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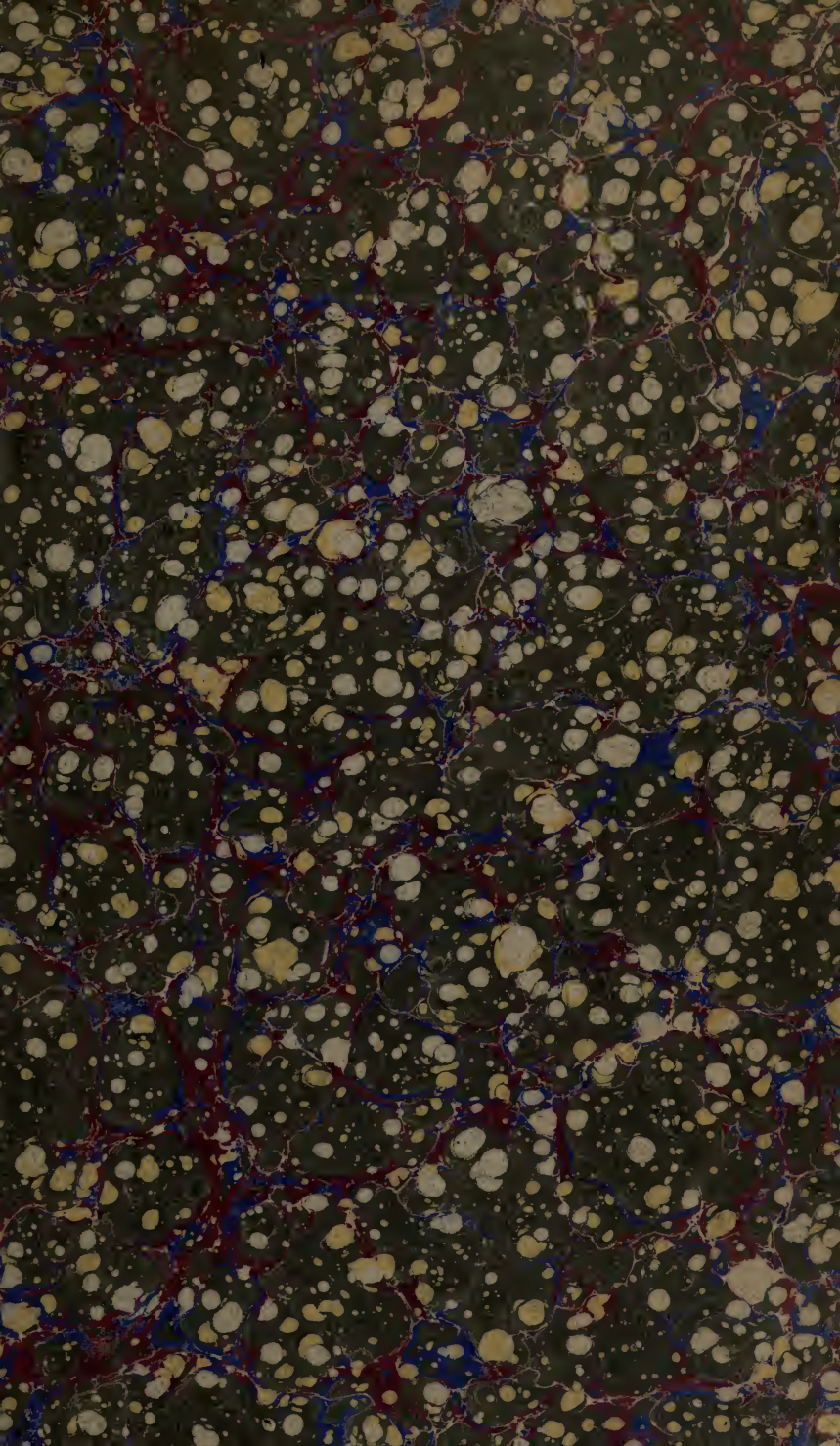


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THE TARIFF.

SPEECH

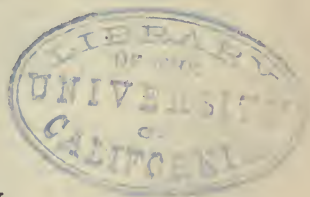
OF

HON. BEN. BUTTERWORTH,
OF OHIO,

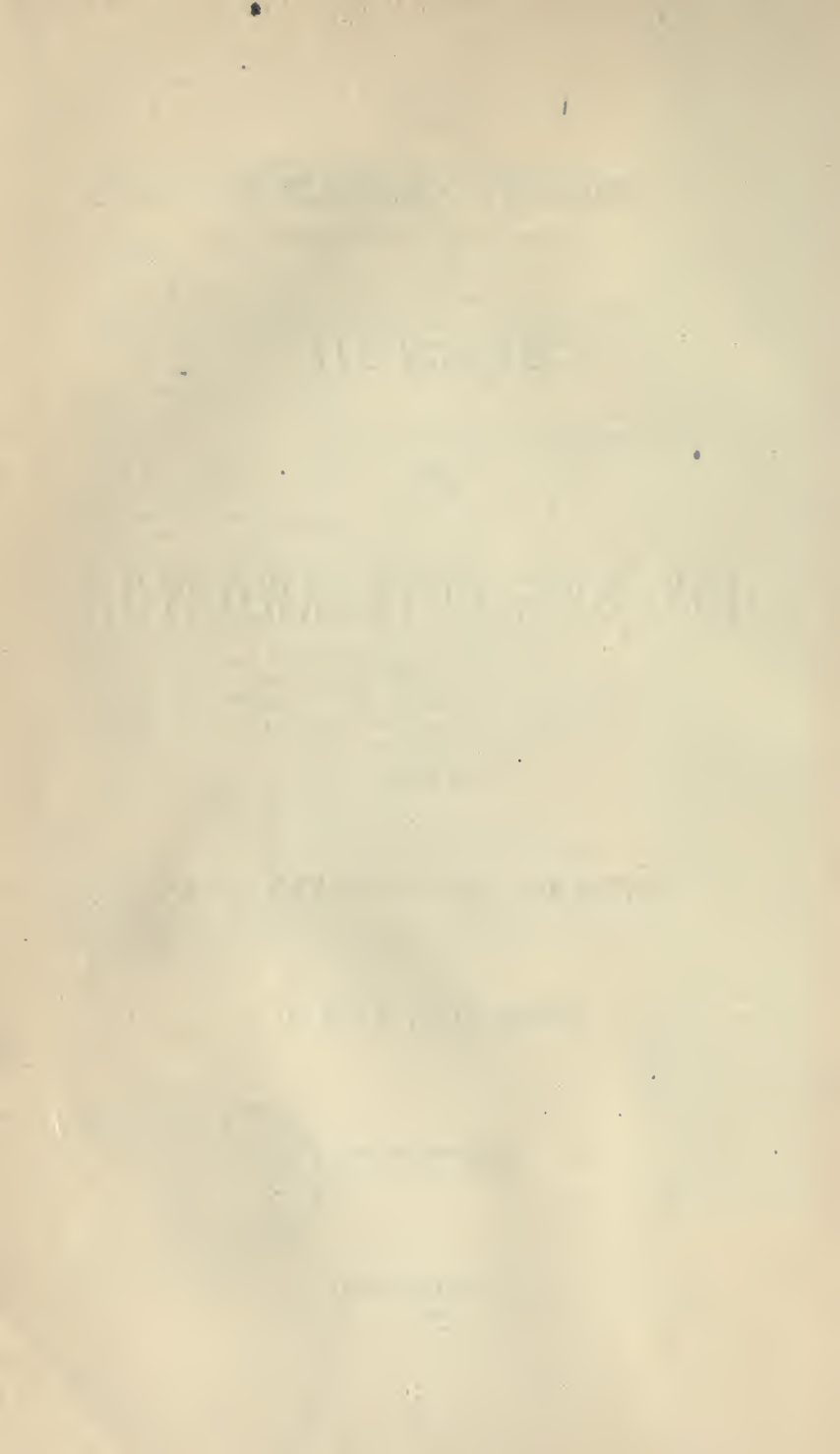
IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

May 16, 1888.



WASHINGTON.
1888.





The Tariff.

S P E E C H

OF

H O N . B E N . B U T T E R W O R T H .

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. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky. I now move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the further consideration of bills raising revenue.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. SPRINGER in the chair, and resumed the consideration of the tariff bill.

IMPORTANCE OF THE MILLS BILL.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: No member of this House need apologize for asking and insisting upon being heard upon a question which is of such vital concern to all his constituents.

All the other bills before this body taken together dwarf into insignificance when compared with this in immediate results and far-reaching consequence.

This is the only bill pending here that reaches to every home in the country in a manner, which will make its influence immediately felt. It relates to taxation—not merely to the rate of tax which may be imposed upon the citizen, but at the same time deals with his ability to pay the rate when fixed.

We are, it is hoped, at the close of the consideration of this bill, by our votes to indicate clearly—if we do not in fact absolutely determine—what, in a most important particular, the economic policy of the Government shall be. And the people in November next will approve or condemn our action; either they will commit our economic policy to the control and care of the Democratic party or restore the Republicans to power in the nation. Truth, justice, and the highest interests of the country demand that there shall be no paltering in a double sense, 'keeping the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope.'

ISSUE CLEARLY STATED.

That the people may not be misled, let the issue joined between the majority, the Democratic side of the House, and the minority, the Republican side of the House, be fully and fairly stated.

We can not deceive ourselves if we try. We may attempt to deceive the country by presenting a Janus face in the tariff plank of a party platform. But, sir, the end to be attained, which is admittedly the

good of the whole country, needs not the aid of agencies of such doubtful honesty, and more than doubtful propriety.

