to 24.00
Puddlers, per week.....	8.00 to 10.00	18.00 to 20.00
Rope-makers.....	5.25	9.00 to 12.00
Railroad engineers.....	10.00	21.00
Railroad firemen.....	5.00	12.00
Shipbuilding—Boiler-makers.....	7.00	14.00
Machinists.....	7.00	14.15
Coppersmiths.....	6.50	16.50
Drillers.....	6.00	12.00
Riveters.....	8.00	17.40
Pattern-makers.....	8.00	24.00
Scarf-makers.....	1.50 to 2.25	6.00 to 9.00
Servants (month).....	5.00	15.00
Shoemakers.....	6.00	12.00
Stationary engineers.....	7.50	15.00 to 18.00
Soap-makers.....	5.00	10.50
Tanners.....	5.00	8.00 to 10.00
Teamsters.....	5.25	12.00 to 15.00
Upholsters.....	8.00	18.00
Watch-makers.....	8.00	18.00

NOTE—No list of comparative rates of wages will be found in the speech of any one favoring the Mills bill.

The wealth of a nation does not consist of its surplus in money, its railroads, its factories, nor its farms, but rather in that great wealth of humanity, educated and loyal, which is the sure guarantee that our future will be greater than our past.

MR. MILLS further pleads for "freedom to buy the products of others" where we please, while the gentleman from South Carolina [MR. HEMPILL] asks for the same thing when he asks the right to purchase labor where it can be purchased the cheapest.

I have quoted enough to show my proposition to be true that the Democratic party is in favor of free trade.

The Northern Democrats say, "Oh, no; we are not free-traders; we believe in tariff reform, and tariff for revenue only." Gentlemen, you know as well as I do that "the tail goes with the hide." You remember a few days ago when we were in the deadlock, and you Northern Democrats walked up and down with a feather in your hat and a chip on your shoulder, and said you did not propose to be bossed by the brigadiers. King Caucus tapped the bell, and you went in like good boys and laid down your bundles.

The brigadier rings the caucus bell;  
The dough-face cries "For shame!"  
I'll not be bossed by the brigadier  
But he gets there just the same.

[Laughter.]

And when the great Democratic party shall have assumed control of the Senate and of the White House and of this House of Congress and of the Supreme Court, and the edict goes forth that free trade shall be the policy of the party, you Northern Democrats, being but the caudal appendage, the mere tail of the great Democratic dog, will meekly and modestly enfold yourselves between the hind legs of your owner and wait patiently for information from the business end of that dog whether to wag for free trade or for protection. [Great laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I have never been in favor of sending a man to the penitentiary for preaching free trade. I do not think that is a good cause; but when a man like the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of this House stands up here and talks by the hour in favor of free trade, and then tells us that it is all for the benefit of the laboring men in this country, it makes me tired. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Here comes an American shoemaker who says to the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means: "MR. MILLS, I understand you are in favor of buying your shoes where you can buy them cheapest?" "Oh, yes." "Why do you want to buy them where you can buy cheapest?" "Why, just to help you poor American shoemakers." [Laughter.] The next man is a spinner of yarn or a weaver of cloth, and



he says: "MR. MILLS, you say we ought to have free trade; that we ought to be permitted to buy our clothes wherever we want to and wherever we can get them cheapest. You can buy your clothing cheaper in England, I think." "Oh, yes," says MR. MILLS. "Won't you tell me," says the American clothman, "why you want to buy your clothing in England?" "Oh, yes; it is to help you poor American clothiers," says MR. MILLS. [Renewed laughter.] And here comes a man with swarthy brow and horny hand, an ironworker, who says: "I understand MR. MILLS, you want to buy your shovels and your hoes and all your ironware in England, where you can get them cheap." "Oh, yes," says MR. MILLS, "but it is all for the benefit of you poor American ironworkers."

