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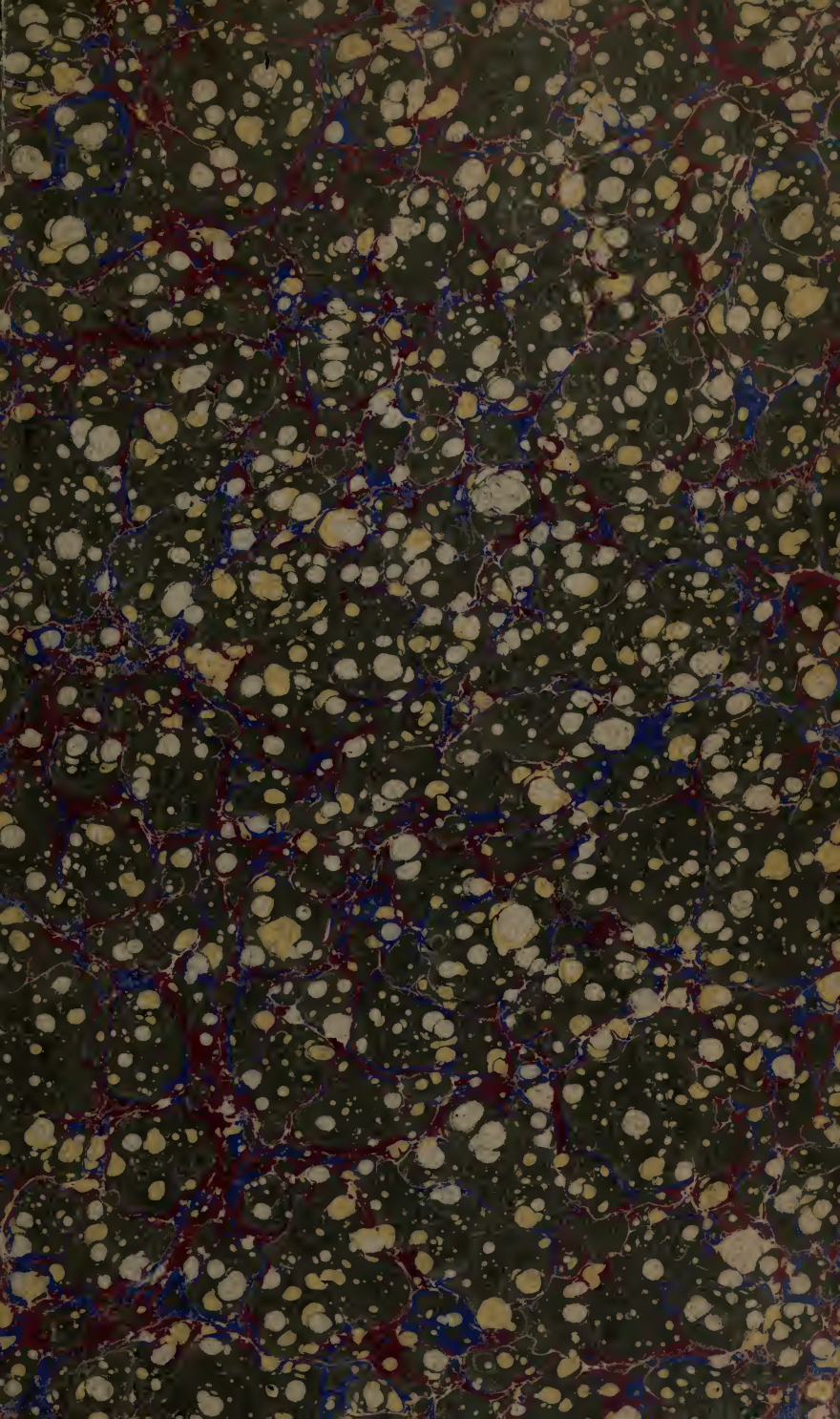


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**The History of our Country fully Demonstrates the Fact that a Protective System has been, and is now, for the Best Interest of all Classes of our People.**

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S P E E C H  
OF  
HON. MARK S. BREWER,  
OF MICHIGAN,  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Friday, April 27, 1888.*

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The House being in Committee of the Whole, 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. BREWER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The issue which this measure presents to the country and to this House is one which I gladly welcome. From 1865 to 1875 the question of reconstruction and other questions of great importance naturally arising from the war occupied the attention of the public mind. Then followed questions of finance, and for the last ten years the tariff question has forced itself upon the public mind. Since the organization of the Republican party the great mass of its members have favored the policy of protection to American industry and American labor, while the Democratic party has at all times until recently sought to evade the direct question in all its public utterances and platforms by the use of language susceptible of various constructions, in order to meet the views of the members of its party in the different parts of the country. In 1868 that party declared in its platform for "incidental protection;" in 1872 it nominated a high protective tariff Republican and left the question of protection to each Congressional district to decide as it saw fit; in 1876 it declared for a tariff "only for revenue," while in 1880 it reversed the language and declared for a "tariff for revenue only," and in 1884 it declared for protection, for free trade, for "incidental protection," for a "tariff only for revenue," and a tariff for "revenue only," so that each voter could read and construe the platform to suit his own convictions. In Kentucky, Indiana, and Michigan it meant free trade, while in Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] was able to make them believe it meant protection. By reason of fraud upon the ballot-box, and

intimidation of voters in one portion of the country and base deception practiced by the leaders of the Democratic party in another portion, that party succeeded in electing its candidate for President and took control of the Government. For three years the executive department of the Government as well as this House has played "fast and loose" upon this great question until the necessities of the Government have compelled the Administration to take some position upon the tariff question, and I honor the President for having compelled his party to stop its double dealing and to define its position by its work here in the House. The President in his recent message to Congress has given the country his views touching the manner of reducing the revenues of the Government. If he had been as much interested in paying off the public debt with the surplus revenues of the Government as he has been in furthering the interest of his party, the large amount of money now in the Treasury unappropriated would be in the hands of the people and be used in furthering their industrial pursuits. Congress had long since authorized him to purchase unmatured bonds with the surplus revenue, and he did purchase over \$27,000,000 worth of such bonds, when he at once stopped, and has continued to hoard up the excessive revenues in the Treasury Department of the Government, leaving the bonded debt, which should have been paid, to draw interest, and deprived the people of sufficient money to carry on their legitimate business.

It has often been charged, and we think the circumstances are such as to sustain the charge, that this course has been taken by the Administration in order to further the free-trade views which have been so boldly announced by the President. There is no division or sentiment upon the question of reducing the revenues of the Government, but the great question which divides the two political parties is as to the manner of making such reduction. The Democratic policy as declared by the President is to wipe out the duty on wool, iron ore, coal, salt, hemp, and other articles described by him as "raw material," and to largely reduce the duty upon manufactured goods which are imported. In other words, he favors free trade in what are known as "raw materials," and a tariff solely for the purpose of raising revenue upon manufactured goods and other merchandise imported.