Let us hope, in the interest of the great cause we would serve, that the issue joined in the tariff planks of the national platforms will be so distinctly stated as to indicate that the resolution was drawn by patriotic statesmen, and not by time-serving and juggling politicians.

Whether the tariff needs revision is not the issue joined between us. Upon that point there is no controlling difference of opinion. Whether the duty is too high upon this article or too low upon that is not the line upon which we divide. Whether a rate of duty yielding a much less revenue might be so adjusted as to afford all needful protection to our industries is not the question upon which we are in antagonism. These are matters of detail, and concerning which there might be wide diversity of opinion, not only between the political parties but among the members of each. These issues would naturally grow out of conditions which affect the application of an economic policy, admitting the wisdom of the policy itself.

The controversy arises out of an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the political organizations represented upon this floor as to the wisdom and justice of the protective system. You assail it as being unsound in principle and iniquitous in its operation. We defend it as being alike wise in theory and beneficent in its results.

You assert (and each speaker who has addressed the House from the Democratic standpoint has endeavored to maintain) that to levy a duty on imports, except for the purpose of raising needed revenue, is at once unconstitutional, unwise, unjust, and indefensible, while we assert the exact reverse, insisting that not only may duties be levied with reference to revenue, but with reference to the protection of our home industries as well, and beyond that, that such duties are indispensable to the development of our national resources.

You assert, and have endeavored to prove, that the direct and inevitable result of a tariff levied for the purpose of protection, and to the extent that it is so levied, is to exact tribute of the many for the benefit of the few; that the direct tendency of the system is to found and foster monopoly, to make the rich richer and the poor poorer; that all these evil results are the legitimate outgrowth of the system, and that being so, it is the irresistible logic of the situation that if you are honest, as you are, your end, aim, and deliberate purpose must be to destroy this system.

What we account a blessing in the present system our Democratic friends condemn as a curse. It follows, therefore, that the political parties divide on the wisdom of protection as an economic policy.

In fact, we can not deceive ourselves if we try, and I doubt if we can deceive the country if we make the effort, as to the real obstacle which stands in the way of a proper and needed revision of the tariff.

It will not be found in the inability of this House to revise it in conformity with the just and reasonable requirements of the protective system, if that was in truth your end and aim. Nor would it be found in any unwillingness on our part to aid you in so doing. But that is not the prime object of your endeavor. The obstacle is found in the fact that your political creed demands that, while revising, you should seek to destroy.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY SEEK TO DESTROY THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

The logic of your position (and you stand by it) is that you should, if possible, while providing for needed revenue, destroy a policy which

you regard as unequal, unjust, and iniquitous, and which is, you assert, the founder and cherisher of monopolies.

With your convictions upon this subject you would be untrue to the obligations of your oaths, false to the duty devolving upon you as the representatives of the people, if you did not, even as you are doing, endeavor to tear up the iniquity by the roots, and the country may rest assured if you do not succeed it will not be your fault.

It is not my purpose, Mr. Chairman, to discuss the details of the pending bill (that can be done when we come to consider it under the five-minute rule), but to address myself to the main question, which involves the maintenance or overthrow of the protective system.

The people of the country do not possess the discernment for which I give them credit if they fail to appreciate the precise situation presented here. They will not be misled by the cry of our friends upon the Democratic side of the House that they are anxious to revise the tariff, but that the Republicans are a stumbling block and rock of offense in the way.

The first question the intelligent voter will ask himself is, "How do I stand on the main proposition? Do I desire the maintenance or the destruction of the protective system?"

He will answer that question by his vote next November. He will say if the protective policy is beneficent it should be under Republican care, and not within Democratic control. Let no one mistake the issue. Let no one on this side suppose for a moment that our battle with the Democratic party is over the mere matter of adjusting the tariff with reference to the protection needed. This is a matter of detail. Our contest is to maintain the system against their studied efforts to destroy it. The details we will settle afterwards.

It is interesting to note with what adroitness our friends on the other side endeavor to divert the attention of the country from the real purpose which underlies and is the mainspring of their effort; as if the political ways parted when we come to consider the duty on rice, the duty upon sugar, or upon glass.

This pretended revision is the Trojan horse by means of which you hope to gain admission to our camp.

I ask you, I ask the country, if it is in the logic of the situation that you can revise, except to destroy. Will you seek to make strong or preserve in health that which you say should not exist at all?

If it should be destroyed, the work of so-called revision has been committed to those who will rejoice in the service, the Democratic party. If it is to be maintained and revised with reference to the performance of its legitimate and proper functions, this nation should place (and, in my judgment, will place) the system in the care and keeping of the Republican party.

I am conscious of the fact that we are discussing a dry subject. But we can not be forgetful of another fact. There is not a hearthstone in the United States that will not be affected for good or ill by the passage of the Mills bill. Its passage will be a direct condemnation of the protective system. Its defeat will indicate not that the tariff is perfect, but that the Democratic party is not a fit instrument to remove its imperfections.

PROTECTION DEALS WITH CONDITIONS AND IMPARTS TO COMPETITION THE QUALITY OF HUMANITY AND FAIR PLAY.

Let us inquire what the proper functions of the protective system are, for they should not be misapprehended.

First, let it be borne in mind that it deals with conditions and not

with boundary lines, except as the latter mark the presence of the former. It does not seek to destroy competition, as is asserted, but attempts to impart to competition the element of humanity and fair play, as I shall show later on in my remarks. The just measure of its usefulness will not be found in the weight of shekels it has secured to those engaged and employed in the various industries of our country.

Desirable as the accumulation of wealth was, and is, the protective system had, and has, a nobler mission than the development of the mere physical resources of this nation. That development might have been possible under a monarchical form of government controlling and employing a race of slaves.

In the course of this argument I desire to notice the points made against the policy of protection by the advocates of the Mills bill. First, whether in its proper mission it tends to establish monopoly. Whether it does, in fact, levy tribute upon the many for the benefit of the few. Whether it does make the burden of taxation unequal. Whether it tends to increase the price of commodities in the market. And then seek to learn whether its influence has been, as we claim, to multiply and diversify industries, and how it produces those results. Whether the result has been, as we assert, to build up a home market and to continue it, and in the same connection inquire into the relation of the agricultural industries to those of the manufacturer, and see how far the assertion that farmers are bearing more than their share of the public burdens are borne out by the facts.

I wish to consider also the influences which have tended to cause disturbance in the ranks of wage-workers and set capital and labor by the ears. In connection with these inquiries I will call attention to the influence of the two systems in the States where they each bear sway, and determine the value of the philosophy by the results of adherence to the practice it enjoins.

What gave rise to the protective system?

This House and the country need not be told that it was the purpose of our fathers, in the establishment of the government we enjoy, to lay the foundation of a new order of things, which looked not alone to the development of the material resources of this country, but to the moral and intellectual growth of each individual citizen; in this latter growth, rather than in the development of the material resources of the country, our fathers recognized the true foundation upon which to build a nation's greatness, and permanently secure the freedom and prosperity of all our people. And as a logical result it was their active concern to provide the opportunity for the head of each family to bring to his home prosperity, comfort, and happiness, the legitimate offspring of intelligent effort guided by virtue.

In this work the fathers built even better than they knew.

The maxims of the English law—the spirit of the English constitution wherein it was a bulwark of freedom—they adopted. But in their effort they kept steadily in view the fundamental idea of establishing a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people.” They were conscious that the homes of a country are the source of its greatness and power; that as we multiply the number of homes where virtue and intelligence exert controlling influence we increase the happiness of our people, and make sure and fast the pillars which uphold the state.

BETTER HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE AND INCREASED HAPPINESS.

Our fathers realized that a philosopher placed in the midst of poverty and squalor will gravitate toward vice and corruption. They

knew, and we realize in as full a sense, that as needful comforts and conveniences abound in a home, so are the inmates of that home elevated and refined, dignified and ennobled.

Our system of Government has no higher or nobler mission than to multiply the number of happy homes in the United States. Can laws perform a better work than to place the wage-worker of my country above and out of the influence of those conditions in the Old World which in a large degree tend to make men and women mere beasts of burden? Can a system of political economy be justly condemned which seeks to enable the man who produces the wealth of a nation to become, with his wife and children, the sharer in and partaker of the fruits of his toil? This is the mission of the protective system.

I contend that the preservation of that system as an economic governmental policy is to-day and must be for years indispensable to the national prosperity; and that it must be preserved as a system.

Now, does it perform the service we claim for it?

You say it imposes burdens in that it increases taxation without corresponding benefit. We answer that it imposes the shadow of taxation that we may enjoy the substance of substantial prosperity.

Mr. Chairman, a careful examination of the circumstances which give rise to the imposition of so-called tax as an incident of the protective policy, and the resulting increased ability of the citizens to pay it, will satisfy even my honored friend, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means (and that would seem to reach the case and condition of my other friends from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas) of the wisdom and justice of the policy.

With great respect I submit to those honorable gentlemen that they stop their investigation when they have viewed what they regard as the burden of tax imposed by the tariff.

They seem not to consider the increased ability to pay, which results from the influence of the trade regulation of which the alleged tax is an incident.

If it is admitted, as claimed, that the system imposes taxes, the answer is that such a tax is in the nature of an investment, the resulting profit being such as each year to repay with usury the capital invested.

If I am right in this, can you successfully deny the wisdom and justice of the policy which in the last analysis is but a governmental business venture in the interests of all our people? The issue joined between us is as to whether we shall change our business method. An inseparable attendant on our present governmental business policy involves the imposition of duties levied for protection. And I repeat that under our system these duties are levied as plain business investment and with confidence that the capital will be returned to each citizen with usury.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF NOT A TAX.