Now, Mr. Chairman, as I said before, while I do not believe in sending a man to the penitentiary for preaching free trade, yet when a man stands up here and talks free trade, and says that he does it all for the benefit of American workmen, I do think he ought to be sent down for six months twice a year for fifty years for hypocrisy. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

And, Mr. Chairman, the workmen are going into convention, and are going to adopt a preamble and a resolution somewhat like this:

Whereas the Democratic party, or rather the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, believes that he should have the right to purchase the products of labor wherever he can buy them the cheapest;

And whereas he also says that he wants that right for the benefit of the working people of this country:

*Therefore resolved*, That the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee for elasticity of conscience, for monumental gall, and magnificent patriotism takes the whole bakery. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, occasionally you will find a retired business man who is a free-trader, but always you will find the college professor who has competed for the prize of the Cobden Club; and always the dude: "Aw, dawn't ye know, it's a blawsted shame, ye knaw, ye cawn't buy these gloves and neck-ties in New York for less than twice wnat they would cost in dear old Patee." All these are free traders, and also that other class of gentlemen, who are not to blame for it, because they have been brought up in a country which a few years ago adopted a constitution which was cited here lately by the gentleman from Kansas [MR. PERKINS], containing as two of its fundamental principles absolute free trade with all the world and the right of capital to own its labor.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to devote a few moments to the question of trusts. The favorite peroration of the Democratic orators here is to charge the trusts to the tariff. Now, for the sake of the argument we will admit that the sugar trust is fostered by the tariff. We will accept your proposition upon that question for the moment. But if that is true why do you not take that trust and throttle it with the Mills bill? Is not that a simple proposition? I had the honor, as a Republican and a protectionist, of introducing a resolution upon that subject reciting that it was alleged that the tariff fostered the sugar trust and asking for information and legislation; but I understand from members of the committee investigating the general subject that although they have employed an attorney and taken a great deal of evidence, not a word has been put before the witnesses to show to the country what effect, if any, the tariff has upon the trusts.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. The gentleman is entirely mistaken upon that point. I am a member of that committee and I know that that question has been gone into quite thoroughly.

MR. MASON. I received my information from another member of the committee. I am glad that you have learned something upon the subject, and I hope that some result will come out of that committee which will be of benefit to the people of this country.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I merely wished to correct the gentleman.

MR. MASON. That is right. You know very well that if the controllers of the Mills bill should protect the producers of sugars in this country, and should at the same time uncover the refiners, those who have organized the "sugar trust," and force them into the markets of the world, you would kill that "trust" in twenty-four hours; but you have not the courage to do it.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. If the gentleman had done me the honor—

MR. MASON. "What are the wild waves saying?" [Laughter.] If I can have two or three minutes' extension of my time, I have no objection to yielding to the gentleman.

MR. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. If the gentleman had listened to my remarks this morning he would have found that in our dealings with the sugar schedule we not only make a reduction of \$11,000,000 on the sugar tax, but, superadded to that, we make a reduction of \$11,000,000 additional that the "trust" can charge the people for refined sugar.

MR. MASON. Why not save the people sixty million instead of eleven million, and at the same time destroy the trust? But I suppose the gentleman will admit that the committee still leaves the tariff on the



kinds of sugar produced and sold by the sugar trust; is not that so?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. Certainly, but—

Mr. MASON. If you would uncover them would they not have to corner the markets of the world? But are you not afraid to uncover them?

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. If we should "uncover" the refined sugars and at the same time keep the tax on raw sugar, we should thereby not merely destroy the "trust," but destroy also the refining industry.

Mr. MASON. Why could you not protect the raw material by a bounty? You have brains enough, but you have not the courage.

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, of Arkansas. I admire the courage of the gentleman in so distinctly avowing the doctrine of "bounty." That is the "true inwardness" and essence of your whole protective policy.

Mr. WILKINSON rose.

Mr. MASON. I cannot yield. If I can have my time extended I am willing to yield to all these gentlemen.

The gentleman from Mississippi the other day said he wanted to "cook" this sugar trust; but he did not; he wanted to feed it, and he started into comic opera. But I would suggest to him and the gentleman from New York, inasmuch as they are poets, and as they propose by this bill to protect the sugar trust, that they try the old-fashioned lullaby:

Rock-a-by, Sugar Trust, you're on the tree top  
And while we're in power your cradle will  
rock;

But if the duty on sugar should tumble and  
fall,

Down comes the Sugar Trust, Mills bill and  
all.

[Laughter.]

Or if poetical genius should inspire them  
to rise to the heights of Mother Goose, I  
would suggest:

Little boy blue, come blow your horn nice,  
Blow hell out of mutton but do not touch rice.

[Laughter.]