There has been no Congressional term since 1866, when the Republican party has been in power in this House, that taxation has not been reduced, and that party to-day is in favor of reducing taxation to such sum as shall only be necessary to meet the principal and interest upon the public debt, pay the pensions provided for our soldiers, and the necessary and proper expenditures of the Government as provided by law; but in making such reductions that party insists upon retaining our American system of protection to American labor and American industry, fully believing that such policy is for the best interest of our people. This policy has met with the approval of the Fathers of the Republic—of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, of Adams and Jackson, and of Webster and Clay—of the men who framed our Constitution, as well as of men who have since stood by and defended it. Whatever language the Democratic party may use in its public utterances, whether it be tariff reform or tariff for revenue only, the spirit and tendency of that party upon that question is one which shall simply raise revenue for the support of the Government without taking into consideration the effect the same may have upon our industries or our labor, and looking towards free trade in as many articles as possible. A tariff simply for raising revenue is one which offers a premium to the foreign producer to the detriment of our own in-

dustry and our own labor. It tends to build up and encourage foreign industries and to discourage and depress our own. Whatever may be the effect of a protective tariff in the small and thickly-settled countries of Europe, where their manufacturing industries, as well as their natural resources are fully developed, is immaterial to us. That protective tariff laws in our own country, which is comparatively new, tends to increase the wages of labor and the income of the laborer I think there can be no question. It tends to the building up of new and varied industries, to the employment of labor at higher wages, to the cheapening of the products of our mills and factories, to the opening of a larger and better home market for our farmers, and to the general development of our natural resources.

It is a maxim that can not be overthrown, that the price of our productions is regulated by the demand and supply. Every farmer knows that if our crop of wheat, corn, and potatoes is generally large throughout the country that the price will be low, but if such crops are generally light that the price will be higher. We all understand that if there is but little demand for labor throughout the country that wages must be low, but when we are building many miles of railroad, and making other large public improvements, when all our shops, furnaces, and factories are busy, then labor finds employment at fair and remunerative wages. This being so, we insist that any legislation which tends to build up or increase the demand for labor must necessarily increase the wages of the laborer. The more of the production of foreign labor we import to supply the wants of our people, so much the less shall we manufacture or produce in our own country, and our labor has to that extent been deprived of employment. Every farmer knows that the more wool we import from South America or Australia, and the more potatoes we import from Canada, so much less wool and potatoes shall we need to produce in our own country to supply the wants of our people, and he fully understands that by reason of such importations he has been deprived of his just and proper income. These are simple propositions, and readily understood by all. The farmer can not live at his chosen occupation unless there is a demand for that which he grows, and the laborer can not find employment unless there is a demand for that which he produces.

If the wants of our people are to be supplied by the production of foreign labor then our shops, our furnaces, and our factories must remain idle, and our own labor be unemployed. During the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1857, we imported \$683,418,980.70 worth of foreign productions, and of this amount \$450,325,321.55 were dutiable goods, and \$233,093,659.15 worth of goods were admitted free of duty. Here, then, was more than \$450,000,000 worth of the products of foreign labor imported into our country and consumed by our people in one year, upon which the importer paid for the purpose of placing such goods upon our market \$212,225,163, or an average rate of duty of 47.10 per cent. Is there a sane man in America who does not believe the amount of our imports would have been largely increased if the rate of duty had been less? Our whole experience in the past has demonstrated that fact. We have seen this forcibly illustrated in the increased amount of imported wool since the duty on that article was reduced in 1883. We have again seen it illustrated in the increased importation of tin-plate and other articles upon which the duty has been decreased. By reason of the Secretary of the Treasury putting a different construction upon the worsted schedule in the act of 1883 from what was intended by the framers of that law, a construction which has largely

reduced the duty from what was intended, the importation of worsted goods has been largely increased, and the result has been, as we are informed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his last annual report, that our worsted industry has become nearly ruined. If this be the effect of a reduction of the duty on worsted goods what must be the inevitable effect if we take the duty entirely off from wool and other articles, as proposed by this bill? Must not the industries which are engaged in producing the articles mentioned be destroyed also?

During the fiscal year which ended June 30 last we imported \$16,351,-370 worth of raw wool and \$44,235,244 worth of woollen goods, notwithstanding our high rates of duty, but if we take the duty entirely from wool and reduce that on woollen goods, as proposed in this bill, I think we can safely presume that more than \$100,000,000 worth of wool and woollen goods will be imported during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890. It is proposed by this bill to reduce the duty on steel rails from \$17 per ton to \$11. What must be the result? Either a reduction of wages for the labor engaged in producing steel rails or else a large increase in the amount of steel rails imported. The duty will by this bill be reduced on such rails about one-third, but should the amount imported be increased by the lower duty one-third, then what have we gained? We have collected the same amount of revenue for the support of the Government, it is true, but we have deprived our own furnaces of the business or work necessary to make the extra amount of rails we have imported, and to that extent deprived our own laboring people of employment. During the fiscal year 1887 we imported of iron and steel 1,783,251 gross tons, not including iron ore, which amounted to 1,194,301 tons more. If the duty had been what is proposed in this bill, can any one doubt but that the amount imported would have been largely increased? To the extent which the wants of our people are supplied by imported goods made in Europe to the same extent must our factories, shops, and furnaces remain idle and our workmen remain unemployed.

It is said that notwithstanding our protective tariff wages are low and many of our people are unemployed. Whether wages are low or not depends somewhat how we make comparison. If we compare the rate of wages to-day with the average rate of wages before the war, under our low tariff, we will find they are much higher now than then. There never was a time when the amount received by the wage earner for his work would buy so many of the necessaries of life as at the present time. The per cent. of our population who are out of employment to-day is not greater than it has been, on the average, for the last forty years, with the exception of the time during the war and for a few years following the same. During the war a million and more of our laboring men were engaged in saving the country and hence the demand for labor gave all employment, and it took some eight years after the close of the war for the nation to recuperate and to supply the necessities of the people. But if wages are too low what remedy do the friends of this bill present for relief? They propose to largely reduce the duties upon foreign imports, and to throw open our ports to the free importation of many articles which are produced abroad and can be produced here. In other words, they propose to increase the supply of our own people from the production of foreign labor, which, of necessity, must decrease the consumption of similar things which should be supplied by our own shops and produced by our own people. That the average rate of wages in France and Germany is from 75 to 100 per cent. less



than in the United States we think there can be no question, while the average rate in England is from 60 to 75 per cent. less than here.

This fact is clearly established by the reports of our consuls and by the reports of the bureau of statistics in the several countries named, as well as by the personal observation of those who have traveled in the European countries mentioned. In 1883 the average rate of wages in the branches of trade mentioned, in the city of Berlin, Germany, was as follows: Locksmiths, without board, \$4.28 per week; journeymen masons, \$5.35; journeymen carpenters, \$4.99; painters, the same; house painters, \$3.37; paviers of streets, foremen, \$7.37, journeymen, \$6; common laborers on streets, \$3.21; apprentices at such work, \$2.85; journeymen tailors, \$4.28; harness-makers, \$3.09. These figures were taken by myself from the original report of the bureau of statistics of the city of Berlin. The city of Berlin has a population of over 1,300,000 people. Compare these figures with the rate of wages in New York, in Washington, or any other of our larger cities. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, our able Commissioner of Labor, and formerly holding a similar position in the State of Massachusetts, in his sixteenth annual report for said State, makes a general comparison of the average rate of wages for the year 1883 in England and Massachusetts, as well as the average cost of living in each country, assuming that similar articles are used and in like quantities. He gives as the result of his investigation the average rate of wages in Massachusetts as \$1.77 to \$1 in England, while the average cost of living is as 100 in Massachusetts to 87 $\frac{1}{4}$  in England, or while the cost of living in England is about 17 per cent. less than in Massachusetts, yet the average rate of wages is 77 per cent. more in Massachusetts than in England. He shows further that the difference in the cost of living in Massachusetts and England arises almost wholly in the item of rent.

