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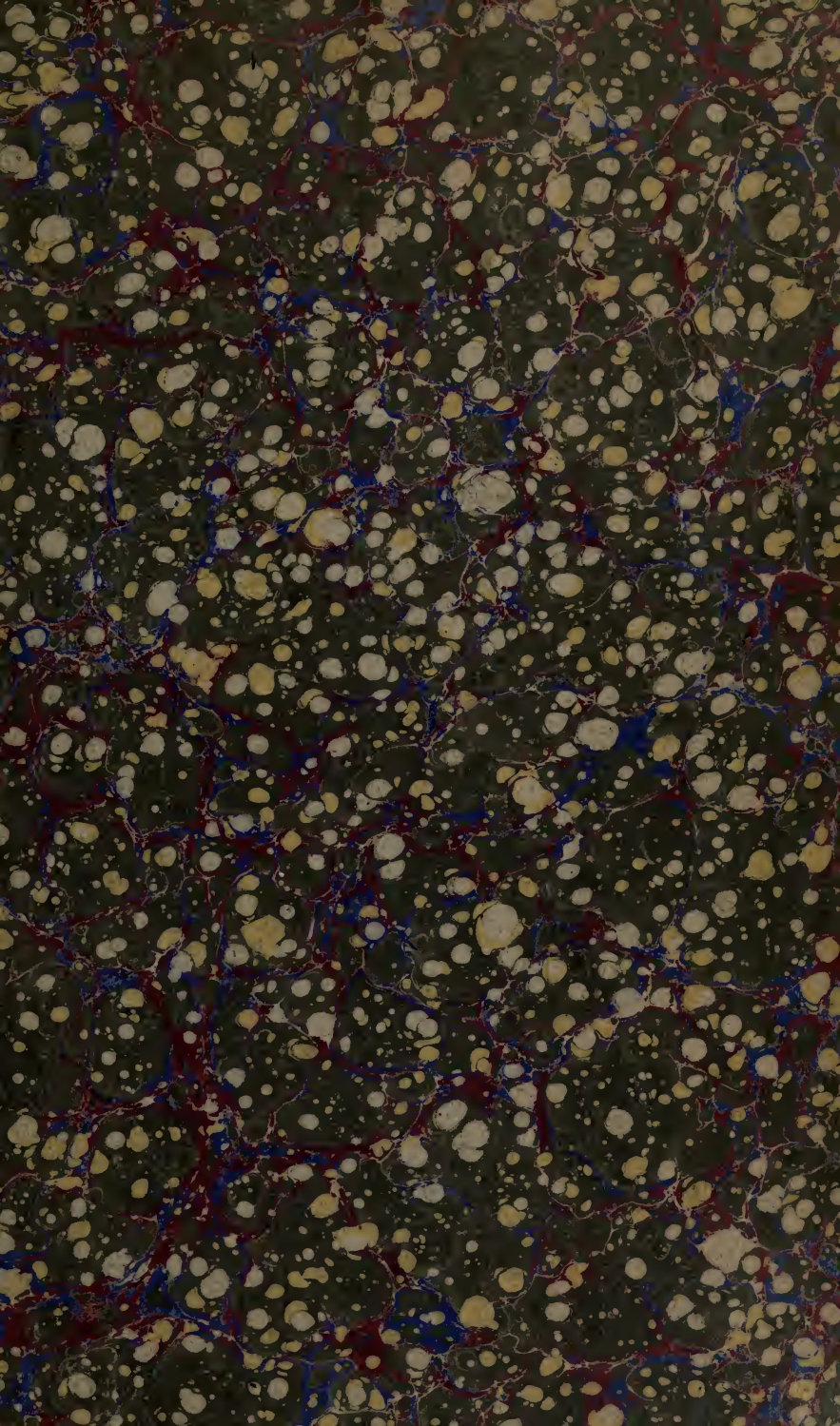
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THE RELATION OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF  
TO AGRICULTURE.

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SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK HISCOCK,  
OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1884.

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WASHINGTON.

1884.







S P E E C H  
OF  
HON. FRANK HISCOCK.

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The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 5393) to reduce import duties and war-tariff taxes—

Mr. HISCOCK said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The present customs laid upon imported goods have been characterized by the so-called revenue reformers as a system of legalized robbery of their consumers, and their ingenuity has been taxed to the utmost to invent fitting phrase by which to describe the criminal extortions they have exacted from the poor for the benefit of the rich manufacturing monopolies, as they have been pleased to style those industries of our country wherein are invested near three billions of capital and which afford labor to 4,000,000 workers and support to nearly one-third of the population of the United States. The charge is made that these 4,000,000 workers, with their wives and children, amounting to 8,000,000 more, are supported by a taxation imposed upon that other great industrial class, those engaged in agriculture. In all the States and in all the communities where manufactures and agriculture both thrive the two classes are intermixed and alike in race, religion, language, social habits, and are entirely ignorant, the one that it is robbed by the other, the one that it robs the other; ignorant of that, as is asserted by political charlatans, a great system of spoliation is now maintained of the one class for the benefit of the other; and we find it, sir, the purpose of a great political party, that has failed after an ineffectual struggle of twenty-three years to gain public confidence and political power, now organizing upon this platform and making the effort to antagonize these two great industrial classes and force a division of parties upon a line between them, to arouse political strife where none now exists; for I am not aware they so far have divided against each other upon a political line, and whenever they shall, evil consequences only can result.

I shall not devote any portion of my time to demonstrating that the protective system of the last twenty-two years has been of great benefit to the capital invested in manufacture, and of great benefit to the labor engaged in the industries; that it has given a remunerative profit upon the capital, and more constant and remunerative employment to the workers, has not been disputed. I am aware instances have been cited where some new industries have yielded capital an excessive profit, but it has now become a recognized fact that through the labor organizations the wages of the operatives are so adjusted to the profits of the business that labor and capital each receive their equitable proportion, and no longer can the capitalist be charged with robbing the consumer; if there

is any robbery it is alike the capitalist and the craftsman. And I shall not attempt to discuss those questions of political economy upon which so much has been said and written by political demagogues and statesmen; they are only bewildering and unsatisfactory.

We have so long maintained the protective system that it can be fairly judged by its results to all classes, both to the mechanic and to the agriculturist, both to the American producer and the American consumer; and if I fail of demonstrating the policy has been of equal advantage to the agriculturists and to capital invested in and workers engaged in the manufacturing industries I will gladly join with my free-trade friends. I do not believe any more than they that one industry should be supported at the expense of another. The argument is constantly made, in fact it is the only one upon which the "revenue reformers" rely, that the tax collected upon all those articles in common use among the farmers to that extent enhances their price, and is a direct tax upon the farmers and for which the farmer receives no corresponding benefit. And, sir, I shall undertake to establish that those taxes do not so increase the price, but that they do increase the value of every known agricultural product, and that while they increase the wages of labor of the farmworker they more than compensate the farmer in the increased value of his products.

We have passed out of the period for speculation upon this great question, or for assertion. The year 1860 substantially closed, as compared with our present system, the period of free trade or of a tariff for revenue only; and soon thereafter commenced our present protective policy, and we have tested it for more than twenty years and can now fairly compare the present condition as its results with what we find existed in 1860—the close, as I have said, of the free-trade era. I think, sir, I have heard some one here in this discussion assert it was impracticable to make such a comparison; others I have heard maintain that such a comparison demonstrated that agriculture was not as flourishing or profitable now as then. To all these gentlemen I reply, you have gone to the discussion of this matter without investigation; you have depended, like the gentleman from Texas, who asserted the agricultural products of 1860 were greater in value than those of 1880, upon secondary evidence when a little more labor, a little research, would have shown you all such assertions are untrue.

Census returns have been appealed to and their tabulations paraded. Well, sir, I propose to examine them for a little while and draw some comparisons between what they exhibit for 1860 and 1880, the close of the two periods. I propose to contrast

#### PRODUCTION OF 1860 WITH 1880.

Statistics, sir, are edged-tools in the hands of the inexpert or the indolent, and these absurd statements have been made on the authority of census tabulations, from no fault of the census results, but from ignorance of what they are intended to mean. In the first place, the main tables include only the productions of farms, without any reference to ranches on public lands or the products of lots in towns or villages. Further, they exclude all pasturage and the dry forage of all the cereals, which now aggregate 127,000,000 acres. They exclude a variety of minor products of agriculture, which have never been embraced in the schedules. They therefore exclude all that goes into the production of meat except about half the corn crop and a small portion of the hay. None of the cereals except corn are to be considered in meat production.



In 1860 the "value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter" appears in the census as \$213,618,692. In 1880 the value of meats of all kinds is excluded from the tabulations of farm returns, because they are obtained by special expert investigation and not by the regular enumerators. As the actual value of meats in 1880 was three to four times as much, 800,000,000, the absence of this item makes a wide difference in the comparison. The poultry product in 1860 was \$50,000,000; in 1880 it was \$150,000,000.

PRODUCTION IN 1860 and 1880 COMPARED.

The enlargement of production since 1860, from the increase of agricultural machinery, from the stimulus to home consumption by extension of manufactures and greater ability to consume largely through high wages of labor, is a wonder to Americans as well as to the world at large, and from some of the statements made on this floor it would seem to be unknown to several participants in this discussion.

The increase in farms and farm areas from 1860 to 1880 is as follows:

	1860.	1880.
Number.....	2,044,077	4,008,907
Acres improved.....	163,110,720	284,771,042
Total acres.....	407,212,538	536,081,835

Production was increased in far greater ratio than farms or acreage. Corn advanced from a product of 833,792,742 to 1,754,591,676, or 109 per cent.; wheat, from 173,104,924 to 459,483,137 bushels, or 165 per cent.; all cereals taken together, from 1,239,039,439 to 2,697,580,229 bushels, or 118 per cent. Cotton, in 1860, had reached an unprecedented production with a rapidity that had been phenomenal. The crop of 1859 amounted to 4,669,770 bales. Though its cultivation almost ceased for four years, it had risen to 5,761,252 bales in 1879, and to 6,949,756 in 1882.

Fifty years ago 60 per cent. of our agricultural exports was cotton. Now, while it is nine times as much in value, it constitutes only a third of the values of agricultural exports. In the same time the increase in value of meat and breadstuffs has been thirty-fold. The exports of cotton were very heavy in 1859-'60, amounting to \$191,806,555 in value, but in 1883 the value was \$247,323,721, though the consumption of cotton in American manufactories was enlarged in still greater proportion, from 422,704,975 to 750,343,981 pounds, with very rapid increase since 1880. In the same period the increase of exports of agricultural products was from \$256,560,972 to \$619,269,449.

The product of wool is four times as much as in 1860 (it was 241,000,000 pounds in 1880), of improved quality, making the strongest and most durable cloth of any manufacturing country in the world, and needing no admixture of foreign wools. In 1860 we imported half the woolen goods consumed, in cloth and in wool. Now we produce about four-fifths of the consumption, and the small proportion imported is largely carpet wools of too low a grade for civilized agriculture to produce. It is true that there is a small quantity of superfine wool introduced, ours being principally of medium fineness.

The production of meat has been enlarged beyond the increase of numbers of cattle, or the increment of population to be fed. Recent

investigation in the Department of Agriculture has made the increase of value of cattle, by improvements in breeding upon the original stock, the sum of \$287,000,000. The cattle exported from New York in 1881 averaged \$93.65 and those from Boston \$99.68, being mostly high-grade shorthorns, while the unimproved Spanish cattle exported from Florida averaged but \$14.09 and those from Texas but \$16.84. The cattle exported in 1860 averaged only \$38.26 per head, while the exportation of 1881 averaged \$77.93 per head.