In fancy I see the gentleman from Mississippi holding the infant "Sugar Trust" in his arms, and saying, "Ah, there; stay there! [Laughter.] I wanted to cook the little tootsey-wootsey the other day, but I did not mean to cook you. Oh, no, that was a bluff." And he passes the infant "Trust" to the gentleman from Texas, who says, "Tootsey-wootsey, little Sugar Trust, don't cry, you shall have all the sugar in the United States; the Cobden boys can have everything else their way, but dear little Sugar Trust should not be hurt, oh, no." And the gentleman from New York fondles and coddles it, and says, "If poor little tootsey-wootsey was to die we would not have anything left to throw at the Republican party."

The gentleman from Mississippi also said that the cows in his state did not give as much milk as those in New England, and his hens do not lay as many eggs. I want to say to him now that if there is anything under God's heaven that will dry up a good cow and stop a hen from laying, it is being brought up in a free-trade country.

I was pleased when he boasted of the beautiful women of the south; everybody knows that all the ladies are pretty—some better looking than others; but it surprised me somewhat when the gentleman from Mississippi said that they had brainy men. I said to myself, "Possibly that is true; but it is another illustration of the old saying, that you can never tell the kind of goods a man keeps by the sample he puts on the road." [Laughter.]

The remarks of my friend from Missouri pleased me very much. After laboring like a mountain he finally proved that all the states of the Union that had taken advantage of the existing tariff laws had become prosperous; and when the gentleman from Maine asked him whether he proposed to stop this progress, he appealed to the clock. I find that clock is the most popular thing to appeal to on the Democratic side when members there are asked questions that they can not answer. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Missouri closed his speech by a prayer that the American flag should be seen in all the harbors of the world. That is a very pretty but a very soft sentiment. I never want to see the American flag masquerading on an English mast. I stood with many of my colleagues a few days ago and saw that magnificent vessel, the Yorktown, as she slipped from the cradle that had held her since her first rib was set down to the mighty waters, and one thing that made me proud was the fact that every pound of iron in her magnificent sides sprang from American soil in response to the blows from American citizens. And when, on the ship setting sail, every pound of iron, every foot of timber, every bolt and spar and rope comes from the labor and genius of American citizens, she speaks not only of the power and wealth of this country, but is a floating monument to the industries of the country. Then, and not till then, should the colors of our country be nailed to her mast. [Applause.]

The most popular party to-day in England is the Democratic party of the United States. [Laughter and applause.] The most popular individual to-day in England is the President of the United States of America, for he recommends to this body legislation in the interests of every country under God's heaven but our own. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

I heard a gentleman on the other side of the House, and I heard that great Democratic Senator from Indiana—that is, what

is left of him, [laughter]—I heard them ask, "When was the American workman more degraded and poorer paid than now?" That is what we have heard. I will tell you when; why, every day the Democratic party was in power in this country. [Laughter and applause.]

I remember in 1857, when my father, who was a skilled mechanic and a builder of wagons, worked for seventy-five cents a day.

You remember the carpenter who went South and applied for a situation as a carpenter, about that time, of a planter, and the planter said, "I am sorry I can not give you employment; just bought two carpenters yesterday." [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN, of Mississippi. Are we to judge of his father's skill by the gentleman himself as one of his products?

Mr. MASON. Is this the same gentleman? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield for interruption?

Mr. MASON. Yes, if it does not come out of my time. Anybody who does not like my style of architecture knows where he can find me when I am not busy. I am busy now. [Laughter and applause.]

I was about to say when interrupted by a gentleman who represents a brainy district [laughter] that if his party had continued in power every man who earns his living by the sweat of his brow would stand to-day not only with the products of other countries of the world brought to our doors, but in direct competition with slave labor upon his own soil. Yet they say they are the friends of the laboring man, and want to buy the products of labor in other markets for the benefit of the laboring people here! [Laughter and applause.]

One more thing. There has been a great deal of talk in this country amongst the best people that there should be some commercial union with Canada. There has been an honest difference of opinion about it. But everything we had to trade on in that direction is absolutely frittered away by the Mills bill. [Applause.]

It has been a great pleasure to the Democracy, and words that they have rolled under their tongue as a sweet morsel, that the Republican party was in favor of free whisky. I am here to answer simply for myself, responsible to no one but my conscience and to my constituents, and say that I never have been, and am not now, in favor of free whisky. I am in favor of whisky helping to support the poor-houses and prisons which it fills, and next to being a breeder of paupers it is the greatest producer of Democrats known to modern man. I am in favor and will vote to take off the tax on all alcohol used in the manufactories, and there are thousands and thousands of dol-

lars of it used in manufacturing soaps, which would help somewhat to reduce the surplus, and would be of benefit to those manufacturers who use it and to the consumers of soap. I do not expect the Democrats to vote for this proposition. No Democrats can consistently vote to reduce the price of soap.