But is it true to say that in maintaining a protective duty we lay a tax upon our people? We do not, in strictness, do any such thing. The exact business proposition resolves itself into this: In the interests of our people we have adopted certain regulations in restraint of import trade with foreign nations. If our citizens trade with the citizens of those nations they do it under and in accordance with the regulations prescribed. These laws of trade and commerce in their operation have two objects in view: one, to raise the revenue to defray the expenses of the Government; the other, to so regulate the admission of foreign products to our home markets as to secure our citizens against the disastrous influence of that foreign competition which unrestrained would greatly

hinder if not absolutely prevent the establishment and maintenance of industrial plants in the United States.

We say that whatever, if any, of temporary inconvenience our people may suffer from these trade restrictions is more than compensated in the direct advantages which will result from their influence in the encouragement of productive effort among our people. We assert, and the proof of the correctness of the assertion is ample, that under the influence of this restraint of trade with foreign nations our own resources will be rapidly developed, our industries multiplied and diversified, and that the comforts and conveniences of life will more abound; and, concurrently with all this, wages will be advanced, while the cost of things needful in life will be reduced. A home market, confessedly the most desirable, will be created, the industrial independence of the Republic secured, and prosperity and happiness come and abide with us.

Although the results have conclusively justified every hope and expectation of the champions of protection, yet we have to-day, as if the experiment were new and untried, to stand here and defend it. They (I refer to these misguided Democratic brethren on the other side) insist that our prosperity has not been the result of the protective system, but has come to us in spite of it. We are asked the question a thousand times each campaign, and it has been in substance repeatedly asked during this debate: Does protection protect? I propose to add my answer to those of my honored friends on this side who have preceded me.

FIRST PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH WE BUILD.

First, let us agree on certain admitted facts and business propositions which are so self-evident as to be properly ranked among the axioms which guide the business world in the prosecution of its various ventures.

The safety and permanent endurance of a nation rest in largest measure upon the intelligence and virtue of its citizens.

That country is most independent which is possessed of the greatest supply of the things needful in peace and essential in war.

That economic policy is best which utilizes in the highest degree the widest range of material resources, and all the powers and faculties of the human mind.

The business propositions may be stated thus:

Manufacturing plants could not be established without capital. Capital will not seek investment without reasonable hope of adequate return.

Both capital and plants were essential to the procurement and employment of skilled workmen, and all these are together the foundation upon which must rest prosperous trade and commerce, since they furnish the source and supply of that which is the subject-matter of both.

Capital will protect itself, even if it has to leave the workmen in idleness and consequent destitution.

In a contest with workmen, capital has the advantage. This is certain, and for the reason that capital can wait longer for a dividend than labor can for a breakfast.

I want to supplement these cold business maxims by a few others that are leavened with the humane and Christian spirit of our free institutions. One is that labor should have its full and equal distributive share in the profit resulting from its joint effort with capital.

To authorize or permit a condition or system which would compel capital either to withdraw from the field of competition or withhold from labor its due is alike inhuman and directly at war with sound

public policy. I shall maintain that the protective system is designed to, and in its operation does, avoid the evils we would shun and multiply the blessings to which we would attain.

DOES PROTECTION PROTECT, AND HOW?

Does protection protect? Palpably it so regulates trade and commerce with foreign nations as to shield our industrial enterprises from the destructive influence of conditions beyond the sea, in the presence of which the healthful growth of the industrial arts in our midst would have been impossible, and for reasons so obvious and so frequently cited on this floor that to repeat them would seem needless. They relate to the character of the competition.

Does protection multiply our industries? No, not directly; but its influence is the parent of conditions which give rise to the multiplication of our industries. It is the immediate cause and source of multiplication and diversification of industry. Just how, I will state in a moment.

By multiplication of industries we mean the creation of those that are new; such as the creation of a new method of performing a given labor, as in making horseshoes by machinery instead of by hand; printing by the use of the power-press instead of by hand; in the use of cyclones to reduce and pulverize substances instead of using a mortar of stone or iron crushers. In these and other instances we manufacture the machines to do the work instead of doing the work itself with our hands. And these instrumentalities are the product of new industries in all the mechanical arts.

And in the invention and production in the arts of these new machines and devices our industries are multiplied and diversified indefinitely, and, as a result, employment is given to vast numbers of men, women, and youths, who at once create and supply a home market.

All this Mr. Calhoun, in 1816, standing in his place upon this floor as the champion of the protective system, with prophetic vision saw and distinctly pointed out to the House and the country. I shall refer to his evidence later on in my remarks.

Now, I want the attention of my distinguished friend from Texas, with whom I have had many interesting talks as to the source of the multiplication of our industries.

I have on previous occasions called the attention of this House and the country to the influence of the inventive genius of our people upon its industrial development.

I have said, and do still maintain, that in that inventive genius will be found the germ of our unequalled industrial prosperity. And just at this point I anticipate the question of my friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] who has in his bill placed the ax at the root of the tree of protection. He will ask me, if the multiplication of our industries is so largely due to the genius of invention, "Why do you give protection the credit for it and continue the policy?" The idea being that since invention multiplies and diversifies our industries, and the letters patent which for a term of years vest in the inventor and his assigns the exclusive ownership of the thing invented, and so preserves to him the exclusive right to manufacture, use, and sell the invention covered by the letters patent, a protective tariff is needless.

On its face the point seems strong, and in the argument is well taken, if the scope and influence of the patent system is as broad and full as is supposed.

But I assure the gentleman that a more careful investigation of the

character of our industrial growth as it rests upon the development of the mechanical arts will tend to greatly modify his views, if it does not radically change them.

I have said what is axiomatic, that to have industrial plants we must have capital; to have capital there must be reasonable promise of adequate return from its investment, and both capital and plants are essential to the employment of skilled workmen.

To procure and retain competent skill certain wages must be paid to the workmen. In this country the wages paid must be such as to enable the workmen to live in a manner worthy of and necessary to an American citizen.

To state all this in a few words, capital will not be invested in new plants if the competition from foreign countries is of such character that, to secure a profit or avoid a loss, the manufacturer must either rob his workmen or quit business. As between the two alternatives the American manufacturer will retire from business, or rather refuse to make the investment. He will not rob his wage-worker in order to compete with foreign rivals. The result is that, unless he is protected against the influence of that kind of competition which outrages humanity to make profit, our people must either remain out of certain lines of industry, or, being in, retire.

PROTECTION AND COMPETITION MULTIPLIES AND DIVERSIFIES INDUSTRIES.

The influence of competition is two-fold. First, it fixes the selling price with relation to the cost of production; second, it stirs into action the inventive genius which seeks to provide a better article or a cheaper method of producing the old article; and each new and useful improvement in the art tends to one of the results mentioned, to wit: a better article or cheaper method.

Thus, invention may form the base of a new industry, as the invention of the sewing-machine, a mowing-machine, a reaper and mower, and the like. These are absolutely new industries and may become, by virtue of letters patent issued to the inventor, the exclusive property for a term of years of the inventor.

And right here my friend asks me what need there is of a protective system, since the multiplication of industries depends upon the inventive genius and the thing invented becomes the exclusive property of the inventor. Is not the letters-patent sufficient protection?

I answer no; and will state succinctly the reason. If my friends will reflect a moment they will observe that nineteen out of every twenty of the improvements for which letters patent are issued do not evidence the creation of what I have described as a new art, but cover some improvement in the art. That is, the improvement is supplemental and tributary to the invention which lies at the base of the art.

To illustrate: An improvement in the shuttle used in the sewing-machine, valuable and useful as it may be when used in the machine, is of little consequence to the inventor or manufacturer if he finds it impossible profitably to make the machine itself.

An improvement in the device for working a sickle on a mowing machine is unimportant to a manufacturer if he can not make the machine of which the improvement is but a supplemental adjunct.

There are in one sense few new industrial arts. There are many new and useful improved devices used in the arts—improvements of greater or less consequence in the machines and implements which form the base of a particular art.

It follows that to protect the improvements in a given art you must protect our manufacturers in the production of the implement, machine,

or device in connection with which such improvements are used. These improvements are in many, I may say in most, instances compared to the importance of the machine itself in large measure inconsequential, but still mark desirable and substantial progressive development, and supply better and more ample facilities in the conduct of human affairs, and these improvements and agencies have placed innumerable articles on the free-list. Our protective system protects the industrial arts which form the base upon which the improvements given to the world by inventive genius are grafts.

They are the foundation; these later important and supplemental improvements in part the superstructure.

So it occurs that by protecting the art, competition in our own country results, inventive genius is stirred into action, and our industries enlarged and multiplied. Thus the conditions to which our friends on the other side would attain will be soonest reached by pursuing the even tenor of our way along the highway of protection.

The protective system upholds the art, the inventive genius—perfects and completes it. Its influence is in a measure hidden, but it is none the less potent and far-reaching. Destroy the protective system and you destroy that which depends upon it. "You take my house when you take the prop that doth sustain my house; you take my life when you do take the means whereby I live."

But let us turn and scan the results which should approve or condemn the protective system. It is familiar to us all that when the fathers were seeking to determine what the economic policy of the Government should be, then, as to-day, free trade and protection, as distinct economic systems, were struggling for supremacy. With reference to the protracted contest, I assert that if there was reason at any time during the history of this Republic which justified the levying of a duty for protection, so long as that reason exists so long is the system itself defensible. That is logical and the soundness of the proposition will not be questioned.

Can any intelligent mortal entertain a doubt that a protective tariff was indispensable to the establishment and growth of our industries and the development of the resources of the nation in that which was essential to the freedom, independence, prosperity, and happiness of our people? If there is a doubter in the face of the testimony and experience of the fathers, supplemented by our own, he suffers from a weakness that is congenital, and no argument submitted here can influence his action.

