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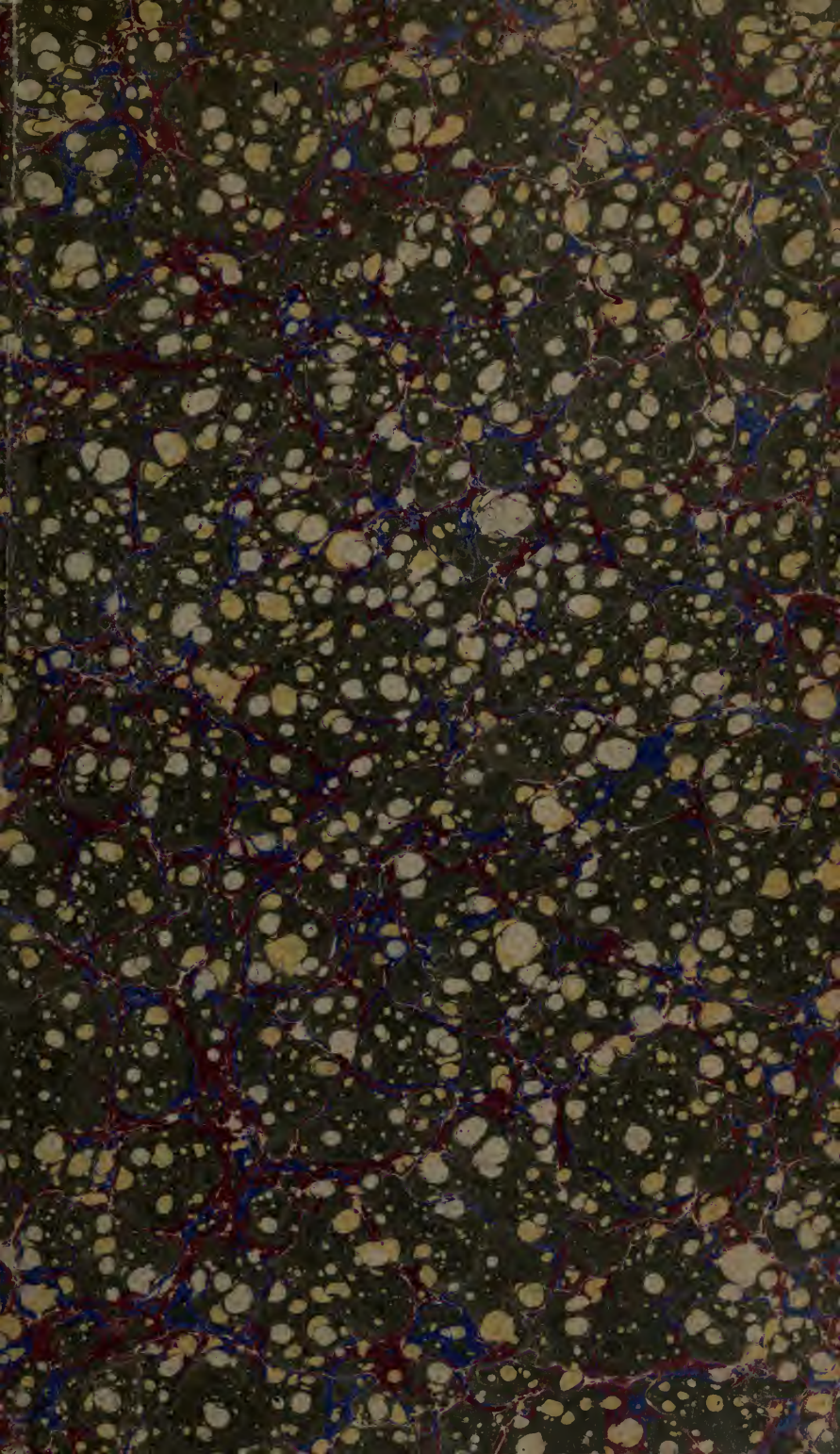


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THE FARMER FEEDETH ALL.

HOW
PROTECTION

AFFECTS

THE FARMER.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY STATE AGRICULTURAL
SOCIETY, AT WAVERLY,

SEPTEMBER 22, 1882.

BY HON. THOMAS H. DUDLEY.

