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AMERICAN MARKETS FOR AMERICAN LABOR.

SPEECH

OF

HON. NATHAN GOFF,
OF WEST VIRGINIA,

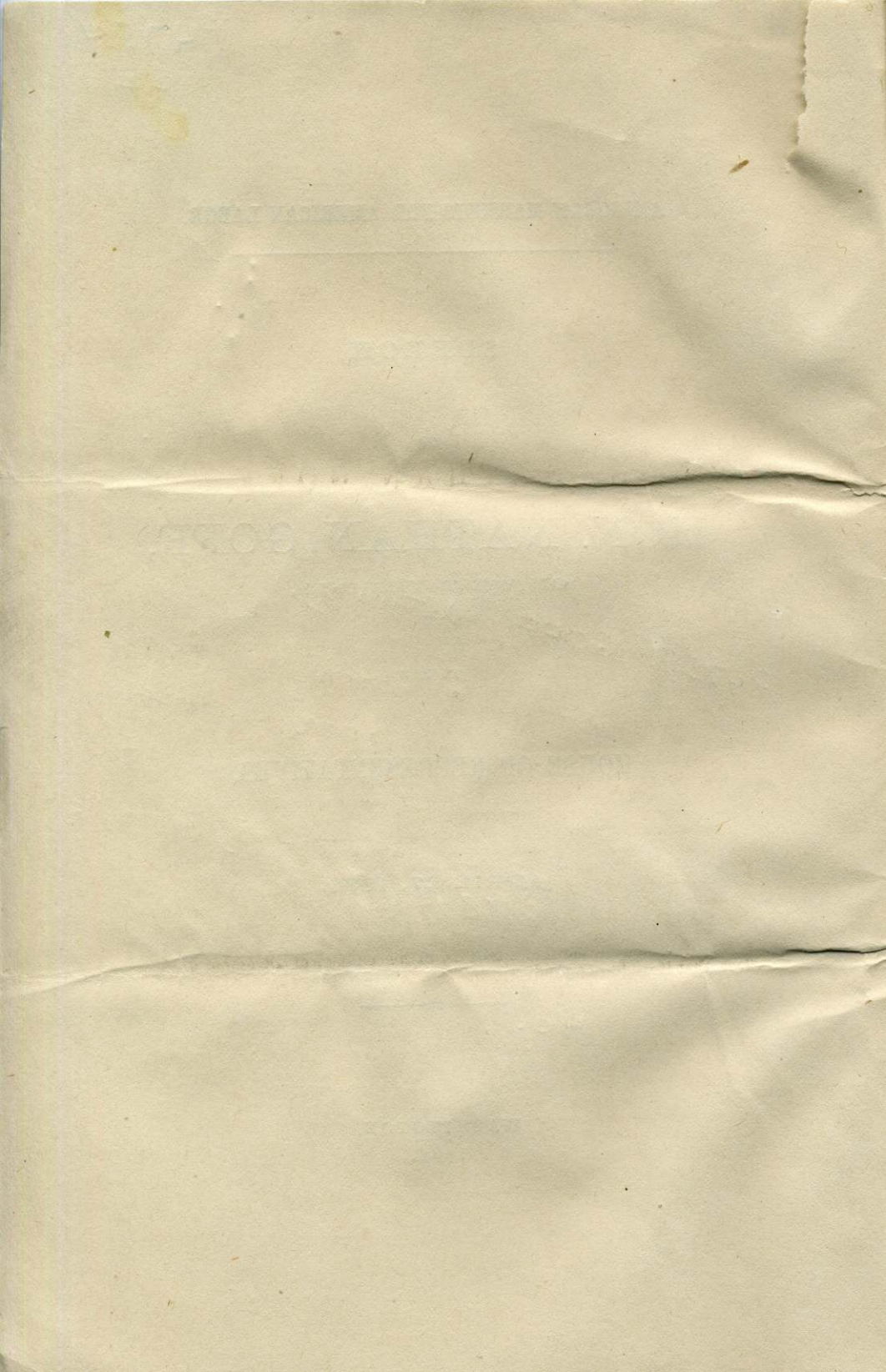
IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

APRIL 27, 1888.



WASHINGTON.
1888.



American Markets for American Labor.

S P E E C H

OF

H O N . N A T H A N G O F F .