Stating the proposition in another form, let me assert that which can not be gainsaid: that if for reasons sufficient in the early history of the Republic a protective policy was judicious and humane the same system must be equally wise, just, and humane to-day if the reasons still obtain which approved it a century ago. There is no escape from this. If our fathers, for good reason, found it necessary, as confessedly they did, during the earlier period of the existence of the Republic, to invoke the aid and shield of the protective system, unless the reason no longer exists, the system which rests upon that reason, or upon the same or like conditions, should still be maintained.

CONDITIONS THAT GAVE RISE TO PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

Now let me recur to the conditions which gave rise to this system of protection, not because it is essential to the argument addressed to you, but because it may be useful to the larger audience I hope to reach outside of this Capitol.

Our fathers found our country possessed of abundance of material exhaustless in quantity, excellent in quality, and infinite in variety. Then, as now, even in our own markets, we had the world for competitors. In the face of competition then the young Republic lacked established plants, lacked the capital to establish them, was wanting in skilled workmen. They found also that American freemen must enter the field as competitors of toilers on the other side, the result of whose efforts barely enabled them to exist.

At that time, in the midst of hard lines, this latter factor in the problem (I refer to wages), which has since become the controlling one, was not so thoroughly considered; not because our ancestors were less humane or less considerate of the rights and claims of the skilled artisans, mechanics, and workmen of their own country, but the question itself was not so important then as now. The wage was the smaller factor in the problem of competition then; it is the largest and the controlling factor in the economic problem to-day.

Against the hard conditions I have mentioned the young nation entered the lists to compete for the poor favor of selling in our own markets and to our own people. Men then, as now, would exercise their right to buy where they could buy cheapest and sell where they could realize the largest price. There is no sentiment in trade. We will buy an English or a German coat for \$10 in preference to paying \$12 or \$15 to our own countrymen for the same article, though our industries perish. Buying and selling is not matter of sentiment, but matter of business.

It was clear that the result must be that if the Old World, with its established plants and boundless resources in capital, its skilled and cunning workmen, could enter the markets of the United States without the restraint of a duty imposed to regulate trade, our people would be unable to compete with the producers on the other side, even in our home market. That this was so, and is so to-day, is too clear to need argument. It was the experience of the United States immediately after the war of 1812, when England flooded our markets with goods of every kind, and to such an extent and at such low prices that the mills, shops, and factories upon this side stood idle. In the presence of such competition it could not be otherwise.

The necessity for providing against the baneful influence of this competition which paralyzed our industries, and at last tended to impoverish and humiliate our workmen, and leave us helpless and prostrate in the field of industrial effort, was apparent to the men of that day who controlled the affairs of this nation.

MR. CALHOUN ONCE THE CHAMPION OF PROTECTION.

It was then that Mr. Calhoun, the representative of South Carolina, appeared upon this floor as the earnest and able champion of the protective system. He found the agricultural interests of his own State suffering in competition with India, and the fact was cited by a gentleman speaking of that competition, that it was in vain for our country to successfully grow cotton and weave cotton fabrics in competition with India where the raw material was 4 pence a pound and the wages of the laborer in weaving 4 pence a day.

It will be remembered that not many years prior to that time Whitney had invented the cotton-gin, and upon the other side the spinning-jenny and the power-loom had been given to the world by the genius of English operatives, and these agencies, going hand in hand, gave a new impetus to the growth of cotton, and under the influence of that new impetus all the Southern fields became white with the harvest.

Against the destructive influence of competition with India, Mr. Calhoun, standing in his place in the House of Representatives, advocated the imposition of a protective tariff; and a protective tariff was levied upon goods imported from the other side.

One item in that schedule levied a duty of 3 cents a pound on cotton, which was about 75 per cent. of the cost of its production by their Indian competitor.

I call the attention of my honorable friend from South Carolina, the worthy successor of Mr. Calhoun, to the language of the latter, when he stood as one of the foremost champions of the policy which his successors upon this floor so earnestly condemn and seek so eagerly to destroy.

Then Mr. Calhoun was not dealing with abstract philosophy, but was evolving a system for himself from existing conditions and facts, which refused to be ignored.

Speaking upon the tariff bill in 1816, Mr. Calhoun, deprecating the evils which would attend upon its defeat, said:

When our manufactories are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will be under the fostering care of the Government, we will no longer experience these evils. [Evils resulting from this unequal competition.] The farmer will find a ready market for his surplus, and what is of equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants.

It is interesting to observe that South Carolina, which leads the van in opposition to the protective system, did not always adopt this view. As I have before said, her leading statesmen in 1816 recognized the importance of protecting, in a radical manner, the industries of South Carolina.

The few struggling cotton-mills of New England in the early part of this century found it cheaper to buy India cotton than to buy that produced in the Carolinas, and under the operation of that law which our friends upon the other side so constantly invoke—the right to buy where we can buy cheapest—the mill-owners of New England bought India cotton, and our merchants purchased India cotton fabrics.

There could hardly be a complaint in the Carolinas that they did not have cheap labor; but cheap as their labor was, the labor of India was still cheaper. The result was that New England merchantmen and English vessels brought from India cotton to supply New England mills and cotton goods to supply the American market. At that time certain Representatives from New England talked persuasively against an import duty, but placed their opposition on the ground of its injurious effects upon the India shipping interest, in which New England then employed forty ships. It was but a few years until our friends from south of the Potomac had gained and held the coign of vantage against the producers of cotton throughout the nations of the world, and strangely enough, after having first enjoyed the blessings of a protective system and in the midst of their own flourishing condition, turned to deny to the struggling industries of the other States the protection indispensable to their establishment and growth.

The cultivation of cotton becoming independent of all competition, the Southern statesmen turned from the championship of that industry to defend the peculiar system of labor employed in its prosecution, and from that day slavery and free trade established and maintained an offensive and defensive alliance and waged relentless war upon the protective policy. They were enabled to—as indeed they did in a large degree—dominate the country, and our economic policy oscillated between free trade and protection, and our industries had a desperate struggle for existence; and every spurt of success which came to them under the

influence of war or newly-discovered gold mines was, by our free-trade friends, accounted to be the direct result of progress in the direction of free trade.

I am aware that it will be said that if conditions warranted a protective tariff in an early period, it can not be made to appear that such conditions exist to-day, and, the reason ceasing, the rule should cease with it.

I challenge the correctness of the assertion that there has been such change in our condition as to render the protective system of to-day defenseless.

IS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF NECESSARY TO-DAY?

And now I desire to consider for a moment the changed conditions to the extent that there has been change, so as to determine whether in point of fact, admitting that a protective tariff was desirable in the early history of the Republic, it, on account of the alleged changed conditions, should be condemned to-day.

Without reviewing the history of our progress, we admit that we no longer are at the disadvantage of lacking established plants, nor do we lack capital; and it is but justice to my countrymen to say that as artisans, mechanics, and skilled workmen they are unsurpassed in the world. These three factors are eliminated from the industrial problem, but there remains still the fourth, the most important and controlling factor to-day; one that was inconsequential then. The plants are here, the capital is here, the skilled workmen are here, but the starvation wages are not here and in God's providence never will be here if the Republican party shall write the laws of the land. [Applause.]

The difference in wages at the beginning of the century was unimportant. The rates of duty were relatively as high then as they are now. The difference in wages paid in the Old World and upon this side was not radically different at the organization of our Government, and for some years afterwards; nor would they have been different to-day if the economic policy which controlled for a term of years, and which is seeking to control in this House to-day, had continued to bear sway.

In the prosperity upon the other side, the wage-worker—the producer, if you please—was not permitted adequately to share.

In most of the countries there during the years that have elapsed, notwithstanding his larger contribution in producing results, his wages have not been materially advanced; and it is proper to say just here that he was not and is not yet a part and parcel of the government. He had not the political power to redress his wrongs and vindicate his rights. Revolution was his only remedy.

Now mark the difference. Under the beneficent influence of our Government, of which every citizen is a part, the progress made in industrial development attests the presence in the homes of the workmen of the land better conditions and influences that are ennobling and refining.

They find opportunity for increased comforts in the fact that the prices of things needful in life have been constantly reduced, while the rate of wages paid has been constantly advanced, mounting up 25, 50, 75, 100, and in many instances 300 per cent. above what they were when the economic philosophy of our Democratic friends held sway in the Government.

And, I repeat, capital, established plants, and skilled workmanship are not to-day the controlling factors in the industrial problem.

With us the paramount question is, shall those who contribute to our prosperity by their labor, the wage-workers, be remitted to the con-

dition of those upon the other side of the water, or shall they continue to share, as now, in the profits resulting from a union of capital with labor in the field of productive effort?

Doubtless nine out of ten of the communications received by gentlemen upon this floor from their constituents protesting against the assault in the Mills bill upon the industries in which those constituents are employed, refer to the difference in cost of production between their shops, mills, or factorics and the cost of similar articles imported from foreign countries as due to the increased wages paid in the United States. In the production of the greater part of the output of our manufacturing establishments labor contributes the larger share; such contribution ranging from 10 to over 99 per cent.

There are industries which employ many skilled workmen in which 40 cents' worth of material, after being manipulated by the skilled mechanic and passes from his hands a finished product, sells in the market for as much as \$80. This is, of course, an exceptional case, but not so exceptional or extreme as many suppose. But I use it as an illustration, because it marks so palpably the point I wish to make touching the influence of foreign competition with our own skilled labor. The industry I referred to is the manufacture of the small screws and springs used in making watches.

In that industry upon the other side the wages paid range below 40 per cent. of what is paid the skilled mechanic in the United States engaged in the same employment.