The price also indicates the great improvement in quality, as well as the stimulus of increased home consumption supplemented by the enlarged foreign demand. The Chicago prices of beeves in 1860 ranged from \$1.90 to \$3.75 per hundred; in 1882 extra beeves reached \$6.85 per hundred.

The exports of animals in their products was in 1860 but \$20,402,812. In 1881 it was \$175,584,760. And now, sir, I propose to make a comparison of values and prices. In comparing the values of products of 1860 with those of 1880 the influence of railway extension and industrial prosperity are shown in their effect on prices. It is seen that prices of many products were high in 1860 on the seaboard and low in the interior. In December of 1860 oats in New York were 37 cents per bushel; in Chicago 17 cents. Corn was 68 cents in New York; in Chicago 27 cents. Wheat was \$1.35 in New York; in Chicago 75 cents.

In 1880 the aggregate value of the products of agriculture was more than double the aggregate for 1860. The comparative values of some of the principal products are as follows:

Products.	1860.	1880.	1882.
Cereals.....	\$558,345,836	\$1,329,930,517	\$1,468,693,393
Cotton.....	211,516,625	271,636,121	309,696,500
Hay.....	152,671,168	410,146,545	369,958,158
Potatoes.....	44,459,547	81,848,474	95,804,844
Tobacco.....	21,710,473	38,758,215	43,189,951
Total.....	988,703,649	2,132,319,872	2,286,842,846

I invite the attention of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] to these figures. I doubt if he will be content to let his statements stand; and I say to the gentleman he has but to investigate the census returns, examine them, to verify my statement—give to the investigation some labor and that honesty of purpose that distinguishes him, and he will verify my figures. And this is a matter over which there should be no dispute and in which there should certainly be no dishonesty. I am sure none is intended. And now, sir, I want to call attention to farm prices in 1860, 1880, and 1882. I think, sir, I have heard it said we could not obtain them; and now bear in mind it is not the seaboard price which is to control—it includes transportation from the farm—but the price at the market point to the producer must be taken. I have worked this out at the cost of considerable labor, and I challenge its examination. If any one will take the prices current, at the nearest market in the various producing sections, of the various products, he will reach the same results; and while my average is lower than at some favored points he will find the prices for the different years will at the same points bear usually the same comparative relations to each other,

and this must be remembered in the comparison of prices which I shall make:

*Average farm values of agricultural products in 1860, 1880, and 1882, respectively.*

Cereals.	1860.	1880.	1882.
Wheat, per bushel.....	\$0 72.0	\$0 95.1	\$0 88.2
Corn, per bushel.....	43.0	39.6	48.4
Oats, per bushel.....	25.0	36.0	37.5
Rye, per bushel.....	52.0	75.6	61.5
Buckwheat, per bushel.....	58.0	59.4	72.9
Barley, per bushel.....	55.0	66.6	62.8
Potatoes, per bushel.....	40.0	48.3	55.7
Tobacco, per pound.....	05.0	08.2	08.4
Cotton, per pound.....	09.3	09.8	09.9
Hay, per ton.....	8 00.0	11 65.0	9 70.0

And sir, I want to call the special attention of my friend, Mr. Mills, to a production which I fear he has left out of his calculation. Perhaps he thought it inconsequential, but it is too large an interest, has become so, not to have attention. I refer to the

#### BUTTER AND CHEESE PRODUCTION.

The butter production of farms, as reported by the Census of 1860, was 459,681,372 pounds. Inclusive of that, not entering into the farm enumeration, the entire product of the United States was about 500,000,000 pounds. In 1880 the amount returned from farms and factories was 806,672,071. The total product of the country was about 900,000,000 pounds.

The average price of butter exported in 1860 was 15 cents. As only the poorer qualities were exported the average farm price is a little higher than the seaboard price of export butter, and I estimate it at 16 cents. The range of recent prices is from 9 to 40 on the farm, with much higher rates for a small quantity of "gilt-edged" samples, yet the average is still low, but is not less than 21 cents for 1880 and 22 cents for 1882.

The export price in these years respectively was 17.1 and 18.5 cents per pound.

The production of cheese advanced from 103,663,927 pounds in 1860 to 243,157,850 in 1880. Including a little unenumerated, the actual production would be about 130,000,000 and 300,000,000 respectively.

The average prices were about 9½ cents in 1860, 9½ in 1880, and 10.5 in 1882. There was a partial glut in 1880, which reduced the price. The export prices of cheese are a little higher than farm prices—10 cents in 1860, 9½ cents in 1880, and 11.2 in 1882.

As a rule prices of butter are much higher in recent years than twenty-five years ago. Cheese is now about 10 per cent. higher, as an average.

The value of all productions of agriculture for 1879, exclusive of about \$400,000,000 of corn and hay consumed in the production of meat, was, approximately, \$3,600,000,000. This includes all meat products, milk consumed, fruit, and various minor products not included in the census tabulation of 1880. Of this about \$400,000,000 (farm value) was exported, leaving \$3,200,000,000 for domestic consumption. This gives about 11 per cent. for exportation, which is more than usual, the range of recent years being 8 to 10 per cent.

In 1859 the production aggregated a value of about \$1,600,000,000,

of which nearly \$200,000,000, was exported, leaving for home consumption a value of \$1,400,000,000. The per capita value of this consumption is nearly \$45 in 1860 against \$65 in 1830.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I invite the closest examination of the figures I have presented, and they prove, sir, an enormous increase in our farm production and an advancement of price. And this brings me to the question, Who consumes them? Who pays for them? Whose demand makes these prices? And it will be borne in mind only 89 per cent. of them are consumed here, and there are some very pertinent facts to which I invite attention in this connection.

CONSUMPTION BY CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.

A statement of occupations of the American people by classes of industries shows that the proportion in agriculture is declining, the number engaged in rural industries being 47.35 per cent. in 1870 and 44.1 per cent. in 1880. The other classes have increased accordingly. This is a favorable indication, as not more than 30 per cent. of the workers of a nation as rich in resources of production as ours are necessary to produce a supply for home consumption.

Occupation.	1870.		1880.	
	Number.	Per ct.	Number.	Per ct.
Agriculture .....	5,922,471	47.55	7,670,493	44.1
Professional and personal.....	2,684,793	21.47	4,074,238	23.4
Trade and transportation.....	1,191,238	9.53	1,810,256	10.4
Manufactures .....	2,707,421	21.65	3,837,112	22.1
Total occupations.....	12,505,923	.....	17,392,099	.....
Total population.....	33,925,598	.....	60,155,783	.....

As the numbers reported in occupations do not include the female head of the family or children or infirm persons, each individual represents nearly three persons, the whole number being 17,392,099 in a population of 50,155,783, the persons represented in each class may therefore be stated as follows:

In agriculture .....	22,118,700
In manufactures and mining .....	11,084,428
In trade and transportation .....	5,216,202
In professional and personal services .....	11,736,453

Two-thirds of all are engaged in productive material industries. About one-tenth, those in trade and transportation, are employed in exchanges and distribution. The remainder, in domestic service, in unskilled labor, and also those included in the professions, are connected with or dependent upon manufactures, mining, and commerce, and only to a limited extent on agriculture, as farm laborers are included in the principal class of occupations. Distributing this class, therefore, among the others, and allowing for the transportation service caused by the presence of manufactures, the proportion of the population dependent on manufactures and mining may fairly be considered one-third of all; but to come within very conservative bounds we will only claim three-tenths. With a probable consumption at present values of three and a third billions of dollars, the consumption due to manufact-

ures and mining are not less than \$1,000,000,000 in the primitive value of the farm, which are materially increased by the profits of the merchants and compensation of the carriers before reaching the consumers. This is a sum equivalent to more than half the agricultural production of the country in 1860.

A transfer of a small proportion of the labor which this industrial population represents—a population now of not less than 17,000,000—to the cultivation of the soil would cause a disastrous glut in the agricultural supply, a ruinous fall in prices, and a commercial revulsion and general depression of values frightful to contemplate.

Already have we reached a point where greater diversity in agricultural production is a vital necessity of American agriculture. Already are we verging constantly on an unprofitable degree of overproduction.

Need I say more to demonstrate the dependence of the farmer upon the other great industry fostered by our laws? It gives them a market practically at their farms, certainly greatly lessens the cost of transportation, for that is shortened to the near village or not far distant city where manufacture thrives; and that near market enables them to diversify agriculture, produce its more varied and valuable fruits. Lands nearest those markets are the more valuable because products of greater value can be sold, and which the cost of a long transportation with its delays and the cost and delays in sale at a distant market render unremunerative. Without it where are they to market the fruits of their labor and capital? An overproduction, every one knows, lowers the prices, and now they produce 11 per cent. more than the country can consume. In Europe; abroad—is that the answer? Well, I will come to that by and by; but first let me a little further illustrate by comparison the effect of our tariff upon the farmers. And I say, sir, with great pleasure, I belong to them by ancestry, by birth, and breeding, and my sympathy, yes, my prejudices, would not allow of a word or a vote on my part against their interests.

#### VALUE PER FARMER.

The average value of production of each farmer was much greater in 1880 than in 1860, notwithstanding the fact that the average size of farms had decreased from 199 acres to 134, and the number of farmers had increased from 2,509,456 to 4,225,945. Including values of farm products which are not duplicated in meat production, the proportion of each farmer was \$633 in 1860 and \$852 in 1880.

The value of farms, live-stock, and implements representing the permanent investment in agriculture made an aggregate of \$7,980,493,063 in 1860, and in 1880 a total of \$12,104,001,533.

So far, what I have said has been more directly addressed to the interest of the farmer, and I do not wish to lose sight of the fact that while the farmer, the proprietor, has had these benefits from our present system, is so dependent upon it, his laborers have shared proportionately with him. There are 3,323,876 of them. And now a word as to the

#### WAGES OF FARM LABOR.

The wages of farm labor fifty years ago were estimated by experts to average \$9 per month with board. The rise was slow until 1860. With the development of other industries competition for labor increased the rate of wages. The rate of wages paid wholly in cash twenty-five years ago averaged about \$14 per month. The rise was rapid during the war, and in 1867 reached an average of \$26, but declined with the apprecia-

tion of the currency to gold values, and still more from the effect of the period of monetary depression, and reached its minimum in 1879. The last investigation made by the Department of Agriculture in 1882, when labor was in a normal condition and currency equal in value to gold, was \$18.53. An increase of fully 40 per cent. has been made since the rise of the manufacturing system.

The differences in local rates illustrate the influence of an industrial population in the midst of an agricultural district in a very striking manner. In Northern Ohio, where Cleveland and Toledo and other cities compete for labor in various industries, the average value in 1882 was \$25.96 per month; in the western counties, with Cincinnati and Columbus, Dayton and Springfield, agricultural wages average \$24.75. In the more exclusively agricultural counties of Eastern Ohio the average is \$22.65. By such a sliding scale is the rate diminished as a penalty for lack of industrial variety.

Comparing the State of Ohio with Kentucky the decline is more abrupt, from \$24.55 to \$18.20.

Illinois, like Ohio, has a sliding scale just in proportion to the numbers of workers outside of rival industry in northern, central, and southern districts, from \$27.52 to \$24.65, and \$19.87.

It was found in these investigations that in the period of manufacturing depression the wages of agricultural labor declined most in the manufacturing States, and ultimately reduced the wages of farm laborers in agricultural States. The assertion has often been recklessly made that operatives and artisans thrown out of employment do not seek agricultural labor, but these official investigations prove incontestibly the contrary, and show that the effect is serious and far-reaching. The average rate of wages in Massachusetts in 1879 was \$25, and \$30.66 in 1882. In New Hampshire the increase was from \$19.75 to \$25.25. So with other manufacturing States.