The House being in Committee of the Whole 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. GOFF said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I will not vote for this bill. I trust it not will become a law. It is entitled "A bill to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue." In my opinion, should it become a law it will not reduce taxation, it will not decrease the revenue, nor will it simplify the manner of collecting it. It will change the articles on which revenue is collected, but it will increase in the aggregate the revenue therefrom so far as customs duties are concerned. In other words, the reduction occasioned by the transfer of articles now on the dutiable to the free list will be overcome by the increased importation of those articles on which the rates have been reduced. Our experience of the past few years demonstrates this to be true. That we have a surplus revenue and that it should be reduced all will concede. How is the reduction to be made? That is the controversy. I would make it in a spirit of fairness to all our interests and with a desire to protect our agricultural, mining, and manufacturing industries and the labor and capital employed therein, and not with a declaration of war against them all, as I find in the Mills bill, now under consideration. This reduction should be made by the friends of the protective system, not by its avowed enemies.

The President in substance tells us, in his message of December 6 last, that if we have an industry in our midst that after years of trial, with the aid of our tariff system, has succeeded in standing erect, and contending with the incoming waves of the world's competition, at the same time furnishing our people with cheaper and better fabrics than they ever had before, that, to use his language—

It is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

In other words, when, after long years of bitter struggle, the victory is ours, the general in command of our conquering forces, because of our success, surrenders us to the defeated foe. Just as we have completed the beautiful structure at which we have been engaged for years, and

the people are about to fully enjoy the labor of their lives, one who by the strange mutations of political forces temporarily holds the position of architect-in-chief of the edifice, astounds us with an order to proceed with the work of tearing it down.

The moment one of our industries is self-sustaining, is in a healthy condition, the hum of its machinery making constant and attractive music to the ear of its labor, then it invites thereby and receives the President's enmity, and he at once suggests the pruning knife of the tariff reformer's law. This portion of President Cleveland's message, for cold-blooded indifference to the interests of the people and for active and bitter opposition to the great system by which they have prospered and their country grown great, is entitled to precedence over all emanations from the Executive Mansion in all our history. In this is he isolated, alone in his suggestion, entitled to and deserving of the fame it will bring. From such a spirit as this, dominating as it does almost with a single impulse the Democratic side of this House, I would save our industries and our homes. The Mills bill was conceived by minds impregnated with this economic viciousness, and its friends, in the wild zeal of their impetuous advocacy, in fulfillment of the old adage, "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad," cite it as its chief merit.

The passage of this bill will be the death knell of protection. While it is not all that its friends hoped for, it is in the line of legislation they long have sought, and mourned because they found it not. If they succeed now they propose next year to take another step, and gradually but surely we are to be marched into the camp of those who contend for "a tariff for revenue only;" and that system, so far as our labor is involved, so far as our industries are concerned, is as bad as free trade. We learn from the report of the Committee on Ways and Means, in respect to this measure, that by it we are "starting" on the policy which transfers "many articles from the dutiable to the free list," the system that favors "free raw material," the method of revenue reform suggested by President Cleveland in his last annual message, and favored by the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee.

We find this bill places on the free-list timber, unmanufactured wood, sawed boards, staves of wood, shingles, logs, salt, flax, hemp, tin plates and sheet iron, glue, china clay, vegetables, lime, wool, and many other articles not necessary now to mention, but of importance, all enumerated in the bill. The import duties on cotton goods, woollens, glass-ware, china and earthen ware, iron, steel and the manufactures thereof, are largely reduced. Various other reductions are made, seriously affecting many of our valuable industries.

We are advised by the committee that their bill "is not offered as a perfect measure;" that "many articles are left subject to duty which might well be transferred to the free-list;" and that "many articles are left subject to rates of duty which might well be lessened." From the argument of the committee we find that coal and iron ore are among the articles which might well be transferred to the free-list, and that woolen and cotton goods, earthen and glass ware, iron, steel and the manufactures thereof, are of those articles "the rates of duty on which might well be lessened." It is therefore evident that it is the intention of the Democratic majority to destroy the "system of protection;" to repeal the laws under which our manufacturing establishments have been built up; by which our labor has found employment and become expert; through which our agriculturists have found a market for the

products of their farms, and by virtue of which we are strong as a nation and prosperous as a people. I do not believe with President Cleveland, with Mr. Speaker CARLISLE, with the Ways and Means Committee, that our protective tariff laws are "vicious, inequitable, and illogical." I am a protectionist, a believer in the system of a high protective tariff. I am for legislating in favor of my country, her industries, and her institutions, first, last, all the time. I believe in the old Bible doctrine that "he who provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel." [Applause.]