The people in France, England, and Germany are able to subsist upon the pittance which they receive for their labor simply because they do not live one-half as well as do the wage-earners in our own country. They are compelled to exercise the greatest economy, and every member of the family becomes a wage-earner as soon as they are of sufficient age, the women often performing the hardest and most burdensome kind of outdoor toil. I trust the day will never come when our women in America shall be compelled to perform such labor and bear such burdens as they do in the countries named. I do not mention these things for the purpose of showing what effect protection or free trade may have in the countries named; whether free trade in England or protection in Germany is advisable and best I shall not undertake to say, for I contend that what may be good policy in this respect in one country might be ruinous in another. England maintained her protective policy until but a few years ago. She built up her manufacturing industries under a protective policy until the products of her factories exceeded those produced in any other country. Her statesmen saw that she was unable to produce food for her people, and that she must rely largely upon the productions of her factories and her foreign commerce to sustain her government and people. She was unable by force of circumstances beyond her control to build up diversified industries. But how different is it with our country!

We are told by our free-trade friends that we have been enabled to pay higher wages in this country than could be paid in Europe because of our cheap lands and immense natural resources, and that our protective tariff has had no tendency to increase wages; but this statement we insist can not be sustained. It is true we have an immense

country—a land bounded by oceans and stretching from the lakes to the gulf—a country possessed of all kinds of climate and soil, and with more natural resources and wealth than any other country in the world; but we neglected to develop this wealth and utilize these natural resources until after the enactment of our tariff laws in 1861. It was our protective tariff which induced our capitalists to develop the wealth of the nation, which erected our furnaces and built our factories, which has thrown open our iron and coal fields, constructed our railroads, and opened our forests, and thereby given employment to our labor; and so far as I am concerned I desire to see that policy continued which has made our blessed land grow and prosper beyond any other. I have mentioned the low rate of wages in England, France, and Germany simply for the purpose of showing what we must compete with in our own land. How, I ask my free-trade friends, are we to pay for labor in this country nearly twice as much as is being paid for similar labor in the countries named, and yet market our products in competition with that produced abroad, unless we in some way give advantage to our labor and industries by our tariff laws?

Protection enables us to maintain the balance of trade in favor of our own country. A nation, like an individual, which spends more than its income for that which it can dispense with is, like an individual, on the road to adversity. It is said that England imports more each year than she exports, and that she is still a wealthy nation. This is true; but England is a creditor nation. She holds the obligations of many other governments as well as of thousands of foreign corporations, and has to a large extent the carrying trade of the world. Her income from these sources far more than exceeds the balance of trade against her. We, on the contrary, are a debtor nation, and to meet the interest and principal of our obligations, national and corporate, held abroad, we must export more than we import and sell more than we buy. The financial history of our country shows the effect of having the balance of trade run against us for a number of years in succession. In 1837 we had a great financial panic, reaching all over the land and well remembered by our older people. At this time the balance of trade had been against us for several years. From 1848 to 1857 the balance of trade against this country amounted to \$336,000,000; and many more of our people remember the great financial crash of 1857. From 1859 to 1873 the balance of trade against our country amounted to the immense sum of \$1,086,000,000, and during the same time we exported of our gold to meet this balance, as far as possible, to the amount of \$690,000,000, so that in 1873 we had but little or no gold left in the country.

Who does not remember the financial disaster of 1873? These illustrations show the effect of buying, as a nation, more than we sell, of importing more than we export. Actual experience like this is the most convincing evidence that can be adduced for establishing any proposition of this kind. It is true we had our protective tariff from 1861 to 1873, but during a portion of this time a million and more of our producers had become consumers and were fighting to save the nation's life, and we were unable to supply the demands of the people, and our wants were supplied largely by excessive importations. It seems to me that common prudence should prompt us not to increase our importations by reducing our rates of duty upon foreign imports. We are told that our tariff upon foreign goods is a grievous burden upon the consumers in the land. There is no evidence adduced to establish the assertion. There is no class of our people to-day that are com-

plaining that what they buy is too dear so much as they are complaining that what they have to sell is too cheap. The laborer is not complaining so much that what he buys is too costly as he is that what he has to sell, his labor, is too cheap. The farmer complains because his products sell so low, and not because his groceries and his clothing cost too much. His wife does not complain because she is compelled to pay too much for her calico, her dress trimmings, and her tea, but she does complain because her butter, her eggs, and her cheese bring so small a price. Our free-trade or low-tariff friends who are seeking to supply the wants of the consumer with cheaper goods might well turn their attention to the producer and laborer who are seeking a better price for that which they have to sell. While our protective policy tends to preserve our home market for our producers, so it tends to cheapen manufactured goods to the consumer.

This was the opinion of that great champion of human rights and human liberty, Horace Greeley, who fell a martyr in his efforts to reform the Democratic party. Said he:

No man can truthfully suggest one article which, having been formerly wholly imported, has since, through protection, been so naturalized to our own soil that it is now produced here to the extent of nearly supplying our own wants, which now costs our people more than it did when we imported it from abroad

I concede that prices of home-made articles are higher for some time after a tariff law goes into effect, but upon most articles this increased price is but temporary. The correctness of this statement is fully confirmed by actual experience in our own country. We see it in the case of Bessemer steel, of woolen and cotton goods, of nails, saws, axes, of table cutlery and crockery-ware, and all other articles that can be named which are produced here in such quantities as will nearly supply our own wants. Our protective tariff has stimulated invention and improvement, and built up these great industries which now compel foreign countries to compete with us for our home market subject to the duty upon their goods which we make them pay for such competition. The more factories there are the more competition we have and the cheaper goods we get. It is said that if protection tends to cheapen manufactured goods, what advantage is a protective tariff to the producer or manufacturer? I will answer that a protective tariff tends to give him a more stable market for his wares, and insures him a fair price for his product, and aids him in getting started in building up his business, while at all times it saves him from an unjust and unequal competition with the foreign producer. It is said that a protective tariff is detrimental to the interest of the farmer; but this I deny.