I wish to call the attention of the House to this fact, that, while it is true that but a small percentage of the laborers of this country are employed in industries that are protected by the tariff, yet every unskilled laborer engaged in any kind of work is in the market in competition with every other unskilled laborer in the country, and it is impossible to benefit even a small percentage of our unskilled laborers without benefiting every other unskilled laborer in the country. Some one must labor. The old Democratic idea that to labor was degrading is passing away, and this country to-day, which is the greatest known to history, points with pride and joy to the men who have gone from the tow-path and rail-splitting and from the humblest walks of life to the highest office within the gift of the people.

The real trouble is here, Mr. Chairman: The gentlemen who compose the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means come six out of eight from those states lately in rebellion, who have been taught from infancy that free trade is right. Now, gentlemen, when you came here first after the war the prodigal-son racket worked well, but it is getting old. [Laughter and applause.] You used to talk about the prodigal son, who is represented in the Bible as coming in and telling his father, "I have been off in a far country; I have lost all I had; I am not fit to be your son; make me your servant." But that is not the kind of a prodigal son you are. [Laughter.] You came in the front door; you wiped your feet on the carpet, and we have been told that some of you drink out of the fire-extinguisher in the hotels, and others of you set your watches by the street car enunciators. [Laughter and applause.] You do not sit down and wait for the fatted calf. You put your feet on the best table and say, "Pap, what we want is veal." [Great laughter and applause.] But the people are getting tired of that sort of thing, and next fall they are going to take the prodigal son by the nape of his neck and the seat of his government and set him out among the husks of a defeated Democracy [laughter], and your great leader, your Moses, His Accidenty, His One-term-tiveness Grover Cleveland, will be promoted to the highest office known to the world, an American citizen in private life. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, this bill as it stands ought not to pass. It is a step backward. Let me give you a few samples of its consist-



ency. Take the article of soap manufactured in this country. They place that upon the free-list. Thousands of men are employed in the business here, and millions of capital invested in small and large soap factories. There are eight or ten different chemicals used in the manufacture of soap which cannot be supplied here, which the soap-makers have to import and pay a duty upon. The duties upon these chemicals are not removed, and yet, so far as the manufacturers of soap are concerned, they are the raw material. A man who manufactures soap outside of this country pays no duty. If he shipped them to us in this country he would have to pay a duty, but if he manufactures them into some article to compete with some American manufactured article he can ship them in free. "Consistency, thou art a jewel." Take the article of brushes. The manufacturers in this country have to pay a duty on the raw material used. This bill proposes to reduce the duty and substantially puts brushes upon the free-list, and yet leaves the American manufacturer to pay a duty upon the bristles—an invitation to the brush factories of this country to move. This bill is substantially the same in jute and flax, and every part of it, so far as the industries in my district are concerned, is an invitation to those factories to go where they can get labor and raw material cheaper and import them free.

I have seen it charged that the Committee on Ways and Means have been running around loose with representatives of the English manufacturers.

I have seen it stated editorially, in responsible papers, that the agent of the English manufacturers has wine and dined the majority end of our Ways and Means Committee, and has in turn been wine and dined by them, and that he has had constant access to the committee. One paper offers to prove, if it is denied, that this man is the agent of English manufacturers, and that he has materially assisted in forming this bill. After that publication I expected to hear it denied by some member of the committee. I knew they had refused to hear American manufacturers on the bill in which they are so deeply interested, and did not think the committee would like to rest under the imputation that they were allowing foreign manufacturers privileges no allowed our own citizens. That denial, so far as I can learn, has not been made.

How far that English influence has gone I do not know, but from some of the features I find in this bill I suspect an English parentage. [Renewed laughter.] And I say to you gentlemen on that side (I represent a district largely composed of working people) that if one item of that bill is there by the suggestion of a representative of the English manufacturers, the man who

consented to it is as mean and contemptible a traitor to the industrial interests of this Government as his predecessors were twenty-five years ago when tried to destroy it. [Derisive laughter on the Democratic side.] Yes, that is what I say; that is what I mean. It lacks what your fathers had—the element of bravery. But the man who refuses a hearing to an American citizen and consents to be advised by an English manufacturer in a great measure of public policy in this country is a betrayer of public trust and is unfit to occupy a seat in this House or in any other legislative body, except it be the British Parliament. I am responsible for what I say, and if my language is not parliamentary the gentleman can make the most of it.