While my sympathies go out to the oppressed, to the distressed of all lands, my duty is with the toiling millions of my native land who labor that they may live, who in factories, mills, and by furnace doors, who in mines, shops, fields, and forests, who in many and varied honest and honorable ways earn sustenance for themselves and their loved ones by the sweat of their faces, as by the Divine command it was ordained.

I believe in the system of our fathers, in the theory as enunciated by the founders of the Republic, by the framers of our Constitution. I believe that our first Congress was right when it enacted our first protective tariff law, and I think that this, the Fiftieth Congress, is wrong when it endeavors to repeal it. I believe that George Washington, our first President, was grandly right when he advised the enactment of and approved our first tariff law, and I think that Grover Cleveland, our present—and I hope our last—free-trade President, is shamefully wrong when he not only suggests, but uses the power of his great office to secure the destruction of our present tariff system. The history of my country teaches me that Hamilton, our first Secretary of the Treasury, was true to the best interests of our people when he drafted our first protective law, and forces me to conclude that Fairchild, our present Secretary, is false to the trust confided to him when he formulates the present measure.

I believe that Madison, the expounder of our Constitution, was right. When speaking of our protective system he said: "Upon this question we are all Federalists, we are all Republicans." I wish we could say to-day on this question of protection to our industries, our labor, our homes, our flag, we are all Republicans, we are all Democrats. Unfortunately, we can not say so. Our Democratic opponents have raised this issue, and it is best that it should now be squarely met. They elected Mr. CARLISLE the Speaker of this House on this issue, and he organized the Ways and Means Committee in furtherance of it. The Secretary of the Treasury in his last annual report devotes himself to an exposition of the beauties of "revenue reform," and the President in his message, ignoring the pledges of his party as we are told they are set forth in the platform announced when he was nominated, makes war on the system he had promised to defend, which promise to a confiding people made his election possible, and, false to his plighted faith, declares the laws he had pretended to believe in "vicious, inequitable, and illogical."

Democratic orators in my State, in yours, Mr. Chairman, all over the land, declared that the Democratic platform meant protection to our labor and our manufacturers, and that Mr. Cleveland was as good a protectionist as Mr. Blaine. Some of them likely believed it. Many of them more than likely did not. I believe my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] did believe it. How terribly was he deceived? How rudely was he awakened from his dream we know by what he has said and done. By this false claim did they win. By this did the

candidate without a record defeat the brilliant champion of the people's cause, as did another comparatively unknown candidate, with the cry of "Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of '42," defeat the matchless "Harry of the West," the great commoner whose name and fame we all respect.

Mr. Chairman, "the hand of Esau" will be offered again. Democracy will "put on the very good garments" of Republicanism once more, which she "keeps at home" with her, and "the little skins of the kids" she will put about her hands "and cover the bare of her neck" with them, and she will be able to truly say, "That what I sought came quickly in my way." [Laughter.] And when she is asked, "Art thou in favor of protection?" she will answer, "I am." The voice will be the voice of Jacob, but the device will not deceive this time. The people will not bless, nor serve, nor worship thy party this time. Mr. Chairman, when it comes near to them, the smell of its record will not be "as the smell of a plentiful field which the Lord hath blessed." It can not come again deceitfully and get the votes of the people. They have found it out at last. It has taken them some time to do so, but the revelation is now complete. President Lincoln once said:

A political party may fool part of the people all the time, and all the people part of the time; but no political party can fool all the people all the time.

Mr. Chairman, what is "the tariff?" It is a duty upon articles of merchandise shipped from one country to another, imposed and collected by the government of that country to which the articles are sent. A protective tariff is one where the duty so imposed is sufficiently high to prevent the foreign manufacturer from selling his wares, after paying the duty, at a price low enough to destroy the manufacturer and deprive labor of employment where the duty is imposed. It should be high enough to cover the difference between the cost of labor and material in the country where manufactured and that to which shipped. In our case I would have it a little higher, so as to give our country the advantage. There is nothing wrong in that, is there? If so, I will bear it, for I am for my country all the time.

