

UC-NRLF



B 3 228 501

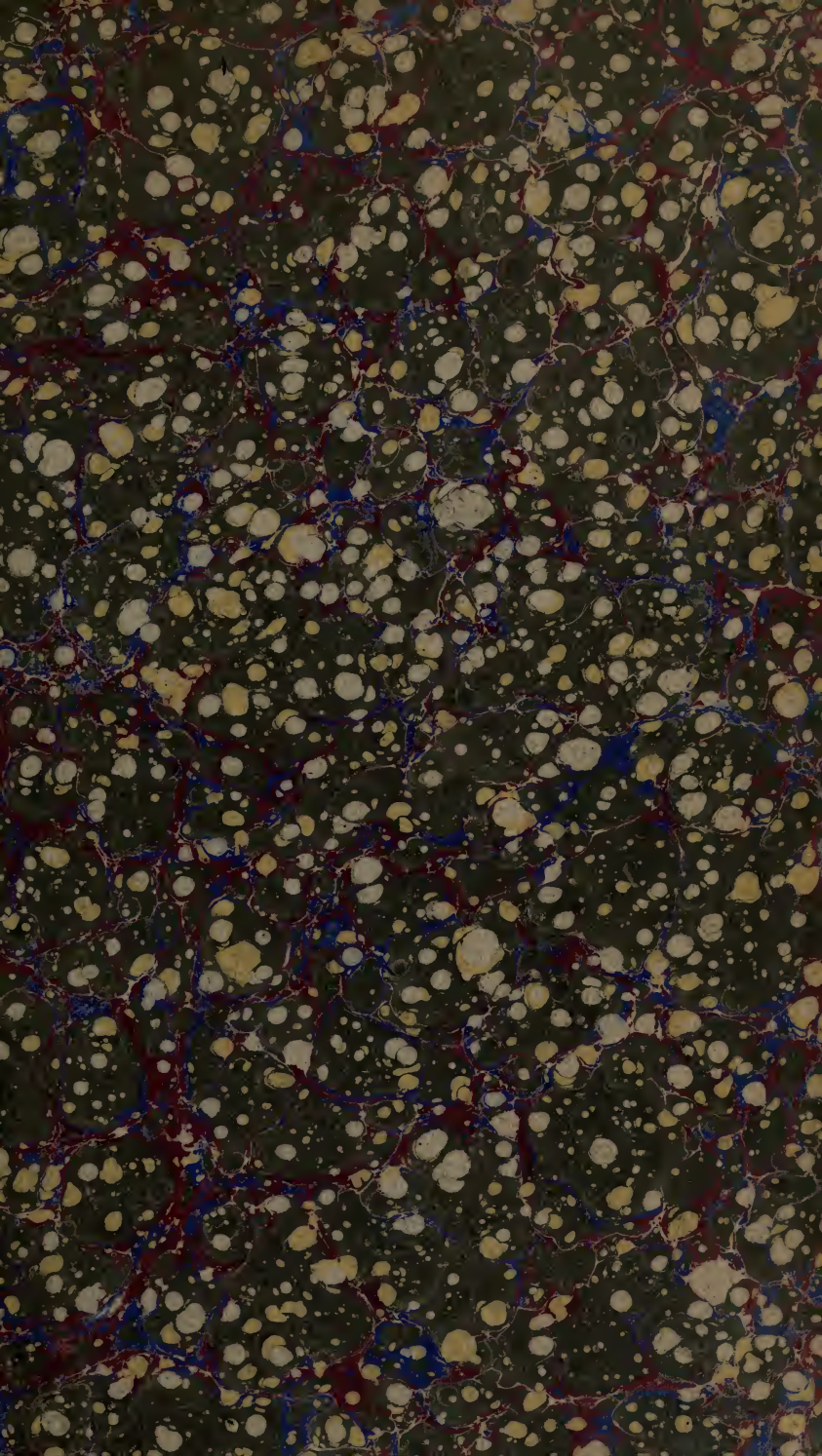


LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.
GIFT OF

Pres. Amace Davis,


Received *Aug.*, 188*9*.

Accessions No. *39244* Shelf No. _____





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



THE TARIFF.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN H. GEAR,
OF IOWA,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, May 11, 1888.

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

Mr. GEAR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The President of the United States, in his annual communication to Congress at the present session, disregarded all those questions which every other Chief Magistrate of the country has discussed, with the exception of a single one, and that was the question of the reduction of the tariff. In his aggressive attack upon all the manufacturing producing industries, and upon all the labor engaged in them, he has made the tariff by his message the underlying question of the day. It is now soon to go to the American people to determine by their votes whether they will stand by the Republican party, which for the past twenty-seven years has, by its wise legislation, inaugurated and carried forward to a high degree of prosperity the material interests of the country, and whether they will continue to support a policy by and under which we, as a nation, have become powerful and wealthy; a policy under which we, as a nation, are accumulating wealth and the means of supplying comforts as well as necessities more rapidly than any other people in the world, or whether they will reverse that policy by following the dogma of free trade.

Mr. Chairman, nearly three-fourths of all the voters of this country to-day came into the possession of the right of suffrage under the Morrill tariff law. This question has not been discussed at all, and I for one am glad to have it discussed now, so that it may be perfectly understood by the present generation of voters. It may be that the detail of statistics may be dry and uninteresting, yet they are of great importance and value to the people who are called to act upon the important issue of protection or free trade, which has been presented to them for their determination. It is, Mr. Chairman, to that class of men who are deeply interested in the pending tariff discussion that I propose chiefly to confine my remarks. I want to show to them that where a fairly protective policy has been the rule our country has been prosperous in a high degree, and that when the contrary policy of "free trade" or a "tariff for revenue" has been adopted that financial em-

barrassment and a marked depression in the price of labor and produce has immediately followed.

The student of history can not but have observed that the revolution, which resulted in the birth of the American Nation, had its origin not only in the intense desire which the people of the thirteen colonies had for political freedom, but also in the oppressive course of the British Government regarding the industries and traffic of our people.

Much of the sentiment in favor of the revolution was the result of an intense desire on the part of the people to free themselves from the commercial thralldom to which they had for many years been subjected. This struggle for political and commercial liberty on the part of the colonists was intense and prolonged for seven years, at the end of which a full acknowledgment of our rights was conceded by Great Britain. The termination of that struggle was an epoch in the world's history, marking as it did the birth of the American Nation—a nation founded on the will of the majority of the people and with the right to administer its own affairs as might best “promote the general welfare” of all.

The question of the constitutionality of levying imposts for the protection of American industries was settled by the First Congress, which had among its members many of those who had sat in the constitutional convention. Each and all of those great patriots are on record as to the constitutional right of the Government to enact what may be called a tariff for the protection of American manufactures and American labor.