Supposing that our Democratic free-trade, tariff-for-revenue-only friends shall succeed in passing this bill, every industry it strikes must either reduce the wages of the people employed therein or else close the shops, furnaces, and factories which give them employment. In either event we will witness increased "strikes," "lock-outs," and a million of wage-earners that are now finding work will be thrown out of employment and of necessity be driven to tilling the soil. These men, who have been consumers of the products of the farm, will become producers. The farmer needs no more competition in his chosen pursuit. That which he produces to-day scarcely compensates him for his labor. If these people who are now engaged in other pursuits are to become tillers of the soil and producers of wheat, corn, and potatoes, where are the agriculturists to find a market for that which they produce? We shall not find it in our own country, because by our over-

production we have ruined our home market. We have increased producers and decreased consumers, and increased our productions beyond any foreign demand. We shall in fact become a nation of agriculturists, and no nation ever has been or ever will be prosperous where its people are wholly or chiefly engaged in agriculture.

It is our protective tariff which has largely built up our varied industries, and which has tended to make us the most prosperous nation in the world. A protective tariff tends to aid and build up all our industries, to bring the producer and consumer nearer together, and thereby largely save the cost of transportation. This has made more valuable the farm and given a better market for its products. This is what has made lands near our large cities more valuable than those more distant. This is why the lands in rough and rocky New England and in sterile New Jersey are more valuable than our fertile lands in Michigan and Minnesota. Every farmer knows well that he can not send to foreign lands his potatoes, vegetables, and many other things which he grows upon the farm, and that he must rely upon the home market for the same. Hence it is all important that he should feel a deep interest in the building up of manufacturing towns and cities near his home, where he can market his surplus productions. It is for this reason that we see them often voting a tax upon themselves, or aiding by voluntary contribution to assist in building railroads and in the erection of factories. They understand perfectly well that it is to their advantage to build up these towns and bring the consumer of their products near to them, and to make distant markets more accessible. Every farmer who produces wool understands full well that he can not raise wool in competition with that which is produced in Australia or South America. The President of the United States and free-trade Congressmen may try to convince them that free imported wool will be to their advantage, but their own practical experience tells them otherwise.

At every farmers' convention, as well as at every wool-growers' gathering, we see these men pronouncing and protesting against putting wool on the free-list. More than three thousand farmers in my own district, representing all parties, have sent me their protest. Here is an industry more diversified over the country than any other. In Oregon, in California, in Colorado, in Ohio, in Texas, in Michigan, and Vermont, we find the wool-growers and farmers protesting against this measure, which they believe is to destroy this great industry. Where are the Representatives here who are to voice the will of this large portion of our population? Where is the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and his Democratic associates, who generally so readily respond to the appeal of the farmers? We find them upon this question turning a deaf ear to these appeals of the people whose interest they are to guard. The representatives of the wool-growers and the wool manufacturers met in this city, and they gave to this House the result of their deliberation. These men represented no political party, but they did represent great interests. They demanded not free wool and reduced duty on woolen goods, but they demanded that the tariff laws should be revised so that these industries should be preserved and protected. The representatives of these industries and all others have been denied a hearing by the committee which reported this bill. Their petitions have been unheeded and their prayers unheard. Strike the blow at these industries which you threaten, and its echoes will be heard on the 6th day of November next.

In 1860 we imported \$38,000,000 worth of woolen goods, while our domestic supply was but \$61,000,000, and \$99,000,000 worth in all

was consumed by our people, or on an average \$3.17 worth per capita of our population. In 1880 we imported \$33,000,000 worth of woollen goods, and our domestic supply was \$238,000,000, and we consumed \$5.35 worth per capita. This shows that our people used \$2.18 worth more per capita of woollen goods in 1880 than they did in 1860, although woollen goods were cheaper in 1880 than in 1860. Our people dressed better and lived better and earned more wages per capita in 1880 under our protective tariff than in 1860 under our revenue tariff. In 1860 we had 22,471,275 sheep, and the wool-clip amounted to 60,511,343 pounds. In 1870 our sheep had increased to 28,477,951 and our wool-clip to 100,102,387 pounds, while in 1880 our sheep numbered 40,765,900, and our wool-clip was 240,000,000 pounds. In 1884 our sheep had increased to 50,626,620, and our wool-clip was 308,000,000 pounds. In 1883 the duty on woollen goods and wool was reduced, as it was on other things, and then the number of our sheep commenced to be reduced, and the wool-clip was lessened, so that in 1886 it only amounted to 285,000,000 pounds, and in 1887 to 265,000,000 pounds, as estimated by Mr. Dodge, of the Bureau of Statistics of the Agricultural Department.

The increase in the number of sheep from 1810 to 1860, fifty years, was 100 per cent., and in pounds of wool 350 per cent., while from 1860 to 1885, twenty-five years, the increase in sheep was 140 per cent., and in pounds of wool 375 per cent. Here is illustrated the practical effect of our protective tariff upon the wool industry. Under our protective policy we see that the number of sheep, as well as the amount of our wool-clip, has been largely increased, while after the reduction of duty in the tariff revision of 1883 we see the number of our sheep decreasing from year to year, and our wool-clip diminishing. Gentlemen may theorize all they please, but the practical experience of our farmers is here illustrated beyond question, and this illustration is more convincing to them than any theory that can be advanced by all the free-traders in this House and the President of the United States combined. In 1860 the average weight of the fleece was less than 3 pounds, while at the present time it is 6 pounds. Here again we see that not only has the number of sheep largely increased under our protective-tariff laws, but there has been great improvement in our flocks and in the amount and quality of the wool produced. In 1860 we produced on an average but little over 2 pounds to each inhabitant, while in 1885 it reached 5 pounds to each inhabitant.

Our sheep are not only valuable on account of the wool they produce, but valuable also for the meat they furnish, and for enriching the lands of the farmer. Pass this bill, and this industry which is national in its importance will be ruined, for within this bill exists a disease more fatal to sheep husbandry than any "rot" that ever entered the farmer's flock. What substitute has the farmer for the industry you are about to deprive him of? When his crop of grain fails him, as it does at times, he is often able to meet his obligations, pay his help, and clothe his family for that which he may receive from a bountiful crop of potatoes and other vegetables, or from hemp which is grown in some of the States; but his home market for these you propose in this bill to take from him. You passed but a short time ago a bill to tax substitutes for butter that you might protect the dairy interest of the country, although these substitutes were produced by our own people; but now, when the productions of foreign lands are seeking to obtain the home markets of our farmers, the Chief Executive of the nation sounds the keynote, set to free-trade music, which makes glad the hearts of foreign

producers and saddens the heart of the American farmer; and here to-day we see the whole power of the Administration, with its public patronage and public plunder, wielded in favor of the passage of this bill, which, if it shall become a law, must inevitably destroy our American industries and depress our American labor. Is the power of the Executive with its public patronage greater than the power of the people with their ballots? Pass this bill and make the issue, and the ides of November will answer the question.