Now what is a revenue tariff, or, as our Democratic friends say, "a tariff for revenue only?" It is a duty levied upon foreign imports for the purpose only of raising revenue. It entirely ignores protection; it seeks revenue. It begs the foreign manufacturer to fill our ports and flood our land with his wares in order that we may collect revenue from him on their account. By such means we secure a surplus of revenue, not of prosperity. As I understand it, a tariff for revenue is so adjusted as to encourage importations; while a protective tariff is so arranged as to discourage and retard the importation of foreign manufactures.

Mr. Chairman, I trust we will never again have a "tariff for revenue only" in force in this country. We have tried it several times, to our sorrow. We tried it from 1846 to 1861 to our detriment. Mr. Chairman, can you remember those days? They were days of trouble, anxiety, ruin, panic, and bankruptcy. I know, sir, you truly hope that those hard times "will come not again around our cabin doors."

Mr. Chairman, I can remember the incidents, the condition of affairs during a portion of that gloomy period of our history. My first impressions of public affairs, of political matters, were formed then. My lines had fallen unto me in a land, a State, rich in soil, lovely in climate, abounding in minerals, as fair a heritage as had ever been given to the children of men. I wondered why Virginia, "in the race of

life," had been surpassed by other sections of my country not so highly favored by nature. Before I had traveled far on the pathway of my manhood I found the cause. It left its imprints everywhere, it poisoned everything. It was slavery, and a tariff for revenue in order that slavery might live. Mr. Chairman, we never had a "tariff-for-revenue," free-trade party in this country until the discovery of the cotton-gin led the owners of slaves to believe that in raising cotton slavery could be made profitable. The idea was to make large profits by importing such articles as the condition of slavery required free of duty, and selling cotton raised with cheap slave labor at high prices. Down to that time the statesmen of the South had been protectionists, John C. Calhoun at their head. But the alluring grandeur of the political Utopia I have mentioned was irresistible. The structure they had helped to raise was destroyed by their own hands.

The protective-tariff system existing previous to and during 1828 was attacked and overthrown. It was the declaration of war between slavery and free labor. The result we know and see and feel. Thank God, the foot of a slave will never again desecrate the soil of the Union. [Applause.] Now let us see to it that the labor of cheap foreign slavery does not render useless the liberty and freedom so won.

Mr. Chairman, can a nation be truly great and really independent unless it have within itself the means of support in war and in peace, unless it can clothe, feed, and manufacture for its people? I think not. In our case the best way to secure that is by a protective tariff, is by fostering and protecting our grand home market. The friends of this bill, in order to reach what they call the "markets of the world," would surrender our home market. Our own market is worth more than all the markets of all the world.

The chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, in his speech in support of his bill, tells us that our capacity to produce manufactures "is far in excess of the requirements of our home consumption," and that we should seek the markets of the world. Mr. Chairman, where is this foreign market, this "will-o'-the-wisp" of which the revenue reformer talks so much, but always fails to locate? Why did not Mr. Chairman MILLS locate it? He could not; he can not. He contents himself with such expressions as "in foreign countries," "the markets of the world." Where will we sell our woolen goods, our cottons, silks, iron, boots, and shoes? Are we to destroy our "protection" and then contend with the "protection" the nations of the world have surrounded themselves with? Most all the countries "of the world," the markets of which we are told we should seek, have protective laws, England not excepted. Canada, France, Spain, Germany, Russia, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Austria, Victoria, and Chili have tariff laws, some as high as from 30 to 40 per cent. ad valorem, while Newfoundland, Belgium, Greece, Holland, New Zealand, Turkey, and many of the islands of the sea have rates from 10 to 20 per cent. Our markets are to be made comparatively free, Mr. Chairman, while the markets of the world are to remain protected. Are we to invade England and undersell her manufacturers? England has more than she wants now. Her warehouses are full to overflowing, her markets glutted, her factories idle, her working people hungry. You will not go to France, Germany, and Belgium, will you? It may seem strange, but it is true that those countries have now driven England to the wall with the products of their cheap toil.

Will you go to Ireland for a market? Better go there for a warning.

