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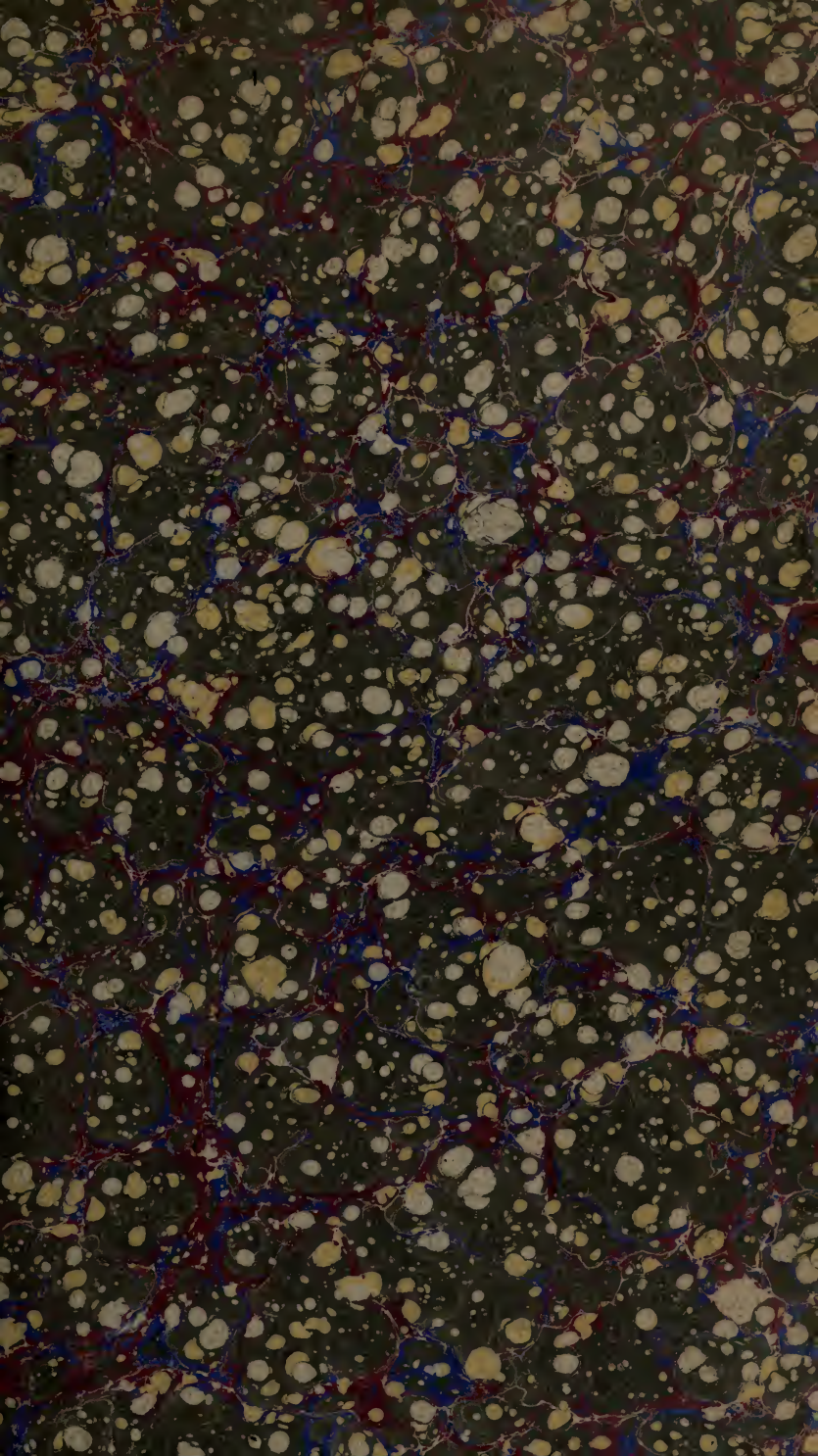
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THE TARIFF.

SPEECH



OF

HON. EDWARD H. FUNSTON,
OF KANSAS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

MAY 14, 1888



WASHINGTON.
1888.



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The Tariff.

SPEECH

OF

HON. EDWARD H. FUNSTON.

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

Mr. FUNSTON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The discussion of the tariff question has already been long drawn out, the mine has been thoroughly worked, and there is but little that can be added on either side of the question without repeating what has already been brought to the attention of this House. Were I an attorney in the case I would certainly be willing to rest the cause of protection on the evidence already adduced. This, however, is a case in which not only the cause at issue is being tried, but the litigants themselves are expected to go on the stand and give the reason for the faith that is within them. This is my only apology for my appearance at this time. I am for American interests as against the balance of the world.

If any provide not for his own * * * he is worse than an infidel.