And in this connection I will call attention to the decrease in price and yet improvement in actual value in those implements of husbandry in use among agricultural workers, grass-mowers and grain-reapers, wagons, and others. And, sir, I believe I can confidently appeal to the recollection of the farmer that, taking into account quality, the prices will average 25 per cent. less now than in 1860. And this has been the result of a system of protection which, guaranteeing a home market, invited capital, organized labor, and educated it to the highest excellence, stimulated invention, and produced competition in these productions and these labor-saving machines, enabling the farmer while he pays higher wages for labor to employ far less to accomplish far greater results. And thence it is that we are able to show a larger production at the same cost now than we were 1860.

I have promised to again refer to the great question of what the American farmer shall do with his surplus, and whether he can safely depend upon a foreign market for it. And I propose to present a few facts in regard to the wheat production of the world and the possibilities, yes, probabilities of that production, and leave it to those who hear or read what I say to judge if a foreign market can be depended upon.

The United States now stands at the head of the wheat-producing nations of the world. Until 1874 France held the first rank. The wheat area has nearly doubled since the ninth decennial census was taken. The product of the last seven years has averaged 436,000,000 bushels. The production has increased from 100,000,000 bushels in

1849 to 504,000,000 bushels, and the per capita supply from four and a third to nine and a half bushels. One-third of the production has for six years been exported.

This was very well in years of failure and threatened famine in Western Europe. But in 1882 the usual average of 1,143,826,044 bushels was increased to 1,270,000,000. The surplus of this country was estimated at 48,000,000 bushels. India produced an excessive crop. Australasia had an enlarged product, and Egypt, Algiers, the Argentine Republic, and Chili helped to swell the supply of the world. During the entire year past the visible stocks have everywhere been increasing.

What are we doing? Simply co-operating with Great Britain in her extraordinary endeavors to reduce the price of wheat, to sustain free trade by giving cheap bread for the sustenance of low-priced labor. To this end she is building railroads in India and promoting railroad extension through the Dominion of Canada to the Pacific, and seeking to control the destinies of Egypt and other nationalities.

The effect of this overproduction is seen in a disastrous fall in the price of wheat below a remunerative basis.

The average product of wheat in British India, as given by Sir Evelyn Baring, the finance minister, was 700 pounds, or  $11\frac{3}{4}$  bushels per acre; and the acreage 21,000,000, making a product of 245,000,000 bushels. A recent official estimate makes the product of 1883 (harvested in March) 190,000,000 bushels for British India and 50,000,000 bushels for the product of native territory.

The unoccupied cultivable land in the principal provinces is officially estimated at 182,069 square miles, of which 83,600 square miles are in provinces where 25 per cent. of cultivated area is in wheat. It is therefore possible that the area might be increased 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 acres, and with increase in native districts it is not impossible to double the present area.

Increase of railroad facilities would render available at once a larger proportion of the present production and stimulate somewhat the extension of area. The mileage in March, 1883, was 10,251, and an increase of 7 per cent. is calculated for the present year.

The exports of India in the fiscal year ended March, 1873, amounted to 3,277,781, and in 1882, 37,148,543 bushels. In seven months of the past year the shipments had reached 31,027,074 bushels, fully 50 per cent. more than had ever been shipped in the same period of any previous year. The exports of five years, from 1879 to 1883, averaged 16,786,265 bushels. So the increase of ten years has been in rapidly accelerating ratio.

In Australia the present wheat crop is more than double that of 1883. The increase in South Australia, according to recent estimates, is from 7,356,117 bushels to 20,900,000, and in Victoria from 8,751,454 to 17,400,000 bushels. The value of wheat in Australia is from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per bushel, or 80 cents per bushel. In New Zealand the farmers are discarding primitive and exhaustive wheat growing, importing fertilizers and agricultural machinery. The average yield in 1882 was nearly twenty-three bushels per acre.

The progress of agriculture in the Argentine Republic is at present very rapid. Much of the soil is a deep, black mold, very productive. There is a strong movement from pastoral to general agriculture, toward inclosure of pastoral areas and the practice of mixed husbandry. The average export value of Russian wheat from 1873 to 1880 was \$1.01 per bushel. The quantity exported was 475,000,000 bushels, or an aver-

age of 59,375,000 per annum. And confronting these startling facts, are we to be told Western Europe will take our surplus and that we can safely destroy our manufacturing industries and change their operatives to producers from being consumers?

I have shown you that 30 per cent. engaged in agriculture will supply themselves and the balance of the population, and that we now have 44 per cent.—14 per cent. above the required number now—and we have a large overproduction. Take but 10 per cent. from manufactures, 270,742—the present production per capita in agriculture is about \$400—and the result is an increase of our present surplus of \$108,296,800.

Seriously, I ask gentlemen on the other side, would you make this an agricultural country? Then please give us some of the results from your standpoint. If we were all farmers, all producers of farm products; if we had been, say, for the last twenty-five years, and both the emigration to this country and the natural increase of the population had gone to the land for support, what price would these products now bring, and where would they market them?

And, Mr. Chairman, now I come to the humorous, ridiculous, or deceptive illustrations, depending upon the talent of the inventor, to convince the farmer that he is being robbed in the high price he is compelled to pay for the articles he consumes, and Mr. Sidney Smith's (I think he was the author) story of taxation has been dished up in a hundred different forms, and with countless variations, to illustrate the exactions and robberies of our present tariff system.

Gentlemen have forgotten that while agriculture has made the advance I have described so have the other industries, and with this prosperity knowledge has been disseminated, education has been extended, the press has prospered, books have been written, the census has been taken, statistics published, and thought quickened, deepened, and broadened with all the people—at least, sir, with all the people I have much knowledge of in this country; certainly in all those communities where the twin and dependent industries farming and manufacturing both thrive without jealousies, and where thrift is the rule they have grown rich. The people have grown rich—not the few, as I will soon show, but all the people—and property has brought knowledge and education, dispelled prejudice and ignorance, and you face an audience that will trip you if you make a single mistake.

I propose to make a comparison of prices for 1860 with those of 1880 of those goods farmers consume, and you will bear in mind I have taken my prices from an Eastern market, to which for other sections transportation should be added, and, unless I made the exception, the retailer's profit, and I assume this profit and transportation to be the same for both years.

In 1860 John and James Dobson, of Philadelphia, and for several years prior and subsequent to that year, were among the largest manufacturers of blankets and woolen goods in the United States. From their books of original entry I am furnished the following list of average prices for blankets during the years 1858, 1859, and 1860 compared with the average prices prevailing in 1882 and 1883 for like quality:

1860.....	\$2.00, \$2.50, \$2.25, \$3.50, \$3.75, \$5.00, \$7.50, \$8.00, \$10.00, \$13.00
1883.....	\$1.25, \$1.80, \$1.62½, \$2.35, \$3.20, \$3.75, \$5.50, \$5.60, \$7.25, \$8.50

The above includes the entire line of white blankets from the lowest to the best grades per pair, standard make of what are known as plain Norway blankets. The figures show a decline of 30 per cent. to 60 per



cent. in favor of the present protective system over the "for-revenue-only" or free-trade system that prevailed prior to 1861.

The wool used in the manufacture of these blankets is about 6 per cent. below the average price in 1860. All wools are based in valuation on Ohio fine fleece, which in 1860 was worth 45 cents per pound, and which is worth now 42 cents per pound. Blanket wools are of lower quality, but have the same relative value. Their books show "coarse woolen fabrics carry out the same relative rates as blankets, particularly goods used for overcoats. These were worth in 1860 \$1.50 per yard. The same goods are sold to-day for 80 cents to \$1 per yard. In the entire range of woolens used for wear of men and women the same relative difference exists, the present prices being from 30 to 60 per cent. below those prevailing in 1860."

How is it in reference to carpets? From 1857 to 1860, both years inclusive, the average price per yard of five-frame English body Brussels carpet in England was 4s. 10d., equivalent to \$1.10 of our money. The same class and quality of carpets of American manufacture are to-day selling for \$1.07 cash. Tapestry Brussels carpets sold in 1860 at 75 cents per yard, and are sold here to-day at 67 cents for like quality. Standard make of American ingrain carpets sold in 1857-1860 at 75 to 80 cents per yard, and are now sold at 60 to 67 cents.

And I here give another list of comparative prices of 1860 with 1884, which will be very instructive to those who claim our protective policy has not cheapened woolen goods. The prices are taken from an account of goods of like quality actually sold:

Articles.	1860.	1884.
Pair Middlesex bed-blankets, net wholesale price.....	\$2 75	\$2 55
Pair Norway plain all-wool bed-blankets, net wholesale price...	4 00	3 75
Made-up horse-blanket, burlap lined, wholesale price.....	2 00	1 20
Samples of Fitchburg cassimeres, all wool, 27 inches wide, wholesale price .....	1 05	92
Samples of Haile & Frost cashmeretts, 27 inches wide, average wholesale price .....	*51	42
Samples of fancy cassimeres, 27 inches wide, wholesale price ...	65	50

Let us examine the prices of cotton goods under the revenue tariff of 1857 and the protective tariff of 1861 and subsequent years. I have here a table of prices for sheetings and shirtings, prepared by the firm of Richardson, Smith & Co., and taken from their books of original entry, and which show a difference of from 20 to 30 per cent. in favor of present prices. Here are the figures, those for 1860 being the average prices per yard for that year and those for 1884 being the average prices per yard for March, 1884:

Articles.	1860.	1884.
Standard sheetings.....	\$0 08.73	\$0 06.75
Standard drillings.....	08.92	06.75
New York Mills bleached shirtings.....	15.50	10.00
Cocheo and Merrimack prints.....	09.31	05.43
64x64 print cloth .....	05.44	03.50

I have a statement made from the books of other firms.

*Wholesale prices, per yard, of leading standard staple goods bought by country dealers, January, 1860, with prices of January, 1884, annexed.*

Articles.	1860.	1884.
4-4 heavy brown sheeting .....	\$0 08½	\$0 07½
4-4 fine brown sheeting .....	08½	07
4-4 fine bleached sheeting .....	12½	10
4-4 common bleached sheeting .....	09½	06½
Best ticking .....	17	14½
Best denim .....	15½	14½
Lining, colored cambrics .....	06½	05
Corset jeans .....	09½	07½
Ginghams .....	10½	08
Standard prints .....	08½	06
Hublet's cotton flannel .....	13	11
Good twilled flannels (wool) .....	36	36
Good Kentucky jeans .....	27½	27½

Under the tariff of 1857 the duty on ordinary white crockery-ware was 24 per cent. ad valorem. Prior to March last the duty was 40 per cent. In 1860 a crate of crockery-ware was sold, including duty, for \$95.30. In 1882 a crate of this same ware, including the increased duty of 16 per cent., was sold for \$57.89; a difference of \$37.41, which difference is owing to the establishment and successful prosecution of this industry in this country.

How is it with boots and shoes? These necessary articles of wear are not only better now in quality and more varied in variety than in 1860, but prices are lower than during the period from 1857 to 1860. Here is a table showing the prices prevailing in January, 1860, and January, 1884.