The second act of the First Congress was enacted not only to raise revenue, but it was also declared in set terms that it was enacted for the purpose not only of raising revenue, but for the “encouragement and protection of manufactures.” The duties levied under this act were all small, but it stimulated the industries of the new nation, and we at once began to manufacture to a great extent. While, as I have said, the duties levied under this act were not large, yet the protection theory as stated in the act itself gave confidence to our people and at once stimulated our infant industries, and American manufacturers attained a position on the commercial map of the world.

The question arises, what has our tariff policy been, and what has been its result? As I have shown that protection entered largely into the first tariff act; a degree of protection believed to be ample, as shown by the debates. This principle underlay all the legislation up to the adoption of the compromise act of 1833. Many of the duties, it is true, proved inadequate; others became so in the course of time. The wars which followed the French revolution gave much of the carrying trade to this country. This trade was rendered precarious by reason of the British orders in council and the decrees of Napoleon, each declaring paper blockades of the ports of our country. Protection was to some extent necessarily afforded while the embargo, which followed, compelled our people for awhile to rely upon the products of our own country. Nevertheless, with all these incidental aids to industry, the war of 1812 found us deplorably unprepared. The country, having no woolen manufactures, could not clothe its soldiers; not even a blanket could be made. An eminent writer, Dr. Bushnell, says:

We had been free-traders, buying all such things because we could buy them cheaper, but we now discovered that we might better have been making the blankets at double the cost for fifty years.

The same was true of saltpeter, guns, cannons, swords, and iron and steel out of which to make them.

We began also to discover that the very insignificant article of salt coming short in the supply was made a dead necessity, and manufact-

uring it for ourselves at double the cost would have been a true advantage. We very soon discovered in the facts referred to the lowness of our organization and the very incomplete scope of our industrial equipment. In fact, Americans began to see the justice of the world's criticism that we did not amount to much, that we could not do anything for ourselves. A manufacturer of Birmingham, England, in view of the war then anticipated, prophesied that on its breaking out "the crops of the United States would be devoured with vermin, because there was not skill enough in America to manufacture a mouse-trap."

A fine opinion our British cousins had of us! And practical free trade seemed to justify their estimate. At the close of the war the country was fairly flooded with British goods, and although a small measure of protection was accorded by the tariff of 1816, yet, owing to the cheapness of labor across the ocean, the decay of the manufactures which had been encouraged into being was steady. Some disappeared entirely; especially was this true in regard to the manufacture of earthenware, glass, and red and white lead, while that of iron was barely kept alive.

Let me place on the stand in regard to the condition of the country at the time a Democratic witness, a gentleman standing high in the councils of his State and still higher in the councils of his party, when he became the nation's Chief Magistrate—James Buchanan, the last Democratic President before the present one. When he was in Congress in 1824 he said in regard to this period of depression:

A few years ago the traveler going into the mountain districts of Pennsylvania would have found a great number of furnaces and forges in active operation. Their owners were not only prospering themselves, but they spread prosperity around them. These manufactures presented the best and surest market to the neighboring country for the products of agriculture. Thus they diffuse wealth among the people, money circulated freely, and the manufacturer, the operator, and the farmer were equally benefited. The present aspect of those districts present a melancholy contrast to that which I have just described. It is a just comment upon the policy of that country which will not afford a reasonable protection to its own domestic industries, and therefore give to foreigners a decided preference in its markets. Although that portion of Pennsylvania abounds with ore, with wood, and with water power, yet its manufactures generally sink into ruin and exist only as a standing monument of the false policy of the Government.

The manufacturers and their laborers have both been thrown out of employment, and the neighboring farmer is without a market. Again have we so soon forgotten the lesson which experience taught us during the war with Great Britain? Our foreign supply was then cut off and we could not manufacture in sufficient quantities for the increasing domestic demand. The price of the article became extravagant, and both the Government and agriculturist were compelled to pay double the sum for which they might have purchased it had its manufacturer before that period been encouraged by proper protection policy.

If it be true that history repeats itself, are we not now liable, in the event of the Democratic doctrine of the Mills bill prevailing, to have a recurrence of the picture so graphically presented by Mr. Buchanan?

The general decay of our manufacturing interests caused great distress and much complaint, the result of which was the election of a Congress in favor of a greater degree of protection, and this Congress enacted the tariff of 1824, under which there was a general building up of the manufacturing interests.

Webster said of Hamilton's policy of protection that by it "we smote the rock of the national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth." This was amply proven by the tariff act of 1824; so beneficial was its result that it was followed up by the tariff of 1828, which was still more protective in some features, but less so in others. The years that followed the tariff of 1824, up to 1833, were among the most prosperous the country has ever known. The industries of the country were prosperous, the national debt was paid off, and a

surplus accumulated in the nation's Treasury. A large share of this surplus was loaned to the States, which loans exist to this day. Then, as now, a large portion of the Democratic party were clamorous for "free trade." The debates in Congress were lengthy and bitter, and their reading will well repay the student desirous of information on this question.

The contest culminated in the compromise act which went into effect July 1, 1833. This compromise made a gradual annual reduction of the duties on manufactured goods. Its evil results soon became manifest, for almost at once began another period of decadence of American manufactures. The accumulations of the country, which had grown to a large amount by years of protection, sought other channels of investment; speculation spread everywhere; lands far beyond existing settlements were platted in town lots and sold and resold at wondrous figures; shipplaster banks, under the fostering policy of General Jackson depositing the Government funds in them, sprung up all over the country, and everybody was getting rich on paper. Meanwhile the solid wealth of the country was slipping away and being rapidly drained to pay for imports. The immediate catastrophe came, and the financial crash of 1837 will ever remain as a monument to the improvidence of "free trade" or tariff for revenue.

Then followed the tariff of 1842 with the same result of reinvigorated industries, revived commerce, and renewed activities. Then came the tariff of 1846. The period during which this tariff was in operation is sometimes claimed by free-traders (or those who know least about it) as an era of remarkable prosperity and as evidencing the beneficent effects of free trade. The real facts in regard to this tariff are, first, that while the tariff of 1846 was not satisfactory to the protectionists it was by no manner a free-trade tariff, and second, while the period was one of great prosperity (due to causes altogether foreign to the tariff, as I shall show), it also caused that era of remarkable adversity second only in its disastrous sweep to that of 1837.