Why, Mr. Chairman, if every man in the state of New York was a millionaire this country would be that much richer and stronger for it. Illinois and Missouri would be richer and stronger. There are no state lines except upon the map and in the heart of a Democrat. The wealth of one state is the wealth of all, and when I eat or drink or put on my coat or buy any of the things that I have to buy, rather than give one cent profit to any man in any country but our own I would give one dollar profit to that man who stands with me under the same flag, under the same government, who is bound by the same laws, who is bound to fight as I am for the defense of the honor and integrity of our common country.

I am like the boy who hired his sister to make his shirts. Some one said, "You could have taken those shirts to the factory and had them made and saved \$2." "Yes," said the boy protectionist, "Sister Sally got a pretty fair price. She always pays me well for what I do for her. That two-dollar bill is still under the same roof with me, and if sickness or trouble or hard luck comes to any of our family that money is there in the house."

The free trade boy calls his sister a New England tariff robber.

Every dollar of wealth in New England is there to stand levy in times of peace or war for our common good. Yet the average Democratic orator holds her in no closer bond than he does any foreign country. We are taunted daily by her growth and wealth. She is great and strong. I thank God for it, for therein lies a part of the strength of our common country.

I hail not from New England, and can speak without prejudice. The history of our country has neither beginning nor end with the history of New England left out. Her great statesmen, soldiers, and poets fill the brightest pages of our history, and we would prosper more if we spent less time finding fault with her, and more time

in imitating her habits of industry and frugality.

The South finds fault because other sections of the country have taken advantage of the tariff laws, while she has left her natural resources undeveloped. And this committee of Southern gentlemen seek by this bill to protect every article of manufacture or agriculture produced in the South, and if in the protection to the South any Northern enterprise shall be accidentally protected we are welcome to it.

But the gentlemen say that I am drawing sectional lines. Mr. Chairman, I am not. I draw attention only to the sectional lines that they have already drawn. This bill and every other bill coming from the majority of the Ways and Means Committee has been a direct attempt on the part of the majority to protect the interests lying in the South, regardless of the interests of the North, the East, and the West; and when I go through my district and see laboring men and manufacturers there and know that under protection there is better promise than ever for the future, it grinds me to know that their affairs and their business are in the hands of such men. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.]

I am not drawing sectional lines; you are drawing them. I am calling attention to history.

This bill is a standing monument to the incapacity of the committee—a standing menaceto the best interests of this country.

And in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would say again, we believe that protection protects the laboring man; and I call upon history to bear witness that every nation under the sun has prospered just in proportion as they have reached down to the struggling and laboring classes and lifted them to a higher and more dignified citizenship. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that in the early dawn of creation, when the waters and the earth were divided, and that great smiling valley of the Mississippi looked into the face of its Creator, He blessed it, and said that at some time there should spring up a race upon its fertile soil which should stand as a monument of self-government, chief among the nations of the world. And I believe that when our infant nation took its first uncertain and tottering steps on the untried shore of self-government and our life was assailed, that same power gave us a Washington and a Continental army. And when the foul stain of slavery, that gave the lie to our boast of freedom, was to be stricken, with secession and treason, forever from our soil, the same Great Keeper of the destinies of the world gave us a Lincoln, a Grant, and a Grand Army of the Republic. [Applause.]

And now, Mr. Chairman, in this Fiftieth Congress, when the industries of the country are assailed by a foreign foe, I believe that somehow something will be stirred in the hearts of the American people, something that will move them to action that will awake the giant of the Republican party, which has been sleeping for four years, and again place it in power; and standing in every harbor and port of entry in the land, it will say to the foreign invader offering labor products produced by cheap and pauper labor from abroad, "Thus far and no farther." [Renewed applause.] And under the influence of Republican doctrines the country, with new assurances of safety and protection, will have new life and new hopes and make greater strides in the march of civilization and progress than has ever heretofore been accomplished in the history of the world. [Applause on the Republican side.]

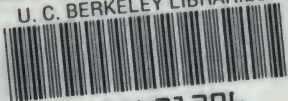








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