However much my heart may go out for the unfortunates in the Old World, my first duty is to my own countrymen. Therefore, I am a protectionist in the full sense of the word. I would protect our country against foreign invasion, whether it be armed troops to lay waste our happy land or the manufactured products of half-paid labor to cripple our industries and destroy the occupation of our laboring people. Mr. Chairman, I am not here to-day to plead for the protection of any special class or interest as against any others that are equally worthy. The policy of the friends of protection should be to build up and maintain a system which reaches out and includes every man, whether rich or poor, whether living on the plains of the West or among the hills of New England; whether on the lakes of the North or the orange groves of the South; a system which builds up and sacredly protects every honest industry in which an American citizen secures employment or invests a dollar; a system which benefits not only those who are directly engaged in the protected industry, but all others who have the good fortune to be American citizens.

A tariff bill based on any other principle is one-sided and disproportioned, and ought to be honestly adjusted, or otherwise permitted to perish in its own narrowness and selfishness. Protected coal for Virginia and free wool for Ohio is not a protective system. Protected sugar for Louisiana and free salt for Michigan is not a protective system. Protected rice for South Carolina and free lumber for Oregon is not a protective system. Protected wheat for Minnesota and free fruit for California is not a protective system. Such a scheme is little-souled,

narrow-minded, partisan and sectional, and unworthy of a place among the plans of statesmen. Such is, indeed, the character of the bill which we are called upon to consider at this time. It bears the ear-marks of the politician in its partiality to those States the Democratic party hopes to carry at the next Presidential election. It exhibits the accustomed contempt of the Democracy for the interests of the agriculturist and the mechanic by placing many of the productions of their toil on the free-list, while, by reducing the duty on many articles only just enough to increase their importation and keep up the revenue, it blunders as to its method of reducing the surplus.

Whatever may have been the design of its framers, the sure result can only be the destruction of many of our industries in which thousands of laborers find honest employment and great amounts of capital a legitimate investment. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. RUSSELL], whom I do not see in his seat, well says in his speech of the 29th of April.

We are going in the same track that our predecessors followed in 1857 and 1871.

The gentleman doubtless spoke more wisely than he knew. I agree with him fully, and to assist him in proving his case I will read an extract from President Buchanan's message to Congress dated December 8, 1857, in which he says:

We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet notwithstanding all these advantages our country in its monetary interests is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and in all the elements of natural wealth we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want.

The able gentleman from Massachusetts speaks for his party when he says "we," and he utters the fact, whether he knows it or not. There can be no doubt of the intentions of the Democratic party to return to their old beat of 1857. The same sad prospects, the same outlook of social misfortune and industrial desolation await the unfurling again of their free-trade banner. It brings to us a vision of the past—the silent wheels, the smokeless stacks, the deserted workshops, the widespread want of 1857. [Applause.] These calamities seem to have a charm for the average Democrat equalled only by the charm of wild-cat banks, half-paid labor, and cheap foreign goods. As to the question of labor in these halcyon days of Democracy, I speak from personal knowledge when I say that the strongest and best of laborers were hired on the farm in those days at \$125 to \$150 per year, and boarded themselves, and the same class of hands are to-day receiving from \$250 to \$300 per year.

What is true of farm laborers, as relates to increase of wages, is true also in all other branches of industry. No man who has the least knowledge of the fact will deny that the laborer of to-day is paid an increase of from 40 to 65 per cent., according to occupation, over what he was paid in 1857 to 1860. I desire here to submit a table, which is the result of careful study and investigation by the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, showing the per cent. of advance of wages of employes since the period before the civil war to the present time: Railroads, 35 per cent.; cotton, 50 per cent.; woolen, 65 per cent.; paper, 55 per cent.; buttons, 55 per cent.; cigars, 50 per cent.; whips, 44 per cent.; domestics, 65 per cent.; iron, 64 per cent.; wool, 64 per cent.; day labor, 40 per cent.; average of the whole, 52 per cent. But the eloquent and able gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM] would tell us, as he did in his address to this House on the 26th of last month:

That labor is as much a commodity selling in the market as the materials to

be worked up. If the demand is great wages will go up; if the demand is small wages will go down.

Does the gentleman stop to reflect that it is protection which creates the demand for the labor?

No one, even of the most radical free-trade convictions, has asserted on this floor that protection does not build up and sustain manufactures and other industries which demand the labor of many thousands of men. It is the creator of demand for labor, and therefore the creator of wages, high or low, as the tariff itself is high or low. No one who admits that demand regulates wages and that a tariff creates the demand can arrive at any other conclusion. There is but one side, then, of this question for the laboring man, and that is the side that gives him the wages. That free trade or a duty for revenue only will create a demand for labor no one upon this floor has had the temerity to assert. That point has been studiously avoided by all who have maintained the free-trade side of this question. It is the missing link in their chain of argument.

What is to become of the laboring man when the demand for his services is superseded by foreign labor expended upon imported goods is a question of graver importance than that of a few cents on a bolt of cloth or a barrel of salt. The labor question has become a most important factor in our system of government and no innovation should be made which in any way affects this question without carefully ascertaining beyond a peradventure that the change will be in accord with the labor interests of the country. Yet it is proposed by this bill now under consideration to remove the protective duties in whole from many important industries in which thousands of our countrymen are employed, and to materially reduce protection on others, the inevitable result of which will be the destruction of those industries and shutting out of employment thousands of men who are now earning a comfortable living. As a reimbursement for all this loss and industrial disturbance they are told that a limited number of manufactured articles which they may desire to buy can be purchased a few cents cheaper in consequence of the adoption of free-trade principles.

