

HON. T. J. WOOD'S SPEECH.

[Continued from First Page.]

or the same price as the imported article, and the domestic manufacturer received the benefit of the 67 per cent. duty upon this sum, which makes \$350,000 paid by the people, not one cent of which went into the public Treasury. It is idle talk that the home product did not sell for the same price as the imported article. If the domestic manufacturer undersold the importer, then the import of glass would cease but the importer did sell in the American market near one million and a half dollars of window-glass, and the home product did not undersell it so as to drive the imported article out of the markets.

No party can stand before the consumers of this country and sustain a tariff like this. But this is what my Republican friends on the other side of this House call reform. Is robbery of the consumer more complete? No other civilized country imposes such burdens upon the many to support the few under the guise of national benefit. Every laboring man in this country, whether in the factories or out of them, pays an enormous tax when he clothes himself and his family. There are about \$9,000,000 of aboring men in the United States independent of the farming class. You can almost count the millions taken from their daily wages annually by his cruel and exacting law. There are about 8,000,000 farmers who bear the same burden. This tariff law takes from the pockets of the people over \$50,000,000 annually. No other people could stand this unjust drain of annual profits for any considerable time, and our own people, owning in fee simple farms of incomparable soil, aided by the improvements of farm machinery, are able to produce enormous quantities of the cereals and all farm products for home and foreign markets; but withal they are only able to stand the pressure for a few years, when financial distress comes and involves a vast number of them.

DIVERSIFIED INDUSTRY.

The importer paid the Government thirty millions in duties, charged it to the selling price of his goods, our people purchased them and paid the duties; but when the people purchased the two hundred millions of the home-manufactured article they paid no less price for it than they did for the imported article. If the people could buy the home product cheaper would they buy the imported article?—Certainly not. There is no difference in the prices of the imported and domestic article. The farmers and other consumers pay 65 per cent. on two hundred millions of the domestic product, which goes to the benefit of the manufacturer.

This tribute given and none returned brings periodical distress to the farmer, and he is met with the sneering query, "If you have anything to sell, can not you get a good price for it?" He has sold his products to the minimum and has saved little or nothing from the prices received, for the reason the tariff has robbed him, silently robbed him, at the end of a series of years. He has sold at Liverpool prices instead of the promised high prices of the home market.—No class of men work harder and save less than the average farmer. We are told that the farmers have prospered under protection. They have prospered in one way, and that is in the increased value of their farm lands, which came by crowded settlements and shipping facilities. Value their lands at \$50 per acre, count cost of labor, fencing, farming implements burdened with protection, prices in all their parts, keeping work-horses, and he can not raise wheat at less than 80 cents per bushel and corn for less than 20 cents.

FALLACIES OF PROTECTION.

We desire to notice briefly the fallacies urged in support of a protective tariff.

1. Its advocates tell us that high duties 'protect' American labor, and cause workmen in protected industries to receive good wages. We could argue with an equal amount of logic that night always follows day and therefore day is the cause of night! But the fact is 'protection' can not cause good wages, neither can day cause night. We have demonstrated in a previous article that the chief object of protection is to enable the home manufacturer to sell his goods at an artificial price, but does the manufacturer pay any of this extra money to his laborers in the form of wages? Not at all. He hires his laborers just as cheap as he can get them. If competent laborers were to bid down on the price of each wages until he could hire them at 25 cents per day, he would be foolish if he gave them more than that although he was making 100 per cent profit per month on his own investments. It is a notorious fact that strikes occur often in protected industries than anywhere else on account of the low wages paid. Whenever the laborers do strike for higher wages the manufacturer can easily supply their places with a ship load of foreign workmen if he chooses to do so. The native laborer is not 'protected' by any duty on foreign workmen as his employer is on goods of his own manufacture. Yet the very men who favor the highest protective duties on foreign goods, maintain that the Chinese and other cheap laborers should come in thousands to this country. The per cent of increase in the wages of laborers has been much less under 'protection' than under comparative free trade, which we enjoyed from 1819 to 1861. On the other hand 'protection' decreases the laborers' wages because it lessens the purchasing power of the dollar by increasing the cost of the necessities of life. Free trade tends to increase wages. John Bright is good authority for the statement that the wages of English laborers have increased 25 and in some cases 50 per cent, under free trade. They are now 100 per cent. higher than in Germany and other European countries that have protective systems. Again, the United States census of 1850 demonstrated that 94 per cent. of the laborers of this country are engaged in agriculture and other kinds of labor, whereas 6 per cent. are engaged in protected industries. A high tariff could benefit workmen in

but fails to establish a price for wheat and beef. That is fixed in the free-trade markets of the world. Farmers buy under protection and sell under free-trade. High protection makes high prices for imported goods. If the domestic manufacturer sold his goods cheaper than the imported article they would exclude the latter from our markets. The home manufacturer will not compete with the importer, because it is against his interest to do so. He wants enough of the imported article to come into our markets to pay the high duties and establish prices. That is the index for the home product.