The tariff enacted by the Democratic Congress of 1846 was, as I have said, partly protection; that is, the protection idea was not abandoned. The Calhoun wing of the Democratic party wanted a tariff that utterly eliminated all idea of protection to American manufactures, a tariff that levied its duties solely on articles not raised in this country. The administration, for instance, of which Mr. Polk was the chief, wanted an import duty levied on tea and coffee. (In this respect the Democratic party of to-day, are in accord with that party of 1846). But sufficient Democrats under the leadership of John Wentworth, of Illinois (who is living to-day in better political faith, however), united with the protectionists to defeat this measure. The result was that in the bill protective duties (to a certain extent) was levied on many articles of manufacture. I have said the Calhounists wanted duties levied on articles not produced in this country. I shall except one thing, the Southern product sugar. This was protected efficiently by this so-called free tariff.

The vice of that tariff was in its adoption of the system of levying duties by percentage of value instead of an absolute amount of duty per pound. Thus, by the percentage rule, when goods were cheapest abroad, they would pay the least duties, and thus came into competition with our manufacturers when they could do them most harm. When this tariff was adopted English iron, then being a glut in the market, was put down to \$40 per ton in New York. The American iron had been selling at \$60 per ton. The duty now being lowest, the

American who could not compete was driven to the wall, and forge after forge was closed, until the amount of home production was largely reduced and the industry became unprofitable.

Sometimes, "Well, well, we got the iron cheaper." This was true until the American producers were driven out of the market, when the price was put up to \$80 per ton. If the duty now collected had been made specific, so that no matter what the value of the goods it would have paid the same duty, the American industry could have survived and become profitable. But dependent on these prices, consequently the duties fluctuated, and on the fluctuation of the foreign market and such combination as the foreign producers could readily enter into, there was little or no encouragement to investors of capital in manufactures.

Again, when the tariff of 1846 was enacted, Ireland was suffering from famine and Europe generally from shortness of crops. There was consequently a great demand for American breadstuff. This great demand had hardly fallen to a normal condition when the discovery of gold in California (which had accrued to us under the war with Mexico) started a monetary revolution, some of the effects of which yet endure. The influx of \$4,000,000 worth of bullion per month gave an impetus to business and enabled us to go on buying the products of foreign looms and forges, which the free-traders said our goods and products would pay for. We paid the manufacturers of Europe with our coin and bullion in place of produce.

Sir, in all those years the balance of trade was against the United States. From the enactment of the tariff of 1846 up to the 1861 we exported to settle the balance of trade two hundred and seventy millions of coin and bullion. And our Democratic friends call that era a prosperous one.

Next, as if still further to help out the free-traders, came the Crimean war, which gave American grain the monopoly of the European markets and ran up prices of wheat, corn, and farm products to an unparalleled figure. But all these adventitious aids only served to postpone the evil day.

In 1857 the tariff was again reduced. Six months later came the crash. Nearly all the banks then in existence suspended specie payment and most of them failed entirely and values were wiped out. And on whom did the loss fall mainly? Mr. Chairman, on the labor of the country. Produce went to low prices and general distress prevailed.

Many of you who hear me will remember the embarrassment and suffering that attended that great financial earthquake. But I have not time to dwell upon it. Suffice it to say that the depression it brought about continued until some time after the breaking out of the civil war. When that deplorable event occurred much had to be procured abroad which now, under a more provident system, is produced at home.

In 1861 a Republican Congress enacted what is known as the "Morrill" tariff, which in the main has been adhered to up to this time. Under this tariff our manufactures have grown and developed until now, and instead of being compelled to go abroad for some of the most necessary things, we are supplying the world with them to a large extent. Under this tariff we have, as a nation, developed in a wonderful degree, and are increasing in wealth at a rate per annum far surpassing that of any other nation in the world. Yet we find, after a quarter of a century's prosperity under the workings of the "Morrill" tariff, a large proportion of the Democratic party clamoring for "free trade" or a

"tariff for revenue only." Disregarding entirely the lessons of our past history, they are trying to educate the people to the idea that under "free trade" or "revenue tariff" the people will prosper in a still higher degree. Let me call your attention to the folly of this argument. They claim that the benefits of protection are reaped mainly, if not wholly, by the employers. I have yet to see the free-trader who has attempted to refute the argument of Mr. Dickinson, the noted statistician, on this question. In a recent article he says:

Most telling illustration, that of a great cotton-mill with a capital of \$1,000,000 producing 17,000,000 yards of sheeting each year at 6½ cents per yard, and employing 950 operatives. The same work would require 95,000 men with the old-fashioned spinning-wheels and hand-ooms, and the product would be a coarse and inferior article, to be had only by the few who could afford to pay the high price necessary to be charged for it. But of the whole cost of production in this mill \$940,000 is paid in wages, \$15,000 represent taxes, and \$145,000 include cost of supplies, transportation, salaries, and, finally, profits, which a liberal calculation fixes at \$60,000 a year.

This argument, in my mind, settles the question in a nut-shell. As it is with the wages of making cotton cloth, so it is in the manufacture of all raw materials. The labor of the country is paid the largest amount of money in the shape of wages and (that the rule, almost without exception) to the manufacturer the small profit. But let us consult British authority on this subject. In 1880, the London Times, reviewing speeches made at a banquet of the free-trade Cobden Club, held July 10, said:

The United States have seen not the error of their ways. It is doubtful if they are in the road for seeing them. England has gone on for the last fourteen years or so repeating that America could not long put off adopting free trade. There is not, our Philadelphia correspondent declares, the slightest sign of the fulfilment of this long-standing prophecy. The United States do not approach the question from the same standpoint of view as ourselves. The object of their statesmen is not to secure the large amount of wealth for the country generally, but to keep up by whatever means the "standard of comfort among the laboring classes."

Long may it be, Mr. Chairman, the object of the American statesmen "to keep up by whatever means the standard of comfort among the laboring classes." When this is lost sight of it will be a bad day for the American people. It would appear from the English authority quoted, that the guiding object of our statesmen of the protection school was to make the condition of our country the very reverse, we might say, of that melancholy one bemoaned by Goldsmith, that poet of the people, when he wrote:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

And in view of the doctrine advanced by the London Times, free-traders may ponder the following from the same poet:

Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who sway,
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay;
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between the splendid and the happy land.

Let us consult another English authority. The general manager of the Staffordshire Iron Works, belonging to the Earl of Dudley a Mr. Casson, when visiting this country a few years ago, said to a representative of the Pittsburgh Gazette:

I find that in many respects you have the advantage of us as regards mechanical appliances, while in others we are greatly ahead of your manufacturers. We can manufacture iron at just one-half the cost, so far as the price of labor is concerned. I find that your rate of wages is about exactly double what we have to pay.

The whole burden of the English song is the high wages paid to the American laborer, and, as I have shown, they are urgent that we reduce the price of our labor to a level with theirs. From their standpoint, this would bring prosperity.

Mr. Chairman, if by any act of ours we reduce the price of American labor to a level with English labor, I imagine that, loud as are the complaints of our labor to-day, we shall hear a still louder wail from every hamlet in the land in denunciation of this measure.