	1860.	1884.
	<i>Per pr.</i>	<i>Per pr.</i>
Men's rubber boots.....	\$3 60	\$3 00
Boys' rubber boots.....	2 40	2 18
Women's rubber boots .....	1 75	1 56
Misses' rubber boots.....	1 50	1 33
Men's overshoes.....	80	55
Women's overshoes.....	60	38
Children's overshoes.....	40	30
Men's best calf machine-sewed boots.....	4 00	3 00
Men's best calf pegged boots.....	3 00	2 75
Men's good common calf pegged boots.....	2 50	2 17
Men's best thick boots, farmers' wear .....	2 75	2 50
Men's good common boots, farmers' wear .....	2 25	2 00
Boys' good common boots, farmers' wear.....	1 62	1 50
Men's good double-sole kip brogan.....	1 37½	1 25
Men's good double-sole split brogan.....	1 15	1 10
Men's good common split brogan.....	1 00	85
Men's best calf machine-sewed Congress and Balmoral.....	3 50	3 00
Men's good common machine-sewed Congress and Balmoral ..	3 00	2 75
Men's good common buff Congress and Balmoral .....	2 00	1 65
Men's good common pegged Congress and Balmoral .....	1 60	1 25
Men's good common low-cut shoes.....	1 17	1 00
Men's carpet slippers.....	50	37½
Men's goat slippers .....	1 00	85
Men's grain slippers.....	65	55
Women's best kid and goat boots.....	2 00	1 75
W men's good kid and goat boots.....	1 50	1 25

	1860.	1834.
Women's best serge Congress .....	1 25	1 05
Women's good serge Congress.....	92	80
Women's grain-pegged Polish boots.....	87½	85
Women's goat gored Benker's boots.....	92	80
Women's serge slippers.....	50	37½
Women's web slippers.....	37½	25
Boys' good kip brogans.....	80	75
Boys' good Congress.....	1 10	1 00
Boys' good split pegged Balmorals.....	1 10	1 00
Youths' good split pegged Balmorals.....	95	85
Misses' best kid or goat Polish.....	1 50	1 25
Misses' good common button.....	75	75
Children's best kid and goat .....	1 25	1 05
Children's good common goat.....	1 00	85
Children's cheap shoes.....	25	20

I desire to dwell a little longer upon woolen goods, they enter so largely into consumption and are in so general use. In no department of manufacture, I concede, is there such a difficulty of making a comparison of prices at different periods as in the woolen manufacture, on account of the differences of style, finish, and raw material of the fabrics from year to year. I have confronted all this in my investigations. The only article forming a proper standard of comparison is flannel, which is the basis of all card-wool cloths. In a report made to the Syracuse convention in 1871 the following statement was made by the secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers:

Reliable returns from the two leading agencies in the country, representing more than twenty different establishments manufacturing flannels, show that the selling prices of flannels in September, 1869, two years after the passage of the tariff of 1867, were in one house 21 per cent., and in another 16 per cent. less in gold than in 1860. On the other hand the books of a mill producing cloths more and of greater variety than any other establishment in the country, and employing 2,500 operatives, show an advance in wages in gold from September, 1860, to September, 1869, of 37 per cent. for female operatives and 50 per cent. for male operatives. The secretary of the Wool Manufacturers' Association in his annual report in October, 1880, says:

"The present year affords us the first opportunity for many years of making an exact comparison with the prices of 1860, since our currency is of the same value as at that period.

"Those most familiar with the markets estimate that ordinary woolen goods, constituting the great bulk of consumption, are now obtained by consumers from 12½ to 25 per cent. less than goods of the same quality could be purchased before the war. To be more specific, ingrain carpets, the principal article of consumption in this class, was sold at 12½ per cent. more in April, 1860, than in April, 1879, with wool about the same, but an increased cost of labor in the same period. I am authorized to state that dress goods selling in 1860 for 20 cents per yard are now, in 1880, selling for 15 cents per yard, a saving of 25 per cent.; that the saving to American consumers in the product of five mills in New England making dress goods of an annual value of \$10,000,000 is \$2,500,000, and this too with higher prices of wool to the farmer and better wages to the operatives."

Since 1880 the reduction of cost in dress goods to consumers has gone on with accelerated ratio. I have in my hands a return from the Pacific Mills, the largest mill for producing this style of goods in this country, which is as follows:

"I give you below the average net prices obtained for our worsted goods for the period of six months, ending—

	<i>Cents per yard.</i>
May 31, 1872 .....	20.06
May 31, 1877 .....	16.82
May 31, 1880 .....	15.43
May 31, 1881 .....	14.52
May 31, 1882 .....	11.22

Since 1882 the goods made have been of higher quality than the above, and the prices obtained have averaged a little more, though really a little lower in proportion to cost.

A statement from another mill manufacturing woolen fabrics proper, the oldest and one of the most extensive establishments, shows the greatest reduction of prices to consumers under the operation of a protective tariff. This statement, be it remembered, was not prepared for the use to which I apply it in this debate.

*Memorandum of market values of the leading fabrics of the Middlesex Company, Lowell, Mass., for the years 1870, 1880, and 1884.*

Fabrics.	1870.	1880.	1884.
6-4 repellant sacking .....	\$1 16	\$1 04	.....
6-4 blue super cassimere .....	4 00	3 75	\$3 50
6-4 blue prime cassimere.....	3 75	3 50	3 25
6-4 indigo standard flannel.....	2 07	1 82½	1 75
6-4 indigo yacht cloth.....	2 50	2 25	2 25
6-4 blue railroad overcoating.....	3 50	3 25	3 25
6-4 indigo cadet cloth.....	3 00	2 75	2 75
6-4 blue police cloth.....	3 00	2 75	2 79
6-4 fancy shawls, 144x72 inches each.....	6 15	5 56	.....

The difficulty of comparing the prices of 1860 and 1880 is enhanced by the circumstance that the records of many of the mills in New England for 1860 were destroyed by the great fire in Boston in 1872. Mr. Horace Greeley's work on political economy, however, contains a statement of the prices of the most important woolen fabrics of 1859.

At my request, a gentleman skilled in woolen manufacture has added to Mr. Greeley's list of prices for 1859 the prices, obtained from manufacturers or selling agents, of the identical goods named, the prices at the present time. The prices for 1884 were furnished by the well-known houses and individuals, Parker, Wilder & Co., Faulkner, Page & Co., J. B. Bradlie, J. D. Sturtevant, Wendell, Fay & Co., of Boston. In respect to a portion of the goods described in Mr. Greeley's list it may be observed that no corresponding goods of the manufacture of the present year could be found.

"The prices of the most important woolen fabrics ten years ago, 1859 (when we had comparative free trade in wool and woolens), and now," says Mr. Greeley, "are as follows, namely." I add to his column the prices in 1884:

*Comparative prices of woolen fabrics in 1859 and 1884.*

Fabrics.	1859.	1884.
Flannels per yard:		
A and T white (none made in 1884) .....	\$0 18½	.....
A. A. F. scarlet.....	26	\$0 24½
J. R. F. twilled scarlet.....	39	28½
B. twilled scarlet.....	26	25½
Double-weight scarlet twilled.....	27½	*32½
F. and C.....	36	33½
Talbot, R., 3-4, plain and scarlet.....	26	25
Ballard, bale, 4-4, white No. 1.....	75	67½
Ballard, bale, 4-4, white No. 2.....	60	40½
Ballard, bale, 4-4, white No. 3.....	45	7½
Ballard, bale, 4-4, white No. 4.....	140	42½

## Comparative prizes of woolen fabrics, &amp;c.—Continue A.

Fabrics.	1859.	1883.
Blankets per pair.		
Holland, 10-4, all wool.....	\$3 50	\$3 00
Holland, 11-4, all wool.....	5 00	4 25
Coheco, 11-4, extra super.....	6 00	6 00
Coheco, 12-4, extra super.....	7 50	6 00
Cumberland, 10-4.....	3 00	2 00
Rochdale, 10-4, super ex. super.....	3 50	3 00
Rochdale, 11-4.....	4 50	4 00
Rochdale, 12-4.....	5 50	5 00
Rochdale, 10-4.....	4 50	4 00
Rochdale, 11-4.....	5 50	5 00
Rochdale, 10-4, premium.....	4 50	4 00
Rochdale, 11-4.....	5 50	5 00
Rochdale, 12-4.....	6 50	6 00
Shawls, Middlesex County.....	7 00	5 56

\*These goods are improved in quality.

†The Ballard Vale flannels are exceptionally fine goods, the chief cost of which is labor, and are slightly advanced because of the advance in wages of labor.

The above statement is entitled to more consideration because it was not prepared by manufacturers to suit a purpose. It is all the more reliable because of the moderate reduction it shows, and because an increase in price in some cases is stated. It shows upon the whole a substantial reduction, and this in face of the fact that the wages of labor have increased, as is declared, 15 to 20 per cent. Upon the whole there has been considerable reduction to the consumer, although the duties upon all the articles have been more than doubled by the successive tariffs of 1861, 1863, and 1867; so that this table furnishes a complete refutation of the free-trade assertion that the prices of goods are enhanced to consumers in proportion to the increase of the duties.

As to finished cloths not included in the above list, such as fancy cassimeres, of which the great bulk of clothing goods is composed, it should be observed that only a few of the old mills continue to make cloths identical with those made before 1860. I have, however, samples from two such mills which illustrate the general reduction of prices in this class of goods. They are:

Articles.	1860.	1884.
Fitchburg all-wool cassimeres, 27 inches wide, wholesale price..	<i>Per yd.</i> \$1 05	<i>Per yd.</i> \$0 92
Hall & Frost cassimeres, 27 inches wide, average wholesale price..	51	42
Fancy cassimeres, 27 inches wide, wholesale price.....	65	50

Enthusiasts for protection may be disappointed that its friends can adduce no more startling illustrations of the effect of protective duties in reducing prices; but it must be remembered that the manufacture of the fabrics last referred to was firmly established years before 1860, and after the first effects of the introduction of a new fabric in reducing prices the further reduction is slow and gradual. The most striking effect of protective duties is seen in the introduction of new fabrics. The invariable effect of such an introduction by domestic manufacture of an article formerly obtained only abroad is invariably to reduce prices.

Thus, delaines at their first introduction in about 1840 cost from 30 to 40 cents. They soon fell to 20 cents. Lawns, introduced in 1846, cost 27 cents. In a few years they fell to 9 and 10 cents. Kerseys, introduced in 1851, cost \$2. In twelve months afterward they fell to \$1.25. The introduction of lastings diminished the price one-third; that of buntings more than one-half. French moquette carpets cost, when first introduced here about fifteen years ago, from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per yard according to quality. The American manufacture, commenced shortly after, reduced the price to \$1.45 per yard, while American machinery, stimulated by our tariffs, introduced abroad, has diminished the price in all manufacturing countries of the world.

Refined bar-iron is used to make wagon-ties, horseshoes, agricultural implements, and many other articles in which the farmer has direct interest. I insert a table showing a lower value for the last five years than for the five years ending with 1860. [See table on page 19.]

I shall not present comparative tables of the values of all the iron and steel goods for the two periods—these metals are largely used in the machines and implements which have been largely reduced in price since 1860, the fashions have not changed in iron and steel goods so as to make comparison difficult—but I will take for comparison the material of which they are made, and upon which the duties are alike imposed. [See table on page 19.] An examination of the prices of No. 1 anthracite foundry pig-iron shows that it is lower now than from 1855 to 1860 inclusive. [See table on page 20.]

It will be sufficient now if I make comparison of prices of a few articles in such universal use, and unchangeable in character, that will be recognized by every farmer. I invite attention to them. I give the wholesale prices in an Eastern market, to which transportation to suit other points and the retailer's profits must be added. A reduction is the rule, and without an exception. Nails, in 1860, sold at \$3.10 to \$3.50 per hundred pounds, to-day at \$2.40 per hundred pounds; Yankee axes, in 1860, at \$10.75 per dozen, to-day the same goods sell at \$7.25 per dozen, manufacturers' prices at both periods.