The industries of Ireland were once comparatively as prosperous as ours are now. Now she has neither home industries, home markets, nor home rule. She was forced to cease manufacturing and to purchase from England, to accept British free trade, to become the victim of the English system. The silk trade of her city of Dublin was once her glory; it has ceased to be. The lace trade of Limerick and the woolen trade of Waterford and Cork sent the fame of the Irish manufacturers to all lands; and now all lands, save British lands, mourn for the desolation of Limerick, of Waterford, and of Cork. The blanket factories of far-famed Kilkenny once commanded the markets of the world, and now no market, not one, knows them. England has them all.

Will you go to Spain, Italy, Russia, and India? Not there, I pray you. God save the free people of my native land from such competition, from such degradation! [Applause.]

We can only reach those markets by reducing our labor, not to the level of, but below the labor of those countries. And so it is with the markets of the world that we find out on the sea. We are different from all other countries in habits, institutions, inclinations, education, resources, and capabilities. Will our friends on the other side of this Chamber never realize this? The nation does not exist, the people do not live to whom, with whom, we can be compared and found upon the same plane. By the protective system we have become the grandest nation on earth, a nation of freemen, whose army of expert, educated, liberty-loving toilers, is the hope of its future and the pride of its civilization, and whose 60,000,000 citizens, monarchs all, supreme in their happy homes, governed by impartial laws, dread no master, fear no king, and kneel to none but their God. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I do not want to tear down the walls of protection; I do want to build them up. I do not want to open our ports to the miserably paid and poorly fed labor of the world, but I do want to open our manufacturing establishments to all of our own labor. I am opposed to importing, under contract, the pauper and demoralized labor of the Old World; and I am also opposed to importing, under like contract, the manufactured product of that labor. The one is as bad as the other. I call the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Labor to the fact that it is proposed by this bill to flood this land from mountain to gulf, and ocean to ocean, with the products of the cheap, pauper, convict, contract labor of the world. I trust that he and his able lieutenants, who so zealously and jealously guard the interest of labor on this floor; will ring the alarm and prevent it. He will find this side of the House supporting him unanimously.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe in importing "raw material," as it is called, free, but I do believe in employing our own unemployed in utilizing our own "raw material." I do not want this nation to be like other nations; I would rather have it distinctively and especially American. I do not want to increase the "surplus" by reducing import duties. I would rather reduce it by repealing internal-revenue taxes and increasing import duties.

Mr. Chairman, is the Ways and Means Committee correct when it reports that "our capacity to produce is far in excess of the requirements of our home consumption?" Does the fact cited that "many of our mills are closed and many of those still in operation are running on short time" prove that allegation? Surely not.

That simply proves that the people have not confidence in, that they

fear and dread to trust the present Administration. That proves, not overproduction, but overimportation. During the last fiscal year we imported of "iron and the manufactures of," of "wool and the manufactures of," of "cotton and the manufactures of," of "tin-plate and the manufactures of," of "glass, earthenware, and china," to the value of over \$200,000,000. Most all of it could have been and should have been manufactured here; thereby we would have used our own material, employed our own labor, kept "many of our mills from closing, and prevented many of those still in operation from running on short time." I quote now from the report made by Mr. MILLS, and apply it to the situation I have mentioned:

This condition is hurtful to the manufacturer, to the laborer, and producer of the materials consumed in manufacture. The manufacturer loses the profit on his capital, the laborer loses his wages, and the producer of the materials consumed in manufacture loses the market for his products.

Mr. Chairman, every period of protection in the history of our country has given it prosperity; every era of tariff for revenue has brought to it disaster. President Cleveland's message is cited in this debate as worthy of our serious consideration, as a text from the political gospel from which to exhort. Let me cite you from the messages of other Presidents. Likely they were not as profound students of the science of political economy as is the present Executive, but they certainly were as ardent in their love of country and as devoted to its interests.

President Jackson, in his message of December 4, 1832, said:

Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity and happiness, unequalled, perhaps, in any other portion of the world. If we fully appreciate our comparative condition, existing causes of discontent will appear unworthy of attention, and with hearts of thankfulness to that Divine Being who has filled our cup of prosperity, we shall feel our resolution strengthened to preserve and hand down to posterity that liberty and that union which we have received from our fathers, and which constitute the source and shield of all our blessings.

* * * The report which the Secretary of the Treasury will in due time lay before you will exhibit the national finances in a highly prosperous state.