It would hardly be claimed in the instance cited that a duty of 10, 20, 30, or 50 per cent. would correct the inequality between our home manufactures and their foreign competitors.

PROTECTIVE SYSTEM ESSENTIAL TO LABOR.

I have studied with care to ascertain the per cent. that labor contributes in the production of the articles supplied by our leading industries, and am satisfied that the difference which obtains between the per cent. apportioned to labor here is so much greater than that which is accorded to labor upon the other side that a carefully devised protective tariff is indispensable to the preservation of our industrial enterprises if the rights of workmen here are fairly considered and honestly provided for.

It is clear that we can not prevent employers in foreign countries from levying unjust and cruel exactions upon their employés. They may, if they will, coin money of the bone and muscle of those who labor for them; but we can provide against the destructive influence of such competition upon our own workmen by excluding foreign goods from our market, except upon terms which shall keep far from us the conditions which are the curse that rests upon the industrial classes of the Old World.

The various objections to the protective system urged by our friends upon the other side have been fully met by gentlemen who have preceded me. The proposition that the cost to the consumer in the United States is increased in exact proportion to the duty levied has been shown over and over again by my associates to be alike untrue in fact and absurd. There is still less justice and truth in claiming that the amount levied for the purpose of protection is so much taken from the consumer and placed in the pocket of the manufacturer.

If an article costs a dollar in Italy, and by reason of a higher rate of wages here it costs a dollar and twenty-five cents, and the expense of placing the Italian article upon our market is 5 cents, and the duty

imposed by our Government is 20 cents, is it not something worse than folly to claim that that duty of 20 cents goes into the pocket of the manufacturer as profit? It does go directly into the pocket of the wage-worker, and represents the difference in compensation between the amount paid the workmen here and in Italy.

Does the protective duty increase the cost to the consumer? And if so, for how long? In the first instance the cost of an article may be temporarily increased. It is not always so, but that is the philosophy of the situation. Granting, for the sake of the argument, that the cost is temporarily increased, does the end justify the means? Is it exceptional to practice self-denial and rigid economy this year in order that prosperity may abound the next? Is it not the practice of every-day life when in hard lines to suffer inconvenience to-day to secure the better condition to-morrow? Following swiftly on the heels of this inconvenience of to-day we have, as compensation, permanently reduced prices and increased prosperity as lasting as the influence to which it is due.

The experience of this nation abundantly attests that the temporary disadvantage resulting from the self-denial practiced, and which is self-imposed, compared with the consequent advantage which is born of that self-denial, is absolutely inconsequential.

TARIFF NOT AN ALLY OF TRUSTS AND COMBINES.

There has been during this debate an earnest endeavor to link the creation of trusts, syndicates, and combines to the protective policy and make it responsible for the existence of these ulcers upon the body-politic. They have no proper relation to each other, nor is either dependent upon the other, and if it shall appear that the tariff is in any instance the prop and support to any trust or "combine" formed to strangle and control the just and wholesome influences of the law of supply and demand, let that stay to the iniquity be torn away at once!

No man upon this floor shall be before me in condemnation of these organizations. I do not hesitate for one moment to assert that the most serious menace to republican institutions in this country will be found in the power and influence of aggregated capital and the pretentious insolence of overgrown wealth. And I am not alone upon this floor in the conviction that unless they are speedily throttled they will have upon the throat of the Republic so firm a grip that nothing short of revolution will compel them to relax their hold. This is strong language, but I mean every word of it. I do not stand here to condemn as moral monsters the individuals engaged in these various enterprises or organizations, for I recognize the fact that there is a vast deal of human nature in utilizing opportunities and conditions to better one's condition, increase his wealth, and extend his influence; but they are none the less dangerous to the well-being of my country that the men interested therein are reputable citizens and have not violated the letter of the law of the land.

When the bill that deals with them comes before this House, if the committee having it in charge can muster courage to report it, I shall bear witness of no doubtful import as to our duty.

Recurring again to the influence of the industrial system we are building up, it was urged, in an earlier day, and latterly as well, that the growth of our manufacturing industries tended to dwarf the manhood of those employed in them. I dissent from that proposition. I speak now of my own country.

INFLUENCE OF PROTECTION UPON EMPLOYÉES.

Let it be remembered that, with the growth of our industries the

opportunities for increased convenience and comforts grow with equal pace. Let it not be forgotten that the men who work in the mills, factories, and shops are potent factors in this Government, and have a voice in declaring the law which regulates the conditions under which they labor. Their children go to school and become familiar with the duties and obligations of the citizen, and learn what the proper functions of the civil government are.

What is said as to the influence of certain employment may indeed apply to the condition of operatives upon the other side, but it can have no application to our own fellow-citizens.

ARTISANS AND WORKMEN OF CINCINNATI.

The city of Cincinnati which, with my honored colleague, General BROWN, I have the honor to represent, is known to you as a hive of industry. One or two wards in my district have within their limits a greater number of skilled artisans and mechanics than can be found elsewhere in this country upon the same amount of territory. I challenge any State or city on earth to produce rarer mechanical skill or a more intelligent and prosperous people.

Mr. Chairman, these conditions are not evidenced alone in the skill and cunning shown in their several callings. It is shown in those adornments of mind and character which are inseparable from the prosperity and happiness that abound in their homes.

I will engage to go with you, Mr. Chairman, into any shop or factory in my district where the workmen I have alluded to are employed and select a man at random, and you will not find one who can not read the Constitution of his country in one or two languages, or who does not understand the rights it secures and the obligations it imposes. Go with him to his home. In that home you will find not merely the ordinary comforts and conveniences of life, but also the incontestible evidence of education and refinement. Books and music will be found there. The daughter of that household will be found not only equal to the discharge of the duties which pertain to housewifery, but taking her place at the piano she will discourse the rarest music from Wagner, Beethoven, and other masters in that science. Upon the walls you will find paintings which are the handiwork of members of that family. There will be found worthy example upon the part of the parents, and filial piety upon the part of the children.

One other thing you will find: that the head of that family and the boys who come after him are intelligent and earnest advocates of the protective system.

I am not willing to exchange scenes and conditions such as I have described for any that can be found where the philosophy of free trade bears sway and shapes the industrial policy of the people.

COMPARE RESULTS OF FREE-TRADE PHILOSOPHY AND THE INFLUENCE OF PROTECTION.

Sir, I need not cross the water for the purpose of pointing out the influence of the policy of free trade and all that appertains thereto, and that of the protective system. Our own country furnishes abundant evidence by which we can reach a correct and just conclusion.

I propose, sir, in no invidious spirit, but in simple justice to the people I represent, and in justice to the people of this whole country, to present to the House and to them some comparisons as to the progress made in the several States in everything that goes to make up an enlightened and progressive civilization.

There are certain States which make relentless war upon the protective policy, and certain other States which as constantly defend it, and are seeking to defeat the wrecking policy proposed in the Mills bill.

Mr. Chairman, it has been plainly intimated time and again upon this floor that those employed in the mills, factories, and shops of the manufacturing States, and especially in New England, are in a measure robbed. That is not the language used, but is the logic of what is said. I propose to ascertain how far the facts sustain the assertion and find where the most conclusive evidence of prosperity and happiness is to be found.

I shall not stop to examine merely the manufacturing interests of the country, but will look into the condition of every industry and calling which has relation to the prosperity of the section where it is carried on.

Our friends upon the other side have appeared especially anxious in regard to per cent. of wages paid.

I hope I may be pardoned for occasionally referring to the "Buckeye" State, and certainly no gentleman upon this floor should feel less pride than I do in that Commonwealth.

We can say to the East and South, "We are your children; our parents brought with them to Ohio the characteristics of your people. If we have achieved a measure of success you can rejoice at it, for we are your children."

We turn to the West, and there we find the sons and daughters of Ohio, the brothers and sisters of our people. Our prosperity is but an evidence of the greatness and strength of the whole country.

I recur again to the matter of wages, and call attention of my friends upon the other side to the startling fact that the "Buckeye" State alone pays in wages to the workmen employed in the manufacturing industries prosecuted within her border \$6,000,000 more than is paid to all the wage-workers employed in the thirteen States, Delaware, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia. Yet these States have an aggregate population of nearly 15,000,000, while Ohio has a population of 3,193,000. A fact not less important is this: that while those States pay to those employed but \$270 per capita, Ohio pays \$333.

The following is the showing in detail of the total wages paid in the States named:

States.	Wages paid.	Population.
Delaware.....	\$4,267,000	146,608
West Virginia.....	4,313,000	618,457
North Carolina.....	2,741,000	1,399,750
South Carolina.....	2,836,000	995,577
Georgia.....	5,266,000	1,546,180
Florida.....	1,271,000	269,493
Alabama.....	2,501,000	1,262,505
Mississippi.....	1,193,000	1,131,597
Louisiana.....	4,360,000	939,946
Texas.....	3,343,000	1,591,749
Tennessee.....	5,255,000	1,542,359
Kentucky.....	11,658,000	1,648,690
Virginia.....	7,425,000	1,512,565
Total.....	56,419,000	14,591,475
Ohio.....	62,104,000	3,198,062

I am aware that honorable gentlemen will answer, "But the States you mention are not manufacturing States." So it would seem from the showing, but whose fault is it that they are not manufacturing States? Can you give any good and sufficient reason why the iron has slept in your mountains undisturbed during the last century?

Why does your coal remain in the hills undug?

Why is it that the water in your rivers runs listlessly to the sea, bearing upon its bosom little commerce and turning no wheel of industry?

Is it our fault that the waters of the James, the Alabama, the Cumberland, and the Kentucky do not turn as many wheels of industry as the waters of the Connecticut and the Merrimac, and those which flow in the rivers of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the West? [Applause.]