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HOW PROTECTION AFFECTS THE FARMER.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY STATE
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BY HON. THOMAS H. DUDLEY.

AGRICULTURE was instituted as an industry by God when he proclaimed to Adam, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." The first record we have of its application is when the two brothers brought the products of their industry, one from the field, the other from the flock, as an offering to the Lord; the one was accepted, the other rejected, and the result was that Cain slew his brother Abel. From that day to the present, whether with indigo upon the plains of Hindoostan, teas in China, spices in Ceylon, coffee in South America, the sheep ranches in New Zealand, the cattle herds of the Boers in South Africa, the sugar in Jamaica, the rice fields in India, the cotton plantations in the Southern States, or the grain-growing prairies in the West, agriculture in some one or more of its branches has been and ever will continue to be the leading industry of the world.

If it is not the foundation upon which all the other industries rest, it may be said with truth to be the most important, for upon it all the others depend; indeed, no other industry could be successfully prosecuted, even if it could exist, without it. Mankind might dispense with wearing shoes, and use rawhide to wrap their feet, and if all were to agree to this we might, however inconvenient, dispense with the shoemaker; but it would be impossible for the shoemaker to live without the farmer to supply him with food.

The agricultural industry in the United States, one year with another, probably amounts in products to about five thousand millions of dollars. Vast and important as these products are, if we

leave out cotton and tobacco it will be found that most of this is consumed at home and only a very small portion is exported. The value of the crops in the United States for 1880, the last we have the data for, and which is probably near enough for a fair yearly average, so far as the following products were concerned, was as follows :

Wheat	\$554,886,003	Barley.....	\$28,002,515
Corn.....	948,023,868	Potatoes.....	120,882,550
Rye	24,000,931	Hay.....	588,797,072
Oats.....	193,898,816		
		Total.....	\$2,458,491,755

Of all these there were exported products to the value of only \$262,493,689; the rest was consumed at home. The percentage of the above products exported was 10.68, and of that consumed at home, 89.32. This, as will be seen, does not include the buckwheat, beets, carrots, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, cabbage, turnips, tomatoes, pumpkins, asparagus, egg-plants, apples, peaches, pears, cherries, plums, grapes, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, cranberries, melons, onions, and other vegetables and fruits which are raised all over the country, and which in value amount in the aggregate to millions of dollars every year, none of which comparatively speaking is exported, but all are consumed at home. If you take these into your calculation it will be safe to say that, of the agricultural products raised by our farmers in the Western and Northern States of the Union, *not more than eight per cent. is exported, and ninety-two per cent. of all they raise on their farms is consumed at home.*

Whilst we should not undervalue nor treat with indifference the foreign market, but cultivate and encourage it as much as possible, its insignificance is seen to the farmer as compared with the home market; the one takes not less than ninety-two per cent. and the other not more than eight per cent. of his products.

Next to a fertile and productive soil the farmer requires a market in which to dispose of the surplus produce. His money comes from his surplus crops. His wheat, his corn, and his potatoes are so much money to him. His income is based upon the number of his bushels. To derive the most from his crops he requires a certain and reliable market. This is necessary to make his farming productive and remunerative, and the more certain and steady it is the better he can calculate, and the more sure will be his return.

He also wants a near market. The heaviest tax on a farmer is that which he pays for getting his crops to market ; therefore, the nearer the market the less the cost. The home market is nearer than a foreign market, hence less expensive, and, being at home, is more certain and reliable. The people of a town, city, or manufactory must be fed, and the farmer can calculate with some degree of certainty as to what they will require. The foreign market is always uncertain ; dependent upon the foreign harvest as well as other contingencies. If their harvest should be bad they want much to make up the deficiency ; if it proves to be good they want but little. In the foreign market there are also other elements which affect it. Competition is one. Other nations are as ready as we to supply their wants, and if they can undersell us the foreigner buys of them and not of us.

From this brief review it will be seen that the home market is the farmer's main dependence. It buys more than nine-tenths of all he has to sell. It is more steady and secure ; therefore, more reliable. It is nearer to him, and therefore costs less to transport to it. It follows, then, that in the interest of agriculture everything should be done to stimulate and increase this market. There is nothing the state can do which will be of more benefit to the farmer. If Protective duties tend to do this by building up manufactures, and giving employment to labor, then Protection benefits the farmer—the Western no less than the Eastern farmer.