Remember, if you please, Mr. Chairman, that this epitome was written by a Democratic President "of Jeffersonian simplicity," and during the highest protection period of our history, to that date. After that came the "revenue only tariff," the compromise tariff, from 1833 to 1842. By virtue of it our industries were paralyzed, our capital unemployed, our labor idle. Our importers were busy, and foreign manufacturers supplied our markets. Our own establishments for manufacturing were closed and our consumers paid higher for necessaries than ever before. Our people tasted of the very dregs of the bitter cup of "revenue reform." The burden was greater than they could bear, and they re-enacted the protective policy in 1842. This is what President Polk said of the situation under that enactment. I read from his message of December 8, 1846:

Since your last session no afflicting dispensation has visited our country; general good health has prevailed; abundance has crowned the toil of the husbandman; and labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward, while education, science, and the arts are rapidly enlarging the means of social happiness. The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of our territorial limits and the rapid increase of our population, but in resources and wealth, and in the happy condition of our people, is without an example in the history of nations.

Then came the repeal of the act of 1842. Although "Polk and Dallas" had been elected as friends of that measure, Dallas cast the vote that destroyed it, and we had the revenue tariff of 1846, known as the "Walker

act." From another like it, "Good Lord, deliver us." A few years after its enactment, and while it was still in force, President Fillmore said—I quote from his message of December 2, 1851. To this I particularly request the attention of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS], who stated in his speech a few days since that the passage of the pending bill would benefit the farmers of this country by stimulating the exportation of grain. President Fillmore said:

The value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large importations from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from \$68,701,921 in 1847, to \$26,051,373 in 1850, and to \$21,848,663 in 1851, with a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of a still further reduction in the current year. * * * The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country by increasing the demand and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets. The foregoing facts, however, seem to show inconceivably that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy.

Again do I quote from President Fillmore, from his message of December 6, 1852:

Without repeating the arguments contained in my former message in favor of discriminating protective duties I deem it my duty to call your attention to one or two other considerations affecting this subject. The first is the effect of large importations of foreign goods upon our currency. Most of the gold of California, as fast as it is coined, finds its way directly to Europe in payment for goods purchased. In the second place, as our manufacturing establishments are broken down by competition with foreigners, the capital invested in them is lost, thousands of honest and industrious citizens are thrown out of employment, and the farmer to that extent is deprived of a home market for the sale of his surplus produce. In the third place, the destruction of our manufactures leaves the foreigner without competition in our market, and he consequently raises the price of the article sent here for sale, as is now seen in the increased cost of iron imported from England.

Mr. Chairman, the inevitable result of a tariff for revenue followed. The condition of our country was most deplorable; sad, beyond description. If my friends on the other side take exceptions to my citations from President Fillmore, because he did not agree with them politically, nor believe in the doctrine that they now advocate, I beg them to remember that I have also quoted Presidents Jackson and Polk to the like effect, and surely their testimony should be "gilt-edged" to my Bourbon friends of the Cleveland persuasion. But if they still demur, if they are not yet convinced of the error of their ways, I offer them the following, from one who moved for many years as a chieftain among the captains in the camps of Democracy. They are also the words of a President, one who had achieved the great ambition of his life, and one who from his high position seemed to realize that after all that life was a failure, and that the great party whose battles he had fought, whose victories he had won, and whose honors he had worn, stood for principles utterly destructive of the interests of the confiding people whose destinies were in its keeping, and who in sorrow and much tribulation turned to him for relief. I read from the message of President Buchanan to the Congress, dated December 8, 1857.

The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and until within a brief period our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. 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.

Mr. Chairman, we will change the scene now. After Buchanan came the grandest statesman of our civilization, he who did so much for his country, for liberty, and the Union—Abraham Lincoln—and with him came the Republican party, and with it protection to our industries, our homes, our flag; and since then we have prospered as never before has nation prospered. We will prove it from the pages of our census reports. Let them tell the magical story. I shall use here the statistics cited in my address before the Home Market Club, at Boston, a few weeks since, from which I have already quoted.