Sir, it is not because nature has not been prodigal in giving to you all the resources in raw material essential to great industrial progress. The reason must be found in your adherence to that philosophy which is evolved from ideal conditions and hypothetical facts, and shuts its eyes to accomplished results.

But, you say, the same economic system obtained in all the States.

That is true in theory, but not true in practical experience.

The States where the philosophy of free trade was supreme have not recovered from the paralysis resulting from its influence, and the course and conduct of the adherents to that philosophy have been in strict accord with its teachings.

The result is before us. That paralysis which excluded manufacturing from the States mentioned antedates the war, and its influence lingers there still, but let us hope will give place in the near future to a more healthful condition, the result of a wiser economic policy.

Sir, the object-lessons I place before you to-day should be conclusive alike against your philosophy and your practice. [Applause.]

I call attention now to the cities of the Union where various industries are carried on, and also to the States as a whole, to ascertain the ratio of persons employed and the rate of wages paid per capita. Here is the exhibit.

The comparison is between several cities to which I now call attention:

CINCINNATI.

Population.....	256,000
Total number of persons employed in manufacturing industries..	54,530
Males.....	39,000
Females.....	10,495
Youths.....	5,035
Total wages paid.....	\$19,554,000.00
Per capita.....	\$358.50

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in every 4.

CHARLESTON.

Population.....	49,984
Total number of persons employed in manufacturing industries..	2,146
Males.....	1,788
Females.....	150
Youths.....	208
Total wages paid.....	\$669,000.00
Per capita.....	\$311.03

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 23.

LYNN, MASS.

Population.....	
Total number employed	12,420
Males.....	8,894
Females.....	3,489
Youths.....	37
Total wages paid.....	\$5,833,000.00
Per capita	\$469.00

Ratio of employed to population, 1 out of every 2½.

LOWELL, MASS.

Population.....	59,475
Total number employed	20,039
Males.....	9,218
Females.....	9,508
Youths.....	1,318
Total wages paid.....	\$5,997,000.00
Per capita	\$294.20

Ratio of employed to population, a little over 1 in 3.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Population.....	503,000
Total number employed.....	79,414
Males.....	62,431
Females.....	12,185
Youths.....	4,798
Total wages paid.....	\$34,653,462.00
Per capita	\$436.30

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 6.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Population.....	351,000
Total number employed.....	41,825
Males.....	33,980
Females.....	4,761
Youths.....	3,084
Total wages paid.....	\$17,743,532.00
Per capita	\$424.45

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 8.

BOSTON, MASS.

Population.....	363,000
Total number employed.....	59,213
Males.....	39,810
Females.....	18,150
Youths.....	1,253
Total wages paid.....	\$24,921,000.00
Per capita	\$421.75

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 6.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Population.....	863,000
Total number employed.....	185,527
Males.....	113,025
Females.....	56,813
Youths.....	15,684
Total wages paid.....	\$64,265,000.00
Per capita.....	\$340.75

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 4.

LAWRENCE, MASS.

Population.....	89,151
Total number of persons employed.....	16,719
Males.....	7,819
Females.....	7,908
Youths.....	992
Total wages paid.....	\$5,549,000.00
Per capita.....	\$331.75

Ratio of employed to population, every 2½.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Population	216,000
Total number of persons employed.....	9,504
Males.....	7,666
Females.....	1,286
Youths.....	552
Total wages paid.....	\$3,718,000.00
Per capita.....	\$391.00

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 22.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Population	104,857
Total number of persons employed	22,891
Males.....	16,500
Females.....	5,125
Youths.....	1,716
Total wages paid.....	\$9,464,110.00
Per capita.....	\$413.50

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 4.

RICHMOND, VA.

Population.....	63,600
Total number employed.....	13,047
Males.....	9,218
Females.....	2,872
Youths.....	1,957
Total wages paid.....	\$3,206,456.00
Per capita.....	\$214.00

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in 4½.

AUGUSTA, GA.

Population	21,891
Total number employed	1,680
Males.....	867
Females	511
Youths.....	302
Total wages paid.....	\$448,825.00
Per capita.....	\$267.75

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in every 13.

DUBUQUE, IOWA.

Population	22,254
Total number employed	2,903
Males.....	2,619
Females.....	292
Youths.....	92
Total wages paid.....	\$1,339,730.00
Per capita.....	\$461.50

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in every 7.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Population.....	123,758
Total number of persons employed.....	17,448
Males.....	13,480
Females.....	2,829
Youths.....	1,139
Total wages paid.....	\$5,835,545.00
Per capita.....	\$334.55

Ratio of employed to population, 1 in every 7.

It will be observed that the ratio of women and youths in the cities in the States advocating the protective system is greater than in the free-trade States, showing a wider range of opportunity; but what is still more significant, the ratio of those employed to the whole population is still greater. For instance, Cincinnati employs 1 in every 4; Charleston, 1 in 23; Boston, 1 in 6; St. Louis, 1 in 8; Philadelphia, 1 in 4; New Orleans, 1 in 22; Lowell, Mass., more than 1 in 3; Richmond, Va., 1 in 4½.

Passing from the cities to the States, the showing is more palpable against our free-trade friends. The showing is as follows:

Compare Wisconsin with North Carolina:

NORTH CAROLINA.	
Population.....	1,400,000
Product of manufactories.....	\$20,095,000.00
Per capita.....	\$14.00

WISCONSIN.	
Population.....	1,315,000
Product of manufactories.....	\$128,255,000.00
Per capita.....	\$97.00

MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS.	
Missouri:	
Population.....	2,168,000
Product of manufactories.....	\$165,386,000.00
Per capita.....	\$73.00

Illinois:	
Population.....	3,078,000
Product of manufactories.....	\$414,865,000.00
Per capita.....	\$131.00

VIRGINIA AND MICHIGAN.	
Virginia:	
Population.....	1,512,500
Product of manufactories.....	\$51,781,000.00
Per capita.....	\$34.00

Michigan:	
Population.....	1,637,000
Product of manufactories.....	\$150,715,000.00
Per capita.....	\$92.00

OHIO AND GEORGIA.	
Georgia:	
Population.....	1,542,000
Product of factories.....	\$36,440,000.00
Per capita.....	\$23.00

Ohio:	
Population.....	3,198,000
Product of manufactories.....	\$348,298,000.00
Per capita.....	\$108.00

NEW JERSEY AND MARYLAND.	
Maryland:	
Population.....	935,000
Product of factories.....	\$106,800,000.00
Per capita.....	\$114.00

New Jersey:	
Population.....	1,131,000
Product of factories.....	\$254,380,000.00
Per capita.....	\$224.00

IOWA AND MISSISSIPPI.	
Mississippi:	
Population.....	1,132,000
Product of factories.....	\$7,518,000.00
Per capita.....	\$6.62

Iowa:	
Population.....	1,625,000
Product of factories.....	\$71,045,000.00
Per capita.....	\$43.00

RESULTS IN AGRICULTURE COMPARED.

But to make the showing more complete, and, as you doubtless claim, and possibly with justice, to equalize matters, we will turn to agriculture; but, unfortunately for tariff-reform philosophy, the showing is no better. Take Ohio and Georgia:

OHIO.	
Number employed in agriculture, in round number.....	397,500
Product of farms, exclusive of live-stock and farming implements.....	\$156,777,000.00
Population.....	3,198,000
Per capita.....	\$394.00

It is proper to add that there are 247,200 farms, which will indicate that there are employed as wage-workers or renters 150,300.

GEORGIA.	
Population.....	1,542,180
Number employed in agriculture.....	432,400
Value of farm product, exclusive of live-stock and farm implements.....	\$96,913.00
Per capita.....	\$155.00
Take Missouri and Illinois:	
ILLINOIS.	
Population.....	3,077,871
Number employed in agriculture.....	436,370
Value of product exclusive of live-stock and farm implements....	\$203,960,000.00
Per capita.....	\$476.00
MISSOURI.	
Population.....	2,168,390
Number employed in agriculture.....	355,300
Value of product of farms exclusive of live-stock and farming implements.	\$96,913,000.00
Per capita.....	\$270.00
Take Alabama and Wisconsin.	
ALABAMA.	
Population.....	1,202,505
Number engaged in agriculture.....	380,630
Value of farm products, exclusive of live-stock and farm implements.....	\$56,873,000.00
Per capita.....	\$149.00
Number of farms.....	135,864
Number of acres tilled.....	18,855,334
WISCONSIN.	
Population.....	1,315,497
Number of persons engaged in agriculture.....	195,900
Value of product, exclusive of live-stock and farm implements..	\$72,780,000.00
Per capita.....	\$370.00
Number of farms.....	134,322
Acres tilled.....	15,353,118

COMPARISON OF FARMING IMPLEMENTS AND LIVE-STOCK.

But possibly our free-trade philosophers can show better results in live-stock and farming implements and machinery. These are evidence of progressive development as they may appear ample or otherwise.

Here is the showing. Take Georgia and Michigan, the population of which is about the same.

