

guishing feature of modern progress, she was the foremost nation in the world. But at that point she found herself cramped by the narrowness of her territory, her supplies and her market. All she needed in order to stimulate her productive forces to their best was more room. And in securing this by the adoption of a free-trade policy she took the course which, in my opinion, offered the greatest possible inducement to her people, as a whole, to exert their energies to the utmost, each in his own craft or occupation, to subdue the earth. As applied to England, therefore, the principles which I have laid down lead logically to free trade as the better policy.

THE UNITED STATES.

In striking contrast is the situation of the people of the United States today. We have resources within ourselves which England had not, and we have no such advantages as she had in a free-for-all race of commercial competition. So diverse are these conditions of time and circumstance that the very advantages which England secured by free trade can be secured better now and here by protection.

Occupied and used to the best advantage the United States is a better world within itself for the working out of human destiny than the big world at its average, or any other part of it at its best. The things which directly promote the advance of society in wealth are education, invention, subdivision, specialization and organization of labor; interchange of products and liberal rewards to exertion. All these we can have, and have now within and among ourselves in higher degree than any other nation. We are apt pupils in all studies, arts and crafts. We surpass the world in invention. We have ample supplies of all the original materials on which human labor is expended—coal, stone, metallic ores, fibers and timber. We are in sight of a hundred millions in population. We can subdivide industry among ourselves to any degree of minuteness, and we can mass armies of workers wherever armies are needed for the most victorious results. We grow every valuable product of the soil known outside the tropics. The extent of our country and the variety of our climate enable us to secure by domestic exchanges most of the advantages which other nations seek in foreign commerce. We have within our own borders the best market in the world for every production of industry. We live under civil institutions which secure to every man the enjoyment of the fruits of his labor and open the doors of advancement to the humblest citizen.

These are the conditions which tend to stimulate human exertion to its highest activity and make its efforts most effective. They have had that effect in our experience. We work harder, produce more, consume more and move on faster than any other people. And why may we not continue in the path of that progress indefinitely, and among ourselves and within our own borders cultivate every art and every industry with such increasing skill and success that we shall lead the van forever in that march of conquest over the forces of nature which is the high destiny of the race?

MARKETS.

The commonest answer to such a suggestion is, that for this ideal development of industry we must have a wider market for our products than our own land affords, and that to secure this we must have free commercial intercourse with the world. No doubt our home market, great as it is, is not sufficient to absorb all that we can produce of all things. But neither is the market of the whole world able to absorb all that the whole world can produce. Labor-saving invention has outrun consumption in its possibilities. At the same time the market follows, growing by what it feeds on. Invention cheapens production; cheapened production increases consumption; increased consumption stimulates more invention, and so on, round and round, to an end which no one can foresee. Who knows that chairs will not be made for five cents apiece, and bedsteads for twenty-five cents, before this generation shall pass away? Why may not the boys of to-day live to enjoy twice the house room, furniture, clothing, books, travel and good things generally which their fathers know? Some increase in their

share of the general income on one side, and some decrease in the cost of production on the other is all that is necessary to bring it about.

The truth here touched is of exceeding importance. How to find a market for all that human hands are now ready to produce is, in one sense, the great economic problem of the age. It is not to be solved by any simple process of finding more buyers. All seas have been sailed in that search. It is to be solved by enabling present buyers to buy more. Good living by the masses is the foundation of a good market; and better living by the masses is the one condition of its growth. To this condition all the world and every part of it must submit.

And in no part of the world is this condition so fully met as in the United States. Every civilized nation is an industrial partnership among whose members circumstance and custom establish definite rights and relations. In the American partnership the body of the partners receive larger profits than are divided by any other firm. The American workingman's share of the common income is a better home, better clothes, better food, and more of all the comforts of life than are enjoyed by the workingman of any other country. And, what is vastly more important, no other workingman is so determined to better his condition, or so able to carry out that determination. The general unrest, the labor unions, the farmers' organizations, the conflicts that occur here and there, are taken by some to portend dire disasters to society. On the contrary, they are the throes of a new birth into a better order of things. The working members of the great American partnership, in field and shop and car, are fighting for a larger share of the profits of the firm business. Not that they are so badly off now. They are, in fact, better off to-day than they ever were before. But that does not suffice. They want to be as well off as they can be, and they believe that in a fair division of the profits of all labor among all laborers, they are entitled to more than they are getting.

We can imagine a condition of things in which every industrious householder would have in his home a separate room neatly furnished for each member of his family, a piano in the parlor, a hundred volumes in the book-case, and other things to match. What a market would be afforded by a hundred millions of people living in that style. And wild as such a dream seems, why may it not be realized? The natural forces and materials necessary for its accomplishment are present in abundance. To transform them to our use is but a question of skill and labor. And that, in turn, is but a question of invention, organization and fair division. In order to bring about such a change the things which are consumed must become relatively cheaper, and the wages of producers relatively higher. But both those things are possible; they are both in progress now, and no one can say where they must stop.

