

HON. T. J. WOOD'S SPEECH.

[Continued from First Page.]

any conditions whatever. I speak by the official reports when I declare that skilled labor in Europe is paid as well as American labor, all things considered; and when the manufacturer says that he wants a tariff to pay labor and that he can not manufacture in his country as cheaply as in England on account of the high price of labor, mark it down that he is untruthful. But I would give him the cost of his labor in the tariff. That is more than the farmer gets.

The average cost of labor is 7 1/2 per cent. of the manufactured article. The average tariff now is 42 per cent. Cut down the tariff tax to 30 per cent. for the present. That gives him a large percentage over the cost of labor, and with that he should be satisfied. Any industry failing with the cost of labor donated to it ought not to survive. The protectionists, when talking to laboring people, hold up the poorly paid and pauper labor of Europe. When speaking to farmers they say: "Let us alone now; we will soon compete among ourselves (which is not probable), then prices will come down." If prices decrease by the promised competition among "ourselves," then what will they do about the wages of the poor laborer, or whom they have appealed for protection to keep up prices so that they could pay him good wages?

The defense of protection is founded upon deception of the people, and any cause that can not exist without deceit to uphold it ought to go down. Our working people are told that the laboring people of other countries do not live so well as the American workmen. I think that is true, but what is the cause of it? The only countries in Europe whose inhabitants and resources are enough like ours for comparison are Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and the Netherlands. Their average population is two hundred and twenty-seven to the square mile. Our population is fourteen to the square mile by the census of 1880. Making due allowance for uninhabitable regions sixteen to two hundred and twenty-five is a fair comparison.

Now, no man wants to be told that sixteen persons can live better off of a square mile of land than two hundred and twenty-five can. Protectionists try to scare the farmers by stating that their 700,000 workmen will turn farmers and then farm products will be worth nothing on account of overproduction. In the first place, the industries are not going to stop. Their workmen will not leave them. Our industries are able to compete with any others on the earth. I will discuss this hereafter. But if the workmen did turn farmers the agricultural interest would not be affected. Every two or three years several hundred thousand emigrant farmers come, scatter all over the land, and the farming interest is not disturbed.

The wages of the 700,000 operatives in the factories at a round figure, \$10 per week, \$500 per year, amounts to \$350,000,000 per annum. I said the people pay over \$500,000,000 as tribute by reason of protection. If the people paid these operatives to remain idle, they would save one or two hundred millions annually.

A large proportion of the tariff is taken out of the wages of the workman. That may be strange but it is true. Many industries manufacture nothing but cotton warp and yarn. Another industry manufactures coloring-matter. There are high duties upon warp and yarn and coloring-matter. There are many industries manufacturing cotton cloth and other forms of cotton goods, and their owners buy cotton warp and yarn or read and pay the duty thereon. The duty paid, or a proportion of it, if not all, comes out of the wages of the operatives who make the cloth. Why? In this instance the warp and yarn are equivalent raw material, and the wages of labor are always gauged

by the cost of raw material. If the raw material is enhanced in price by high duties, then labor must be cut down, for the manufacturer will not cut down his profits. Again, one industry makes pig-iron, another buys the pig-iron, and pays the price with the duty added, and manufactures iron and steel blooms, on which high duties are also levied. These blooms are purchased by the owner of another industry at Indianapolis, and he pays high duties on the price of the goods, and by the labor of his men manufactures from these blooms iron and steel goods of every description. Here the iron and steel blooms are equivalent to raw material, and it is made expensive by high tariff duties. The increased cost of the raw material or its equivalents by high protective duties is taken out of the wages of the men.

Our workman may get a small percentage more wages than is paid in England, but he works faster and more hours than the Englishman; so, in fact, he is no better paid than they are. Then protection takes a part of his wages back when he buys his groceries and his clothing, which the Englishman does not pay. I fail to see what advantage the English manufacturer has over the American. The chief import from England is cotton and woolen goods. The English manufacturer buys our cotton and wool and imports them free of duty, and pays no more for them than our domestic manufactures pay. In other words, the American manufacturer buys wool and cotton at home for the same price as the Englishman, and these home raw materials are chiefly used in the domestic manufacture of cotton and woolen goods.