The farmer should be protected. Nothing should be left undone that would help or encourage him in his pursuits. Every possible aid should be extended to him to stimulate his efforts and enlarge his capacity to produce. Safeguards should be thrown around him ; and wherever a Protective duty will help him the state should impose it for his benefit. Our present laws have been framed especially with this view. The present tariff laws impose the following direct Protective duties on agricultural products : Rice cleaned, 2½ cents per pound ; wheat, 20 cents per bushel ; Indian corn, 10 cents per bushel ; oats, 10 cents per bushel ; rye, 15 cents per bushel ; barley, 15 cents per bushel ; butter, 4 cents per pound ; cheese, 4 cents per pound ; potatoes, 15 cents per bushel ; poultry, 10 per cent. in value ; peas, from 10 to 20 per cent. ; beans, from 10 to 20 per cent. ; tobacco, unmanufactured, 35 cents per pound ; unstemmed, 50 cents, in addition to a revenue duty of 24 cents per pound ; sugar, from 2 to 5 cents per pound ; on horses, cows, bulls, oxen, steers, calves, sheep, lambs, goats, hogs, and pigs, except for breeding purposes, 20 per cent. ; those for breeding purposes are admitted free

to benefit the farmers; beef and pork, 1 cent per pound; mutton, 10 per cent.; wool, from 10 to 12 cents per pound and from 10 to 12 per cent. added; and hay, 20 per cent. This is as it should be. These duties tend to keep out foreign competitors, and leave our home market almost exclusively free for our own farmers.

As an illustration of the working of the American system of Protection in the interest of the farmer, let us take as an example one of the industries of the country. We will take the silk industry in the State of New Jersey. There were last year (1881) 14,122 persons employed in this business; some in Paterson, some in Passaic, some in Hoboken, some in Newark, and some in other parts of the State. Many, indeed most, of these persons have others dependent upon them. Men have families, and girls have parents who live from the wages earned in the mills. If you assume that each of these persons has two others dependent upon him or her, and who thus live from the wages earned, it will make 42,366 people who are living in New Jersey from this one industry alone.

Now suppose all these people should be gathered together in one town; they would make a large city of themselves. But when you put them together in a town you create the necessity for other persons living with them. They would want churches for religious worship, and clergymen to preach; school houses, and teachers to instruct their children; carpenters, masons, plasterers, and painters, to build and keep the houses in repair; cabinetmakers to manufacture furniture; shoemakers, tailors, and hatters to make clothing; wheelwrights, blacksmiths, and carriage and harness makers; storekeepers, butchers, and bakers to feed the people, and supply the necessaries of life; doctors and lawyers, hackmen and day laborers. You must have banks and insurance offices. Nor is this all. There must be some kind of government and men to carry it on. Your police, fire, light, water, and tax departments would require many men. With all these and those dependent upon them you would swell your city to not less than 65,000 people, all of whom, either directly or indirectly, would be dependent upon this one industry; and all of whom, every man, woman, and child, whether working in the mill, attending school, engaged in building houses, making clothes, baking bread, tending the stores, ministering to the sick, or performing police duty, would be fed by the farmer. Now, although not all gathered in one city, so far as our State is concerned, this one industry gives employment to and supports, directly and indirectly, this number of persons scattered

up and down in different locations of the State. And the farmers feed them. And so with every other manufacturing industry, not only in the State of New Jersey, but in the whole United States; the farmer not only feeds them and all those dependent upon them, but all the other persons who live off of them, whether as lawyers, doctors, teachers, storekeepers, butchers, bakers, tailors, dress-makers, carters, or mechanics.

Newark, with its 136,508 inhabitants, is made up almost entirely of people dependent upon manufactures. There are varied manufactures, embracing almost every description of goods that the inventive genius of man can devise or conceive from a needle to an anchor. The yearly value of the manufactured products of this city, as shown by the last census, amounts to \$66,243,525. The town rests upon its manufacturing industry, and all the people in it are fed by the farmer. So with Paterson, Millville, and other cities in the State, as well as other cities and districts all over the country. There are seventeen cities in New Jersey containing 524,795 people, nearly all of whom are either directly or indirectly dependent upon the manufactories in them, and all of whom are fed by the farmers.