Do gentlemen ever reflect that the question of cheapness is not the all-important question with the laboring man? The question of employment at good wages is of far greater importance to him. None are less inclined to higgler over prices than he. None are more willing to live and let live than he. Something to buy with is what concerns him most. Goods may be cheap, they may be offered at half price, but what advantage is that to the man who is out of employment and out of money? The fact that goods are cheap only adds to his aggravation. No gentleman on the free-trade side of this question, who has referred to the protection on farm products, has failed to assert that the duty on them does not add to their market value, except in the single case of wool. If this be true, then the laboring man can expect no reduction in the prices of articles that go upon his table. If this be true, beef and pork and bread and butter and all other articles of like kind, which make up the most expensive part of his purchases, will remain the same as to-day, while, if the most that is claimed for free trade be true, he may expect to obtain his wearing apparel a few dollars cheaper per year than under protection.

But this can not apply to cotton goods, for they are already cheaper in this country than in any other part of the world. In any event, the proposed reduction must be confined to woolen goods. Now, if it be true that free wool is the panacea which shall cure all his ills, the sovereign and only remedy provided for his relief, let us see how great that relief will be. The present duty on wool is about 10 cents. In a

suit of woolen goods there are from 3 to 7 pounds of wool. If all be true that the free-traders say, the suit costs about 50 cents more than it should under free trade. Allowing two full suits each year, \$1 would be saved to the laboring man by free wool. And to save this \$1 he is asked to join in a crusade against the manufacturing interests of the country, by which his wages will be reduced at least one hundred times that amount, and most likely he will be thrown out of employment altogether.

It has been uniformly urged on the other side of this House that the manufacturer absorbs all the benefits of protection and that he does not permit them to extend to the laborer. Might we not right here urge with equal force that in case the duty is removed from wool the manufacturer will absorb all the benefits and that he will not permit them to extend to the purchaser, so that after all the \$1 to be saved may prove to be only a myth? While I do not want to be understood as saying that free wool alone would bring about this reduction in wages, I do want to be understood that whenever you strike down one of the great protected industries of this country all others must go with it.

The American system of protection is one wherein every industry is interrelated with and interdependent upon every other. Each industry stands as a pillar in a structure. Let some free-trade Samson pull down one of these pillars and the whole temple of American industry must fall. When this American system is destroyed labor in Europe and in this country must stand on the same level as to wages.

In this connection I submit a few tables taken from a most valuable book, entitled "Wages, Living, and Tariff," by E. A. Hartshorn, to show what that labor level will be. The current wages paid in flax and hemp spinning mills in Great Britain and in this country are:

	New York.	England.
	<i>Per day.</i>	<i>Per day.</i>
Spinners, women	\$1.00	\$0.30
Twisters, women .....	.85	.23
Rovers, women .....	.75	.23
Spreaders, women	1.00	.30
Card feeders, women .....	.85	.30
Overseers, men	3.00	1.40
Hacklers, men	2.00	.85
Children .....	.40	.08
	Newark.	Paisley.
	<i>Per week.</i>	<i>Per week.</i>
Cop-winders	\$3.00	\$3.50
Finishers	5.50	2.50
Reelers	8.00	4.25
Spoolers	8.00	3.25
Foremen	20.00	7.00
Pickers	7.00	4.12
Hank-winders	7.00	3.75
	New York.	Scotland.
	<i>Per week.</i>	<i>Per week.</i>
Wool-sorters:		
Overseer	\$18.00	\$7.50
Men	12.00	5.50
Dyers, men	7.00	3.75
Carding:		
Overseer	20.00	16.50
Card-tenders, girls	4.00	2.00
Spinning:		
Overseer	18.00	7.50
Men	12.00	.....
Boys	4.00	1.50

	New York.	Scotland.
Warping:	<i>Per week.</i>	<i>Per week.</i>
Overseer.....	\$18.00	\$7.50
Dresser-tenders:		
Men	10.50	.....
Women.....	3.50	.....
Children.....	3.50 to 4.00	1.50
Weaving:		
Overseer.....	30.00	16.50
Section hands	13.50	7.50
Weavers.....	10.00	8.75
Finishing:		
Overseer.....	35.00	15.00
Shearers.....	7.50	3.75
Pressmen.....	8.00	3.75
Giggers and fullers	7.50	3.75

	New York.	Bolton.
	<i>Per week.</i>	<i>Per week.</i>
Card-grinders, men.....	\$8.23	\$5.59
Card-strippers, men.....	7.86	5.59
Slubber-tenders, girls.....	6.00	4.36
Mule-spinners, men.....	10.50	5.95
Frame-spinners, girls.....	4.50	2.31
Wrappers, girls.....	6.00	4.22
Weavers, men, per loom.....	.....	1.30
Weavers, girls, per loom, \$3 or	9.00	.....
Loom jobbers, men	12.25	9.00
Mule overlookers, men.....	18.00	10.22
Mechanics, average.....	13.00	7.54
Engine drivers	18.00	10.22
Firemen, average.....	8.40	5.00

Comparative rates of weekly wages paid in Europe and in the United States in 1878.