It is safe to say that our class and quality of wool and cotton can not be purchased any cheaper in any other country, or the English manufacturer would not buy them here, but buy them cheaper elsewhere, if he could; so these great home raw materials cost the American manufacturer no more than they cost the Englishman. And here again the home market fails to consume our cotton. The disadvantage is on the side of the Englishman. He pays the charges of shipment to England and again pays the charges of shipment to New York of the manufactured article. The American manufacturer has the advantage of the English manufacturer in the cost of these raw materials, when you include as part of the cost of them the expense of shipment to England and back again to our ports in manufactured form.

I have shown there is no material increased cost of labor in the American industries; the only difference in the rate of wages arises from the fact that the American works more hours and does more work, and therefore earns the slight difference. American capital is abundant and offers as cheaply as English capital. Our manufacturing machinery is modern and better than any in Europe. Our labor is as skilled and better than that of any other country. Our home markets are equally as good. The per capita tax in England is \$14.53. In the United States it is \$12.87. Our manufacturers have the advantage of the Englishman in the amount of taxation. If we had free trade our manufacturers could more than hold their own, and they know it very well. Clearly, a moderate tariff will amply protect them. We want no free trade, but reform in the tariff. The first protective tariff was enacted in 1789. It provided for an average duty of 8 1/2 per cent., to continue only seven years, to give "infant industries a start."

Our fathers were not strong protectionists. The present tariff duties average nearly 43 per cent., and we are nearly one hundred years from the economic times of the old "founders." They had just passed through the baleful experience of the class favoritism of the English crown and were not willing to establish this hated principle in American institutions. They saw, as we will see, that protection is the worst foe to American labor. There must be a market for the products of labor, or

it will suffer. Labor is of no value if its products can not be sold. Therefore laboring men are directly concerned in large markets for the sale of labor's products. In this respect their interest is identical with that of the American farmer. England, France and Germany send the products of their laboring men all over the world for sale. When labor's product sells the laboring man is kept employed. So our manufacturer should, like the farmer, seek the markets of the world.

Protection will not allow them to do this. Other nations say to America, "Take off the high charges you put upon our products and we will trade with you. We are not going to trade with you unless you will trade with us." This situation is perfectly natural. In another way the interest of the laboring man is identical with that of the farmer. If our protective policy is continued we will lose the foreign markets for our surplus farm products, and as a consequence the farmer will stop producing any surplus. The result will be dearer bread and meat at home, the life food for the laboring man.

Protectionists advise less farmers and no surplus for foreign markets. Agriculture is the dominant business in America. Limit the great surplus, and you cannot avoid dear bread and meat to the non-producer, and this result would strike hard, very hard, at the wood, iron, and steel industries, for this business chiefly consumes the wood manufactures and the iron and steel goods. No surplus would also cut off the flow of millions of dollars of foreign gold and commodities to this country, and our channels of trade would lose a potent power, and all business would recede into narrower circles. A full foreign trade is an element of national strength. It is large and rapid exchanges of the world's commodities, large consignments coming in and equally large ones going out, ever enlivening the channels of trade to the invaluable benefit of labor and the producer.

A PROTECTIVE TARIFF IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose protection upon the ground that it is class legislation. The Federal Constitution gives no power to Congress to favor one class of our people over all others. The only power it confers upon Congress is to make laws to raise revenue. A greater power has been assumed. It is true, for the purpose of protection. This offensive doctrine, carried to its legitimate end, transforms this government into a barefaced institution, scarcely less abhorrent than the despotic governments of Europe. The best minds there are drawn to the side of the prevailing government by official favoritism, which is the act of the government itself. Class favoritism is universal in all the old governments of the East, and it has always been so. The founders of our government knew this well, and they put a limitation upon it in the constitution.

The limitations are that duties shall be levied for revenue, not for protection; and that the States of the Union shall not levy duties upon trade and commerce. The articles of confederation left the power to the States to levy duties for any purpose, be it protection or revenue. When the constitution was formed this general power was transferred to the general government and limited to duties to raise sufficient revenue. A duty is essentially a tax. It is fixed and levied by the law itself. At least it is analogous or equivalent to a tax, and the legal rules governing taxation would apply to duties levied and collected. It is settled by judicial decisions that a tax can not be levied and collected for any other than a public purpose. The principles discussed in the tax cases leave the judicial mind little doubt that they would be applied to the question of duties levied and collected if it should ever come before the courts. In the case of *Loan Association vs. Topeka* (20 Wallace, 663, 664, and 665) chief-justice Miller said:

[Copy of Supreme Court decision.] Of all the powers conferred upon Government that of taxation is most liable to abuse. Given a purpose or object for which taxation may be lawfully used, and the extent of its exercise is in its very nature unlimited. It is true that express limitations on the amount of tax to be levied or the things to be taxed may be imposed by constitution or statute, but in most instances for which taxes are levied, as the support of the government, the national defense, the national education, the national debt, the national resources of the people should in some instances be at the disposal of the government. The power to tax is therefore the strongest, the most pervasive of all the powers of government, reaching directly or indirectly to all classes of the people.