The manufactured commodities of New York and Brooklyn alone, as shown by the last census, amount yearly to \$617,966,838, and probably the manufactured products within a radius of twenty miles from where I now stand amount yearly to eight hundred millions of dollars. And it is these cities and towns all over the country, made up mainly as they are of manufacturers, merchants, artificers, and those dependent upon them, that make and constitute the home market for the farmer. The produce is furnished by the farmer; the price is paid by the consumer and constitutes the farmer's income. The manufacturers, by giving employment to labor, create the consumers, and Protection builds up the manufactories; hence it follows that the more manufacturers you have the more consumers there will be, and the more extended and better the farmer's market, both as to the quantity required and the price he will be able to obtain. Therefore, as has been seen, when you protect the manufacturer you help the farmer; and you can not help the one without benefiting the other.

There is another element that comes in here; our system is one of Protection to labor. The protection we give goes indirectly into the pockets of the operatives; it enables the manufacturer to pay more to labor. Hence it is that our operatives as a whole are paid

wages nearly double what they are paid in England. Receiving more wages for his work, a laborer in this country lives better than a like laborer in England; he is better housed, better clothed, and better fed. He becomes therefore a better customer to the farmer, consuming more agricultural products than a like laborer in England. A thousand operatives in the United States consume at least a third more agricultural products than a like number of operatives in England.

I have selected this as the subject of my address because of the systematic efforts on the part of England and others to misrepresent this question before our people with the view of prejudicing our farmers against the manufacturing industry of the country. For years England has been proclaiming that our farmers have no protection under our tariff laws, and that whilst this is the case they have been unduly taxed to support the manufacturers; that the Government has neglected and left them and the great industry they represent without any protection, and extended and given protection to the manufacturer, which has had the effect to put up the prices of manufactured goods much higher than they would have been if there had been no protection; and that the farmer has had to pay this increased price on the goods he has had to buy, which in the course of the year amounts to a very large sum, which is wrongfully taken from him.

Their statesmen, their politicians, and their newspapers have persistently asserted and reiterated these statements. The Cobden Club, an institution representing the manufacturers of England, established to break down the Protective system, especially that in the United States, has been most industrious in circulating documents and statements to this effect all over the country. They have gone so far as to establish an agency in New York and another in Chicago to carry on their work in the United States.

Now nothing is more untrue than these assertions and statements; yet these people go on from day to day and year to year circulating these falsehoods. So late as July 1st of the present year Lord Derby, while presiding at the Cobden Club dinner held in London, in commenting upon our system says he regrets that it is Protective, but asserts "that sooner or later Free Trade must become a sectional question in the United States," and then goes on to say, "*the Western farmer will not always enjoy the notion of paying tribute to Eastern manufacturers.*" This is but one of many utterances of a like nature by their statesmen and politicians, be-

sides their books, pamphlets, and editorials, gotten up to array one section of our country against the other and one class of industry against another; in other words, to use the language of Lord Derby, to make the tariff a sectional question by arraying the Western States against the Eastern States, and the farmers against the manufacturers.

If it were true that our farmers received no direct protection on their products, or were unduly taxed by the Government, or were in any manner oppressed as these Englishmen have represented, no one would object to any fair and proper criticism among themselves. As a people and a nation they would have the right to express their views and condemn the wrong; but even then how far would England or any other nation be justified in direct interference with our affairs or institutions with the view of correcting what they considered to be abuses?

How would such outside interference be regarded in England if directed against any of their laws or institutions? Suppose our people were to engage in the laudable work of arraying one section of England against the other, or one class of her people against another class, how would they look upon it? Would they not characterize it as an unwarranted piece of interference? But when, as has been done, false figures are used, and untrue statements are made, and books are published and circulated among our people based upon these false figures and statements, for the very purpose of arraying section against section, and class against class, it seems to me that no language can be too strong in denunciation of such conduct. Viewed only as an attempt to instruct our people on a question of political economy, without any misrepresentation of facts, and without any ulterior object, it would be a piece of great assurance on their part, if not an insult to the intelligence of our people, because it assumes that we are incapable of forming a correct judgment for ourselves.