But the testimony of the Clark Thread Company, running houses at Paisley, Scotland, and Newark, N. J., may be called conclusive on this point. In a letter written in 1882 that company furnishes a statement of the wages it paid. I will condense it. What are called spoolers, reeders, and cop-winders got at Paisley \$3.60 per week; at Newark, \$8. Twisters were paid at Paisley \$2.35; at Newark, \$5.50. Slippers got at Paisley \$1.65; at Newark, \$3; and cleaners at Paisley, \$1.50; at Newark, \$2.50. So much for women's wages. What did the men get? At Paisley, carpenters and mechanics got \$7.25; dyers, \$7; bleachers, \$6.50; firemen, \$6 per week. At Newark the carpenters got \$17; mechanics, \$18; dyers, \$15; bleachers, \$13.50, and firemen, \$12.50 per week.

It is proper to say at Paisley the hands worked only fifty-five hours in a week; at Newark, fifty-nine; a difference of four hours in favor of Paisley. Nevertheless, making full allowance for the shorter time, the wages at Newark were better than those paid at Paisley by from 16½ to 113 per cent. in the case of the women, and by from 101 to 138 per cent. in the case of the men, or an average throughout of just double.

To like effect is the testimony of the agents of the Grafton (Mass.) Linen Thread Mills, who have mills also at Johnston, Scotland. They say that the operators at the former place get twice the wages they get in Scotland, while the cost of living is not 50 per cent. higher. But there is yet better evidence on this head from official statistics. Carroll D. Wright, now head of the national Labor Bureau, was, prior to his appointment to his present position, for many years chief of the bureau of labor statistics for Massachusetts, and as such published many valuable reports concerning the industrial classes.

One of the most valuable of these appeared in 1883; it was a history of wages and prices, and covered the period from 1752 to 1883, inclusive, and embraced also a comparison with the wages paid in Great Britain. I find by this table that from 1880 to 1883 was the period of highest wages for the following occupations: Agricultural laborers, \$1.37 per day, or 62 cents more than the average for the 130 years; blacksmiths, \$2.28, or 85 cents more than the average; bookbinders, \$1.91, or 48 cents more than the average; butchers, \$2.03 over the average; carpenters, \$2.42, \$1.08 over the average; carriage-makers, \$2.40, 51 cents over the average; clock-makers, \$2.30, 76 cents over the average; cotton-mill operators, \$1.47 over the average; laborers, \$1.48, 71 cents over the average; machinists, \$2.49, 52 cents over the average; masons, \$2.79, \$1.29 above; metal-workers, \$2.16, 62 cents above; nail-makers, \$1.84, 66 cents above; painters, \$2.32, 74 cents above the average; paper-mill operators, \$1.71, 58 cents above the average; printers, \$2.18, \$1.61 above; shoemakers, \$1.87, 57 cents above; stone-quarrymen and cutters, \$2.33, 63 cents above; tanners and curriers, \$2.09, 61 cents above; woolen-goods makers, \$2.28, 82 cents above; woolen-mill operators, \$1.31, 24 cents above.

From this same work I learn that the average increase of wages from 1860 to 1863 was 28.36 per cent., while the increase in the cost of gro-

ceries was only 10 per cent., and in fuel less than 10 per cent., while the enhanced cost of provisions on the other hand was 35.30. The same work makes a comparison of the wages paid in Great Britain and Massachusetts between 1860 and 1883. From this I gather in ninety industries the average wages in Massachusetts was 75.40 per cent. higher than in Great Britain. Comparing manufacturing and mechanical industries the difference in favor of Massachusetts was 73.02 per cent.

Mr. Wright sums up his conclusion thus:

We find that on any basis of yearly expenditure the prices of articles entering into the cost of living were, to the average, 17.29 per cent. higher in Massachusetts in 1883 than in Great Britain; that in this figure 11.49 per cent. was due to higher rents in Massachusetts, leaving 5.80 per cent. as indicative of the higher cost of living in Massachusetts, as compared with Great Britain, as regards the remaining elements of expense; this with from 75 to 100 per cent. greater wages.

Can any fair-minded man want any stronger evidence that the benefits of protection accrue mainly not to the employer, but to the employé? Where else in the world is labor in the aggregate as well paid, or enjoys in the same degree what we deem the comforts of life, and, I might add, the luxuries, as in the United States under the protective policy of the Republican party as maintained for the last quarter of a century?

Again, it is a common argument with free-traders that the duty levied on any imported article raises by so much the price of that article; so if it were taken off the same could be afforded for much less. It is true that a duty levied on sugar, tea, coffee, spices, and many articles not the growth of this country increases the price of the article by the amount of the duty; and it is also true that a tariff, when first levied, before the manufacture of the article is in successful operation, does increase the cost to the consumer, but the experience of the past twenty-five years has demonstrated the fact that when our manufactures became well established the duty operated against the foreign manufacturer alone.

It has been well said that—

No economical law is more capable of demonstration than this, that manufactured articles are invariably cheapened in the cost of production and in the prices at which they are afforded to consumers as the home demand for them enlarges.

Take nails, worth in 1840, \$6; in 1861, \$3.50; and in 1883, \$2.40; and in 1888 less than \$2 per hundred pounds. Their average value for the past eight years, or since gold and silver became of equal value, that is, from 1878 to 1887, was \$45.45 per ton, while the average price of nails for the eight years prior to 1861 was \$62.08 per ton, the figures ranging from \$80.50 per ton in 1854 to \$48 in 1860. Taking pig-iron for the same length of time, we find the average from \$36.87½ in 1854 to \$22.25 in 1858, while under protection the average was ranging from \$28.50 in 1880 to \$17.875 in 1885. The price of bar-iron averaged for the same period \$71.83, ranging from \$91.33 to \$58.75, while in the latter period it averaged \$51.21, the highest being \$61.41 and the lowest \$39.37 per ton, during the protection period being lower than the lowest under free trade. In woolen goods the prices have fallen from 30 to 60 per cent. lower than they were 1860. From 1820 to 1850 common salt ranged in price from \$8 down to 75 cents per bushel. I refer my distinguished friends on the other side to the speeches of Thomas H. Benton on this question. Nearly all the salt during those years was imported, only a few thousand barrels being made annually in West Virginia and a small amount in New York.

Again, according to the statements of our free-trade friends, salt should be sold at a higher rate by the amount of duty imposed on it. Under the protection given the salt manufacturers the production of the salt-works in New York and Michigan has developed to an enormous degree, nearly one hundred salt-works being in operation. The tariff has been reduced time and again, and the amount of duty on this is now only $22\frac{1}{2}$ cents per barrel of 5 bushels, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel, and the result is that the price of salt has steadily declined, being quoted at 61 cents at the works and 85 cents in Chicago, and it is retailed all over the West at \$1.20 to \$2 per barrel, according to the transportation charges. Are not our free-trade friends in error in claiming that the tariff increases the cost of salt to the consumers?