The prices of cable chains in use among farmers (per one hundred pounds) were:

Size.	1860.	1884.
Five-sixteenths inch.....	\$5 63-6 25	\$5 50
Three-eighths inch .....	5 06-5 50	4 50
One-quarter inch.....	6 56	6 50

After an exhaustive examination, I assert that the iron and steel used, by farmers, in whatever form used, into whatever machine, tool, or implement fashioned, costs from 10 to 20 per cent. less now than in 1860. For like quality of goods the average reduction is more than 12 per cent.; in many of the prominent articles it is 20 per cent.

There is one more article of consumption I must mention, glass. The taxation of the poor man's window-glass that gave him heaven's light has been so often glowingly dwelt upon that it deserves a passing notice. I have time to take but one quality or grade, but that illustrates the whole list.

According to the best data attainable, plate-glass cost the consumers of the United States, prior to the Morrill tariff of 1861, about \$1.50 per

*Average wholesale store prices of best refined rolled bar-iron in Philadelphia, from 1855 to 1860 and from 1880 to 1884.*

[Compiled by the American Iron and Steel Association, from the sales-books of several prominent Philadelphia iron merchants. Per ton of 2,240 pounds.]

Years.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Average.
1855.....	\$82 50	\$80 00	\$75 00	\$72 50	\$70 00	\$70 00	\$70 00	\$72 50	\$72 50	\$75 00	\$77 50	\$77 50	\$74 58
1856.....	75 00	77 50	77 50	77 50	75 00	72 50	70 00	70 00	72 50	72 50	72 50	72 50	73 75
1857.....	72 50	72 50	72 50	72 50	72 50	72 50	70 00	70 00	70 00	70 00	70 00	67 50	71 04
1858.....	65 00	65 00	65 00	62 50	62 50	65 00	62 50	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	62 29
1859.....	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00
1860.....	60 00	57 50	57 50	57 50	57 50	57 50	57 50	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	58 75
1880.....	80 64	85 12	82 32	71 68	56 00	51 07	50 02	53 76	54 88	52 64	52 64	53 76	60 33
1881.....	56 00	56 00	56 00	56 00	53 76	53 76	54 88	57 12	60 48	62 72	64 96	64 96	58 05
1882.....	64 96	67 20	67 20	62 72	58 24	60 48	60 48	60 48	60 48	60 48	58 24	56 00	61 41
1883.....	53 76	52 64	52 64	50 40	50 40	50 40	50 40	49 28	49 28	49 28	49 28	47 04	50 30
1884.....	44 80	44 80	44 80	44 80	50 40	50 40	50 40	49 28	49 28	49 28	49 28	47 04	50 30

*Average prices of No. 1 anthracite foundry pig-iron in Philadelphia, from 1855 to 1861 and from 1880 to 1884—Per ton of 2,240 lbs.*

[Compiled by the American Iron and Steel Association.]

Years.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Average.
1855	\$31 12½	\$29 50	\$27 50	\$26 75	\$26 50	\$26 12½	\$26 12½	\$26 50	\$28 00	\$28 62½	\$28 50	\$27 75	\$27 75
1856	27 50	27 50	27 66½	28 00	28 00	27 62½	27 00	27 00	27 00	26 87½	26 00	26 00	27 12½
1857	26 25	26 50	26 62½	27 75	27 87½	27 75	27 25	26 75	26 87½	26 75	23 50	23 75	26 37½
1858	23 50	23 50	22 50	22 50	22 50	22 12½	21 37½	21 50	22 00	21 50	21 75	22 50	22 25
1859	22 75	23 62½	24 50	23 87½	23 50	23 12½	23 00	23 12½	22 87½	23 25	23 25	23 12½	23 37½
1860	23 00	23 00	23 37½	22 37½	22 75	22 75	22 75	22 60	22 25	22 37½	22 75	22 50	22 75
1880	40 00	41 00	37 50	31 00	25 00	23 00	23 50	25 00	23 25	23 00	24 50	25 00	28 50
1881	25 00	25 50	26 00	25 00	25 50	24 00	23 50	24 50	25 25	25 50	25 75	26 00	25 12½
1882	26 00	26 00	25 75	25 50	25 50	25 50	25 50	25 50	26 00	26 25	26 00	26 75	25 75
1883	25 00	24 50	24 00	23 50	22 00	21 00	21 50	22 00	22 00	21 50	21 00	20 75	22 75
1884	20 50	20 50	20 50	20 00	20 00	21 00	21 50	22 00	22 00	21 50	21 00	20 75	22 37½



square foot; from passage of this bill to establishment of factories in the United States the price was about \$2.50 per square foot. The price at present is about 80 cents per square foot. And you will please remember that no part of this large reduction is due either to improved methods or improved machinery, but solely to sharp competition of American factories.

In 1832 there were in round figures 3,050,000 square feet of polished plate-glass imported into this country. This glass, at prices ruling before the Morrill bill, would cost \$4,575,000; before the competition of American factories, \$7,625,000; now, \$2,440,000.

The difference is very large; and bear in mind that the difference above shown is but for one year, and to multiply it by 10 will give a fair idea of the amount saved to the consumers of our country by home competition in plate glass. To go more into details, the treasurer of one of the American factories has in his possession the books of a firm of glass dealers doing business from 1863 to 1870. I compare herewith prices per square foot then and now:

1863-'70.....	\$3 05	\$2 26	\$1 66	\$3 39	\$3 26	\$2 09	\$2 07
Now.....	93	95	76	1 04	97	73	92
1863-'70.....	1 68	1 98	2 11	3 67	2 62	1 74	1 88
Now.....	93	97	88	1 07	97	94	69

Please also bear in mind that prices named from 1863-'70 were the prices the firm of glass dealers paid for its goods. The prices named for the present are present prices to consumers, and for comparison from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. should be added to the prices of 1863-'70 to cover freights, insurance, profits, &c.

The reduction in the price of certain lines of goods can not better be illustrated than by the statement of facts appearing in the report of our foreign commerce. In the fiscal year ending June, 1883, we exported and sold abroad:

Wood and manufactures of wood.....	\$20,996,804
Iron and steel, manufactures of.....	19,240,894
Manufactures of cotton.....	12,951,145
Leather, and manufactures of.....	7,923,662
Agricultural implements.....	3,883,919
An aggregate of.....	64,995,924

Without my going into detail, all who hear me and who read what I may say will understand the above exportations include and are made up substantially of those articles of which farmers and farm laborers are the great consumers and of a large portion the only consumers. How, then, does the tariff advance the price to them, since by American competition, American thrift, energy, and ingenuity, our people undersell their foreign competitors outside of the jurisdiction of our tariff laws in foreign markets?

It is a well-known fact that as to very many lines of goods, and especially in those consumed by the agricultural and laboring classes, we do not need protection, and the articles might properly be placed upon the free-list; and except for the great difficulty in drawing statutes which will describe and observe the distinctions, and for the further reason the present laws do no actual harm, would be. I have said the laws imposing customs upon goods we export do no harm. A tariff debate does not justify that remark, since participants in it will attempt to prove that burdens are imposed by our system of protection by asserting the price of certain goods are increased thereby, when they

must know we manufacture those goods for the markets of the world and successfully compete with the foreign manufactures; and thus they furnish another illustration of the dishonesty that will be resorted to in order to gain a political advantage.

But the question is suggested: why these great reductions in price? And I will answer: for the five years ending with 1860 we bought goods largely abroad and paid for them from our agricultural products, but we did not export enough to pay for what we bought; the balance was against us in amount \$133,616,201. The accumulated property of the country was going out of the country at the rate of from \$20,000,000 to \$50,000,000 each year. We did not raise enough annually to pay our annual cost of living. As a people we were growing poorer and poorer every day; and we had no home competition in goods we bought. We paid the price the foreign market put upon them, interest was high, and we did not have a competitive home market.

Mr. HERBERT. Permit me to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. HISCOCK. Certainly.

Mr. HERBERT. If goods, say crockery, have not fallen more rapidly there than here, why is it that in the last revision it was necessary to raise the duty on crockery-ware?

Mr. HISCOCK. I will come to that in a moment and completely answer the question.

Mr. HERBERT. I hope you will not forget it.

Mr. HISCOCK. I will not; and I hope the gentleman will not forget to study the suggestive schedules I will publish with my remarks.

The Republican party came into power and enacted our present protective laws commencing with 1861, and subsequently those laws insured a home market for American goods, and we bought at home; the money ceased to flow out of the country to pay our debts abroad, and in the last eight years of this protective policy we have accumulated \$1,307,229,276 of yearly balances in our favor. Europe has contributed this great volume of wealth to us. To this for the eight years add the gold and silver product of the country, amounting to \$80,000,000 annually, and which we have not been compelled to export to settle yearly balances in trade against us; the money is in the country; we have had it as a people for use. The rate of interest grew lower year by year; the average reduction throughout the country has been 25 per cent. of the rate in 1860. This capital sought investment, was employed in manufactures, it organized labor; home competition educated men in new and more economical methods and processes of manufacture; it extended railroads, discovered and developed new coal-fields and copper and iron ore beds; caused sharp competition in what my colleague would call raw material, and cheapened it all. It was a sturdy contest among our own people for support, property, and the life of their industries, respectively, and prices slowly but surely fell, and yet the industries were fairly prosperous. The saving in the cost was what lowered the prices.

We are told in this connection that the rich have grown richer and we have created monopolies. I assert that all have grown richer, and that competition as a result has been extended. I have already exhibited the increase to the farmer; the laborers have grown richer, and I mention to you that in 1883 the savings-bank deposits were \$1,024,856,787; and these deposits are in States or localities where manufacture is side by side with agriculture. The savings-bank deposits of New York are \$500,000,000; and this immense volume of capital is seeking

investment at 5 per cent. upon the dollar per annua, or less. It is a fact that the young farmer usually starts out with a mortgage upon his farm, and in the savings-bank centers he pays this low rate of interest, and in 1860 he paid 7 per cent. or more. I am now speaking of the East. The rates for both periods are higher West, but there is this corresponding difference between the two years.

But I am asked, why maintain the tariff if prices of goods are lower than in 1860, and if I claim if we reduced it there would not be a reduction in price? I do not claim there would not be a reduction in price temporarily. If we make a reduction in duty the surplus goods of other countries would be thrown upon us, and their manufacturing industries would be stimulated and our own industries would struggle for a while against it and the market would grow lower here. Our manufacturers in the end would be ruined, would yield to inevitable bankruptcy, our home market for our agricultural products would be impaired, the foreign producers would take the field and in time adjust their production and exportation to our market to the consumption and control it, and prices would advance above the present rates.

Such has been the history of the past. I for one believe that an absolutely protective tariff upon all goods in which there can not be a monopoly in the long run would be for the advantage of our people; for we accumulate wealth here very fast in the production of the fruits of the earth and the products of our mines, and that wealth would be poured into manufacture and we would have that competition here which would make very low prices; but the theory upon which we impose customs is to protect the American producer, and yet constantly force from him the lowest living prices, lest he be undersold with foreign goods and thus make a competition between the two. I am content with it. But the avowed purpose of the impending bill is to disturb this policy, break it down; and that the majority of the committee did not go further is due, as I understand it, to the fact they thought they could not accomplish more now.

In reply to the gentleman from Alabama in regard to crockery, we reduced the duty upon the common ware. Upon fine goods, namely, those decorated, and that fairly may be classed as luxuries, we increased the duties, to invite capital to develop their manufacture here, and with success, and the result of the competition has been to force down their price both here and abroad.

And it is said the revenues must be reduced. Who can tell us this bill will reduce the revenues? That is all a pretext, and gentlemen know it. There is a sure and certain way to reduce revenues. You can remove the internal-revenue tax from tobacco, and thus reduce the revenues \$25,000,000; and I assert this tax is levied directly upon the poor, the article is consumed by them—it is the men of wealth who buy the imported article—and they will have it, and there is no pretense that the tax limits the consumption, or that the consumption should be limited by it more than of tea and coffee and many other articles in constant, universal use.