In 1860 the value of our real estate was \$6,973,006,049; in 1880 it was \$13,036,512,952, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. In 1860 we had in the United States 163,110,720 acres of improved land, while in 1880 we had 287,211,845 acres, an increase of 76 per cent. In 1860 our farms were valued at \$3,200,000,000; in 1880 at \$10,197,000,000, an increase of over 300 per cent. In 1860 our farmers raised 173,104,924 bushels of wheat—in tariff-for-revenue times—and found comparatively a poor market for it; while in 1880 they raised 498,549,868 bushels of wheat—in protective-tariff times—and every peck of it was in demand at a good price. In 1860 they produced 838,794,742 bushels of corn, while in 1880 they raised of corn 1,717,434,543 bushels. These figures relative to our grain are actually bewildering—an increase exceeding the entire production of 1860. A magnificent showing for our agriculturists. And they had a splendid home market for it. Destroy that market and where will they sell? Foreign countries bought all they wanted, all they needed of us, not exceeding 8 per cent. of our crops.

They did not buy because we had to sell, but because they were hungry. We sold the greater part of that small per cent. to England. She is peculiarly situated, a manufacturing hive. Her agriculturists can not feed her artisans. England must go abroad for food. Providing for the future, she has lately expended millions of dollars in constructing railroads to the interior wheat fields of India, where the soil is rich beyond description, and where labor is satisfied with 8 cents a day. This is the competition the American farmer would meet with abroad; this is the competition that regulates the price of wheat in Liverpool. Our farmers are well aware of this, and they realize that the market for their surplus productions is not on the sea, competing with India, with Russia, with Australia, but is at home supplying our protected industries.

In 1860 we produced 5,056,383 bales of cotton, and in 1880, 7,110,717, an increase of, say, 41 per cent.; and still those who live where cotton was king want to go back to the old régime. They remind us of those eminently respectable people mentioned in English history who "would rather die on precedent than live on innovation."

In 1860 we manufactured of cotton goods to the value of \$115,681,774, while in 1880 we manufactured of the same articles to the value of \$210,950,383, an increase of, say, 82 per cent.

In 1860 we manufactured of woolen goods to the value of \$61,894,986, while in 1880 like manufactures had grown to the value of \$267,699,504, an increase of \$205,804,518—of, say, 333 per cent.

In 1860 we produced 60,264,913 pounds of wool, while in 1880 we clipped 240,213,817 pounds, an increase of 179,948,904 pounds—of, say, 298 per cent.—and all woolen goods cheaper and better than ever before. And still wool, by the bill under consideration, goes on the free-list.

In 1860 we mined and consumed 15,173,409 tons of coal; in 1880 we used 79,505,000 tons, an increase of 427 per cent. Mr. Chairman, it

is pleasant to contemplate the labor employed in mining and using that coal. In opening the mines, in building railroads to them, in digging iron ore, making it into rails for the roads and the mines, in making chains, picks, cars, engines, and other things too numerous to mention. And, Mr. Chairman, remember that all those so laboring were utilizing the cotton and woolen goods, hats, boots, and other articles manufactured at our protected establishments, and they in turn were consuming the coal so mined, and all were making a market for the products of our farms.

In 1860 we made only 987,559 tons of pig iron, while in 1880 we made 3,835,191 tons. In 1860 we made 235,107 tons of railroad rails, and in 1880 we made 1,208,392 tons. Yet still we import large quantities from abroad. In this land of rich ores, coal, and limestone, with willing, expert labor, we ought to make it all. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see the American market given to American labor.

In 1860 our grand aggregate of national wealth was \$16,159,616,068, while in 1880 it was \$43,642,000,000, the increase alone nearly twice as much as had been accumulated from the time the continent was discovered down to 1860, as much twice over in twenty years of Republican protection as in the preceding three hundred and sixty-eight years. And, Mr. Chairman, all this has been accomplished under "vicious, inequitable, and illogical" laws, if President Cleveland is right—all this magical change produced without Mr. Chairman MILLS's "free raw material." Mr. Chairman, this cry for "free raw material" is a delusion, a miserable sham; there is no such thing in the sense it has been used in this discussion. Out in West Virginia, in the interior of that State, away from railroads, inaccessible to-day, in our primeval forests, we have mountains of timber, iron ore, limestone, and coal. It is "raw material" now, as it was a thousand years ago.