[Condensed from the Report of the Secretary of State on the State of Labor in Europe, derived from facts reported by the United States consuls, Washington, 1879.]

Occupations.	United States.							
	Belgium.	Denmark.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Great Britain.	New York.	Chicago.
Bakers.....	\$4.40	\$4.25	\$5.55	\$3.50	\$3.90	\$6.50-\$6.60	\$5-\$8	\$8.00-\$12.00
Blacksmiths	4.40	3.90	5.45	3.55	3.94	7.04-8.12	10-14	9.00-12.00
Bookbinders.....	.....	3.72	4.85	3.82	3.90	6.50-7.83	12-18	9.00-20.00
Bricklayers.....	6.00	.....	4.00	3.60	3.45	7.53-9.03	12-15	6.00-10.50
Cabinet-makers	4.80	.....	6.00	3.97	4.95	7.70-8.48	9-13	7.00-15.00
Carpenters and joiners.....	5.40	4.25	5.42	4.00	4.18	7.33-8.25	9-12	7.50-12.00
Farm laborers.....	.....	.....	3.15	2.87	3.50	3.40-4.25	.....	.....
Laborers, porters, etc.....	3.00	.....	.....	2.92	2.60	4.50-5.00	6-9	5.50-9.00
Painters	4.20	4.15	4.90	3.92	4.60	7.25-8.16	10-16	6.00-12.00
Plasterers.....	5.40	.....	.....	3.80	4.35	7.63-10.13	10-15	9.00-15.00
Plumbers.....	6.00	.....	5.50	3.60	3.90	7.13-8.46	12-18	12.00-20.00
Printers	4.62	4.70	4.80	3.90	3.90	7.52-7.75	8-18	12.00-18.00
Shoemakers.....	3.30	4.75	3.12	4.32	.....	7.35	12-18	9.00-18.00
Tailors.....	4.10	5.10	3.58	4.30	4.30	5.00-7.30	10-18	6.00-18.00
Tinsmiths	4.80	3.90	4.40	3.65	3.60	6.00-7.30	10-14	9.00-12.00

Mr. Chairman, I hardly need follow this branch of my subject further, only than to anticipate the charge which may be made that in the last table the industries mentioned are but little, if any, influenced by the tariff. That is true so far as relates to a direct influence, but the indirect influence of the protective system is in many instances greater than the direct. As an illustration: A woolen mill is started and a thousand men employed at good wages. Their benefit is direct, because that industry is protected. But the butcher who feeds them finds a ready market at good prices, and he too is benefited, though his business is not enumerated on the tariff schedule. So, also, with the carpenter who erects the building, the workmen who dig the foundation, the artist who does the painting, the blacksmith who repairs the tools, as also the baker, the grocer, the hotel-keeper, and hundreds of other avocations not mentioned in the tariff list. These all receive an impetus because of the men employed, and their benefits are indirect. Nor do the benefits of that woolen mill just mentioned stop with those who are benefited secondarily. It continues to others who move up and take the places of those employed, and so on until many thousands are favorably affected.

When three hundred thousand mills and manufactories of all kinds, as there are to-day all over this great country, are put in motion, the effect is felt in the most distant parts and becomes the nourishing life-blood of the whole people. Nor are the benefits confined to those who perform manual labor. The school-teacher is better paid, because so many find employment in other business than his. The doctor finds a wider scope for his practice, because so many have chosen callings other than his. The lawyer and the preacher the same; and all are better paid, because so many others have something to do and something to pay with.

Mr. Chairman, after all we have heard from the gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber about the deplorable condition of our people under what they have chosen to call a robber-tax, we instinctively turn to them and survey their condition. We find a greater number of the laboring people owners of their own homes than in any other country upon the face of the earth. They wear better clothes and are supplied better at their tables, and are better educated and paid than the laboring people of any other country. We can not exaggerate by saying that the American laborer has the comforts of life as well as many of the luxuries in larger quantities than any other working people. When their families are encountered in the churches or in the schools or in any of the walks of life no one can determine by their appearance to what class they belong—whether poor or rich. They do not look like a people who were robbed. They themselves know to the contrary, as their votes in the industrial States have always testified. And when we behold the nation's progress in wealth and all the elements of civilization during the last twenty-five years we are indeed lost in amazement.

