

and reared under every form of government. And yet with remarkable unanimity again and again have our citizens, resting from toil beneath the wide-spread branches of the tree of liberty, pronounced in favor of protection to American labor and home industries. With it they have builded themselves homes on their little plots of ground purchased with the savings of honest, well-paid toil. With it they have educated their children and watched them in a career of prosperity, usefulness, and honor. With it they have seen the plains spanned with iron bands, the caverns of the mountains explored, and their rich treasures of coal, iron, silver, and gold brought forth to enrich labor and add to the glory of the nation. With it they have seen the arts and sciences making rapid progress and the inventive skill and genius of man developed to a most high degree. With it they have seen this country rise in the scale of nations and take rank with the first powers of the earth. [Applause.] Without it they would tremble for her future and herald its abandonment as an indication of approaching decay. Under our present policy they enjoy prosperity and feel the inspiration of assured success. They will abandon it for no experiment, nor under bright skies, with fair breezes, an open sea, and an experienced crew will they be tempted to surrender the guidance of the ship of state to a free-trade pilot, whose avowed object is to guide her course among the rocks and shoals of an unknown sea. [Continued applause.]

Mr. ADAMS, of New York. Mr. Chairman, I desire a moment only in order to put on the records of this House some facts that may go down side by side with the fictions which have been uttered here this evening by the gentleman from New York. I desire to read from the work entitled "Wages and trade," by Mr. Schoenhof, of New York, one of the largest woolen manufacturers of this country, and the statistics which he gives are compiled from French and English sources, and also the official statistics of our consuls abroad furnished to this Government. On page 8 of his work he uses this language:

It will be seen from the table that England pays more than any of its two principal continental competitors, Germany and France. The industrial development of all other nations, excepting Belgium and Switzerland perhaps, is far behind either. I take Germany and France, therefore, as examples. English wages are fully 50 per cent. above those of Germany, and on the average at least 30 per cent. above those of France. Besides, the English working week is one of fifty-six hours, while that of Germany is from sixty-six to seventy-two (often seventy-eight) hours, and that of France of seventy-two hours. Yet they all guard themselves by protective tariffs, not against their weaker rivals, but against the very country which pays the highest wages and has the shortest hours.

Now, for the benefit of the distinguished gentleman from New York, let me put on the records of this House also the indelible fact that England's exports of cottons alone in 1881 amounted to the large sum of \$380,000,000, while this great American nation of ours, with its 55,000,000 of free people and its protective tariff system, exported only \$13,000,000 altogether, making \$367,000,000 for England in excess of the United States. And in her woolen goods and yarns let me also give the statistics of her exports. England of these articles exported \$103,000,000, while the United States exported four hundred thousand dollars' worth only. To the shame of our people be it said that we exported only that amount in comparison.

I think, Mr. Chairman, the figures that I have read will convince the gentleman that probably the moon may even be made of green cheese; and that the members of this side of the House who have read something about this question need to be answered in a different manner when they ask a financial, a practical, or historical question. [Applause.]

Mr. MORRISON. I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. MATSON having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. HALSELL reported that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union having had under consideration the tariff bill, had come to no resolution thereon.

And then, on motion of Mr. MORRISON (at 9 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CANDLER: Petition of citizens of White County, Georgia, for national aid to education—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. CANNON: Memorial of the Grand Army of the Republic, Ridge Farm, Ill., for amendment to the pension laws—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COOK: Petition of members of the James P. Milligan Post, No. 257, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Iowa, in relation to pensions, bounty, &c.—to the Select Committee on Payment of Pensions, Bounty, and Back Pay.

Also, petition of T. J. McNabb and 86 others, relative to the building of a double-track railway from New York to San Francisco, &c.—to the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of Charles A. Bradish, A. Smalley Wilkinson, and 28 others, members of F. M. Lane Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Ransom, Ill., relative to pensions, &c.—to the Select Committee on Payment of Pensions, Bounty, and Back Pay.