HOME MARKET FOR THE FARMERS.

The promise of protection is a home market for farm products. That is a humbug. The American people can not and never will consume the products of the American farm.—To do that you must import 20,000,000 people and put them in the factories and workshops. Then a worse result would follow on the other side—over-production of manufactured articles. In 1880 the American people only consumed 64 per cent. of the farm products. I heard a Western farmer say, "Why, see for yourself. Take the surplus of six great farm States, then count the number of people protected and their employees, and each one of them would have to eat six barrels of flour per day, a ton of beef, 1,000 pounds of bacon, chew a hogshead of tobacco, and drink twenty gallons of Kentucky whisky." It's nonsense. They advise less farmers. That would not increase consumption and would not lessen production materially, as improved farm machinery takes the place of men on the farm. The home market for farm products goes farther away every year.

In 1860 the farmers raised \$170,000,000 in wheat, and exported \$4,070,764, or 2½ per cent. of the product.

In 1870, high protective tariff year, they produced \$550,000,000 in wheat, and exported \$47,171,229, or 14 per cent. of the product. In 1880, same tariff, they produced \$425,000,000 in wheat, and exported \$190,546,305, or 36 per cent. of the total product. The export of pork will average \$70,000,000 annually since 1870, excepting the time of French and German interdiction.

The export of beef and beef cattle exceed this during the same years. There was also a large export of corn and provisions. Farm products overstock the home market more and more every year, though protection has been on trial for nearly thirty years to fulfill the great promise of a home market for the products of the farm. It is a failure.

Windows. Doors, S sh. Etc.

HARD & SOFT COAL.

Having purchased the stand of F. L. Cotton, will keep constantly on hand a full and complete supply of

protected industries it is wrong for a government to legislate in favor of six per cent. of its laborers at the expense of 94 per cent., by imposing outrageously high tariff taxes for their benefit only.

2. A second fallacy of 'protection' is that it enlarges our 'home market.' A market is made up of buyers with cash or its equivalent in their hands. A big home market consists of more domestic buyers with ready pay in their hands. How can protection accomplish this?—Can it do it by increasing the number of births or diminishing the number of deaths in a given period in any country? Certainly not. Again, a comparison of data will show that our home market was much larger during our comparative free trade era than it has been since under 'protection.'

3. The protectionists claim that high tariff is necessary to the existence of American manufacturing industries, or in other words the people must act as a sort of wet nurse for them by submitting to be roundly taxed for their support. The assumption is that people can not prosper unless heavily taxed. This is very unreasonable. It is a well-known fact that during the period of our colonial history manufactures sprung up and grew very rapidly without a protective tariff to favor them. One of the chief causes of their war for independence was the restrictions which the mother country wanted to place on their commerce. Can it be possible that we are not as well prepared now to manufacture as we were then? The three things necessary for manufacturing are capital, material and labor. Capital is as cheap here as in any other country. Raw material is as cheap, perhaps cheaper in European countries, because many import much raw cotton and other material for manufacturing purposes, whereas we do not. Labor forms about one-half of the cost of manufactured articles in this country. In foreign countries it is from one-third to one-half cheaper than this, but this is made up by the cost of ocean transportation paid by the foreigner. Hence we conclude that the United States are as well prepared for manufacturing as any country in the world, and do not need the fostering care of a high tariff in order to succeed.

4. Perhaps the shallow fallacy that the protectionists have yet advanced is, that free trade would flood our markets with cheap foreign goods, and that 'protection' is the only barrier against this destructive flood. The advocates of this theory have every reason to be afraid of 'floods.' Their house is built on sand or they would not fear them. Such a fallacy is scarcely worth noticing. This country can be flooded with cheap foreign goods only by flooding foreign countries with our own cheap goods. Foreigners are not going to give away their goods—^{if} they desire to do this we would be

quite foolish indeed if we did not accept all they would give us. Foreigners are undoubtedly ready for an exchange of goods with us. An exchange of commodities would be a mutual benefit to both parties, or else there would be no motive for the trade. This sort of argument is a confession by the protectionist that a high tariff is a barrier to trade and that it makes things dear. It confesses a fondness for scarcity and a terror in view of abundance. It confesses that free trade would make things cheap—very cheap, as they are to us.

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THE IMPENDING CONFLICT.

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