I shall not attempt to repeat the facts here; suffice to say that even within the last eighteen years it has been more than double that of any other nation in the world. And all this has been done notwithstanding the so-called robber-tariff tax of which we hear so much. The gentleman from Texas, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, says it has been done in spite of the tariff. Does any man, even the gentleman from Texas himself, believe it? Does any man believe that without protection the mining interests of iron ore would have increased 110 per cent. since 1870, coal 66 per cent., and many other industries in like proportion? Does any man believe that under free trade any judicious

business man would have put a dollar into manufacturing enterprises in this country while he could have carried on such industry in England at a labor cost of 25 per cent. to 100 per cent. less than here? The cost of ocean transportation can not be offered as an obstacle in the way of English competition. If I have been correctly informed, the rocks that pave the streets of New Orleans were brought from England as ship-ballast in ships used in the cotton trade.

I have no doubt that the English manufacturers would gladly lay down their goods in our country free of the cost of transportation. They could well afford to do it, for the monopoly of the American market would amply reimburse them. Every American citizen should spurn it. I for one do not want it. I would rather see the skies of Tennessee and Pennsylvania darkened with the smoke of their furnaces; I would rather hear the clatter of their machinery and behold their industrial classes employed at good wages than to have English goods thrown upon our shores at any price, however cheap. And now, Mr. Chairman, as to the farmer, who seems to be made the burden of complaint by the gentlemen on the other side. Why all these tears for the farmer? Why this lamentation, while at the same time you persist in removing the duty on foreign wool? Wool is the only farm product which you admit to be enhanced in value by the tariff. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that the farmers are asking none of your sympathy. They know your hands are against them, and the only favor they ask of you is not to insult their intelligence with the specious assumption that they are so ignorant as to believe in your theories or trust to the promises which you hold out to them with one hand while you tear down their industry with the other. Put up the duty on wool instead of taking off what it now has, and you will give them some reason to believe in your wisdom and sincerity. The farmer is not dead to his interests. He knows better perhaps where they lie than the men who are assuming to champion his cause. But little if any complaint comes from him of the high prices alleged to have arisen by reason of the tariff.

Of all the petitions which have reached my table in the last four years, not one has come from a farmer asking for the reduction of the tariff on wool or on any other article. He knows there is not an article of clothing or machinery or tools for the farm that is not cheaper to-day than it was in the free-trade days of 1860. He knows, too, that there has been a gradual and continuous cheapening of goods and manufactured articles of all kinds from 1860 down to the present time. He knows that the lives of our fathers and mothers, which were so full of toil at the loom, the spinning-wheel, and other tedious, dreary forms of labor, have, through the fostering care of our protective system, been rendered comparatively happy and easy, so that where once was heard the monotonous clinking of the shuttle are now heard the sweet tones of the organ and the piano. Books and newspapers have taken the place of knitting-needles and spinning-wheels. The farmers of the country have taken their places upon a higher and better plane of culture, from which they do not propose to be lured by the siren notes of the free-trader.

We hear but little complaint from them of high prices of things which they have to buy.

A first-class double-spring-seated farm wagon finished, in better style than were the carriages of our fathers fifty years ago now sells at \$65 retail; Fitchburg cassimere, 85 cents per yard; cashmerets, 35 to 38 cents a yard; best standard sheeting, 8 cents per yard; good calicoes, 4½ to 6½

cents per yard; nails, 3 cents per pound, and all others of the real necessities of farm life at the same low rates. Thanks, gentlemen, restrain your sympathy; bestow it where it will be more appropriate and better appreciated. What the farmer most desires is a good market. What he has to buy is not a question so serious with him as what he has to sell. If you will only give him a good market in which to sell his products, make his market as easy of access and as convenient as are his places of purchase, he will ask no odds in the battle of life. This is fast becoming the case now under the benign influences of the American system of protection. The great cities of Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City are fast becoming the leading markets of the world.

The great State of Illinois is one vast work-shop. Missouri, with her rich mines of iron, coal, and zinc, is only held back by the mirage of free trade. Kansas is rapidly following with her smelting furnaces, glass factories, foundries, and machine-shops. The farmer of the West welcomes them as the best friends of his interests. In them he sees a market which is far preferable to that of London, 4,000 miles away. Engaged in these industries he sees thousands of consumers employed who are his customers, and who, if not so employed, would be his competitors in agricultural pursuits, thus doubling the productions of the farm, which must necessarily result in an over-supply of the home market of all such commodities as the farmer produces. Thus his home market is destroyed, his production doubled, and he driven to markets beyond the sea, where with a vast surplus he must come into competition with the cheapest labor of the world. Gentlemen tell us that the London market governs the price of our farm products. London can fix the prices of our products only so long as she pays more than is paid in America.

The American market has to gain but 4 per cent. on the farm productions of the country to make the home demand equal to the home supply, and then not London but our own home demand will control the prices of all home products. The farmers of this country want to hasten that time. Every interest impels them to it. Every patriotic impulse urges it upon them. They want neither English markets nor English goods, and will hail with delight the day when we shall have only American markets and American goods. [Applause.] I for one am ready to put up the fences around the outside and nail up the gates. Gentlemen have talked upon this floor about giving the farmers the world's market as if our protective tariff had shut them out from the markets of the world. Such talk is absolutely silly. We have no export duty. The products of this country can leave our shores without the least obstruction. The markets of the world are before them, such as they can get into.