It was said by chief-justice Marshall, in the case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, that the power to tax is the power to destroy. A striking instance of the truth of the proposition is seen in the fact that the tax of 10 per cent. imposed by the United States on the circulation of all other banks than the national banks drove out of existence every State bank of circulation within a year or two after its passage. This power can as readily be employed against one class of individuals as in favor of another, so as to ruin the one class and give unlimited wealth and prosperity to the other, if there is no implied limitation of

the uses for which the power may be exercised.

To lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizen, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation. This is not legislation. It is a decree under legislative form. * * *

We have established, we think beyond cavil, that there can be no lawful tax which is not laid for a public purpose. It is undoubtedly the duty of the Legislature which imposes or authorizes municipalities to impose a tax to see that it is not to be used for purposes of private interest instead of a public use, and the courts can only be justified in interposing when a violation of this principle is clear and the reason for its interference cogent. And in deciding whether in the given case the object for which the taxes are assessed falls upon the one side or the other of this line, they must be governed mainly by the course and usage of the Government, the objects for which taxes have been customarily and by long course of legislation levied, what objects or purposes have been considered necessary to the support and for the proper use of the Government, whether State or municipal. Whatever lawfully remains to this and is sanctioned by time and the acquiescence of the people may well be held to belong to the public use and proper for the maintenance of good government, though this may not be the only criterion of rightful taxation.

But in the case before us, in which the towns are authorized to contribute aid by way of taxation to any class of manufacturers, there is no difficulty in holding that this is not such a public purpose as we have been considering. If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business or pursuit which employs capital or labor. The merchant, the mechanic, the inn-keeper, the banker, the builder, the steamboat owner are equally promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to the importunities of two-thirds of the business men of the city or town.

This position is supported by other courts of the highest character. In the case of the inhabitants of Jay, 69 Maine, 124, it is declared the same doctrine. In the case of *Lowell vs. City of Boston* the supreme court of Massachusetts asserts the same rule. In the case of *Jenkins vs. Anderson*, 103 Massachusetts, 74, the same doctrine is fully recognized. The same principles are stated in *Curtis vs. Whipple* by supreme court of Wisconsin,

24 Wisconsin, 350, and in the subsequent case of *Whitney vs. Fond du Lac* the same principle is considered and reaffirmed. These cases declare the doctrine to be that taxation can be imposed for public purposes only. Protection means taxation for individual purposes. It means taxation of all the people for favored classes.

If this power exists in the constitution, then I submit it can not be withheld in any instance. If this power exists Congress has no discretion whatever in the premises but to obey the constitution for what is the logical result? All that is necessary is for some person to start some business that does not pay, and of itself never will pay, then come to Congress, command it to obey the constitution, get high protective duties imposed equivalent to a high license to stop the world's competition, and compel his neighbors to pay him tribute. If the power to deal out protection exists it must be dealt out to all who may ask for it in any kind of business. Such a construction of the constitution destroys the very object of this Government—equality of the citizen before the law. No reasonable being will hardly take this view of the Constitution.

SWAYNE'S PILLS

KNOWN TO MEN OF FAME AND SCIENCE FOR REMEDY OF ALL IMPURITIES OF THE BLOOD. Acknowledged a Great, Pleasant, and Efficient Cure FOR CONSTIPATION, Stiffness of Stomach, Indigestion, DYSPEPSIA, Stomachic, Sour Belching, Wind, and tenderness at pit of stomach, despondency, LIVER COMPLAINT, Biliousness, Malaria, Chills and Fever, causing sickness in head and also bottom of ribs; weakness, irritability, tongue coated, skin yellow, hot and cold sensations, erysipelas, dry cough, asthmatic and obstructed feeling, irregular pulse, bad colored stools, APOPLEXY, Epilepsy, Paralysis, dizziness, confusion in head, nervousness, flashes of light before eyes, loss of memory. 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