If it be true, as claimed by the free-traders, that the consumer pays the tariff duty, why is it that muslin, prints, and many classes of cotton textile goods, on which the tariff is from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents per yard, are not worth any more in this country than in England? Yet, as a matter of fact, a dollar in any country store in Iowa, 1,000 miles from a cotton-mill, will buy as many yards of muslin or prints as in any store in England—a statement which can be verified by the reports of the English papers. Furthermore, by the superior quality of our cotton fabrics we are successfully competing with England for the Japan and Chinese markets for this class of goods.

If it be true that the tariff increases the cost of manufactures, why do we find the English papers full of advertisements of American stoves, organs, pianos, fixed ammunition, cutlery, axes, hoes, and other agricultural implements, on all of which there is a tariff, which are just as cheap and much better in style and quality than those made abroad? It is said that "an Englishman's house is his castle." Notwithstanding the so-called burden of protection Americans seem to be in a fair way to storm the castle.

Mr. Chairman, I was very much interested the other day when I heard the distinguished chairman of the Ways and Means Committee [Mr. MILLS] speaking in regard to the great burden in the shape of a tax which was placed on "the poor man's blanket." He talked so pathetically in regard to this subject that I wondered whether what he said could be true. I recollected that we had out in my State a woolen mill or two, and I concluded to send out to that State for a pair of blankets. I have those blankets here, and I ask that two of these page-boys take those blankets out into the area in front of the Clerk's desk that members may see them. [The blankets were exhibited in accordance with Mr. GEAR'S request.] Sir, there is a pair of blankets as good as can be made in England or anywhere in America. They weigh 5 pounds and 2 ounces, and it required for their manufacture 11 pounds of wool. They are made of Iowa wool in an Iowa mill by Iowa employés. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The gentleman from Texas spoke of \$2.50 as the cost in one case and \$2.70 as the cost in another case of a pair of 5-pound blankets; and remember, each of these blankets is just 5 pounds. The gentleman from Texas said that the duty on those blankets would be \$1.90 per pair, and that this was the amount which the manufacturer put in his pocket. Now, sir, to manufacture this pair of blankets which the House has before it took 11 pounds of wool, at 27 cents a pound.

Mr. STRUBLE. Where were they made?

Mr. GEAR. At Bonaparte, Iowa, in my district. Now, 11 pounds of wool at 27 cents per pound would be \$2.97; to that add 61 cents, which the gentleman from Texas says is the cost of making, and the

amount will be \$3.58; add to that the duty on blankets, \$1.90, and the amount is \$5.48. Now, if it be true that the amount of the tariff duty is added directly to the cost of the American blanket, the cost of these blankets should be \$5.48; and, allowing the retailer a fair profit, they should sell at \$6 per pair. But, sir, I have a certificate from the manufacturer certifying as to the quality and price. The wholesale price is \$4.50; and the retail price at any store in Iowa, the cash discount paying the freight, is \$5 per pair. [Applause.]

I want to call attention to the fact that my friend from Texas in his illustration does not give the price at which the American blankets he talked about are sold—not at all; and I want to call attention also to the fact that the majority of the Ways and Means Committee, when they revise the tariff, and, as they say, take the tax off “the poor man’s blanket,” do not take off one penny in favor of the poor man. They impose an ad valorem tax on all kinds of blankets, and “the poor man’s blanket” pays the same ratio of taxation that the rich man’s blanket does. Yet our Democratic friends are posing around this country as the sole and only friends of the poor man.

The manufacturer of those blankets, who lives in my district, is a gentleman who does not vote the Republican ticket; he is a good, old-fashioned Democrat.

Mr. WARNER. But he will vote the Republican ticket hereafter.

Mr. GEAR. I do not know, but one of the most prominent Democrats in my town told me this morning that if the Mills bill should pass no Representative in Congress from the State of Iowa who voted for it could come back to Congress. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I ask the Clerk to read the letter and accompanying bill which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Office of Isaiah Meek, successor to Meek Bros., proprietor of Bonaparte Woolen and Flouring Mills, and dealer in wool and grain.]

BONAPARTE, IOWA, May 4, 1888.

This is to certify that I sold to JOHN H. GEAR blankets as per bill attached; that they are all wool; that at present the wholesale price is 90 cents per pound and retail price \$1.

ISAIAH MEEK.

BONAPARTE, IOWA, May 4, 1888.

Mr. JOHN H. GEAR, Washington, D. C., bought of Isaiah Meek, successor to Meek Bros., proprietor Bonaparte Woolen and Flouring Mills:

One pair blankets, 5 pounds, \$1.....	\$5.00
	----- \$5.00

Received payment.

ISAIAH MEEK.

Mr. GEAR. Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of this House to the fact that the passage of the pending tariff bill will not only seriously injure the wool-grower of my State, but it will also close up the mill where that blanket was made, and put out of employment the labor engaged in its manufacture.

In controverting the theory that manufactures are made higher to the consumer by protection, let me take the article of cutlery.

Professor Wayland’s Political Economy, published in 1842, page 140, contains this proposition:

We pay a heavy duty on cutlery in this country, while not a thousandth part of the cutlery used is made here. It would be vastly cheaper to pay bounty sufficient to raise all the cutlery made in this country to its present price, and it would be for aught I suggest as good for the cutler.

But had this sage counsel, intended to discourage the infant manu-

facturers, been followed we would not have the cheap cutlery we have to-day, while we would have been dependent on foreigners for most we use instead of now obtaining our supply almost wholly from American workshops; and, furthermore, those American workshops would not now be flooding the markets of the world with their products and crowding those of Britain at the very threshold of her factories.

But, broadening our view, let me make some comparisons between protective and free-trade periods. In 1860 our manufactures aggregated only \$855,000,000 on an invested capital of \$1,001,000,000. Employment was given to 1,311,246 persons, to whom was paid in wages \$378,878,996, or an average of \$290 each per year. The product was \$1,972,755,642, and in 1880, 2,752,595 operators were paid \$947,953,795, or an average of \$346 per year. In the mean time the cost of living had not materially changed. I take a table from the report of the Director of the Mint, 1881, giving prices in 1860 and 1880:

Articles.	1860.	1880.
Flour, superfine, per barrel	\$5. 19	\$4. 13
Pork, mess, per barrel.....	18. 09	13. 23
Beef, per barrel.....	5. 19	11. 12
Ham, per pound.....	.096	.084
Lard, per pound.....	.117	.079
Sugar, per pound.....	.08½	.07
Sugar, loaf, per pound.....	.098	.08 ⁶ / ₆
Tallow.....	.10	.06½
Molasses, New Orleans, per gallon.....	.46½	.37
Standard sheeting, 36 inches, per yard.....	.071	.07 ⁷ / ₁₆
Standard sheeting, 23 inches, per yard.....	.07	.05½

All will remember that in 1880 there was a strong tendency to high prices, by reason of the general prosperity of the country; in 1860, on the other hand, as older people will recollect, there was a general depression in prices, following the disastrous panic of 1857. Consequently the cost of living ought to have been lower in 1860 than in 1880. It will be observed the difference, if any, was rather in favor of the latter year. In 1860 our steel production was 11,838 tons; in 1880 it was 1,397,015 tons. Copper in 1860 was produced to the amount of \$2,298,182; in 1880 it was \$8,849,961. A fall in price attended the increased production ranging from 6½ to 8 cents.