Would it not be just as well and probably pay better in the end, if some of this misapplied effort and zeal on their part were directed toward alleviating and helping the poor and oppressed people of Ireland and their own country, including the agriculturists? There is here a wide field for labor, quite enough to occupy their time and to exercise all their philanthropy without wasting it on us. James Redpath, in speaking recently of England's conduct and actions toward the United States, used this significant language: "Enlightened selfishness should teach us to suspect any *policy* our

enemy advocates." There never was a time when there was greater cause to suspect England than the present on a question it was more to her interest to misrepresent than the one we are considering. It will not be necessary to go very far to discover the motive for all this disinterested love on her part for our poor farmers.

The policy of our present tariff laws is to protect labor and industry. This is the American System, and under it the manufacturing business of our country has been increased and multiplied in numbers, varied in kind, and improved in quality to such an extent that, of the manufactured commodities now used and consumed in this country, over ninety-one per cent. is manufactured at home, and less than nine per cent. is made or imported from abroad. We have not the value of the manufactured commodities of the country by the census of 1880. It is not yet entirely completed. But it is supposed that it will amount to at least \$6,500,000,000. During the fiscal year 1881 we exported from this country manufactured commodities amounting to \$229,940,238. That would leave our manufactured products consumed in the country for the year 1880 about \$6,270,000,000. With the yearly increase of manufactured commodities it is not likely that even with the increased exports there was a less balance left at home for consumption and use during the year 1881.

The whole amount of merchandise we imported for the year 1880 was valued at \$667,954,746. Of this not more than 450 millions were manufactured commodities. Supposing that the whole of these were consumed here, it only forms about seven per cent. of the manufactured products used and consumed in the country. From the partial statistics we have for 1881 it is not probable that the percentage of the foreign manufactured products imported and consumed here was any larger than it was for the year 1880.

We have, then, the astounding result that of the manufactured commodities used in this country less than eight per cent. are imported, and more than ninety-two per cent. are manufactured here. How was it thirty years ago? It has been computed that of the manufactured commodities then used in the country ninety per cent. were made abroad, the larger portion in England, and only about ten per cent. were manufactured at home. And with this great and astonishing change, and the large increase in the consumption of manufactured commodities since that period, we have this additional result, namely, that nearly every kind and description of

manufactured commodities is cheaper to-day than it was thirty or even twenty-five years ago.

The result to the farmer of our country may be summed up as follows: Of the crops he raises, outside of tobacco and cotton, ninety-two per cent. is consumed at home, and not more than eight per cent. is exported; and he can buy all the manufactured commodities he requires for less than he could twenty-five years ago, before the present Protective laws were enacted, and many of them even cheaper than they can be bought in any foreign market.

As one proof of this you have only to look over the exports from our country to foreign countries of our manufactured commodities. We are sending to other nations yearly our agricultural implements, including fanning mills, horse powers, mowers and reapers, plows, cultivators, forks, hoes, etc., carriages, carts, cotton goods, railroad cars, locomotives, steam engines, watches, clocks, glass and glassware, hats, caps, boots, shoes, wearing apparel, machinery, cutlery, edge tools, files, saws, firearms, nails, India rubber goods, jewelry, lamps, saddlery, harness, organs, piano fortes, paper, stationery, printing presses, sewing machines, household goods, furniture, woodwork, tinware, and scales.

As a rule men do not export goods to another country to be sold at a loss, and when you see a manufacturer sending his goods to a foreign country steadily for a succession of years it is fair to presume that he does it because he can get more there than he can at home; in other words, that they are cheaper here than in the foreign country to which they are exported. During the fiscal year 1880 we exported to foreign countries 206 millions of dollars of our manufactured commodities; and during last year nearly 230 millions of dollars, whilst in 1868 our exports only amounted to 68 millions.

We are steadily, year by year, increasing the variety and quality as well as the quantity we are sending abroad. Among these last year were over 148 millions of yards of cotton goods, and nearly 400,000 clocks. If you will go to the leading dry-goods stores in Liverpool and Manchester you will find hundreds of pieces of our cotton goods being sold, equal in quality and texture to any they are making in England and at less price than they can sell those of their own manufacturing; whilst the "Yankee clocks," as they call them, are scattered all over their country. Our agricultural tools and implements, our axes, our edge tools, our machines, and hundreds of other kinds of manufactured commodities, are found for

sale in every town of any size in the kingdom. We are, therefore, not only competing with England in all the markets of the world, but competing with her in her own markets at home.