In 1860 we had 1,263 woolen establishments with a capital of \$30,922,654, consuming 83,608,468 pounds of wool, and producing \$65,596,364 worth of goods, while in 1880 we had 2,689 woolen establishments, employing 161,557 persons, and having invested \$159,091,869 capital, and the value of the product amounted to \$267,252,913. Here we see that the manufacturing industry has kept pace with that of wool-growing. In 1860 the entire production of our worsted mills amounted to only \$3,230,000 worth of goods, while in 1880 it had increased to \$33,549,942 worth. In the revision of our tariff laws in 1883 language touching the duty on worsted goods seemed to the Treasury Department indefinite and obscure, and a construction has been given to the act by which it is conceded by the Secretary of the Treasury the worsted industry is fast becoming ruined. Other language used in the revised tariff laws of 1883, like that in the classification of "wool-tops," "waste," etc., has under the construction of the Treasury Department worked great injury to the woolen industries, and these imperfections should be remedied without delay. We imported during the last fiscal year (articles of a similar nature being produced by our farmers) and upon which a duty was paid, of flax about \$2,000,000 worth, which paid a duty of 8.09 per cent.; hemp, jute, and other vegetable substances, about \$10,000,000 worth, with rate of duty 17.81 per cent.; breadstuffs \$6,386,560 worth, average rate of duty 16.84 per cent.; animals \$4,665,066 worth, average rate of duty 20 per cent.; hops \$3,117,662 worth, average rate of duty 42.64 per cent.; vegetables \$2,276,304 worth, average rate of duty 24.05; hay \$791,686 worth, average rate of duty 18.80 per cent.

Now, these articles, as well as that of wool, which I have mentioned, and many others, lessened to the extent they were imported the demand of similar articles produced by our own farmers. It is proposed by this bill to put many of the articles named upon the free-list. If this shall be done can any one doubt that the imports of such articles will be largely increased to the great injury of our farmers? The friends of this bill seem to think that our farmers should confine their labors to the raising of wheat in the North and cotton in the South, and that the surplus of these productions can be exchanged in England, France, and Germany for the manufactured productions of Europe. If England wishes to buy bread to feed its operatives it seeks it in that country where it can acquire it the cheapest, and it does not wait to exchange other commodities therefor, as our free-trade friends would suppose. We see this in the increased amount of bread kind which it is receiving from India. In 1871 only one-half of 1 per cent. of the wheat imported into England was supplied by India, while in 1887 it amounted to over 11½ per cent.; and it is evident that the time will soon come when India will be able to supply the wheat necessary to feed the English people at a less price than the same can be produced here. It is folly, in my judgment, to talk about increasing the export of the productions of our farmers by increasing the imports of the foreign laborer. Your effort in that direction must simply result in decreasing the home market of the Amer-

ican farmer. It is conceded by the chairman of the committee that if the bill is passed it will largely increase the imports from Europe, which in itself must decrease the amount produced by our own labor. The sole reason why goods can not be produced as cheaply here as in Europe is that the rates of wages are so much higher here than there.

But it is contended by our free-trade friends that high wages mean decreased cost of production, and hence cheaper goods. This idea was first advanced by Mr. George; but a little investigation will show that such is not the rule. It is true that by reason of improved machinery wages in nearly all branches of business are higher than they were thirty or forty years ago, but this arises from the fact that by reason of improved machinery the productive power of labor is much greater now than then. This is clearly shown by the chairman of the committee [Mr. MILLS]. He says, in speaking of print cloth, that—

Each operative in 1849 made 44½ yards per day, in 1884 98.2 yards per day, an increase of productive power of 120 per cent. The average daily earnings of the laborer in 1849 were 66 cents, and in 1884 \$1. His wages increased 50 per cent. and the labor cost of the product decreased 32 per cent.

Here, then, was an increase in wages of 50 per cent. and decrease cost of labor product of 32 per cent., making 82 per cent. Deduct this from 120 per cent., the increased power of production, would leave 38 per cent., which it will be claimed is increased profits on the labor; but we must take into consideration that the improved machinery cost more and it took more capital to conduct the business and more money to keep it in repair, and to make good the wear and tear thereof, to keep it insured, etc. I have no doubt the profits of the manufacturer were somewhat increased, but certainly not to as great a per cent. as was the wages of the laborer. This same principle holds good in every illustration that the honorable gentleman from Texas has given. It was not the higher wages of the laborer that materially increased his productive power or cheapened the product of his labor, but it was the improved machinery that increased his productive power, cheapened the production of the laborer, and enabled the manufacturer to increase his wages. But it is claimed that our machinery is superior in productive power to that of England, but the facts will not warrant the statement. Much of the machinery in our woolen, cotton, and other industries came from Europe.

England, like our own country, generally adopts the best and most modern machinery in its factories, and it can not be successfully claimed that England is behind our own country in skilled workmen. Every person familiar with manufacturing in our country knows that in many of our factories, especially if they are comparatively new, much of our most skilled labor comes from abroad. This is no disparagement to our workmen, because England for a much longer time has been educating her people in her factories. There is no people in the world with such an inventive genius as our own, and none so quick to comprehend and understand complicated machinery and operate the same. A large proportion, I think some 38 per cent., of our operatives in the cotton and woolen factories are foreign born or have foreign parentage. Now, if they have equally as good machinery in these industries in England as here, what reason is there for supposing that the English operative can produce more in our country than when he is in his native land? Boots and shoes ready made by machinery are as cheap here as in London, France, or Berlin; but you go to a shop and have the same articles made to order by hand, and they will cost you 50 per cent. more here than there on account of the less rate of wages there. A good suit of clothes

or a dress can be made in Europe at much less cost than here for the same reason. A large manufacturer in Berlin some three years ago told me that where we could produce an article almost or entirely by machinery that they in Germany could not pay our duty and compete with us, but where there was much hand labor used in its production they could pay our duty and undersell us in our own markets on account of their lower rate of wages. The less hand labor used and the more machinery in the production of an article the nearer we can come to competing with the English manufacturer, and the less machinery and more hand labor used in the production of an article the less nearer we can come to competing with the foreign producer; and if one will study our importations and compare the same with our rates of duty this statement will be confirmed.

These facts apply in the pursuit of agriculture and other industries as well as to manufacturing. Free raw material is the shibboleth of this Administration, provided such "raw material" is something produced by the farmer. Wool, hemp, potatoes, and other vegetables are to be placed upon the free-list, but iron ore and other things dug from the earth are to remain protected by this bill. Is wool any more a "raw material" than iron ore, or hemp any more of a "raw material" than slack coal? If the principle of free "raw material" is good in one case, then why not in the other? The whole theory of putting so-called "raw material" upon the free-list, as claimed by our free-trade friends, is that this will give to the manufacturer cheaper material and enable him to produce goods at so low a cost that he can sell them in the markets of the world in competition with similar goods produced in Europe. This theory is not sustained by our past experience. It has not been the case, to any great extent, in the case of cotton goods or leather goods where there is no duty levied upon the raw material. But, if the theory was true, are we not making too great a sacrifice when we destroy many of our industries in order to build up or increase our foreign trade? But we are told by the President—

That our present tariff laws are vicious and inequitable, and that the primary and plain effect is to raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties.

Mr. Chairman, this statement has been refuted so many times that it seems almost useless to further discuss the question. There is scarcely an article that can be named that the foreign producer does not himself have to stand more or less of the duty levied by our Government by a reduction of the price of his commodity. The duty on a square yard of calico is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents, which is more than the wholesale price for prints in our country to-day.