By Mr. CURTIN: The petition of Elizabeth Latshaw, relative to pensions—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. DUNCAN: Petition of Post No. 99, Grand Army of the Republic, of Hanover, Pa., to grant pensions to all soldiers and sailors who served sixty days in the late war—to the same committee.

By Mr. ELLIS: Papers relating to the claim of Mrs. Daniel Fairex—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. FIEDLER: Petition of Charles Heise, William J. Reeves, and about 500 others, wage-workers of Newark, N. J., relative to the Chinese restriction act—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FINERTY: Petition from officers of the United States Army, Fort Snelling, Minn., asking for the passage of H. R. 3117 and 3118—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GLASCOCK: Concurrent resolution of the Legislature of California, relative to the establishment of experimental stations in connection with the agricultural college—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HARMER: Memorial of officers stationed at Cantonment Uncompahgre, Colo., favoring the passage of H. R. 2613—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HART: Papers relating to the pension claim of Capt. H. S. Sayres—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HUNT: Memorial of the Louisiana Educational Society—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. MORRILL: Petition of Kennedy Post, No. 292, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, asking for a pension for all soldiers of the late war—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SHELLEY: Petition of citizens of Selma, Ala., for the passage of the Blair educational bill—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. T. G. SKINNER: Petition of J. B. Watson and others, for educational aid—to the same committee.

By Mr. SPRINGER: Memorial of citizens of Illinois, asking the granting of a pension to Eliza A. Moses, widow of Capt. John C. Moses—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WOOD: Petition of citizens of Logansport, Ind., asking for a pension for Thomas Regan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. YORK: Petition of citizens of Davie County, North Carolina, asking aid for school purposes—to the Committee on Education.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, May 1, 1884.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. E. D. HUNTLEY, D. D.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

Mr. ALLISON called the Senate to order, and the Secretary read the following letter:

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER, Washington, May 1, 1884.

To the Senate:

Pursuant to the rules I hereby name and designate Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, a Senator from the State of Iowa, to perform the duties of the Chair in my absence this day.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS,
President *pro tempore*.

Thereupon Mr. ALLISON took the chair as Presiding Officer for to-day.

THE JOURNAL.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following joint resolutions received yesterday from the House of Representatives were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

Joint resolution (H. Res. 179) authorizing the President of the United States to appoint from the sergeants of the Signal Corps two second lieutenants; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 209) granting the use of cannon, tents, and muskets to ex-Union soldiers for reunion purposes.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLISON in the chair) laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report of Maj. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock concerning the estimate for extra-duty pay due the enlisted men at Headquarters, Division of the Atlantic; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

DOCUMENTS FOR SENATE LIBRARY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following communication; which was read, and referred to the Committee on the Library:

UNITED STATES SENATE LIBRARY,
Washington, April 30, 1884.

DEAR SIR: I desire to call your attention to the fact that the Senate Library does not possess a single copy of either of the first four volumes of the Compilation of the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, now publishing by order of Congress.

These volumes were distributed through the folding-room of the Senate, and for some cause no provision was made for a supply of them to this library. There

is a sufficient number of the subsequent volumes for our purposes, but as the work is an important one the library should not be without some complete sets of it. Whether these can be procured I am not advised. I have endeavored without success, through the Secretary of the Senate, to procure them from the War Department, and not knowing where else to apply I refer the matter to yourself. Five copies of the volumes will supply our wants.