English statesmen and politicians have discovered these facts, and are beginning to realize that England is no longer the only manufacturing country in the world.

But this is not all. The food question has become a serious one in England. She does not and can not raise sufficient food to feed her own people. There is not one single article of food that she can raise in sufficient quantity and that she does not have to buy of foreign nations. In 1880, for ten common articles of food which we have in abundance not only for our own wants but in sufficient quantity to supply others, she bought and paid as follows:

Live animals, consisting	Eggs.....	£2,235,451
of oxen, bulls, cows,	Fish.....	1,666,710
calves, sheep, and	Lard.....	1,852,160
lambs.....	Potatoes.....	2,847,027
Meat.....	Rice.....	3,755,199
Butter.....		
Cheese.....	Total.....	£118,936,327
Corn, wheat, etc.....		

This is equal to \$575,652,113 in our money. In 1860, twenty years ago, for these ten articles of food which she imported she paid £43,997,849, or, in our money, \$212,949,589. In 1875 they had increased to £91,974,527, or, in our money, \$445,155,710; whilst in 1880 they had swelled to the enormous sum of \$575,652,113. This does not include teas, coffee, cocoa, spices, fruits, vegetables, and other articles of food which she imports in large quantities, and for which she pays enormous sums, and which, like those we have enumerated in detail, are increasing in quantity year after year until the matter of feeding her people, as well as supplying them with work, has become a serious question. England to-day has to face these two dangers; one, the loss of the markets of the world for her manufactured commodities; the other, the exhaustion of her resources in the purchase of food to feed her people. If she could but continue, as she has done in the past, to manufacture for the world, she might be able to stand the other at least for a time.

It will thus be seen that what England requires is cheap food and a market for her manufactured commodities. She could then feed her people cheaply and save the immense drain upon her resources for food, and give employment to her people. She would then make

on both sides. She would save money in the purchase of food, and make money on the labor of her people; both of which, the money she saved and that she made on labor, would go to swell the accumulated capital of the country. The effect would be to restore prosperity, and check the downward tendency in her commercial greatness which is now apparent, and which if not checked will sooner or later bring bankruptcy if not ruin. Nothing will do so much toward accomplishing this result for her as the repeal of our tariff system and the consequent destruction of our manufactories. To bring this about England can well afford to spend money to establish Cobden Clubs, engage writers, and circulate books in the United States; in a word, to do just what she is and has been doing.

We have seen what the gain would be to England if she could but carry out her schemes. Now let us look at the other side and see what the effect would be on us, and especially on our farmers, and the agricultural industry of the United States. I say our farmers, because it is to the farmers that these appeals are made by the English. It is this class that they are trying to array against the manufacturers. This is the sectional party that Lord Derby and his co-laborers are trying to build up in this country. We have seen that of the agricultural products raised in the Northern and Western States more than ninety-one per cent. is consumed in the country and mainly by the manufacturer's and artisans and those dependent upon them, whilst less than nine per cent. is exported.

Suppose, then, that you break down the American System, and introduce the English system, to wit, a tariff for revenue only, in its place, and the result which the English are working to accomplish follows, viz., the destruction of our manufacturers. What would the consequence be, especially to our farmers? Suppose only one-half of our manufacturers should go down and the rest remain. Your home market would be destroyed to this extent: the operatives now employed when turned out could not purchase your products. Their means to buy are acquired in the mills, and when the mills stop their pay would stop, and they could no longer purchase. What then would be done with the products which they now take? Would England take them? She would then as now take just what she required to feed her own people, and no more. The market at home would be glutted by this excess, and the prices would go down, and the English could then fill their orders at the reduced price—at probably one-half they now have to pay.