According to the President's theory were it not for our duty on prints, calico would cost us nothing. The same suggestions might be made touching many other kinds of cloth, both cotton and woolen, as well as many articles in metal, wood, etc. There is a duty on wheat of 20 cents per bushel, and on potatoes of 10 cents. Only think what a bonanza the farmers would have if every bushel of wheat they produced was enhanced in price 20 cents, and potatoes 10 cents, by reason of the tariff. I am quite willing to concede that there are many articles upon which there is a duty levied, if such duty was removed these things would, for the time being, be furnished to the consumer cheaper than now; in other words, that the duty does on some articles enhance the price; but if by taking off such duty we are thereby compelled to reduce the rate of wages of our people, and lessen the necessaries of life which they now enjoy; if we are thereby to ruin and destroy our in-



dustries, to lessen the productive power of our factories and furnaces, and to retard the general prosperity of our country, as we must, then, sir, this bill should not pass. It was said to me by a free-trade friend but a few months ago, that he was opposed to protection upon general principles, and insisted that America was able to compete with the world, and the laboring people here ought to have pride enough to do so without raising their wages by artificial means; but the American laborer can not feed and clothe his family or himself as he desires upon the simple pride that he is able to work for the same wages that the wage-earner works for in England, France, or Germany. If the farmer is producing his crop at an actual loss when his labor and the cost of his investment in the farm are considered, it is no great comfort to himself to be able to say that he has sold his productions as cheap as the same could have been supplied by the foreign producer.

Again, we are told that while we have a tariff which tends to keep out the production of foreign labor, yet we levy no duty upon the foreign laborer himself when he enters our ports. That is true.

More than thirty years ago, when my own State was under Democratic rule, she had for four years a paid agent in Germany soliciting immigration to our State, and this policy of soliciting immigration has been continued by our State until within a few years ago. This policy existed in many other States until recently. Public sentiment is not now, I am glad to say, in favor of encouraging foreign immigration, but no policy has yet been devised, and, in my judgment, will not be devised, which shall prevent honest, intelligent, and able-bodied citizens of other countries whose principles and habits of life are not inimical to our form of government from seeking a home in our country, where they seek such home for the purpose of becoming part and parcel of our citizenship. Our free-trade friends do not object to the productions of these people when in Europe coming here to supplant the productions of our own people, but, sir, if their productions are to be consumed by our people I prefer that they should produce them here rather than in Europe; then their wants are supplied, and they are fed and clothed by the productions of our own people, instead of being fed and clothed by the productions of Europe. When here they help to enlarge our home market, but when abroad they simply help to supply our home markets.

Mr. Chairman, it has been often said that words are sometimes uttered to reveal thought and sometimes to conceal the same, but language never ought to be used to deceive those to whom it is addressed. I can not think for a moment that the honorable gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] intended to deceive this House when he used the following language, but that his language is misleading in substance and in fact there can be no question. He says:

Here is a coarse wool suit of clothes such as our working people wear in their daily toil in the shop and field. The whole cost is \$12. The labor cost is \$2. The tariff duty is 40 cents per pound and 35 per cent, ad valorem. As the weight is not given, we can not get the exact tariff, but the duty on woollen clothes imported last year averaged 54 per cent., and at that rate the tariff stands \$6.48 to cover \$2 of labor cost.

Any one not familiar with the gentleman's statements would suppose from this language that the expense of all the labor in producing such suit of clothes, including taking the wool from the sheep's back, washing and scouring the wool, spinning the yarn, weaving the cloth, and cutting and making the suit, was but \$2, when as a matter of fact I suppose he means that the cost of labor in simply the making the suit was only \$2. I am not familiar with the actual cost price to the

wholesale clothier for the making of such suit; but I am inclined to think that if he had inquired of the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MORSE], who is familiar, I dare say, with the matter, he would find that \$2 for the making was less than the average price. But the gentleman from Texas says that the duty upon the suit of clothes would amount to \$6.48. Let us examine the matter and see if any such statement is warranted. The gentleman has been too long a member of the Committee on Ways and Means to be unfamiliar with the manner of levying duties on foreign imports. He certainly must know that the duty is levied upon the actual market value of the article in the place and country where purchased or produced, and not upon the actual market value of the article here, yet he figures the rate of duty upon the market value of the article here and the retail price at that, and he impliedly says to this House and to the country that such is the law and the practice in levying duties upon foreign imports.

If this suit of clothes retailed at \$12, the wholesale price was probably about \$10, and not over that. Now, if the duty on the imported suit is added to the cost price, as claimed by our Democratic friends, let us see what the suit would have cost in Europe. The suit of clothes would have cost in Europe \$10 at wholesale price, less the rate of duty. In other words, the suit of clothes in Europe at wholesale market price would have cost \$6.52, and if the suit weighed 3 pounds, the average weight, the duty would be \$3.48, making \$10. We see from this that the duty would have been \$3.48 instead of \$6.48, as stated by the honorable gentleman from Texas. The real facts are but little or no clothing of this price and description is imported, because the same can be bought in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington nearly or quite as cheaply as in Paris, Berlin, or London. The language used by him in the other illustrations which he gave touching the duty and cost of labor is, so far as I have examined, equally as misleading as this which I have given. I have the highest regard for the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, but I must say that in my judgment he owes it to the House and to the country to so correct his language that the same shall not be misleading, but harmonize with the facts. It is true that the surplus revenues of the Government are excessive, but not to that extent which the President or his Democratic friends represent. That party has become so used to falsifying the financial record of the country touching this surplus, that the President himself has been deceived, or else he, too, is trying to deceive the country.

The Democratic party said in its platform in 1884 that the country had been collecting \$100,000,000 surplus revenue annually, when there was collected during the very year in which this declaration was made less than \$18,000,000 surplus; but it is conceded now by the leading administration paper of this city that the Democratic platform of 1884 was a fraud. In the Post of the 20th instant I find this item, and it is a choice item, too, because so true:

"Mr. Cleveland presents the peculiar spectacle of a man asking for re-election to office because he repudiates the platform which he approved and was elected upon three years ago"—*Omaha Republican*.

This is not true; but if it were it would be entirely to the President's credit. The Chicago platform of 1884 was a good deal of a fraud.

The Republican party disposed of its surplus by paying off the Government bonds, while the Democratic party is hoarding up such revenues. The Republican party while in power was constantly reducing taxation, and thereby decreasing the revenues. It did this by reducing internal taxation, and by the placing of such things upon the free-list the importation of which did not come in competition with our own

productions, until we have increased the value of our imports on non-durable goods to from a few million dollars' worth to over \$233,000,000 worth. Speaking for myself alone, and I believe the sentiments of those who sent me here, I am ready to co-operate with any party in still further reducing our revenues, but it must be in continuance of the policy of the Republican party, as stated above. I am willing that such reduction shall be made partially upon internal taxation by removing the tax on tobacco, raw and manufactured, not including cigars and cigarettes; and partially by placing on the free-list that article which would least harm the industries of the country.