This struggle of the masses for a better living is going on and will continue to go on in the United States under more favorable auspices than anywhere else. It is supported by the superior intelligence, courage and resource which the habits of freemen have bred in them. It is supported by an all-powerful public opinion that in a free country every citizen should have within his reach the comforts of a home and means to bring up a family fit to succeed him in the responsibilities of citizenship. And more than all, it is supported by the workingman's ballot. With these forces behind nothing can prevent its continuous advance.

As to markets, therefore, we are in this situation. We have a better home market now than any other nation, and one bound to grow faster than that of any other nation; and one, furthermore, which is better in both of these respects than the markets of the world at large compared with the production of the world at large. I shall speak at length of foreign markets in another connection. I am confining myself now to the essential conditions of our situation within ourselves and I say that our own market is the best market the world has, or has ever seen, because it rests upon the diversified wants of a great and rapidly increasing population distributed over a wide country who consume more things of more kinds than any other people, and whose desires, and whose deter-

mination and ability to gratify those desires are growing faster than the desires and abilities of any other people.

BALANCE OF INDUSTRIES.

With these unrivaled opportunities only one thing is wanting to make our economic situation one of ideal perfection, and that is, a normal balance of industries. If enough of us will engage in agriculture to supply all the others with food and the materials for other uses which are produced from the soil, and enough of us in mining to supply all the others with coal and metals, and enough of us in manufacturing to supply all the others with goods, and enough of us in transportation to maintain commerce for all of us, and enough of us in merchandizing to distribute our supplies among us, and so on, round the great circle of employments which complete the intricate system of modern business, we have it in our power to be the most independently prosperous nation the world ever had, or has, or can have.

AGRICULTURE.

All this we are very nearly doing now. In only one respect do we fall far short of it: too large a proportion of us are engaged in agriculture. That branch of industry produces a surplus for which we have to hunt a market abroad in competition with the farmers of all lands. But that defect in our organization will soon disappear. We have no second Mississippi valley or Pacific slope. Our fertile and easily cultivated lands are substantially occupied. Henceforth the rate of increase in agricultural production is bound to fall off, while our food consuming population will continue to grow. Within a few years the farmers of the United States will have all they can do to feed the people of their own country.

ECONOMY OF THIS ADJUSTMENT.

As a result of this adjustment we are practicing a highly profitable economy in the supply of our wants. Most of our food is produced near where it is eaten. Our great factories cluster about their sources of supply of fuel or material. Even the cotton mills so long anchored in New England are drifting toward the white fields of the South. Our minor manufactures are scattered throughout the land, filling it with little cities, each a center of business, educational, social and literary activity, a market for the products of the country round about, and a constant stimulus to its life and progress. By miracles of invention we have reduced nearly all labor to the manipulation of machinery. Even the leg-and-hand labor of the farm, which for generations was supposed to be beyond the reach of relief by machinery has been lightened and diminished. A farmer can now ride his plow, his harrow, his seed drill, his cultivator, his mower, his rake, and his reaper. Husking corn and picking cotton are the only great operations of the farm done by hand, and for both of these experimental machines are on trial, and it is only a question of a few years until they will be in successful operation.

Wonderful as these results appear, they are only the beginning of the end. Invention lies at the bottom of all of them, and was never more active than now. The whole number of patents issued by the Government prior to 1860 was only 26,641; now they are issued at the rate of more than 20,000 a year. Of course, many of these are for trivial and unimportant inventions, but many others represent as splendid triumphs of genius as any that have gone before. Every machine we use—our steam engines, cars, looms, printing-presses, farm implements—everything, big and little, is in a state of unending improvement. A loom is one of the oldest of machines, and has been brought to such perfection that one would think its further improvement impossible; and yet an invention came to my knowledge recently which promises to reduce the little hand labor now required in weaving by twenty per cent. or more.

THE FRUITS.

We are gathering the fruits of all this in the homes and lives of the people. Every want of the body and of the mind is better supplied among the population at large of the United States than anywhere else. No other people eat such abundant, varied and excellent food, dress as well, or have as ample and comfortable homes. In schools, colleges, books, papers, and all the

means of education and intellectual growth and enjoyment no other nation is so well supplied. The American boy has a wider choice of occupations than any other boy born in the world, and while the American girl is confined to a narrower field than her brother, her opportunities, as compared with those of other girls in the world, are even more remarkable than his. Nor is this the result of social customs merely, or political freedom; it is a consequence of our universal subjugation of the forces of nature. We have more machines that a woman can handle than any other nation. We have made steam her servant, and taught the tamed lightning to take orders from a girl.

AMERICAN CONDITIONS.

These are the conditions of life, business and society in the United States in the year of our Lord 1892. They embrace every element and circumstance favorable to the largest development of man's dominion over the world he lives in, and they justify the remark already made that the United States is a better world within itself for the working out of the highest human destiny than the big world at its average, or any other part of it at its best. They exhibit sixty-three millions of people occupying the fairest heritage of the earth, and subduing it, and all the materials and forces in, on and over it with a rapidity, completeness and splendor unapproached in the history of the race. They exhibit the most perfect industrial organization ever seen, embracing within itself, with only insignificant exceptions, every useful art known among men. They exhibit a nation so independent in its resources that it could go on in its pathway of growth and prosperity though every other nation should perish, and every other land go down in the sea. They exhibit a people so inventive, so courageous, so progressive that all that which they have accomplished in the past is only the promise of a still more splendid future.