You may pass a law removing the tax from all distilled spirits used in manufacturing or in chemical combination that will not permit of its use as a beverage. I think I understood my colleague the other day to admit I had pressed the consideration of this question upon the Committee on Ways and Means. While you can not get at it very accurately, I believe this would reduce the revenue \$30,000,000 a year, and by reducing the cost of the distilled spirits thus used would promote a still further consumption in those ways and extend the consumption of grain from which they are made, extend the market, and in the uses I have indicated the tax adds to the cost of useful and necessary

articles of consumption by all classes. The tax is a tax upon the consumer. I would not remove the tax so far as it is imposed upon distilled spirits or the products of them consumed as a beverage; but there is no difficulty in formulating a law that will observe the distinction, and continue the tax upon the beverage in every form.

But, sir, the authors of this measure do not care to reduce taxes. They want an issue for the next Presidential campaign which is so near. I doubt if they want this bill passed before then in both Houses of Congress; they want it pending.

The product of our manufactures is annually five and one-half billions of dollars, the annual production of the non-precious minerals entering into manufacture is nearly one hundred and fifty millions. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and his party associates have declared war upon and propose to destroy this property, bankrupt its possessors, and pauperize the millions that it now pays the wages of labor to, wages of labor that support families, that educate the young, and give homes and the comforts and pleasures of life to more than twelve millions of our people. These gentlemen would impoverish those homes, pauperize the families, rear the children in ignorance—and poverty and ignorance are the parents of crime and vice; thrifty, intelligent communities they would convert into the vicious, beggarly, ignorant, brutal, and criminal classes of the manufacturing and mining districts of the Old World. And can they convince an intelligent man they can accomplish this result, and that other classes will remain uninjured, will not share the bankruptcy, the poverty, the ignorance, and the degradation? The American people are homogeneous, and the degradation of a family injures its neighbors, however diverse their occupations. And if you degrade nearly one-third of all our people the others will share it. Morality, Christianity, and patriotism protest against the inhumanity. I have shown you that the interest of the other classes and of the country is opposed to this war of destruction. Sir, if successful, it will change our social system, introduce class distinctions into the country, and in the end will revolutionize our Government practically, if not in form. Gentlemen on the other side are constantly mourning over our tendency to centralization of power and to a strong government. Whenever the wages of labor shall be so regulated as to give but an animal support to the worker, then you must have a strong government, with its army of police; and if you would force the country upon that period you have but to impoverish the craftsman and the workingman by reducing their wages of labor by this 20 per cent. reduction.

Our country has a climate as varied and power of production as diversified, and I do not know but as great, as that of all Europe. It includes thirty-eight States, and vast Territories, each as rich in resources as a powerful state in Europe, all connected by abundant water or railroad communication. Our internal commerce exceeds that of any other continent. This they would impair, if not destroy; would neglect our own resources, destroy our home market, bankrupt our capitalists, and impoverish our people to add to the wealth of the foreign manufacturer; it may be to the advantage also of their workmen. I will concede that, but self-preservation is the first law to be observed by nations as well as by individuals, and that law is involved in your policy and purpose.

I have stated the issue fairly.

This issue has been tendered to us by the other side. \* With a unanimity which is certainly gratifying to me, we have accepted it upon this side of the House. You propose to tender it to the people in November next. The Republican party, I doubt not, proposes to accept the issue. You must remember that in all your localities where the hum of ma-

chinery is heard it will drown your eloquence, and where the light of the forge and of the blast furnace is seen it will let light in upon your reasoning. I am willing for one to submit it to an audience of agricultural people, as we shall be compelled to do; and, sir, I for one shall rest content with their verdict. [Loud applause.]

I will print with my remarks a table of the products of agriculture for 1859 and 1879, the two census years that afford the basis of my comparisons, with the letter of Professor Dodge, the Statistician of the Bureau of Agriculture, who prepared the table at my request. His eminent ability, perfect fairness, and complete knowledge of the subject no one will question. I have but this to add: the same elements and calculations enter into the results for both years, and for any increase or diminution of product for one year there must be a corresponding increase or diminution for the other, and the comparative difference between the two years will remain, and remain also in the comparisons I have made:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,  
DIVISION OF STATISTICS,  
Washington, D. C., April 23, 1884.

SIR: In response to your inquiry for the values of the products of agriculture of the years 1859 and 1879, respectively, including what is reported by the census and also estimates of farm production unreported and products of public lands and village lots as well, I respectfully submit the following statement: [See table on pages 26 and 27.]

This tabulation includes the items returned by the farm enumerators of the eighth and tenth censuses. It also adds, for both periods, the estimated production of poultry and eggs, the milk consumed, and butter and cheese made on ranches and in villages and towns as well as on farms. It gives the estimated production of meats in 1880 to correspond with the returns of such products in 1860.

In addition to all these products the list is still incomplete, and should include the annual increase or "betterment" of farm stock, exclusive of animals slaughtered, and a great variety of minor products, such as cotton-seed, the castor bean, broom-corn, various millets used as grains, volatile oils, &c.

Pasturage is not mentioned in the census, because it enters into the meat product. Nor is the stover and straw of more than a hundred million acres of grain. Of the products named above less than half the corn and a small part of the hay is duplicated in the meats, and a portion of that is offset by the unenumerated rough fodder which goes to the support of horses, mules, and working oxen, which should properly be counted in the values of products.

In brief, taking everything into consideration, I make the net value of all agricultural production on farms, ranches, and in town and village lots, in round numbers, \$1,600,000,000 for the crop-year 1859, returned by the census in 1860, and \$3,600,000,000 for the year 1879. As to the items, though not quite complete or absolutely beyond any necessary revision, no possible review could materially change essentially the comparison of the two periods.

I may be permitted to say that I had charge of the collection of the agricultural statistics of the tenth census and of the annual crop returns of the Department of Agriculture for a large portion of the period between 1860 and 1880, and that I know of no one else who has ever made special study of this subject. It should be remembered that no census has ever yet included all production in its schedules, and that no two agree in their list of products reported. As to values, the returns were notoriously incomplete, and from the difficulty and complexity of the subject must necessarily have been, the true results being only obtainable by tests of quantities returned and their values in average farm prices.

Respectfully,

J. R. DODGE, *Statistician.*

To Hon. FRANK HISCOCK,

Comparison of quantities and farm values of products of agriculture of the United States produced in 1859 and 1879.

Products.	1859.			1879.		
	Quantity.	Price.	Value.	Quantity.	Price.	Value.
Corn.....bushels...	888,792,740	\$0 43	\$360,680,878	1,754,591,676	\$0 39.6	\$694,818,304
Wheat.....do.....	173,104,924	72	124,635,545	459,483,137	95.1	436,968,463
Oats.....do.....	172,643,185	25	43,160,796	407,888,999	36	146,829,240
Rye.....do.....	21,101,880	52	10,372,718	19,831,595	75.6	14,992,686
Barley.....do.....	15,825,898	55	8,704,244	43,997,495	66.6	29,302,332
Buckwheat.....do.....	17,571,818	58	10,191,654	11,817,327	59.4	7,019,492
Rice.....bushels...	187,167,032	3.5	6,550,846	110,131,373	6	6,607,882
Irish potatoes.....do.....	111,148,867	40	44,459,547	169,458,539	48.3	81,848,474
Sweet potatoes.....do.....	42,095,026	40	16,838,010	33,378,693	45	15,020,412
Hay.....tons.....	19,083,896	8 00	152,671,168	35,150,711	11 65	409,505,783
Cotton.....pounds...	2,274,372,309	9.3	211,516,625	2,771,797,156	9.8	271,636,121
Tobacco.....do.....	434,209,461	5	21,710,473	472,661,157	8.2	38,758,215
Peas and beans.....bushels...	15,061,995	1 33	20,032,453	9,590,027	1 50	14,385,041
Market garden*.....do.....			16,159,498			21,701,250
Orchard products*.....do.....			19,991,885			50,876,154
Hops.....pounds...	10,991,996	7	19,769,440	26,546,378	24	6,371,131
Hemp.....tons.....	74,493	190 00	14,153,670	5,025	200 00	1,005,000
Flax.....pounds...	4,720,145	20	944,029	1,565,546	25	391,387
Flax-seed.....bushels...	566,867	1 00	566,867	7,170,951	1 25	8,963,689
Cane sugar.....hogsheads...	230,982	85 00	19,633,470	1,178,872	90 00	16,098,480
Maple sugar.....pounds...	40,120,205	12	4,814,425	36,576,061	13	4,754,888
Cane molasses.....gallons...	14,963,996	30	4,489,199	16,573,273	35	5,800,646
Sorghum sirup.....do.....	6,749,123	30	2,024,737	28,444,202	33	9,386,587
Maple sirup.....do.....	1,597,589	80	1,278,071	1,796,048	1 00	1,796,048
Beeswax.....pounds...	1,322,787	30	396,836	1,105,689	33	364,577
Honey.....do.....	25,366,357	1 40	4,673,271	25,743,208	22	5,603,506
Grass-seed.....bushels...	900,040	1 40	1,260,056	1,317,701	1 50	1,976,552
Clover-seed.....do.....	956,188	5 00	4,780,940	1,922,982	6 00	11,537,892
Wines.....gallons...	1,627,242	50	813,621	20,000,000	60	12,000,000
Wool.....pounds...	75,000,000	26	19,600,000	240,681,751	28	67,380,890
Meats*.....do.....			800,000,000			800,000,000

Butter†.....	500,000,000	16	80,000,000	900,000,000	21	189,000,000
Cheese†.....	130,000,000	9.5	12,350,000	300,000,000	9.5	28,500,000
Milk consumed.....	1,000,000,000	6	60,000,000	1,800,000,000	7.5	135,000,000
Poultry products†.....	.....	.....	75,000,000	.....	.....	180,000,000
Aggregate values.....	.....	.....	1,675,724,972	.....	.....	3,726,331,422

\*As reported in the census, not including an immense home consumption.

†Census returns of farms, supplemented by estimates of ranch and town production.

Mr. Chairman, I shall print also with my remarks matter not new to the committee, and I shall not trouble it with it—extracts from reports made by Professor Dodge, which so fully illustrate the views I have expressed that I am constrained to give them such circulation as these remarks of mine shall have. They are as follows:

It was shown conclusively, by figures of the census of 1880, that increase of non-agricultural population enhances prices of lands and farm products. There was found a relation, other things being equal, of such prices to relative numbers of agriculturists and other workers. The larger the proportion of farmers, the smaller were found values in agriculture. Now, in view of the above considerations of nearness of producers to consumers, it is important to know whether, within the States, the proximity of different classes of workers increases locally such prices. It would be reasonable to suppose it would.

To test the supposition, by the figures of the census which show the value of the products of manufacture, which represent usually the largest element in non-agricultural industry, let us take the principal manufacturing counties, average the value of their farm lands, and compare the result with the average value of all the remaining farm lands within the State.

There is a great difference in the aggregate value of manufactures of the different States. Mississippi and Nevada have no county with \$1,000,000 worth of manufactured products. Massachusetts has only two with less than \$10,000,000, and has one with \$134,567,625. Therefore it is necessary, in a comparison between the principal manufacturing counties and those of less importance, to take a different minimum of value in Alabama, as a line of separation, from the minimum taken in Massachusetts. The minimum proposed for each of the States south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River is \$1,000,000. Each county having not less than that amount of value in manufacturing production is placed in a group, and the average value of their lands compared with the average value of all the remaining lands in the State.