Our people, and your people, Mr. Chairman, are constructing railroads into those forests, into that land of wondrous mineral wealth, are opening up mines, building furnaces, conquering the wilderness. This can only be done by virtue of a protective tariff. The coal in our mountains, before the mine is opened, is "raw material;" at the mine's opening, on the cars, or in the barge, it is the miner's finished product. The ore dug from the "hole in the ground" is the ore-miner's finished product, the result of his labor, of brawn and sweat, and as much entitled to protection as is the rice and sugar from our plantations or the finished articles from our mills. The tree in the forest is the "raw material" of the lumberman, and when his capital and labor cuts it into logs it is then his finished product, and becomes the sawyer's "raw material." The sawyer runs it into lumber to suit the requirements of our various consumers, and it is still "raw material," until from the hands of our skilled laborers and expert toilers, it becomes, in desk, in chair, in house, in car, in many useful utensils and numerous objects of beauty and of art, the finished product of our wonderful industries.

The wool as clipped from our flocks is not raw material—it is the farmer's finished product; and unless I misread the signs of the times the farmers intend that it shall be protected. The bill under consideration places it on the free-list; President Cleveland so advises; the Democratic majority in this House agrees with him. To do so will destroy the wool industry of this nation, which is the sixth in order of value of our agricultural products—those excelling being corn, hay, wheat, cotton, and oats. Australia is the only country in the world excelling us in the quantity of wool produced—and with that country

must our farmers compete if wool goes on the free-list—and in that country labor receives and is satisfied with 8 cents per day. Never by my vote shall the American farmer, shall the flock-masters of the Union be placed on that level, be brought to that degradation. [Applause.]

Already, since the agitation of this question, since the effort made to pass the "Morrison horizontal reduction bill" in the Forty-eighth Congress, has this great industry been seriously injured. In 1883 our flocks, encouraged by the tariff of 1867, numbered over 50,000,000 sheep and produced of wool 308,000,000 pounds. In 1887 the number of sheep had been reduced to about 45,000,000, and the product in pounds in the same proportion. We should restore the duty of 1867, increasing it where necessary, and stimulate this industry so essential to our prosperity as a people, our independence as a nation, and not entirely eradicate it, as we will do by the passage of this bill.

Another great industry, the pottery, will be seriously injured if this bill becomes a law. Under a protective tariff its growth has been extraordinary, presenting one of the remarkable examples of the industrial development inaugurated by the Republican party. Previous to 1861, while we had common or brown earthenware, we virtually had no whiteware potteries. We now have them in many of the States, those in Massachusetts, New York, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and West Virginia being of especial excellence, producing wares of the finest quality, equaled by but few, excelled by none. They consume the coal, clay, flint, and feldspar found in many sections of the country, furnishing employment to about 20,000 laborers and support to fully 60,000 of our population, and largely benefiting the entire communities where the potteries and mines are located, and, besides, the consumer of those wares secures better articles and pays less for them than ever before. But the bill under consideration, regardless of these facts, disregarding this great and necessary industry, materially reduces the tariff rates and encourages the importation of foreign wares produced by labor paid on the average at least 50 per cent. less than our labor so employed receives. Why this should be proposed is incomprehensible to me. It will seriously injure our own industry, largely increase foreign importations, and, instead of decreasing, materially increase the revenue from these articles and add to the "surplus" now in the Treasury.

And still, Mr. Chairman, this measure is offered by gentlemen who in political agony cry out, "What shall we do with the surplus?" The question is not hard to answer. Pay our debts with it. Build ourselves a navy with it. Improve our rivers and harbors. Construct coast defenses. Educate our children. Pension the veteran, maimed, and suffering heroes who by their patriotism and their devotion to duty made it possible for us to have a country and a surplus. [Applause.] Provide for the widows, orphans, and dependent parents of those who in their strong manhood shouted in reply to the nation's cry for help, "We are coming, Father Abraham, six hundred thousand more," and who battled for the grandest cause for which men have contended since time was. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, we must not destroy our protective system. It has accomplished wonders. It has pleasant surprises still in store for us. It has enabled us to perfect our grand system of finance, the marvel of the world, and has caused our credit to shine with the sun of civilization. It has fostered our industries, built up our manufactories, and opened

our wilderness. It has elevated our manhood, dignified our labor, and educated our people. It has made our valleys to laugh in their gladness, and, touching our barren mountain sides, has caused "the waters of commercial prosperity to flow o'er all the land." It has made the flag of our nation typify all that is great of human action, all that is grand of human thought. God only knows what it would not do for us, Mr. Chairman, if President Cleveland and his party would only let it alone. [Great applause.]

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