Respectfully yours,

A. W. CHURCH,
Assistant Librarian, Senate Library.

Hon. GEORGE F. EDMUNDS,
President pro tempore, Senate of the United States.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had concurred in the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. Res. 236) authorizing the Secretary of War to loan two hundred flags to the city of Charlotte, N. C., for the celebration of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER presented the petition of John W. Geary Post, No. 90, Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic, by William D. Nangle, commander, and J. M. George, adjutant, praying that a pension be granted to every Union soldier and sailor who served sixty days or more in the late war of the rebellion, and who, under existing laws, are not entitled to \$8 or a greater sum; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WILSON presented a petition of Maxwell Post, No. 14, Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for the passage of laws necessary to grant the sum of \$8 a month to every Union soldier and sailor who served sixty days or more in the late war of the rebellion, and who, under the existing laws, are not entitled to that sum or a greater; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SAWYER presented resolutions adopted by Wilson Colwell Post, No. 38, Grand Army of the Republic, of La Crosse, Wis., in favor of increasing the pensions of volunteer soldiers, their widows and children, in accordance with the recommendations of the national committee on pensions of the Grand Army of the Republic; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CALL. I present a petition of citizens of Saint Augustine, Fla., praying that the bill introduced in the Senate and referred to the Committee on Public Lands giving to the First Presbyterian church of Saint Augustine, Fla., a portion of the "governor's house lot" in Saint Augustine for church purposes, in consideration for stone, valued at \$400, taken and used by the Government during the late war, for repairs of Fort Marion, be made a law. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CALL. I also present, accompanying the petition, a letter of John E. Myers, trustee of the Presbyterian church at Saint Augustine, Fla., requesting the same action on the part of Congress. I move that the letter be referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. VOORHEES presented the petition of J. M. McLellan and 53 other soldiers of the late war of the rebellion, praying that all honorably discharged soldiers be allowed a pension of \$8 per month; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also presented a memorial of 80 members of Hambright Post, No. 270, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of the House bill known as the Warner bill, on the subject of pensions; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. DOLPH. By direction of a majority of the Committee on Commerce, I report a substitute for Senate bill 1202, and submit a report thereon.

The bill (S. 2135) to provide for and aid in the construction and to regulate the operation of a ship-canal between Lakes Union and Washington and Puget Sound, in Washington Territory, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title.

Mr. CONGER. There is a majority report, and there are some reports from engineer officers which I should like to have printed with the majority report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It appears that there are no papers connected with this case except the report of the majority.

Mr. DOLPH. I will state that the papers referred to are attached to the majority report as an appendix, so that they may be printed together.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The papers referred to will be printed with the report.

Mr. DOLPH. from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1202) to provide for and aid in the construction and to regulate the operation of a ship-canal between Lakes Union and Washington and Puget Sound, in Washington Territory, and for other purposes, reported adversely thereon; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin, from the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 991) for the relief of J. Henry Rives, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. MILLER, of New York, from the Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the bill (S. 2037) to amend the act entitled "An act to prevent the importation of adulterated and spurious teas," approved March 2, 1883, reported it with an amendment.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. MAXEY introduced a bill (S. 2136) for the relief of Edward A. Weyman; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 2137) granting a pension to Andrew J. McDowell; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2138) granting a pension to Nancy S. Daniels; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. COLQUITT introduced a bill (S. 2139) to remove the political disabilities of E. P. Alexander, of Georgia; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

POTOMAC FREE BRIDGE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the Calendar under Rule VIII.

The bill (S. 1477) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Potomac River at the Three Sisters, near Georgetown, D. C., was announced as first in order on the Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This bill it was agreed should be postponed until next Monday, and it will be passed over.

LOTTERY ADVERTISEMENTS.

The bill (S. 1017) to prohibit the mailing of newspapers and other publications containing lottery advertisements, and prescribing a penalty for the violation of the same, was announced as next in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent it was agreed that this bill should be passed over until the return of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. JACKSON].

ABBY P. ARNOLD.

The bill (S. 764) granting an increase of pension to Abby P. Arnold was announced as next in order.

Mr. COCKRELL. That has been adversely reported. I object to its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that by an understanding it was agreed that this bill should be passed over until the return of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ANTHONY].

CINNABAR AND CLARK'S FORK RAILROAD COMPANY.

The bill (S. 1373) granting the right of way to the Cinnabar and Clark's Fork Railroad Company was announced as next in order.