In Iowa the augmentation from 1860 to 1880 in manufacturers was as follows: Number of establishments, from 1,939 to 6,921, or over 250 per cent.; in capital invested, from \$7,347,886, to \$33,987,886, or more than 350 per cent.; in hands employed, from 6,307 to 25,382, or about 350 per cent.; in wages paid, from \$1,922,000 to \$9,725,962, or about 400 per cent. The average pay increased from \$304.87 to \$343.65 per annum. The increase in value of products, that is, after deducting value of materials employed, was from \$5,359,066 to \$22,741,615, or almost 300 per cent. The aggregate value of products was \$71,045,926. In the former years 36 per cent. of the product went into wages; in the latter year, 43.

The first cast-steel establishment, or at least the first to endure, was founded about 1860.

So well did the tariff of 1861 do its work that in a dozen years the steel manufacture of Pittsburgh alone amounted to more than the entire importation of steel, while the remainder of the country manufactured almost as much as was imported (and these figures do not include Bessemer and steel-headed nails). This product was furnished to con-

sumers at from 2 to 3 cents a pound less than it was ever furnished for prior to the establishment of the American industry, even though the duty on the foreign article was now three times as great as under former tariffs, and to-day American manufacturers of steel have taken the contract in successful competition with those of Great Britain for the steel for our new armored cruisers and steel guns of caliber equal to those of any European power.

When the first Bessemer-steel works were undertaken in America the price of steel rails purchased for American railroads and delivered at English ports, when the present duty was imposed, was \$155 a ton in gold. Now American mills furnish them at \$31.50 to \$33.50 per ton, giving the English manufacturer not over \$15.50 per ton after paying the duty to pay freight, if any, and all the cost of raw material and labor. Does anybody believe that without American competition their rails would have been furnished them for twice the money?

I quote from a recent number of the *Industrial World*:

How important it was to the steel-rail industries of the country that neither the Randall nor the Morrison tariff-reduction bill was enacted into a law may be seen from the fact that even with the present impost duty of \$17 per ton on steel rails large importations of English-made rails are coming to this country. The Alabama and Great Southern Railway, 295 miles long, is to be relaid with foreign-made rails imported via New Orleans. Home-made rails can be obtained at Eastern mills for, say, \$31.50 per ton, and at Western mills at \$33.50 per ton. So that to compete with products here the foreign rails can yield the manufacturer only \$15.50 per ton, according to the point in this country at which they are delivered, and assuming they may come across the ocean as ballast.

But were manufactures alone thus benefited? By no means. During the period from 1860 to 1880 the production of Indian corn increased over 100 per cent., that of wheat more than 150 per cent., the total of cereals 120 per cent., and the wool product 260 per cent. During this time the population increased only about 50 per cent., and manufactures, as before indicated, showed an increase of about 125 per cent., so that agriculture got its full share of the enhanced prosperity by protection. The truth is that protection duties encouraged the production of these goods at home, so that we have the products of both home and foreign markets to select from, instead of being compelled, as otherwise, to depend on the foreign market in which to make our purchases.

However beneficial free trade may appear to be on paper, I have yet to find the first country that has prospered under it. I am aware that the example of Great Britain may be cited; that country has done better than any other under the system. But there the mutterings of discontent are gathering in volume until they can be heard across the ocean. What is known as the "fair-trade" party, an organization growing in the number of its adherents rapidly, is hostile to free trade; while Ireland has certainly not been benefited by it. But whether successful or not, what kind of preparation for free trade was there in England? Its manufactures were built up under a comprehensive system of protection, combined with vigorous repression, as in the case of Ireland and in the American colonies, where needed for the furtherance of the object.

An early act of the English Parliament specially offered all cloth-workers of other lands safety and protection carrying into England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. In after years Ireland received less consideration, or rather more of it, but of a less favorable kind. An act of Edward III made it a felony to export wool until otherwise ordered by the king and council. Another act prohibited everybody not of the royal family wearing any cloth thereafter brought into what is now the United Kingdom, unless the same was made therein. And

merchants, by another act, were prohibited from bringing cloths into England. Another act of the same reign prohibited all merchants from carrying any manner of wools, leather, wolfels (skins with wool on), or lead to the seacoast for shipment, on pain of penalty and loss of member and forfeiture of all property. Although this was repealed in the same reign, the exporting of wools and wolfels, etc., was prohibited by later enactments. Another act prohibited for a time bringing any card for wool into England or Wales. The preamble to this bill giving the reason for its passage, in the quaint style of the time, reads thus:

Whereas many thousands of woolen card-makers and card wire-drawers of London, Bristol, Gloucester, Norwich, Coventry, and of many other of His Highness' cities and towns, have heretofore lived and well maintained themselves, their wives, families, and children by the benefit and use of their and faculty of card-making and drawing of wire within this realm; and now, of late time, by reason of the common bringing in of foreign cards for wool out of France and other foreign ports, the said card-makers and card wire-drawers have been so much impoverished that scant the twentieth person that has heretofore lived by the said trades is now maintained and get work thereby.

Free trade worked then about as it does now, it appears.

Parliament went at one time so far in its determination to uphold the woolen manufacturers and discourage the importations of foreign linen, as to require the dead to be buried in nothing but woolen clothing, and in a coffin lined with no other material.

An act towards the close of the seventeenth century, having in view the enhancement of England's interests, prohibited the exportation of wool or wolfels, or woolen manufactures, from Ireland to any place but England; and the same act forbade the woolen manufacturers of the English plantations in America, as the colonies were called, from being exported out of the plantation where produced to any other plantation, or to any other place whatsoever; that is, they might be used where produced, but nowhere else, lest they should conflict with English manufacturers.