Then the agricultural States, in which other industries are more important, are allowed a minimum of \$2,000,000 per county. In this group come the thriving Northwestern States, new and largely agricultural, yet progressive, and already diversifying their industries, rural and manufacturing, quite rapidly. They are Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, and California is classed with them.

Then come the four States of the Ohio Basin, which lie between the river and the great lakes, which are already prominent in industrial development. It is necessary to make \$5,000,000 the minimum, so general is the distribution of the industries. With Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois are placed the States of Northern New England, namely Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

In a fourth group, comprising each of the Middle States, having a larger industrial development, \$10,000,000 per county will make a fair exhibit of the more advanced industrial counties.

These for groups comprise all the States, except those in Southern New England, which have a very exceptional degree of industrial advancement. In these Connecticut has three of her eight counties with more than \$25,000,000 each. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island the minimum is fixed at \$50,000,000.

The result of this comparison shows in every State, without exception, a higher average value of farm land in that portion of each State which makes the largest value of the products of manufacturing industry. These two sections of each State are contrasted in the following statement, which also gives the totals for each State, as follows:

*Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State.*

States.	No. of counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Alabama:			<i>Acres.</i>		
Manufacturing counties.....	2	\$2,785,635	481,484	\$3,152,789	\$6 55
Other counties .....	64	10,779,819	18,373,850	75,801,869	4 13
Total.....	66	13,565,504	18,855,334	78,954,648	4 19



Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

States.	Counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Arkansas:			Acres.		
Manufacturing counties.....	1	\$1,859,198	173,395	\$2,058,079	\$11 87
Other counties.....	73	4,896,961	11,888,152	72,191,576	6 07
Total.....	74	6,756,159	12,061,547	74,249,655	6 16
California:					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	96,217,320	2,116,416	76,972,187	36 37
Other counties.....	46	20,001,653	14,477,326	185,079,145	12 78
Total.....	52	116,218,973	16,593,742	262,051,282	15 79
Colorado:					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	10,333,397	78,317	3,460,553	44 19
Other counties.....	29	3,876,762	1,087,056	21,648,670	19 91
Total.....	31	14,260,159	1,165,373	25,109,223	21 55
Connecticut:					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	122,572,296	967,946	69,537,959	71 84
Other counties.....	5	63,124,915	1,485,595	51,525,951	34 68
Total.....	8	185,697,211	2,453,541	121,063,910	49 34
Delaware:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	17,805,608	253,939	18,757,836	73 87
Other counties.....	2	2,708,830	836,306	18,031,836	21 56
Total.....	3	20,514,438	1,090,245	36,789,672	33 74
Florida:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	1,366,785	5,759	83,200	14 45
Other counties.....	38	4,179,663	3,291,565	20,208,635	6 14
Total.....	39	5,546,448	3,297,324	20,291,835	6 15
Georgia:					
Manufacturing counties.....	7	19,331,604	995,971	9,181,254	9 22
Other counties.....	130	17,109,344	25,047,311	102,729,286	4 10
Total.....	137	36,440,948	26,043,282	111,910,540	4 30
Illinois:					
Manufacturing counties.....	10	340,527,740	4,470,503	196,518,392	43 96
Other counties.....	92	74,336,933	27,203,142	813,076,188	29 89
Total.....	102	414,864,673	31,673,645	1,009,594,580	31 87
Indiana:					
Manufacturing counties.....	7	73,226,591	1,508,599	74,233,562	49 21
Other counties.....	85	74,779,820	18,912,384	561,002,549	29 66
Total.....	92	148,006,411	20,420,983	635,236,111	31 11
Iowa:					
Manufacturing counties.....	9	37,355,066	3,018,517	97,434,304	32 28
Other counties.....	90	33,690,860	21,734,183	469,995,923	21 62
Total.....	99	71,045,926	24,752,700	567,430,227	22 92

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

States.	Counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
<b>Kansas:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	5	\$16,050,363	1,006,965	\$24,699,803	\$24 53
Other counties.....	99	14,793,414	20,410,503	210,479,133	10 31
Total .....	104	30,843,777	21,417,468	235,178,936	10 98
<b>Kentucky:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	10	56,659,426	1,571,585	57,335,970	36 48
Other counties.....	107	18,823,951	19,923,655	241,962,661	12 14
Total .....	117	75,483,377	21,495,240	299,298,631	13 92
<b>Louisiana:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	20,456,396	49,075	1,010,663	20 59
Other counties.....	56	3,748,787	8,224,431	57,978,454	7 05
Total .....	58	24,205,183	8,273,506	58,989,117	7 13
<b>Maine:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	5	58,246,405	2,288,037	50,607,054	22 12
Other counties.....	11	21,583,388	4,264,541	51,750,561	12 14
Total.....	16	79,829,793	6,552,578	102,357,615	15 62
<b>Maryland:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	8	101,635,101	1,904,199	93,199,562	48 94
Other counties.....	16	5,145,462	3,215,632	72,303,779	22 49
Total .....	24	106,780,563	5,119,831	165,503,341	32 33
<b>Massachusetts:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	4	453,360,766	1,292,876	74,819,191	57 87
Other counties.....	10	177,774,518	2,066,203	71,378,224	34 55
Total .....	14	631,135,284	3,359,079	146,197,415	43 52
<b>Michigan:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	74,928,516	1,500,690	60,373,468	40 23
Other counties.....	72	75,786,509	12,306,550	438,729,713	35 65
Total .....	78	150,715,025	13,807,240	499,103,181	36 15
<b>Minnesota:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	55,507,084	1,508,251	39,581,999	26 24
Other counties.....	72	20,558,114	11,894,768	154,142,261	12 96
Total .....	78	76,065,198	13,403,019	193,724,260	14 45
<b>Missouri:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	9	139,598,517	2,309,339	49,433,922	21 41
Other counties.....	106	25,787,688	25,569,937	326,199,385	12 76
Total .....	115	165,386,205	27,879,276	375,633,307	13 47
<b>Nebraska:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	5,866,751	495,434	9,456,461	19 09
Other counties .....	68	6,760,585	9,449,392	96,476,080	10 21
Total .....	70	12,627,336	9,944,826	105,932,541	10 65

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

States.	No. of counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
<b>New Hampshire:</b>			<i>Acres.</i>		
Manufacturing counties.....	5	\$60,258,153	1,880,602	\$47,725,874	\$25 38
Other counties .....	5	13,719,875	1,840,571	28,108,515	15 27
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>73,978,028</b>	<b>3,721,173</b>	<b>75,834,389</b>	<b>20 38</b>
<b>New Jersey:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	208,670,151	368,675	35,562,438	96 46
Other counties .....	15	45,710,085	2,561,098	155,333,395	60 65
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>254,380,236</b>	<b>2,929,773</b>	<b>190,895,833</b>	<b>65 16</b>
<b>New York:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	13	896,651,665	4,981,545	310,699,132	62 37
Other counties .....	47	184,044,931	13,799,209	745,477,609	39 65
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>1,080,696,596</b>	<b>23,780,754</b>	<b>1,056,176,741</b>	<b>44 41</b>
<b>North Carolina:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	4,141,335	542,488	3,550,625	6 55
Other counties .....	91	15,953,702	21,821,070	132,242,977	6 06
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>20,095,037</b>	<b>22,363,558</b>	<b>135,793,602</b>	<b>6 07</b>
<b>Ohio:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	12	249,632,186	3,388,305	229,903,034	67 85
Other counties .....	76	98,666,204	21,140,921	897,594,319	42 46
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>348,298,390</b>	<b>24,529,226</b>	<b>1,127,497,353</b>	<b>45 97</b>
<b>Oregon:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	5,543,941	678,769	13,123,679	19 33
Other counties .....	20	5,387,291	3,535,943	43,784,896	12 38
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>10,931,232</b>	<b>4,214,712</b>	<b>56,908,575</b>	<b>13 50</b>
<b>Pennsylvania:</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	13	596,122,801	3,930,549	340,912,032	86 73
Other counties .....	54	148,695,644	15,860,792	634,777,378	40 02
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>744,818,445</b>	<b>19,791,341</b>	<b>975,689,410</b>	<b>49 30</b>
<b>Rhode Island:</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	1	82,083,318	193,544	11,180,683	57 77
Other counties.....	4	22,080,303	321,269	14,701,396	45 76
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>104,163,621</b>	<b>514,813</b>	<b>25,882,079</b>	<b>50 27</b>
<b>South Carolina:</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	8,384,219	1,471,846	8,387,900	5 70
Other counties.....	30	8,353,789	11,985,767	60,289,582	5 03
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>16,738,008</b>	<b>13,457,613</b>	<b>68,677,482</b>	<b>5 10</b>
<b>Tennessee:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	4	19,003,353	1,119,004	19,955,465	17 83
Other counties.....	90	18,071,533	19,547,911	156,794,372	9 56
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>37,074,886</b>	<b>20,666,915</b>	<b>206,749,837</b>	<b>10 00</b>

## Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

States.	No. of counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
<b>Texas:</b>					
Manufacturing counties .....	3	\$5, 139, 720	Acres. 554, 512	\$5, 671, 879	\$10 23
Other counties .....	207	15, 580, 208	35, 737, 707	164, 797, 007	4 61
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>20, 719, 928</b>	<b>36, 292, 219</b>	<b>170, 468, 886</b>	<b>4 70</b>
<b>Utah:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	1, 933, 221	51, 320	1, 932, 585	37 66
Other counties .....	22	2, 391, 771	604, 204	12, 082, 593	20 00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4, 324, 992</b>	<b>655, 524</b>	<b>14, 015, 178</b>	<b>21 38</b>
<b>Vermont:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	6, 244, 391	344, 860	10, 368, 736	30 07
Other counties.....	13	25, 109, 975	4, 537, 728	98, 977, 274	21 81
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>31, 354, 366</b>	<b>4, 882, 588</b>	<b>109, 346, 010</b>	<b>22 40</b>
<b>Virginia:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	33, 731, 492	1, 624, 304	19, 429, 261	11 96
Other counties .....	93	18, 049, 500	18, 211, 481	196, 598, 846	10 80
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>51, 780, 992</b>	<b>19, 835, 785</b>	<b>216, 028, 107</b>	<b>10 89</b>
<b>West Virginia:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	11, 207, 436	244, 624	11, 955, 131	48 87
Other counties.....	52	11, 659, 690	9, 949, 155	121, 192, 044	12 18
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>22, 867, 126</b>	<b>10, 193, 779</b>	<b>133, 147, 175</b>	<b>13 06</b>
<b>Wisconsin:</b>					
Manufacturing counties.....	15	96, 101, 406	4, 720, 777	159, 941, 426	83 88
Other counties.....	48	32, 154, 074	10, 632, 341	197, 768, 081	18 60
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>128, 255, 480</b>	<b>15, 353, 118</b>	<b>357, 709, 507</b>	<b>23 30</b>

The reader will observe that in every State there is a difference in value of lands in favor of the manufacturing counties, and that where there is little manufacturing there is small difference, and where the products of manufacture are of large value lands bear a high price. That this differentiation may be easily seen the following classification is made:

## Statement showing higher land values in manufacturing counties.

## FIRST GROUP.

States.	Manufacturing counties.		Other counties.	
	Acres.	Value per acre.	Acres.	Value per acre.
Massachusetts .....	1, 292, 876	\$57 87	2, 066, 203	\$34 55
Rhode Island.....	193, 544	57 77	321, 269	45 76
Connecticut.....	967, 946	71 84	1, 485, 595	34 68
New York.....	4, 981, 545	62 37	18, 799, 209	39 65
New Jersey.....	368, 675	96 46	2, 561, 098	60 65
Pennsylvania.....	3, 930, 549	86 73	15, 860, 792	40 02
Delaware.....	253, 939	73 87	836, 306	21 56
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>11, 989, 074</b>	<b>71 85</b>	<b>41, 930, 472</b>	<b>40 33</b>