But we find an economic system much like our own surrounding every country in Europe except England, and even she is not absolutely free, for she collects \$100,000,000 annually. Were we to adopt absolute free trade not a single market of the world would be freer to us than it is to-day. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BYNUM], in his remarks on this floor on the 26th of April, declared that our tariff rendered manufactured products so expensive that we cannot sell them at competitive prices in foreign markets. Is the gentleman aware that many of our most valuable products, such as steel, etc., are taken in the raw state from the mines and that nothing but labor is employed to convert them into manufactured products, and the fact that the articles when manufactured have protection does not prevent them being sold in foreign or home markets just the same as if unprotected?

To be more explicit, if a home manufacturer have a crate of pottery worth \$90, and there is a duty of \$10 a crate on pottery, which added to the \$90 would make the selling price \$100, that would not prevent the home manufacturer selling his crate in a foreign market at its actual value, which is \$90, if he chose to do so. The gentleman's argument is in a great measure fallacious, for it can not apply to those products into which nothing but labor enters, nor can it apply to goods manufactured from cotton or other materials of which we are exporters, as the duty on such materials does not affect the price. Mr. Chairman, England is the only nation in Europe that makes any pretense to free trade. Does any one believe she adopted that policy through any feeling of brotherhood for the balance of the world? Does any one believe that she did so through any feeling of brotherly love for America? To say so would be to stultify the history of that people in their relations to this country.

For eight hundred years England maintained the most inflexible barriers of protection; and not protection only, but in many articles their exclusive policy amounted to prohibition, preventing entirely the importation of such things as came in competition with her own industries. Even while the American colonies were dependencies of Great Britain she prohibited the exportation of American sugar except in English vessels, which were compelled to discharge their cargoes in English ports; and so jealous was she of her own colonies that she made it a capital offense to transport sheep from England to America, in order that she might keep down the American wool industry.

Skilled mechanics were prohibited under penalty of death from emigrating to America. The shipment to America of looms and other machinery for manufacturing the various textiles was prohibited under heavy penalties. Lord Chatham declared at one time that the Americans ought not to be permitted to manufacture even so much as a boot nail; and the English Parliament, that great body to which Englishmen delight to point, came within three votes of passing a bill by which every American industry was to be laid waste by English soldiery, and all this while the American colonies were still British possessions. Does any man believe that a nation guilty of these flagrant outrages against her own colonies would have her conscience aroused with sentiments of benevolence and philanthropy after those colonies had become an independent power and had stricken off the galling restrictions and prohibitions of the mother country? Are gentlemen so stupid as to suppose that England has changed her policy as a measure of brotherly love for us?

England does nothing for love; she does all things for money or other substantial gain. When she had finally converted her whole island into a workshop; when she had become an industrial giant, capable of competing with the balance of the world; when she discovered that she must import food products valued at \$800,000,000, and raw material for manufacture to the amount of \$650,000,000; when she became aware that she needed a market abroad of \$1,200,000,000 annually for her manufactured products; when she knew that to ship manufactured products to England would be like "carrying coals to Newcastle," then it was, and then only, Mr. Chairman, that she found it to her interest to abolish her protective system and ask the balance of the world to do likewise. England accumulated her wealth and strength under a protective tariff régime. Free trade as yet is not her settled policy. It is but an experiment, and it is one, too, against which many of her

wisest statesmen are opposed. Sir Edward Sullivan a few years ago said:

Thirty years ago England had almost a monopoly of the manufacturing industries of the world; she produced everything in excess of her consumption, other nations comparatively nothing. The world was obliged to buy from her because it could not buy anywhere else. The discoveries of gold and steam immensely increased the demands and the purchasing power of the world, and consequently the demand for the products of England. Her wealth increased by leaps and bounds that were bewildering; she was intoxicated with success; with her immense accumulated wealth, her machinery, her coal, her iron, her insular position, she thought herself unassailable; she laughed at the possibility of foreign competition; she offered to fight the rest of the world with her right hand tied behind her back. She said to the world, "I will receive anything you can send me without duty," adding at the same time an expression of hope that they would in turn receive her goods. But they said, "No; we gladly avail ourselves of your kind offer of admitting our goods; certainly we will send you all we possibly can. At present, unfortunately, we have nothing to send; we can not yet supply our own wants, but when we have more capital and your machinery and workmen, we hope to have a large surplus to send you." Well, that was thirty years ago. Now, France and America and Belgium have got our machinery and our workmen and ample capital, and they are sending us a yearly increasing surplus that is driving our own goods out of our own market, and every year they are more completely closing their markets to our goods.

The language of Lord Sullivan is the language of thousands of other Englishmen who believe that England's interests require the re-adoption of a judicious protective policy in order to maintain the industrial supremacy which she has achieved.