GEORGIA.	
Population.....	1,542,000
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$5,317,000.00
Live-stock.....	26,000,000.00
Total value.....	31,317,000.00
Per capita.....	\$20.00
MICHIGAN.	
Population.....	1,637,000
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$19,422,000.00
Live-stock.....	55,720,000.00
Total value.....	75,140,000.00
Per capita.....	\$45.00
IOWA AND VIRGINIA.	
Virginia:	
Population.....	1,512,500
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$5,495,000.00
Live-stock.....	25,953,000.00
Total value.....	31,448,000.00
Per capita.....	20.00

Iowa:	
Population	1,624,615
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$29,372,000.00
Live-stock.....	124,715,000.00
Total value.....	154,087,000.00
Per capita.....	94.00
NORTH CAROLINA AND WISCONSIN.	
North Carolina:	
Population	1,400,000
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$6,078,000.00
Live-stock.....	22,415,000.00
Total value.....	28,493,000.00
Per capita.....	20.00
Wisconsin:	
Population	1,315,497
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$15,647,000.00
Live-stock.....	46,508,000.00
Total value.....	62,155,000.00
Per capita.....	55.00
WEST VIRGINIA AND NEBRASKA.	
West Virginia:	
Population	618,457
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$2,700,000.00
Live-stock.....	17,742,000.00
Total value.....	20,442,000.00
Per capita.....	15.00
Nebraska:	
Population	452,402
Value of farming implements and machinery.....	\$7,821,000.00
Live-stock.....	33,444,000.00
Total value.....	41,265,000.00
Per capita.....	91.00
ARKANSAS AND CALIFORNIA.	
Arkansas:	
Population	802,525
Value of farm implements and machinery.....	\$4,637,000.00
Live-stock.....	20,472,000.00
Total value.....	25,109,000.00
Per capita.....	31.00
California:	
Population.....	804,696
Value of farm implements and machinery.....	\$8,448,000.00
Live-stock.....	35,500,000.00
Total value.....	43,948,000.00
Per capita.....	54.00

SHOWING OF CARPENTERS AND BLACKSMITHS.

Among the very important artisans and mechanics and workmen in every well-ordered community are the carpenters and blacksmiths. Business activity with them indicates the presence of those comforts and conveniences which are inseparable from healthful progress. For the edification of our friends, in order to evolve all the philosophy possible from known facts and existing conditions, I present the work done

in the several States by these useful members of the community. The showing in the several States is as follows:

States that favor protection.

State.	Product per capita.	
	Carpentering.	Blacksmithing.
Kansas.....	\$1.81	\$0.82
Maine.....	.62	1.82
Illinois.....	1.92	.98
Michigan.....	1.07	.94
Minnesota.....	2.21	.98
Nebraska.....	2.14	.87
New Hampshire.....	2.47	1.37
New Jersey.....	3.53	1.07
New York.....	3.82	1.23
Ohio.....	1.51	.95
Pennsylvania.....	1.90	1.01
Vermont.....	.48	1.57
Wisconsin.....	1.13	.20
Connecticut.....	4.98	1.17
Indiana.....	1.01	.98
Iowa.....	1.40	.96

Anti-protection States.

States.	Product per capita.	
	Carpentering.	Blacksmithing.
Alabama.....	\$0.27	\$0.18
Arkansas.....	.25	.26
Delaware.....	2.14	1.01
Florida.....	.33	.21
Georgia.....	.53	.31
Kentucky.....	.93	.67
Louisiana.....	.49	.36
Maryland.....	3.88	1.01
Mississippi.....	.15	.15
Missouri.....	2.32	.98
North Carolina.....	.16	.16
South Carolina.....	.33	.19
Tennessee.....	.42	.45
Texas.....	.41	.46
Virginia.....	.56	.40
West Virginia.....	.34	.42

INVENTION STIFLED.

But let us search again for evidence that the influence of your philosophy has been beneficent in results.

I submit, Mr. Chairman, that there is no higher or better evidence of an enlightened and progressive people than is found in the product of their inventive genius. Our fathers wisely provided for the encouragement of scientific research and progress in the mechanical arts, by giving to authors and inventors for a term of years the exclusive ownership of the new and useful products of their hands and brains. No other source has been more fruitful in valuable contributions to our

present prosperous and happy condition. How has the seed sown where your philosophy has had the ascendancy borne fruit? Is it rich in authors or inventors? What is the grand total of results in these two fields of labor?

Again, I call the "Buckeye" State forward. Let her record disclose what the genius of her people has supplied to the national growth in the industrial arts. Here is the record for the fourteen years immediately preceding January 1, 1885: Number of improvements in the arts, etc., by Ohio, as evidenced by patents issued, 15,065. Now, place by Ohio's side Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, fourteen sovereign States. Altogether, during the same period, they have contributed in new and useful inventions only 14,887.

What is the matter, gentlemen? Do not those who adopt your philosophy desire the better ways and happier conditions? Or does its presence stifle the genius of invention, even as it retards your progressive development in the fields of enterprise to which we have called attention?

WORSE AND MORE OF IT.

But let us continue our search to find some justification for your abiding in the faith which is so palpably condemned by the works which are the evidence of its influence. Possibly in the field of literature and journalism you will fare better. We shall see.

Mr. Chairman, if it will not be deemed utterly immodest, I will call Ohio forward again, bringing with her Illinois, a younger sister, and they together shall show you what they have done in the direction of distributing intelligence among the people. The comparison is instructive, and may in part, at least, explain why Ohio and Illinois have stood by the protective system, and why the States with which they stand in comparison have opposed it.

Under the caption "Number of newspapers mailed to subscribers or news agents by publishers and news agents" we have the following exhibit:

Alabama	4, 037, 332
Arkansas.....	3, 606, 356
Delaware.....	1, 141, 348
Florida.....	1, 141, 452
Georgia.....	15, 355, 283
Kentucky.....	17, 443, 296
Louisiana.....	6, 645, 152
Maryland.....	9, 670, 232
Mississippi.....	3, 334, 604
North Carolina.....	6, 235, 372
South Carolina.....	4, 376, 430
Tennessee.....	12, 620, 712
Texas.....	12, 066, 756
Missouri.....	46, 128, 784
Virginia.....	8, 639, 384
West Virginia.....	3, 762, 980

Total of the sixteen anti-protection States..... 156, 203, 516

Now Ohio and Illinois:

Ohio.....	72, 125, 560
Illinois.....	87, 123, 444

Total..... 159, 254, 004

Showing difference in favor of these two protection States, Ohio and Illinois, of 3, 050, 488.

But peradventure publications of a higher order, which evidence

more recondite learning and philosophical research, have flourished better. Let us examine.

Under the classification "Number of magazines and other periodicals mailed to subscribers or news agents by publishers and news agents" we have the following exhibit.

Ohio is so closely identified with all the other States, being bound to them by all the ties of consanguinity and common interest, that I feel that with characteristic reserve she may stand up again for comparison.

Here is the showing:

Alabama	26,700	South Carolina	8,820
Arkansas	23,352	Tennessee.....	553,008
Delaware.....	19,260	Texas.....	21,818
Florida.....	420	Virginia.....	361,056
Georgia.....	651,356	West Virginia	6,948
Kentucky.....	100,656		
Louisiana.....	24,888	Total number in 16 anti-	
Maryland.....	193,512	protection States.....	3,890,352
Mississippi.....	1,932	Total number issued in Ohio.	6,493,216
Missouri.....	1,865,784		
North Carolina.....	30,864	Difference in favor of Ohio...	2,607,864

It is written, "Show me thy faith without thy works and I will show thee my faith by my works." I have presented to you and to the country the works which are evidence of your faith, being born of it; and have likewise testified to our faith, proving it by the works we have shown. "By their fruits ye shall know them." You walk in the letter of your faith; we in the spirit of ours. "Verily the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." [Applause.]

THE SHEPHERD AND THE SHEEP.

I was interested to hear my honorable friend from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] talk about sheep. He seemed to derive great satisfaction from the number of sheep he found to the square mile in the countries of the Old World.

It is a peculiarity of his philosophy that it takes more satisfaction in the condition of the sheep than in the prosperity of the shepherd. His concern is about the sheep, ours about the shepherd that tends the sheep. [Laughter and applause.]

In the nations that challenge his special admiration the sheep wear the fine coats. Here it is our purpose to clothe the shepherd, if need be, at the expense of the sheep. But protective philosophy cares for the flock-tender, and, per consequence of that, for the flock.

The statement, however, shows that the progress made here under the influence of the Democratic system does not compare favorably with the later period when Republican policy maintained the ascendancy. Let us see.

The increase of wool under the tariff compared to increase during the preceding years:

- Between 1850 and 1860 increase 14.7 per cent.
- Between 1860 and 1870 increase 66 per cent.
- Between 1860 and 1880 increase 147 per cent.

Nor is this increase in aggregate pounds of wool alone to be considered, but the further fact that the weight of fleeces increased as follows:

- In 1850 average 2.3 pounds.
- In 1860 average 2.7 pounds.
- In 1870 average 3.5 pounds.
- In 1880 average 4.4 pounds.

And the showing is equally satisfactory in regard to the development of woolen manufactures. Here is the exhibit:

	1850.	1860.	1870.
Establishments	1, 817	1, 260	2, 891
Hands	34, 895	28, 050	80, 053
Capital.....	\$26, 671, 000	\$30, 862, 000	\$98, 824, 000
Wages.....	7, 168, 000	9, 808, 000	26, 778, 000
Materials	24, 912, 000	36, 587, 000	96, 433, 000
Product.....	43, 542, 000	61, 895, 000	155, 405, 000

A showing that should set at rest the clamorous cry that from 1850 to 1860 were the years of our country's greatest prosperity.

Now I turn to the pig iron industry, and I apologize for seeming, for a single moment, to usurp the throne of my honored friend from Pennsylvania [Mr KELLEY].

From 1810, when the yield was 54,000 tons, to 1860—fifty years, during which time you were endeavoring to put your hands upon the throat of the protective system, and had it there most of the time—the product grew only to 821,000 tons. While from 1860 to 1880—only twenty-five years—it grew to 3,855,000 tons.

OUR COMMERCE—UNEXAMPLLED GROWTH, FOREIGN AND INTERSTATE.

One would naturally suppose from the assaults made upon the protective policy that its influence had been to restrict our commerce, international and interstate; that our exports and our imports had fallen off, and that domestic interchange of commodities was oppressed and dwarfed. The exact reverse is true. They have both grown with unexampled rapidity.