Various acts of Parliament were passed especially aimed to improve the business of England at the expense of the colonies. No sugars, cotton, wool, indigo, etc., grown in the English colonies, were allowed to be exported except to England. Ships in the colonies were required to bring them to England. Nothing grown or manufactured on the continent of Europe could be sent to the colonies but by way of and in English ships. This was afterward modified so as to allow "servants, horses, and victuals," as the act puts it, to be imported from Scotland or Ireland; salt for the fisheries, and wines from the Azores. No hats or felts were allowed to be transported from any of the colonies to any other. In 1750 Parliament forbade the erection in America of any mill for slitting iron, or plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or furnace for making steel, and British statesmen are at the same business to-day—in another way, however.

I am aware that it may be said that these were the enactments of hardier ages. This is true; but they built up British manufactures, and their enduring effects enable the Island nation to sustain as gallantly as she does the losing cause of free trade.

With our soil and our resources there is no excuse for our not producing everything which can in reason be produced in our immense territory, and our legislation should be shaped so as to assist in freeing our nation from commercial thralldom to other lands. What we can not produce, such as tea and coffee and sugar, let us get as cheaply as possible, and let no duty enhance their cost. [Applause on the Republican side.]

This is, in my opinion, the true policy for a nation; a policy which will best promote the general prosperity of the American people. The great advantage of the protection system to the agriculturist is that it gives him a uniform market. Chief-Justice Story, *nomen clarum et venerabile*, says on this question that—

A large and uniform market at home for a nation's products has a tendency to prevent those many rises and falls in prices which are so deeply injurious to the farmer and planter.

The "Cobden Club," of England, an association composed of rich men who are largely interested in manufactures, which is supplemented by its honorary members in high places here, is to-day sowing broadcast through this country "free-trade" pamphlets in order to persuade the American people that "free trade" is necessary to us. Why this is being done may well be asked. The answer is, if they can to a degree break down the American manufacturer, and thereby force our operatives into agriculture, they can then monopolize our markets for goods at their own prices and take their pay in American produce at prices fixed by themselves. The question is well stated by Chief-Justice Long:

Is America ready to give everything to Europe without any equivalent, and take in return whatever Europe may choose to give us on its own terms?

Could the results of "free trade" be more clearly stated?

We should ever bear in mind that in all ages there has been an irrepressible conflict between monarchical and republican forms of government. This has been well expressed by Missouri's great Senator, Thomas H. Benton, who said that—

Foreign interference and foreign influence in all ages and in all countries had been the bane and curse of free government. And that such interference and influence are far more dangerous in the insidious intervention of the moneyed power than possible invasion of fleets and armies.

Should not this interference on the part of the "Cobden Club" be considered by our people as an "insidious interference of the moneyed power?"

While it is true that we have much in common with the English people, yet the Government and the interests of the two countries are in direct opposition of each other. Lord Robert Cecil, in a debate in the English Parliament, explained exactly the relations between England and the United States when he said:

They were rivals politically, rivals commercially; again we are both manufacturing people, and in every port as well as in every court we are rivals to each other.

In this conflict between "free trade" and protection we have on our side the interest of the manufacturer, the artisan, the laborer, and the producer of America; on the other, a large portion of the Democratic party backed by the whole monetary interests of England. Of this foreign influence we as Americans should be especially jealous. The passage of the Mills bill in the interest of "free trade" is a victory for British commerce. For this kind of victory is a prostration to our American and producing industries, and I must confess that I see but little difference between being subjugated by British commerce or by British cannon. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Nature has been bountiful of her gifts to the American people. In addition to the mines of precious metals, she has given them vast deposits of iron, copper, lead, coal, and other base metals in a lavish degree in many portions of the country.

To utilize these requires labor, which alone can develop all this vast amount of raw materials into implements and the manufactured articles in order to enable us not only to live in comfort but to supply

the wants of other nations. She has also given a kindly climate and a fertile soil, which is adapted to the growth of most of what we consume. In fact, no other nation is so well fitted by its natural conditions to maintain itself almost absolutely independent of foreign nations and influences as we, the American people.

Bearing these facts in mind, is it not for the best interests of our nation to adapt its policies in such manner as to give the "greatest good to the greatest number," and to do this is not protection to our home labor an absolute necessity?

Sir, we are told in the Good Book that "He that provideth not for his own household hath already denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." What are we, Mr. Chairman, as a nation but an aggregation of households? And is not the divine command as imperative on us as on an individual? Is it not our bounden duty to so legislate as to provide for our own people rather than for those of other countries?

Mr. Chairman, there are many glaring inconsistencies in this bill. It is cunningly drawn so as to command the support of that portion of the country which the Democratic party counts on for its main support, the "solid South;" and it is also a direct blow at the industrial and agricultural classes of the Northern States from which come the Republican majorities.

Let me illustrate. Take rice; the bill leaves rice, produced in South Carolina and Louisiana, with a duty of nearly 100 per cent., and also increases the duty on uncleaned rice, which is not only in the interest of the Southern rice producers, but will inevitably drive out of the business cleaning-mills of New York City and elsewhere. Why not make the duty on rice as it was before the war and thus give the consumers of this country, who use 250,000,000 pounds annually, the benefit of this cheap and desirable food?

Again, the bill reduces the tariff on sugar about 22 per cent. Why, may I ask, would it not be a sound policy to take off entirely the fifty-eight millions of tariff revenue on sugar? Sugar is an article of absolute necessity for all. Why levy what is a direct tax of over a dollar per capita on all our people for the benefit of its few raisers in the South? Sugar-cane, Mr. Chairman, is not indigenous to this country; it is an exotic with us, easily injured by frost or bad weather. Even the refuse stalks, or "bagasse," owing to climatic influences, can not be utilized for fuel as it is in Cuba without a large expenditure for a peculiar kind of furnace to burn it in.

Let me call the attention of the committee to the small area of land in the cultivation of sugar in the United States as compared with the acreage of corn in any Congressional district in my own State.

In 1879 there were but 181,592 acres in sugar-cane in Louisiana, and the United States but 227,776 acres. In the seven counties comprising the district I have the honor to represent on this floor, there were in cultivation the same year 481,126 acres in corn over twice as many acres as there were in sugar-cane in the whole United States. And, sir, the agricultural products of those seven counties are three times the value of the sugar crop of the United States, and yet we are taxed \$58,000,000 annually for the direct benefit of the sugar-planter. Think of it!

And yet after nearly half a century's protection there is not as much sugar grown to-day as there has been in times past. This country does not produce over one-tenth of the sugar we use; and yet the people of the United States paid during the past year nearly \$26 an acre in the tariff on sugar as a rental on the 227,776 acres in the cultivation of

cane. Is it not better by far for us to pay a bounty of \$20 a hoghead on the sugar raised in the United States in 1837, which would amount to about \$7,000,000, or about 2 cents a pound, and thus save \$49,000,000 which will be paid this year in the shape of a direct tax on the breakfast and tea table of every family in the laud?