Mr. VEST. That bill was referred yesterday to the Committee on Territories on motion of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARRISON], I think.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that no reference was made; but that the matter was discussed and the bill went over.

Mr. HARRISON. It was suggested yesterday that the bill should be passed over without losing its place until the Committee on Territories could consider the question at a meeting to-morrow as to the effect of the measure upon the National Park.

Mr. SAWYER. I hope it will be passed over without losing its place.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over without prejudice.

TRUSTEES OF ISAAC R. TRIMBLE.

The bill (S. 91) for the relief of the trustees of Isaac R. Trimble was announced as next in order.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. I think I shall have to object to the consideration of that bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin objects, and the bill goes over.

ACCOUNTS OF JOHN B. MONTEITH.

The bill (S. 516) to adjust the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury in the settlement of the Indian accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased, late Indian agent at the Lapwai Indian agency, in the Territory of Idaho, for the Nez Percé Indians, to allow him, or the administrator or executor of his estate, \$875.75, which amount has been heretofore disallowed him in the settlement of his accounts in the Indian service.

Mr. CONGER. Let the report be read.

The Secretary read the following report, submitted by Mr. BOWEN, March 4, 1884:

The Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 516) to adjust the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased, have had the same under consideration, and report thereon as follows:

This bill authorizes and directs the Secretary of the Treasury, in the adjustment of the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased, late Indian agent at the

Lapwai Indian agency, in Idaho, for the Nez Percé Indians, to allow the administrator of his estate the sum of \$875.75, as follows, to wit:

To fees paid J. M. Howe, attorney for Government employes, as per itemized statement.....	\$440 00
To rent paid W. G. Langford, in the names of the various employes, by Agent Monteith, as per itemized statement.....	152 00
To Justices' fees paid, as per itemized statement.....	33 75
To amounts disallowed in the final settlement of late Indian Agent John B. Monteith's account before the Treasury Department.....	250 00
Total.....	\$875 75

This claim has been repeatedly recommended for payment by the Indian Office and Interior Department, to wit, on December 14, 1876; on March 1, 1877; on January 11, 1882; on March 18, 1882, as set forth in official papers from the Indian Department.

This bill, introduced in the Forty-seventh Congress, was submitted to the Department of the Interior for examination and report, and was reported favorably upon in a communication of March 18, 1882. Six hundred and twenty-five dollars and seventy-five cents of this account was for money paid by John B. Monteith in defending the United States Indian agency in actions in ejectment brought in the United States Territorial courts; and \$250 of the amount was allowance made by the Indian Department for additional clerical service at said agency. The sum total aggregates \$875.75.

The following is a report and recommendation of the Interior Department:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, March 18, 1882.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 7, 1882, transmitting for report and office views thereon House bill No. 4741, Forty-seventh Congress, first session, "to adjust the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased," with accompanying papers.

The payment of the claim of Mr. Monteith has been repeatedly urged upon Congress, and was the subject of a favorable report (copy herewith) to the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, under date of December 14, 1876, recommending that Congress be requested to appropriate the sum of \$625.75 to reimburse Mr. Monteith for the money actually expended and paid out by him in the ejectment suit of W. G. Langford vs. Employes of the Nez Percé Indian reservation at Lapwai, Idaho.

It was further urged in a communication to Senator Windom (copy herewith), dated March 1, 1877, requesting the insertion in the sundry civil appropriation bill, then pending, an amendment making an appropriation covering said claim.

The justice and the merit of the amount (\$250) disallowed in the final settlement of Agent Monteith's accounts by the accounting office of the Treasury Department for additional pay for services rendered on account of authorized increase of salary as agency clerk has never been questioned; but as there was no authority of law for its allowance or payment, relief can only be had through Congress.

Concurring in the views of my predecessors as to the justice of the whole claim of \$875.75, I urgently recommend favorable and prompt action on the bill submitted, which is returned herewith with accompanying inclosures as requested.