In the period of pronounced protection, dating from a time when the system was recognized and established as an economic policy to be maintained, our exports and imports have grown beyond anything of which the country had knowledge before, except that our exports of specie have been reduced, and that because we have paid our debts abroad with the products of our factories and fields, keeping the gold and silver in the pockets of our people.

This is true of our foreign commerce and true of our local and interstate commerce. Gentlemen speak of the necessity for free interchange of products—that our protective system has impaired that freedom. This was uttered time and again by my honored friend, Mr. Wheeler, of New York, in our discussion in Tremont Temple, in Boston—opening his eyes to what would result from his abstract philosophy and closing them to the real facts that were under his nose; the real fact being that never in the history of the world was there such unrestricted and such enlarged commerce; never were there so many articles which were the subject-matter of commerce, nor so many instrumentalities and agencies for their free interchange as are to be found in the United States to-day as the result of the protective system.

And I say “as the result of the protective system” because the figures show that I am right and that under the old quasi free-trade regime progressive development was handicapped, and, when not paralyzed, moved at a sluggish pace.

I here insert the figures which vindicate the correctness of my assertions and utterly discredit the statements of my friends upon the

other side to the effect that we are a suffering people by reason of the system that they are attempting to destroy.

The House and the country will observe that from the foundation of our Government up to and after the passage of what was known as the "Statute of Abominations," which was a distinctly protective tariff as contradistinguished from a tariff for revenue, the balance of trade, in spite of the best efforts of the producers of this country, was against us until 1836, when the balance was in our favor some sixty-two millions; but it will be observed also that Democracy made all possible haste to again turn the tide in favor of foreign nations, so that on down to 1860 the balance was against us. We neither had a great home market nor did we supply the wants of our people as now; but after Republican ascendancy in the nation and the overthrow of free-trade philosophy prosperity came back to us in every shape and in every form which could suggest civilized and enlightened development.

In 1860 our exports were, in round numbers, \$335,000,000, and our imports but \$373,000,000.

From 1860 to 1870, notwithstanding the great war which occupied half the decade, our exports had grown to \$420,000,000, the imports being \$432,000,000.

And in 1880 our exports were \$841,000,000 and imports \$741,000,000; excess of imports \$100,000,000.

A more important and controlling fact in this connection is that both the supply and the home market of the United States had been more than doubled during this period, nominally twenty years; in fact, considering the war, fifteen years.

The per capita of exports and imports for 1860 and 1880 is as follows:

	Per capita.
1860. Imports.....	\$1.00
Exports.....	1.11
1880. Imports.....	1.07
Exports.....	1.66

It is interesting in the presence of the showing submitted to this House, which so utterly condemns the philosophy of the Mills bill and so eloquently pleads the cause of the protective system, to hear my honored friend from West Virginia [Mr. WILSON] felicitate himself on the fact that the column he leads is moving forward, lance in rest, to put to route the hosts of protection.

Mr. Chairman, I am glad there is some evidence on that side of the House of a forward movement. The statistics I have submitted do not indicate anything of that character.

I have no fear, however, that our adversaries will make substantial progress, but if they do, be assured it will be amid ruined industries and a bankrupt and idle populace.

My friend said, cheerfully, "We shall go forward. The people are behind us." If he alludes to the people of the sixteen States in which he musters his free-trade army, I agree to the correctness of the statement; and speaking of them, I too can say, "The people are behind us, from fifty to seventy-five years." [Laughter and applause.] And I may add that I shall rejoice if, under some happy influence, they shall come up abreast of us, so that we can march forward together to glorious industrial achievement, as suggested by my honored friend from Michigan [Mr. BURROWS].

THE NEW SOUTH.

And, Mr. Chairman, I have the sincerest pleasure in showing to my friends from south of the Ohio that the influence of the protective sys-

tem, pushing aside their philosophy, has demonstrated to them and to the world what is possible with them under the economic policy they would destroy.

Let me show you what you have accomplished since 1880. Let me point you to the gigantic growth which you would retard and the prosperity you would destroy.

Here is the comparison between 1880 and 1888 of the progress made in the Southern States:

	1880.	1888.
Miles of railroad	19,431	36,736
Bales of cotton.....	5,755,359	6,800,000
Grain.....bushels...	431,074,630	*626,305,000
Farm animals.....	28,754,243	44,830,972
Value of live-stock.....	\$391,312,254	\$573,695,550
Value of agricultural products.....	\$571,098,454	*\$742,066,460
Pig-iron.....tons...	397,301	*929,435
Coal.....tons mined...	6,049,471	*16,476,785
Number of cotton-mills.....	179	294
Number of spindles.....	713,989	1,495,145
Looms.....	15,222	34,006
Value of cotton goods.....	\$21,000,000	*\$43,000,000

*1887.

Gentlemen, is there a period in your history when you made a better showing? Is there an economic policy under which you made more substantial progress? The record discloses that there is not.

NO DANGER FROM HOME COMPETITION.

One gentleman upon the other side, speaking of the progress made in industrial development in certain portions of the West and South, said to New England: "It may not be long until you will be crying for protection against the competition of the great West and South." I say to my friend, he need not be apprehensive on that score. If he will study carefully the history of his country's development and the philosophy it teaches, he will find that under our Government, situated as we are with relation to each other, one section of this country has not, and never will suffer by reason of the development of the resources, and the utilization of opportunity by another section. If it were so, and the danger to which he calls the attention of New England was even possible, long since the industries of New England and the States east of the Alleghanies would have been paralyzed, their factories and mills idle, and their homes deserted.

Why, sir, it was only about thirty years ago that the two young States of the West, Ohio and Illinois, entered the arena as active competitors of the old States of the East. They sprang, however, at one bound into the lists, and in 1880 the two States mentioned, Ohio and Illinois, put upon the market a greater amount in value of manufactured product than all the New England States and New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware included did in 1850. It is proper to add that the other States of the West, together with Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and Alabama were developing with marvelous rapidity and pouring a vast volume into the reservoir of supply.

But notwithstanding all this New England, New York, Pennsylvania and the other States mentioned pursued the even tenor of their way every one of them enjoying unexampled prosperity in the field

of productive effort. And they have in no wise complained of injury sustained by reason of Western competition.

You ask, "What becomes of this vast supply?" I call my friend's attention to the fact that the American citizen lives better than he did; has from 100 to 300 per cent. more of the necessities, comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of life. So that consumption has kept pace with production.

I have but a moment to refer to the relation of capital and labor, and can only say in that brief moment that the trouble results largely from the oft-recurring necessity for a redistribution of labor, owing to the introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the additional fact that from abroad several hundred thousand persons annually find their way into the ranks of labor in the United States; sometimes they come as contract laborers. It is clear that no other nation upon earth could admit such an army to the ranks of its wage workers without bringing on not only temporary disturbance, but riot and possibly revolution. So we have the peculiar spectacle of prohibiting the importation of the product of cheap labor while admitting without restraint or limit the cheap labor itself.

But, sir, our country will find no advantage in shutting the door against any person who brings with him good moral character and habits of industry. He becomes at once a source of wealth and strength. But against those who represent merely a combination of stomach, appetite, alimentary canal, and bad morals it is the duty of Congress to shut the door.

So, now, I submit the question to this House and to my countrymen whether the protective system as advocated by this side of the House should be sustained. You have arraigned against it the Representatives from sixteen States, who advocate the destruction of the system and ask to be placed in charge of your industries and to dictate your economic policy.

I ask whether, in view of the ability they display in developing their own resources and founding and encouraging manufacturing, they are well fitted to perform the office of guardian of those interests which are vital to you. Take away or withdraw from the support of the Mills bill the vote of those States that make the showing alike of indisposition and incapacity to either found or encourage industry of any character, and there will not be left enough votes in favor of the bill to pay for counting them.

I can not close without complimenting the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] for standing up almost alone in the midst of his brethren to defend the great industrial interests of Pennsylvania and the whole country, and I want to pay at the same time a tribute due to my honored colleague [Mr. FORAN] and my friend from New Jersey [Mr. MCADOO], and some other Irish-Americans, who while in the Democratic ranks (where they have no business to be) refuse to become the allies and servants of English manufacturers in doing for the United States what England has done for the island where sleep the bones of their Irish ancestors.

HOW IRISH-AMERICANS AID ENGLISH FREE TRADE.

If there is any one man beneath our flag who has less excuse than another for voting the Democratic ticket it is the Irish-American.

A few years ago I read in the London Times these words, in speaking of the Irish people: "The only time that England can use the Celt is when he emigrates to America and votes for free trade" [laughter

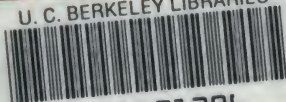
and applause], which, I may add, he has been accustomed to do, in that he has voted the Democratic ticket. But I trust that day has passed, and that Irish-Americans will not, while striking down English power with one hand, uphold it with the other.

One word and I have done. In instituting the comparisons between the different States of this Union, no gentleman upon the other side can fairly or truthfully say that my course is prompted by any possible spirit of sectionalism.

I shall be glad when every State south of the Ohio and the Potomac shall give evidence of the material prosperity which blesses the State that gave me birth. That patriotism is indeed narrow which fails to rejoice in the prosperity of the whole country.

And I say to my honored friends from the Southern States, the time is fast coming, and indeed now is, when the iron in your mountains shall awake, and, throwing off its earthy shroudings, shall find its way to the furnaces and mills, to the haunts of trade and commerce, and the fields and shops of industry, and the prosperity which your philosophy has kept far from you, will, under a different system, come to bless you beyond your fondest dreams. God speed the day! [Long-continued applause.]

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