Tobacco may be considered a luxury, but it is now, and ever will be, I fear, used by a great portion of our people, especially among our laboring classes; and there is scarcely anything they consume that they would not prefer to dispense with rather than their tobacco. Its use is not so degrading or immoral as to warrant the Government in prohibiting its use either by taxation or otherwise. The time has not yet arrived, in my opinion, when we should remove the tax upon alcoholic and intoxicating liquors. Public sentiment would not warrant such a step at the present time. Its excessive use is degrading and immoral, and public sentiment is now demanding that its entire use shall be prohibited where possible, and curtailed to its lowest limit in all places. This tax, in my judgment, is a tax upon that the use of which results in evil, and it tends somewhat to limit and restrain such evil. For this reason I am not willing at present to relieve it from taxation. So long as the use as well as abuse of liquor can not be prohibited, I am desirous of retaining such laws as will tend to curtail and restrain its use to the lowest possible limit. I would further reduce our revenue by placing sugar upon the free-list; not that I am willing to give up the idea that we are not to in time produce in this country our own sugar, but because we can render aid to that industry in a more economical and better way. I think it has been quite safely demonstrated that we can not or shall not produce sugar to an amount sufficient for our own use from the cane, but if produced at all it must come from the beet or sorghum, and I think from the latter. I am quite willing to foster the industry still further, but we can far better afford to do so by bounty rather than by a duty. We consumed of sugar in 1887, 2,781,159,646 pounds, valued at \$68,882,884, and the duties paid thereon amounted to \$56,507,495. We produced in our own country only, I think, about one-twelfth of what we consumed. We can well afford to pay a bounty to still further encourage our sugar industry, to an amount which would be more beneficial to the producer than the duty now levied, and the people would still save in the process of encouragement more than \$40,000,000 annually in the cost of their sugar. I am willing to give the bounty, because I wish if possible to build up another great branch of agricultural industry, which if successful will soon bring to that class of our people more than \$100,000,000 annually.

Gentlemen tell us that we have prospered notwithstanding our protective tariff, and that our prosperity would have been greater had our protective policy not existed. The experience of our country has been different. We had for some years previous to 1857 a low revenue tariff, and let me call a Democratic witness to show what the condition of our country was at that time. On December 8, 1857, President James Buchanan, in his message to Congress, used this language:

The earth hath yielded her fruits abundantly, and has bountifully rewarded the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and up to

within a brief period our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in abundance, yet notwithstanding these advantages our country, in its monetary interests, is at the present time in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and elements of national wealth, we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of our useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want.

This condition of our country continued to exist, and in 1860 our national Treasury was bankrupt, and the credit of the Government was so poor that it could not borrow without paying higher rates of interest than that paid by individuals. Compare the credit of your Government after twenty-seven years of our protective tariff with its credit in 1860, after twenty-seven years of low tariff.

Look at the general prosperity of our country during these last twenty-seven years of its existence. In 1860 we had less than 30,000 miles of railroad, while to-day we have more than 145,000 miles of such road, or enough to encircle the globe six times, with miles of telegraph enough to more than twelve times girdle the earth. Look at the wonderful increase in the products of our forests and our mines, of our furnaces and factories. Look at the wonderful increase in the production of our silks, our glassware, our china and pottery, and in all those things which tend to bring happiness and prosperity to the people. Shall we go back to that system of legislation which bankrupted our Treasury and ruined our public credit; that system which depressed our industries, which pauperized our people, and utterly failed to develop our natural resources; that system which made us dependent upon the labor of foreign lands for that which we wore and consumed, or shall we stand by that system which has made us the most wealthy, the most prosperous, and the greatest manufacturing nation in the world? It is between these two systems that we, the representatives of the people, are to choose, and I welcome the issue. [Applause.]

REMARKS  
OF  
HON. MARK S. BREWER,  
OF MICHIGAN,  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Thursday, July 12, 1888.*

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

Mr. BREWER said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: AS I have said before, I have no expectation that anything that can be said on this side of the House will in the least change the text or character of this bill, because it has been ordained by the caucus of the majority that no change is to be made in the same except by such amendments as are offered by the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, and I should not take further time of this committee was it not for the fact that I desire to correct some statements made by my colleague [Mr. FORD] in a speech made by him on this floor on the 27th day of April last. In that speech my colleague used this language in speaking of the effect of the duty on foreign wools:

Take the result in my State, for instance, the State of Michigan. In 1867 the wool tariff was enormously increased. In that year the tariff on wool was raised so that it averaged between 50 and 60 per cent., and it so continued, practically without interruption, for sixteen years. In 1867, when the tariff went into effect, there were 4,000,000 sheep in the State, and under the effect of the high tariff on wool, on the 1st of January, 1880, the number of those sheep had dwindled down to less than 2,000,000.

My colleague made a similar statement in a communication some time previous, addressed to the president of the Sheep-Breeders' Association in my own State. I do not know where he got that information, for it certainly was from no official report. I find from the census reports for the years here given the following facts: In the year 1860 the census report shows there were 1,271,743 sheep in Michigan; in 1870 there were 1,985,906, and in 1880 there were 2,189,389.

In 1867 there was no official report, either State or national, showing the number of sheep in Michigan, but if my colleague will take the pains to look at the census reports he will find there must have been considerably less than 2,000,000 sheep in Michigan at that time, or less than one-half the number stated by him. According to the returns made to the secretary of state for Michigan in 1884, under the State census of that year, there were 2,896,911 sheep in the State, which largely exceeded any number before that given. I concede that since the reduction of the duty on wool under the act of 1883 there has been a reduction in the number of sheep in our State. This has been caused partially by a reduction of the duty at that time, and partially comes from the fact that for ten years there has been no single

Congress that there has not been a bill pending here to reduce the duties upon foreign imports, wool and other articles. These bills have hung like a pall over the industries of the country, and our flock-raisers have suffered heavy losses by reason thereof; and to-day they are receiving from 5 to 8 cents less for each pound of their wool than they would have received had not this bill been pending.

For ten years they have been harassed by proposed or threatened legislation, antagonistic to their interests, until many of our farmers have been lessening their flocks or entirely disposing of the same. When the party now in power succeeded in the election of 1884, the farmers of my State, being aware of its free-trade tendencies, and of the unfavorable legislation which it had threatened touching sheep husbandry, have been compelled to meet the threatened emergency by depleting their flocks. If the farmers of the country could have the assurance that a reasonable and proper duty could be maintained upon foreign wool for ten years, we should at the end of that time have no need to import a pound of foreign wools, for a sufficient amount would be produced in our own country; but so long as the present party shall remain in power, just so long will our tariff laws be unstable, uncertain, and demoralizing to the business interests of the country.