And now, Mr. Chairman, about the so-called robber tax on the poor man's blankets. If there is one thing in this discussion which has received more attention than another by the Democrats of this House it is the tariff on blankets. They have abused it more than the tariff on any twenty other articles on the schedule. The opprobrious epithets of the English language have been exhausted in denunciation of that tariff. One would suppose to hear this tirade that a Democrat regards such tariff as surpassed in enormity only by outright murder. But when we turn to the bill under consideration, which comes from the Democratic majority of the Ways and Means Committee, and which they ask us to vote for, we find they have placed a tariff of 40 per cent. on blankets. If the tariff on blankets is robbery, why this robber tax of 40 per cent.? Why does this Democratic committee put but 50 cents on a gallon of wine and \$1 on a \$2.50 blanket?

This shows the insincerity of their pretensions. It shows either that they do not believe what they say, or believing they themselves are the willing robbers. Why did they not take all the duty off blankets and put it on whisky and tobacco, if they are sincere in their assertion that those articles should bear the burden of taxation?

Mr. Chairman, we have heard so much about tariff taxation upon the people one would almost suppose that all our State and school and road taxes were the result of the tariff, while the fact is, there is not one penny levied upon any man or his property by the tariff outside of the importer of foreign goods. You may say the results are the same as a tax on the people, but it is not a tax on the people; and we think we are prepared to show that neither the results nor principles involved are the same as a tax. No one, I presume, disputes the right of the Government to levy a duty upon imported goods for purposes of revenue, for the protection of American manufactures, for the regulation of commerce with foreign nations. The first and second divisions of these propositions are sanctioned by the plain language of the Constitution and by acts of Congress passed during its first session, while nearly all

were yet living who had been members of the constitutional convention that framed our present national compact, while many of these makers of the Constitution were also members of Congress, and, too, while Washington, who had been president of the constitutional convention, was also President of the United States.

Surely in this presence the institution of the protective system which has been fortified by legislative enactment from the inception of our Government down to the present time, can not fail to be in accordance with the very genius and spirit of the American institutions. In connection with the third division of this proposition it is important to note a valuable item of history, cited by Hon. John A. Kasson in a recent article in the Forum, according to which, in the year 1766, Benjamin Franklin, when before a committee of the English Parliament said:

I never heard any objection made in America to the right of Parliament to levy duties to regulate commerce.

Again:

The payment of duties to regulate commerce was never disputed.

These early constitutional and legislative predilections show that the principle was fundamental in our organic compact, and that the origin and development of the foreign-commerce clause of the Constitution were perfectly normal and necessary. I may say, however, that the right under the Constitution to levy duties is not now and here a disputed question.

This right is reinforced by a principle which obtains in many of the States and nearly every incorporated city. The corporate authorities of the city say to all outsiders, "We have built the city at great expense; these streets have been paved at the expense of our people; these magnificent halls and parks are the fruits of the taxation of our persons and property; everything you see comes from our toil; our merchants and citizens have borne their share of all this expense; thousands of people are located here; it is unsurpassed as a market; but before you can drive in your wagon loaded with the same kinds of goods that are produced by our artisans or sold by our merchants, and before you can be permitted to run up a red flag in front of their doors you must pay money into the treasury of this city for the acquisition of privileges which we only have secured at great sacrifice, labor, and expense."

Mr. Chairman, this is protection for the city and for the citizens of the city, and for the arts and artisans of the city. No one questions this right; no one regards it as a tax on the people of that city. The Republican party of America stands precisely in the relation of the city and its citizens to the outside world. It says to Europe and to all cheap-labor countries, "We have here the best market in the world. It was established through the toils and hardships of our fathers. It has been built up and is now maintained by the magnificent pluck and energy of our people. We make more money and spend it faster than any other nation of equal magnitude on the face of the earth. But before you, who have no interest whatever in our country; you, whose hands are rather against us than for us, before you can be permitted to run in your cheap foreign goods and compete with our own citizens, you must pay money into the Treasury of the United States." This, Mr. Chairman, is protection to our citizens and to our industries. Do you call that a tax on the people?

But you say "The amount paid for the admission of the goods is added

to the price of the goods, and that the consumer pays it, and this is a tax."

I know a certain county wherein the farmers believed they were paying too much for goods. They organized a co-operative association, rented a house, hired a foreman and clerk, and obtained their goods at a price a large per cent. below what they had been paying for them. Dare any one say that because the hire of the foreman and clerk and the rent of the house were computed in fixing the selling prices of the goods those items were a tax on the stockholders? Any business man would say that those items were a part of the expense in a business transaction for saving or making money. In 1861 the people of this country, through the National Government, entered into a business arrangement wherein they proposed to lay duties on all foreign goods which came into competition with our own productions.

Under that system such goods have gradually grown cheaper, year by year, until an average reduction in prices of 28 per cent. has been reached. Our own manufacturing enterprises have been stimulated and developed, a higher degree of skill has been attained in every department, and as a result of this American system we have this magnificent reduction in the prices of our own home manufactures. Dare any man call that a tax? It would be the sheerest nonsense, and I have no better name than twaddle for such tirade. It falls beneath the dignity of argument. We are told, however, that the reduction in the prices of goods is due to the invention of machinery. Do gentlemen stop to reflect that the progress of invention is the result of a desire to cheapen production rather than to secure a patent? The protective tariff is as great a stimulant to the inventor as it is to the manufacturer.