This would be a practical relief to the laboring classes whom our Democratic friends on the other side of the House are so loud in their professions to aid.

A bounty of the kind I have suggested, coupled with the proviso that this should not apply to countries that levy an export tax on sugar exported to this country, would, in my opinion, stimulate not only the growth of cane sugar in the South, but would also at the same time give an impetus to the production of sorghum and beet-root sugar, which our Western prairies and California are so well adapted to produce. The result would be that eventually we would produce all the sugar that the people of this country have use for.

All the interests of the reliable Democratic States are cared for in this bill. The sumac of Virginia is protected, and cement, which was first reported to be put on the "free-list," is now left with a protection of 10 per cent. because of the fact that in Democratic Kentucky is found not only one of the largest cement manufactories in the country, but it is also the banner State of Democracy.

The lead of Missouri is but slightly reduced, and even the peanut interests of North Carolina are looked after with care. In the draughting of the bill by the majority of the Committee of Ways and Means the interests of those States, a large number of whose members sit here elected by methods well known to this House and the country, have been tenderly touched where touched at all. Again, Mr. Chairman, this bill aims a blow at the prosperity of the agriculture of the North, the West, and the Pacific Slope by the fact that it places on the free-list many articles grown in Canada and other foreign countries, which will be an injury to our home producers of those articles.

Take one agricultural industry in my own State of Iowa for illustration. Flax is a fairly remunerative crop in that State under the protection now given to it and its product, flaxseed-oil. Let me show you how it works. A poor man comes to Iowa to make a home for himself and family. He buys 160 acres of land on long credit, with interest on the deferred payments, and this accounts for a large amount of the mortgages we hear so much about. In the olden time it took a whole season to break up a portion of his land to be ready to sow grain in the second season; since we have had a fair duty on flaxseed he commences to break up his land in the spring and as fast as he has 10 acres broken he puts it in flax. By the 1st of July he has 50 acres broken and sown in flax, from which he can realize five or six hundred dollars the first year, and in addition have his ground ready for wheat or corn the succeeding season. The result is that he is able to make his payment on his land and support his family during his first season.

In addition we have in Iowa eleven oil-mills, costing a large amount of money, and employing many men in their operation. This raising of flax in the West has been the means of the erection of these oil-mills and has reduced the price of oil, as was shown by my colleague, [Mr. HENDERSON], to a much lower price than it has ever been before.

By putting flaxseed and its product on the free-list you accomplish two things, you place the Iowa flax-raiser in direct competition with the ryot laborer of the East Indies and drive the oil-mills of the countr

into "innocuous desuetude," and when this is done our people will inevitably pay higher prices for oil than now.

Again, we in Iowa have hoped that in the near future we would have factories erected in our State to utilize the lint of our flax fields into thread and linen. That hope, if this bill is to pass, will never come to fruition. The lint will rot on the ground where it is thrashed.

Again, the raising of potatoes under the existing protection is a fairly remunerative business in Iowa, the people of that State shipping to Chicago from five to seven hundred thousand bushels annually. This bill nominally retains the tariff on potatoes at 15 cents a bushel, yet really admits them free. I have no doubt that under this definition potatoes will be admitted free, thus letting in the Canadian potatoes by the cheap water transportation, while the small farmers in Iowa have to pay freight on their crop on two to four hundred miles of railway transportation.

These, Mr. Chairman, are only a few of the inconsistencies of this bill. Time will not permit me to elaborate its many injuries to the manufacturing, agricultural, and laboring interests.

But it may be well to inquire who has asked for the enactment of this proposed law. I have failed to hear presented on the floor of this House any petitions, nor have I seen in the RECORD any petitions asking us to pass this bill; but, on the contrary, from all parts of the country have come hundreds of petitions, not from manufacturers alone, but those who eat their "bread in the sweat of their faces," protesting against its passage. From the East, from the North, from the great West, and the States of Oregon and California the people have protested against its passage. Shall we close our ears to their protests?

I have personally been in receipt of many petitions and of letters by the score from my own State, from manufacturers, wool-growers, artisans, farmers, and laboring men, protesting against the bill. Sir, the people of my State believe in a fair degree of protection to American industries of all kinds.

Why, Mr. Chairman, we in Iowa have not timber enough to build a fleet of canoes, yet I, in common with my colleagues, have been in receipt of many letters and petitions from the laborers of that State, yea, from the Knights of Labor, urging us to vote for a subsidy to American vessels, so that the American flag may again be seen on the waters of the ocean as it was in the days of yore.

The last revision of the tariff was made by the Republican party. Since that revision the Democratic party has been in the ascendancy in the lower House of Congress, which alone has the right to originate a measure of revenue; they have signally failed in adjusting the revenues to the constantly increasing surplus in the Treasury.

It is to the Republican party that the country must look for a proper adjustment of these economic questions. If a revision of the tariff is needed let us revise it by all means, but let it be done in such a manner as will not prostrate the industries of the country, as has been done by the Democratic party in the past; for it should be borne in mind that any revision of the tariff which will tend to throw out of their employment American laborers can but prove disastrous to the best interests of all, for labor, when employed at fair wages, is always contented. Drive labor out of employment by free trade or by any other method and at once it becomes demoralized and restless. [Applause.]

Sir, we are entering on one of the most remarkable political campaigns this country has witnessed—second only in interest to that of

1860. Already the millions of voters are arming, not with swords and bayonets, not with cannons and muskets—the time for that, thank God, is past—but with

A weapon that comes down as still
As snow-flakes fall upon the sod;
But executes a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God.

Sir, in this contest the candidate of the Democratic party is already known. The President has so dominated his party that they can not nominate any one else. On whom the choice of the Republican party will fall I do not know, but this I do know: he will be one well worthy to lead the Republican hosts to victory in that conflict. On the banner of the Democratic party will be inscribed free trade. Sir, behind that banner will follow all who believe in that fallacy, backed up by all the power and influence of the Cobden Club of England. On the Republican banner will be emblazoned protection to American industries, a fair ballot, and an honest count. Under the Republican banner will march all who believe in the progress and upbuilding of the American nation. On this issue we make the fight, and of its result I have no fear, for, Mr. Chairman, it is said that “coming events cast their shadows before.” When the result is known it will be found that the American people have pronounced in unmistakable tones their condemnation of the principles underlying the Mills bill. And that at the close of that election day we shall hear from Lake to Gulf, from Maine to the “Golden Gates” of the Pacific pæans of victory welcoming the return to power of the Republican party, which has, by the policy it inaugurated, done so much for the moral and material elevation of the American people, and that for another quarter of a century in the future American interests will be as carefully guarded as they were from 1861 to 1883.

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C051421306