How would this benefit the farmer? The Western farmer who owns a farm containing two hundred acres could not then raise one single bushel more of corn or wheat than he does now. Supposing his crop of wheat to be 2,000 bushels, and his corn to be 3,000 bushels, one year with another. To-day he could get \$2,000 for the one, and \$1,500 for the other. That would make the gross receipts from these two staples \$3,500. Now suppose, from the destruction of the manufacturers and the glut in the market, you only reduced the price one-fourth, (but the chances are that the reduction would be much greater,) what would be the result? He would lose just \$875. The crops which to-day are worth \$3,500 would then be worth only \$2,625. To this extent the farmer would lose and to this extent England would gain; in other words, the farmer would lose \$875 in selling and England would save just that much in buying. And this would apply with equal force and effect to every farmer in the country, whether he lived in the East or West.

But this is not all. What is to become of the people who are turned out of employment by stopping the manufactories? Lord Derby and his co-laborers will tell you they are to go to farming. This is what they expect them to do, and this in point of fact would be the only pursuit most of them could turn to. No persons understand this better than our English friends. Indeed, it is a part of their scheme as far as they can to turn all these people into agriculturists. If they should succeed in this the effect would be still more to glut the market and still more to depress prices. These people who are now among the best customers of the farmers would become producers instead of consumers; sellers instead of buyers; competitors instead of customers.

The wealth of the farmer consists in the number of bushels he raises; his power to buy upon the price he can obtain; and the price is regulated very much by the supply and demand. If the supply is greater than the demand the price goes down; if the supply is less the price goes up. But our English friends would say after you repeal your Protective system you can buy all your manufactured commodities in England at a less price than you are now paying. The appeals they are making to our farmers are based upon this. They say, "Under your Protective system your farmers are paying much more than they would have to pay if there was no Protection, and in this way they are being unduly taxed to support the manufacturers."

We have seen what the effect of the repeal of our tariff system

would be upon the farmer in the destruction of the home market, and how it would reduce his means, and therefore limit his power to buy; although he might have just as many bushels to sell, he could not obtain as many dollars for them. Let us see how much truth there is in the statement that our farmers could then buy the goods and commodities they required in England cheaper than they can now buy them in the United States. And in this connection I would first remark that manufactured commodities taken as a whole were never lower in price in this country than they are at the present time, and that in the aggregate they are at least twenty-five per cent. cheaper to-day than they were in 1860 before the present Protective tariff was enacted. Protection has created domestic competition and thus cheapened the price. And this has extended so far that most of the manufactured commodities now used by our farmers are as cheap in the United States as they are in England; are now being sold in our stores at as low prices as they can be purchased for in the stores in England.

This applies to the cotton goods the farmer uses for domestic purposes, whether as clothing for himself and his family or that which he uses for household purposes; to all descriptions of household furniture; to the clock that hangs on the wall; to the watch that he carries in his pocket; to the boots and shoes he wears; to the hat that covers his head; to all descriptions of wooden ware; to carriages, wagons, carts, barrows, harness, and all agricultural machinery; to tools and implements, including reapers, mowers, threshers, rakes, rollers, plows, harrows, cultivators, drills, forks, hoes, shovels, spades, and every other description of agricultural tools, implements, and machines. It also applies to much of the cutlery, crockery, glass, and tinware that he uses, as well as his kettles, pots, and pans; to all descriptions of edge tools, including the axe. And in some instances these things are even much cheaper here than they are in England. And as to food, whether bread, meat, vegetables, or fruit, it is cheaper here and in more abundance than in any country in Europe.

The tea and coffee he drinks are cheaper here than in England, for there these articles of everyday life used by laboring men are taxed; and the poor man in England who earns but a dollar a day, and drinks his cup of tea or coffee before he begins or at the close of his day's labor, pays just as much of this tax as the rich man who drinks his cup of either at the beginning or close of the day. The prince and the peasant, though the one rolls in wealth and the

other lives in squalid poverty, each pays an equal amount of this tax on the tea or coffee he drinks.

Now how would the repeal of our Protective system cheapen the price of any of these things which I have enumerated, and which comprise at least nine-tenths of all the manufactured commodities our farmers taken as a whole purchase or use? They are as cheap in the United States at the present time as they are in England. Our farmers are now paying no more for them than the English farmer is paying for the same class and description of these goods. Is it likely that the repeal would reduce the price? No one will pretend this.

Suppose the English were to continue, after the destruction of our manufactures, to sell to us at the same prices they are now selling. The farmer would have to pay the additional cost of shipment and transportation across the ocean, and this would to that extent increase the price and make it just that much more than he is now paying. But when they succeed in breaking down our manufactures what security have you that they will continue to sell us at the same prices they are now selling?