Will any man assert that the recent discoveries and inventions for the manufacture of sugar from sorghum would have been made had there been no protection on sugar? I know something of the gentleman to whose efforts we are indebted in a great measure for the development of the sorghum-sugar industry. I know that he spent a fine fortune of his own and risked all that he could get from others, and as a last resort came to Congress and through the committee of which I am a member got further assistance. Will any one tell me that that man would have done and risked all I have mentioned had sugar not been on the protected list? It was because it was there and because he had faith in his countrymen that it should remain there; in other words, because he believed that there was a fortune for him in the manufacture of sugar, that this work has been accomplished. Thus it will be seen that a protective tariff stimulates invention. Under its influence the greatest proficiency has been attained in machinery and saving methods.

Mr. Chairman, men have almost recklessly invested their money in manufacturing enterprises during the last twenty-five years. They have done so because of their belief that they would have not so much a high market to sell in as a fair and steady market, and that their Government would stand over them with the shield of protection by which at no time could designing capital of Europe crush them by a combined movement. Under this benign influence millions of dollars have been invested and millions of men employed directly and indirectly. One invention has been added to another, waste and loss have been reduced to a minimum, and by the progress of invention every particle and fragment have been utilized for some beneficent purpose. Competition has

sprung up on all sides. Wages have gone up and prices of goods have gone down. As a manufacturing people we are to-day making such rapid strides that unless some untoward misfortune, such as is implied in the Mills bill, overtake us we shall within a decade lead all the nations of the earth.

That a frightful surplus is accumulating in the Treasury no one will deny. So far as it has accumulated through the duties on foreign imports it is the result of our natural relations to the balance of the world. It could not be otherwise unless we choose to forego all advantages arising from our isolated condition, the value of our country to foreigners as a market, and the the general prosperity of all who trade with us. To stop the flow of money to the Treasury would be like stopping the flow of blood to the heart and the result much the same. The remedy for the accumulation of a great surplus is in sending it out again through proper channels to perform its functions among the people; not by spending it like silly children, but by wise and judicious investments. What would a good business man do were he so fortunate as to accumulate in his safe a few thousand dollars more than he needs for current outlay? If he were doing business in a rented house he would probably put up one of his own which would be an honor to himself and an ornament to his town and the erection of which would give employment to the laboring men of his community.

The Government is to-day doing business all over the land in rented post-office buildings, many of which, even in cities of great importance, are inferior wooden structures, liable to burn down at any moment, and for which, too, exorbitant rents are often demanded. The Government should at once begin the erection of suitable buildings for post-offices and other Government purposes in every town where the Government business has attained any considerable magnitude.

Fortifications should be erected on our seacoast to protect our cities in case of war. I do not believe in war, and as a means of discouraging war I want to put ourselves in such condition that no nation will consider it safe or profitable to make war upon us. I would build a navy worthy of the great people that we are, and I would be prepared to demand that all international differences be settled by peaceable arbitration. I would encourage and foster the merchant marine by granting bounty for every league steamed or sailed in carrying the United States mails. I would make the bounty sufficiently ample to carry our mail and establish our trade in every nook and corner of the earth. I am sick of this cant about the tariff destroying our carrying trade and thus our merchant marine. Our carrying trade to-day is, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, \$1,400,000,000 annually, whereas it was but \$500,000,000 in 1830, an increase of nearly 300 per cent.

Mr. Chairman, the carrying trade is all right. The only trouble is that it is carried in British vessels. The British built and armed and equipped rebel privateers during our civil war, and under the guise of Confederate cruisers and under the protection of the Confederate flag they burned, or drove under foreign flags, the whole of our merchant marine; and they are now exacting from this country \$150,000,000 annually for having thus successfully usurped our carrying trade. Mr. Chairman, I want to see the national Treasury respond liberally to the demands made upon it to build up and foster our merchant marine, which, by proper encouragement, would be able to do its full share of the world's traffic and secure its full proportion of the world's wealth and lay it down at our doors.

I would see every soldier who served our country in the hour of her dire distress, or his widow, placed upon the pension-roll at fair rates for the remainder of life. [Applause.]

After what I have now enumerated, or even half of it, in the way of appropriate expenditure has been provided for, there will be no occasion to destroy our great economic system to get rid of the surplus as the Democrats of old burned their barns to get clear of the rats. Every dollar will be placed in circulation among the people, and that, too, through the hands of those who work for wages. All business will receive a new impetus and all departments of industry will flourish with new-born prosperity.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the time is near at hand when every American will fully realize the importance of maintaining our American protective system, and when the laborer, the capitalist, the farmer, and the banker, the merchant, and the manufacturer may all unite to work out the great destiny of our country. [Applause.]



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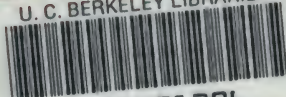
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