THE CONTRAST.

How different our situation from that of England when she exchanged the protective for the free-trading policy. She was cramped in territory; we are not. She could not feed her people from her own soil; we can. She could not furnish herself with the materials of industry; we can. She had no sufficient home market for the products of her labor; we have. Returning to the fundamental proposition of this argument, that the commercial policy best for any nation is that which will, then and there, secure to its people the best opportunity and the strongest inducements to pursue with effect those studies, arts and occupations which lead to the subjugation of the forces of nature to the service of man, does it not lead us with irresistible logic to the conclusion that if it was wise in England to adopt free trade it is wiser in us to adhere to protection. The room for enterprise which she sought abroad we have at home; the food which she sought abroad we have at home; the materials for industry which she sought abroad we have at home; the markets which she sought abroad we have at home.

POLICY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In the face of the unparalleled progress of the United States under a policy of protection for thirty years past, during which period we have forged ahead in invention, wealth, art, science, and every element of prosperity at a rate to break all former records, the Democratic party has deliberately and firmly resolved to take the back track. It has announced to the world as the chief article of its creed that protection, in every form and guise, is unconstitutional. It solemnly pledges itself, if placed in power, to repeal the McKinley tariff—not to modify, amend or reduce it, but to repeal it, and leave American industry naked and shivering in the northeast wind of British free trade. In the exultant language of the New York Post, it has cast out the old protection devil at once and forever. On this platform Grover Cleveland is again offered as a candidate. We have reason to know him well. He is a man of purposes, and I do him the honor to believe that if he is put on the engine with instructions to do it, he will reverse the lever if it throws the train off the track.

Now, upon a party which proposes such a right-about-face in the com-

mercial policy of a great country already so happy and prosperous, there rests a tremendous burden of proof to demonstrate by the clearest evidence that the proposed change will be for the better. The old Indian's epithet has a lesson for such a time—"I was well; I thought to be better; I took medicine, and here I am." And this responsibility is at this time a particularly grave one for the intelligent Democrats of those States where the battle will be close. The Republican party is proposing no new thing. It stands by a policy which we have tested for thirty years. That way we know is safe. Granting that there may possibly be a better one, we still know that there is a safe one. The Democratic party is proposing a fundamental and far-reaching change. It is no low tariff, such as we have had at several periods in our history (and always to our great loss), but the total extirpation of the principle of protection from our laws. It is to take all the hazards of a system which we have never tried for an hour, and which is diametrically opposed to that under which we have attained our greatest prosperity and glory. And the decision of this momentous issue, the final, actual responsibility touches nowhere else so closely as on those Democrats in the contested States whose intelligence, business interests, and means of information make them competent judges of the question.

FREE-TRADE ARGUMENTS.

What, then, are the arguments upon which the Democratic party presents its case to the people? They may be summed up as follows: first, a naked denial of the power of the Government to pass protective laws; second, that protection benefits the few at the expense of the many; third, cheap goods; fourth, foreign markets; fifth, the existence of various evils in society, which, it is assumed, would be remedied by free trade.

The first is expressed in the Chicago platform in these words: "The Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only." In answer to which I say, (1) There is no provision in the Constitution which denies that power to Congress; (2) jurisdiction over the subject of foreign commerce is expressly given to Congress by the Constitution, and denied to the States; (3) if Congress has not the power to protect American industry, that power does not exist anywhere; (4) the existence of that power in Congress has been recognized by every department of the Government from the beginning of its existence—by the first Congress, by all the early, great Presidents—Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Jackson, and by the Supreme Court over and over. A man holds his right to buy and sell just as he holds all other rights—subject to such restraint and regulation by law as the highest good of society may require. Reason, precedent and usage, the world round for centuries establish this principle on as firm grounds as exist in the law. I imagine that if Marshall Field should establish a mammoth store a mile outside the city limits, and fill the streets of Fort Wayne with his runners and wagons scot free of rent and taxes, the Democratic merchants of the city would not hesitate long to apply to the common council for protection, and that no one would deny the right of that body to extend it.

THE ROBBER BARONS.

The Chicago platform says: "We denounce the Republican policy of protection as a fraud on the labor of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few."

Mr. Cleveland, in his speech of acceptance said:

"Turning our eyes to the plain people of the land, we see them burdened as consumers with a tariff system that unjustly and relentlessly demands from them in the purchases of the necessities and comforts of life an amount scarcely met by the wages of hard and steady toil, while the exactions thus wrung from them build up and increase the fortunes of those for whose benefit this injustice is perpetuated. . . . We insist that no plan of tariff legislation shall be tolerated which has for its object and purpose a forced contribution from the earnings of the masses of our citizens to swell directly the accumulations of a favored few; nor will we permit prudent solicitude for American labor or any other specious pretext of benevolent care for others to blind the eyes of the people to the selfish schemes of those who seek, through the aid of unequal tariff laws, to gain unearned advantages at the expense of their fellows."