The increase in the amount of clothing wool imported during the three years succeeding the reduction of duty in 1883 exceeded the amount imported for the three previous years 11,852,873 pounds, and of combing wools 3,125,774 pounds, and of carpet wools 63,299,783 pounds, and of rags, shoddy, waste, flocks, etc., 2,278,779 pounds, while under the lower rate of duty there was collected \$1,062,367.96 more duty during the three years succeeding the revision of 1883 than there was during the three years preceding the same, showing that by a reduction of the rate of duty the imports are so increased that the aggregate of duty is continually increased also. The same thing occurs in the case of worsted cloths, woolen yarns, knit goods, ladies' woolen wearing apparel, etc. With the entire abolition of the duty on raw wool can any one doubt that the most of our wool will be imported, and sheep husbandry in the United States become a thing of the past? With the proposed decrease in the rate of duty upon woolen goods the importations will be so increased that the duty collected in the aggregate upon such goods will largely exceed that collected now under the present law. The only reductions made in the customs revenue under this bill will be upon such articles as are placed upon the free-list. The sole object of the bill, if we are to determine its object by its context, seems to be to increase importations. The Democratic majority in this House, as well as the Democratic party at its recent convention, has determined that this bill must pass, and that it is in the interest of our own industries and the labor of our own country that the wants of our people be supplied by the production of foreign lands. The Republican party, on the contrary, demands such legislation as shall tend to supply the wants of our own people from the productions of our own labor, legislation, which shall tend to foster our own industries and provide labor with fair wages for our own people.

The President in his message and other addresses presents all the arguments adduced by the most rabid free-trader, and yet he asserts that the question of free trade or protection is not in issue. He urges the placing of wool and other articles called "raw material" upon the free-list, and to that extent he certainly must be a free-trader. Henry George and every free-trader in America supports Grover Cleveland for

President. Every free-trader in England favors the re-election of Grover Cleveland, for they know that his views are in harmony with their own, even though he may refuse to be classed with them. Let us see what they say. The London Times of July 6, 1888, in commenting upon the remarks of President Cleveland upon receiving official notice of his renomination, uses this language:

It would hardly be possible to put the free-trade case more clearly or more strongly, and yet such is the force of words President Cleveland shrinks from the use of the term "free trade," and in fact declares that those who taunt him with being a free-trader are deceiving the country. "Free trade" appears to be equivalent, in the language of American political controversy, to "enemy of the workingmen and of industrial enterprises."

That it should be so is one of the curiosities of politics, and an extraordinary instance of the power of a phrase even over minds which are commonly shrewd and reasonable; for it is certain that the arguments which President Cleveland urges are those which Cobden used to employ forty-five years ago, and which any English free-trader would employ now. Such propositions as that taxation ought to be strictly limited by the needs of the country; that it is unjust to tax the whole community for the benefit of special classes; that import duties stifle production and limit the area of a country's markets are purely free-trade arguments. As such we are glad to see President Cleveland using them, though we are sorry for the popular infatuation which makes it dangerous to give them their right name.

Most of the London and other English press construe the President's language in a similar manner and arrive at similar conclusions touching his views upon the tariff question. The London Daily News, the great Liberal organ, of the same date, uses the following language:

President Cleveland's speech is more to the point. He discusses the principles at issue in the struggle and shows that he is the free-trade candidate in everything but name. The reservation is an important one for American party purposes. The President feels compelled to characterize the attempt to brand him as a free-trader as deception, but for all that the electoral conflict now in progress is a conflict between free trade and protection, and nothing less. This is a very good conflict as things go, and, like warfare between good and evil, it threatens to be perpetual. Mr. Cleveland may find a more formidable antagonist in General Harrison than we have been led to expect.

As well might the President and his supporters in this House say that England is not a free-trade country as to claim that the policy advocated and the arguments used by them here must not inevitably lead to free trade. There is no country in the world which has absolute free trade. England has not, for on many articles imported she levies a high rate of duty. Her tariff laws are framed "for revenue only," and yet we all call England a free-trade country. Is there a Democrat here upon this floor that is not in favor of a tariff for revenue only? Your party has often declared in its national conventions for this. Why, then, does the President shrink from admitting his desire for free trade as England has it to-day? Why is it that our Democratic friends here argue for English free trade and yet deny that they are free-traders? The whole scope of their argument has been that protection in itself is wrong *per se*; that it is robbing one class of our people for the benefit of another class; that protection tends to restrict trade and is therefore detrimental to our industries and tends to oppress our labor. If this be so, then how can our Democratic friends say they are not for the opposite of protection, to wit, free trade or the English system of a tariff for revenue only? The allegations made by the English press as above quoted can not be gainsaid. The construction put upon the President's utterances and the acts of his party in this House are too plain to be refuted by any statement of the President. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, who is the leader in this House, during the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, in discussing the "Morrison bill," used this language:

We must remove, both by legislation and diplomacy, every hindering cause that prevents the free exchange of products of our labor in all the markets of the world. We must unfetter every arm and let every muscle strike for the highest remuneration of toil. We must let wealth, the creation of labor, grow up in all the homes of our people. Then every industry will spring forward at a bound, and wealth, prosperity, and power will bless the land that is dedicated to free men, free labor, and free trade. (See volume 66, page 2990, of RECORD.)

This was in 1884. On April 24, 1878, in discussing the "Wood tariff bill," Mr. MILLS uses this language:

The committee could have imposed duties at 20 per cent., as a general rule, making a few exceptions above that standard and many below, and raise one hundred millions instead of one hundred and forty-one. The next year the same duties would bring one hundred and twenty millions, because the imports would be largely increased by the lower duties. Our policy should be to take the smallest amount of taxes that we can by customs; and we should gradually decrease the amount until our customs taxes come alone from no competing articles entering our custom houses. We now have over a hundred millions from whisky and tobacco and other internal taxes, but they are on the same principle as the tariff taxes on consumption, and fall on the poor, and should be largely decreased. (See volume 29 of CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page 2793.)

Here the honorable gentleman declares for a tariff for revenue only, such as they have in England, and which is known as free trade there. The honorable gentleman from New York [Mr. COX] compares protection with highway robbery, and votes for the lowest possible reduction of duty on everything, unless the Democratic caucus orders otherwise. Many speakers upon the other side have boldly declared that this bill does not go as far towards free trade as they wished, but they would support it as the best they could get, while other leaders of the party counsel moderation until the party gets full control of the executive and legislative departments of the Government. Can any one doubt, then, that the Democratic party to-day is essentially a free-trade party? The question in this campaign is protection *vs.* free trade, and there should be no avoiding the issue which our friends have made. If that party has the courage of its convictions they should stand by the issue they have made and let the people render their verdict accordingly.

The duty on wool and woolen goods should be restored to what it was under the act of 1867, with slight modifications in the classification; but it is entirely useless to point out what should be done when it is well known that no change in the bill can be made in this House. My friend from Missouri [Mr. DOCKERY] has taken occasion to allude to what he calls the glorious history of the Democratic party and its love for the laboring man. Let me state that if the Democratic party is entitled to any glory it must be for acts performed in its early history and not in later years. If it has ever had any love for labor in this country it has failed to manifest that fact except by word of mouth, certainly not by any affirmative act. Up to a few years ago that party in the South claimed and exercised the right to own its own labor, and was sustained in that position by the Democrats of the North. That party since its resumption of power has enacted no legislation in the interest of labor or of laboring men. To day it tells us it seeks to relieve labor of its burdens, and how? By increasing the importation of the products of foreign labor and thereby depriving our own labor from producing that which goes to supply the wants of our people, by building up foreign industries and destroying our own.

Let me tell my friend that the attempt of this House to carry out such policy is greatly depressing our industries and depriving thousands of laborers of honest employment at fair and remunerative wages, and these men will be heard in November next. [Applause.]





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