## SECOND GROUP.

States.	Manufacturing counties.		Other counties.	
	Acres.	Value per acre.	Acres.	Value per acre.
Maine.....	2,288,037	22 12	4,264,541	12 14
New Hampshire.....	1,880,602	25 33	1,840,571	15 27
Vermont.....	344,860	30 07	4,537,728	21 81
Ohio.....	3,338,305	67 85	21,140,921	42 46
Michigan.....	1,500,690	40 23	12,306,550	35 65
Indiana.....	1,508,599	49 21	18,912,384	29 66
Illinois.....	4,470,503	43 96	27,203,142	29 89
Total.....	15,381,596	43 54	90,205,837	32 03

## THIRD GROUP.

Wisconsin.....	4,720,777	233 88	10,632,341	18 60
Minnesota.....	1,508,251	26 24	11,894,768	12 96
Iowa.....	3,018,517	32 28	21,734,183	21 62
California.....	2,116,416	36 37	14,477,326	12 78
Total.....	11,363,961	32 90	53,738,618	17 14

## FOURTH GROUP.

Maryland.....	1,904,199	43 94	3,215,632	22 49
Virginia.....	1,624,304	11 96	18,211,481	10 80
North Carolina.....	542,488	6 55	21,821,070	6 06
South Carolina.....	1,471,846	5 70	11,985,767	5 03
Georgia.....	995,971	9 22	25,047,311	4 10
Florida.....	5,759	14 45	3,291,565	6 14
Alabama.....	481,484	6 55	18,373,850	4 13
Louisiana.....	49,075	20 59	8,224,431	7 05
Texas.....	554,512	10 23	35,737,707	4 61
Arkansas.....	173,395	11 87	11,888,152	6 07
Tennessee.....	1,119,004	17 83	19,547,911	9 56
West Virginia.....	244,624	43 87	9,949,155	12 18
Kentucky.....	1,571,585	36 48	19,923,635	12 14
Missouri.....	2,309,339	21 41	25,569,937	12 76
Kansas.....	1,006,965	24 53	20,410,503	10 31
Nebraska.....	495,434	19 09	9,449,392	10 21
Colorado.....	78,317	44 19	1,087,056	19 91
Oregon.....	678,769	19 33	3,535,943	12 33
Utah.....	51,320	37 66	604,204	20 00
Total.....	15,358,390	21 95	267,874,722	8 27

## VARIATION BY STATES AND GROUPS.

These States aggregate the value of \$5,336,465,954 in products of manufactures, the grand aggregate in 1880 being \$5,369,579,191 for all the States and Territories of the United States. Now, the eighteen States and one Territory in the group which has the least manufactures produce a value of \$676,427,860, or 12.6 per cent. of the total for the United States, a fraction of 1 per cent. for each State. These may well be considered agricultural States.

The third group includes four States, also essentially agricultural—Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and California—in which there is a quite general determination not to remain in the category of one-idea communities in industrial development. They have \$391,585,577 in manufacturing production, or 7.3 per cent. of the grand aggregate for the whole country.

The second group is rounding into symmetry in industry and realizing the benefits of such a status in high prices of lands and farm products, and rapid increase in wealth and culture. This class includes the States north of the Ohio River—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois—and also Northern New England. These seven States return a production of \$1,247,046,636, which is 23.2 per cent. of the whole. These may be deemed industrial as well as agricultural.

But there are seven other States in which the industries are more equally balanced than any other, which make more than half the industrial production of the United States, worth \$3,021,405,831, or 56.3 of all. These are found in Southern New England and the Middle States, and may properly be grouped together.

They include all manufacturing production except six-tenths of 1 per cent., scattered through two States and nine Territories. The tabulation by States is as follows:

*Aggregate value of products of agriculture by States, acres of land in farms, and value of farm lands, by States and groups of States.*

## FIRST GROUP.

States.	Value of products of manufacture.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
Massachusetts.....	631,125,284	3,359,079	146,197,415	43 52
Rhode Island.....	104,163,621	514,813	25,882,079	50 27
Connecticut.....	185,697,211	2,453,541	121,063,910	49 34
New York.....	1,080,696,596	23,780,754	1,056,176,741	44 41
New Jersey.....	254,380,236	2,929,773	190,895,833	65 16
Pennsylvania.....	744,818,445	19,791,341	975,689,410	49 30
Delaware.....	20,514,438	1,090,245	36,789,672	33 74
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>3,021,405,831</b>	<b>53,919,546</b>	<b>2,552,695,060</b>	<b>47 34</b>

## SECOND GROUP.

Maine.....	79,829,793	6,552,578	102,357,615	15 62
New Hampshire.....	73,978,028	3,721,173	75,834,389	20 38
Vermont.....	31,354,366	4,882,588	109,346,010	22 40
Ohio.....	348,298,390	24,529,226	1,127,497,353	45 97
Michigan.....	150,715,025	13,807,240	499,103,181	36 15
Indiana.....	148,006,411	20,420,983	635,236,111	31 11
Illinois.....	414,864,673	31,673,645	1,009,594,580	31 87
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>1,247,046,686</b>	<b>105,587,433</b>	<b>3,558,969,239</b>	<b>33 71</b>

## THIRD GROUP.

Wisconsin.....	128,255,480	15,353,118	357,709,507	23 30
Minnesota.....	76,065,198	13,403,019	193,724,260	14 45
Iowa.....	71,045,926	24,752,700	567,430,227	22 92
California.....	116,218,973	16,593,742	262,051,282	15 79
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>391,585,577</b>	<b>70,102,579</b>	<b>1,380,915,276</b>	<b>19 70</b>

## FOURTH GROUP.

Maryland.....	106,780,563	5,119,831	165,503,341	32 33
Virginia.....	51,780,992	19,835,785	216,028,107	10 89
North Carolina.....	20,095,037	22,363,558	135,793,602	6 07
South Carolina.....	16,738,008	13,457,613	68,677,482	5 10
Georgia.....	36,440,948	26,043,282	111,910,540	4 30
Florida.....	5,546,448	3,297,324	20,291,835	6 15
Alabama.....	13,565,504	18,855,334	78,954,648	4 19
Louisiana.....	24,205,183	8,273,506	58,989,117	7 13
Texas.....	20,719,928	36,292,219	170,468,886	4 70
Arkansas.....	6,756,159	12,061,547	74,249,655	6 16
Tennessee.....	37,074,886	20,666,915	206,749,837	10 00
West Virginia.....	22,867,126	10,193,779	133,147,175	13 06
Kentucky.....	75,483,377	21,493,240	299,298,631	13 92
Missouri.....	165,386,205	27,879,276	375,633,307	13 47
Kansas.....	30,843,777	21,417,468	285,178,936	10 98
Nebraska.....	12,627,336	9,944,826	105,932,541	10 65
Colorado.....	14,260,159	1,165,373	25,109,223	21 55
Oregon.....	10,931,232	4,214,712	56,908,575	13 50
Utah.....	4,324,992	655,524	14,015,178	21 88
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>676,427,860</b>	<b>233,233,112</b>	<b>2,552,840,616</b>	<b>9 01</b>

## THE FARMER'S INCOME.

The fact that the group of States where industry is most diversified (those having only 18 per cent. of all workers engaged in agriculture) afford \$457 per annum to each one, while the agricultural States, having 77 per cent. in agriculture, allow an annual income of only \$160, is too significant to be explained away, too convincing for pretense of cavil. It stands as proof of the necessity of symmetry and completeness of the productive system, and as a forceful illustration of the solidarity of the industries.

Full acceptance of the truth that increase of non-agricultural workers enhances values in agriculture, as proven by this grouping of facts, has been nearly universal.

2. *It increases the value of production.* In the early days of the infancy of our manufactures, within the recollection of persons of middle age, wheat has been sold for less than 40 cents per bushel. There was a surplus for which there was little demand, because nearly every head of a family produced his own supply. Sixty years ago the price of our wheat exports at the place of shipment was but 70 cents per bushel, and it required eighty-eight bushels of that wheat to pay for a ton of pig-iron imported the same year. Last year twenty-five bushels of wheat would pay for a ton of pig-iron of our own manufacture, and yet we are told that farmers are ruined by the tariff on iron. The reason of this great difference is found in the fact that between four and five million tons of pig-iron are now made annually in the United States, or more than ten times as much as was produced in Great Britain sixty years ago, and more than was made there in any year prior to 1863.

Take a notable example of the crushing weight of overproduction upon price. Not many years ago, when cotton was worth 23 cents per pound, the planting returns disclosed the fact, in June, that one-third increase in area had been made. I at once predicted that with a season favoring an average yield per acre the price of middling cotton would in six months fall to 15 cents. The increase was more than a million bales and the average price of the crop was a fraction less than 15 cents, and brought to the growers \$45,000,000 less than the smaller previous crop. They realized, too, that all of their extra labor had been thrown away, besides a heavy loss in addition. With no money-producing crop but cotton and no employment for idle labor in other productive industry, it is not strange that discouragement was disheartening and poverty imminent.

Again recurring to unpublished results of the Census of 1880, a striking illustration of the influences of manufactures on the profits of agriculture is presented. The census returns the value of the products of agriculture reported on its schedules. Comparing the average value of production for each person (farm or farm laborer) engaged in rural industry, we have \$431 for Pennsylvania, and \$180 for Virginia; \$394 for Ohio, and \$199 for Kentucky; \$467 in Illinois, and \$376 in Minnesota. Dividing again the States and Territories into four sections, the first comprising the manufacturing and mining areas, and including all having a smaller proportion than 30 per cent. of the occupied population, the working class, engaged in agricultural employments; the second section comprising all States having more than 30 and under 50 per cent.; the third including all States having 50 and not exceeding 70 per cent., and the fourth including all States having more than 70 per cent. engaged in agriculture, we have the following perfectly natural, not to say inevitable, results, namely:

Classes.	Engaged in agriculture.	Products of agriculture.	Value per capita.	Workers in agriculture.
	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Value.</i>		<i>Per ct.</i>
First class.....	1, 060, 681	484, 770, 797	\$457	16. 59
Second class.....	1, 566, 875	616, 850, 959	394	40. 12
Third class.....	3, 017, 971	786, 681, 420	261	58. 85
Fourth class.....	2, 024, 966	325, 099, 388	161	77. 46

Here again we see the product per mango down as the percentage of agricultural workers goes up. We see that in the manufacturing States 1,060,681 agriculturists get \$484,770,797 per annum for their labor, while in the agricultural States 2,024,966 receive only \$325,099,388. New Jersey has but 14.92 per cent. in agriculture, and each man earns \$501, while Mississippi has 81.81 per cent., the largest proportion of any State, and each person earns but \$187, the lowest average in the United States.

As with the price of land so with the value of the products of the soil. As the proportion of agricultural to other labor goes up, falls the value of a farm laborer's production by a regular, steep, inevitable gradation. The States with less than 30 per cent. in farm labor realize nearly three times as much per man as those which have over 70 per cent. in farm work. In other words, one man in the first class realizes as much as the three men who are competing with each other, having little outlet for surplus production. Three brothers in Alabama, laboring through the year, get as much for their aggregate produce as one farmer receives in Pennsylvania, simply because that farmer has a brother engaged in manufacture and another in mining. It is because in one case there is a market for one product only, thousands of miles away; in the other, there are markets at every door.

The same state of facts was shown in 1870, and similar differences will illustrate the value of diversified labor in 1890.







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