The price of manufactured commodities, like agricultural products, depends very much upon the supply and demand. By the destruction of the manufactures in the United States you would lessen the supply here and increase the demand there. Our people would then have to buy of England what they now make at home. This would give England just this many more customers than she now has, and she would require this quantity more of manufactured commodities to supply the demand. This, according to all the laws of trade, would put up the price, and the Western farmers and others would have to pay this advance or increase of price upon all the manufactured goods which they require.

No one understands this better than Lord Derby and our other English friends. Now suppose all this should be brought about. England would then have accomplished what she is striving to attain, namely, cheaper food to feed her people and a more extended and better market in which to sell her manufactured commodities. She would be enabled to sell much more and at better prices, and save in the food she now has to buy, and her gain would be enormous. It would amount to hundreds of millions of dollars every year. This would not be tribute to the Eastern manufacturers that we should then be paying, but tribute to England; and no class of society would pay more of this tribute than the farmers

of America. And any tax or duty they now pay, or all the taxes of every kind which they now pay, if put together, would not amount to the one-half of this tribute which they would then be paying to England. For everything they had to sell they would get less, and for everything they had to buy of manufactured commodities they would have to pay more.

And the farmer would not be the only one to suffer. The loss would fall upon others as well. The whole country would lose, and the loss would be almost beyond computation, not only in the shrinkage of the value of our agricultural products, but in the diminution of our manufactured commodities. In the latter alone, if there should be only one-fourth of our manufactories stopped, the direct loss would amount to nearly if not quite 2,000 millions of dollars a year.

No civilized country has been or ever will be prosperous and great without a diversity of industrial pursuits. You might as well expect prosperity for the farmers of a country if they were all to grow but one crop, (corn, for instance, and nothing else,) as to expect a nation to be prosperous and great if all the people were to be engaged in but one industry, even if that industry should be agriculture. The capital of a country should always be so employed as to yield or make the largest return. The more productive it is made the greater will be the prosperity of the nation. The productiveness of capital marks the nation's prosperity. If an excess of capital should be thrown into one industry there would be an overproduction in that industry, and prices would fall, and loss ensue; and all the other industries would be to a greater or less extent, affected by this loss. If, however, capital should be so distributed as to stimulate and develop all the industries alike, and in this way give employment to all the people, there would be gain instead of loss; and the gain would be high wages to labor, and prosperity to the nation, whilst the loss would be low wages and national ruin.

Especial care should always be taken in every system so as to pay the most that can be paid to labor. The American system of Protection aims at this; its main object being to protect labor and to give it the largest possible return—the largest that can be given consistent with the cost of production. Its effects are to divide capital and distribute the largest proportion of the products of the earth among the people. This is done at the expense of the few for the benefit of the many; at the expense of capital for the benefit of labor. And this is as it should be, for it enables man to be a man,

and live as a human being ought to live, as God intended he should live.

The English system is the contrary of ours; it does not aim to protect labor, but to protect capital as distinguished from labor; it does not distribute wealth to the many, but to the few at the expense of the many. Its effect has been to accumulate wealth in the hands of capitalists, to make the rich man richer and the poor man still more poor, until they have arrived in England at a condition in society which quite justified one of her most able and gifted statesmen, when speaking of her people, in saying that they had on the one end a grand and magnificent aristocracy and on the other a double-headed pauperism.

Farmers of America, if you desire this, then listen to these pretended English friends of yours, and adopt their system—a tariff for revenue only; or go still further, and adopt Free Trade pure and simple, not as they have it, for although their writers have recommended it, and their statesmen have commended it to other nations, they themselves have never adopted it, and no civilized nation ever has; and you will then have taken the first step toward attaining a result, if not the same as theirs, still more disastrous to yourselves and your country. If, on the other hand, you wish to preserve your own prosperity, and desire also to see your country continue prosperous and great, stand by the American System of Protection which has placed the agriculturists of the United States among the first in the world; has paid and elevated labor; and made your own nation not only one of the most civilized and prosperous, but one of the most powerful and great, that exists on the earth.

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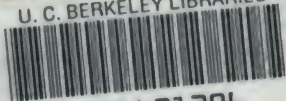
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