Very respectfully,

E. L. STEVENS,
Acting Commissioner.

Hon. M. C. GEORGE,
House of Representatives.

The following is a copy of a letter from the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, December 14, 1876.

SIR: I have the honor to invite your attention to the claim of John B. Monteith, United States Indian agent, for certain expenses of rent, costs, and fees unavoidably incurred by the employes in their defense at the trial of the ejectment suits of W. G. Langford vs. Employes of the Nez Percé Indian reservation at Lapwai, Idaho Territory. These expenses were necessarily incurred, owing to the distance from the agency of the proper United States district attorney, as well as the difficulty of prompt communication with him or the Department; and to the exigencies of the case, which have been duly and fully reported to this office.

From these facts and the circumstances of the parties who were mulcted with the costs, who are hardly able to bear the same, and in view of the fact that by this course of action they were enabled to hold the agency buildings and thereby avert their total destruction by the Indians, who would undoubtedly have burned them rather than allow them to pass into Mr. Langford's possession, I respectfully recommend that Congress be requested to appropriate the sum of \$625.75 to fully reimburse Mr. Monteith for all moneys actually expended and paid out by him in said defense.

For your further information I submit herewith duplicate copies of an itemized statement of the expenses incurred, which were furnished by Mr. Monteith under office instructions of the 19th of July, 1875.

I also submit the draught of a bill for the purpose above indicated.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. Q. SMITH, Commissioner.

The Hon. SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

From the papers on file in this case it appears that Mr. Langford made attempt by seven actions in ejectment in the justice, district, and supreme courts of Idaho to recover possession of the land upon which the Government agency buildings had been erected; that he was successful in the actions in the justice court and in the district court, but was finally defeated in the supreme court. These expenses were unavoidably incurred by Mr. Monteith to save the occupancy of the Government buildings after judgment rendered in the justice court, and until the Department could be heard from, and for the expenses of an appeal to the district court, and to the supreme court, where the cases were finally decided in favor of the Government. It is quite evident from the proofs on file that had Mr. Monteith not expended these sums the Government would have been the loser of much valuable property, both through the result of the trials establishing the right of Mr. Langford and the frenzy of the Indians, who would have doubtless burned the buildings rather than to have seen them come into the possession of Mr. Langford.

It will be remembered that this agency was then situated in an isolated section, more so probably than any other portion of the United States at that time, and communication with the Department was exceedingly difficult. Mr. Monteith's action in thus saving the Government property and looking after its interest in a time of emergency entitles him to the gratitude of his country; and the least it can do is to reimburse him for the sum of money which he necessarily expended during the emergency in the Government's behalf. Time has proven that it was a wise action on his part, and that he was faithful to the interest of the Indians and of the Government. In regard to the sum of \$250, expended by Mr. Monteith for additional clerical assistance, as shown by vouchers Nos. 7, 11, 12, 16, and 30, on file now in the Second Auditor's Office, the following was the authority under which the expenditure was made:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, D. C., May 27, 1875.

SIR: In reply to your communication of the 6th instant, in which you ask au-

thority to increase the salary of your clerk from \$1,000 to \$1,200 per annum, you are informed that your request is granted; the amount involved to be paid from funds that are now or may hereafter be placed in your hands from the appropriation for "incidental expenses Indian service in Idaho."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

EDW. P. SMITH, Commissioner.

J. B. MONTEITH, Esq.,
United States Indian Agent, Lapwai, Idaho.

In view of the foregoing your committee believe this claim to be just and proper, and recommend that it be allowed and paid as set forth in the bill.

Mr. CONGER. I have examined the report and am satisfied that it has the recommendations of the Department. I did not ask for a reading of the report for myself.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

SARATOGA MONUMENT.

The bill (S. 1309) to provide statuary and historical tablets for the Saratoga monument, was considered as in Committee of the Whole. It appropriates \$40,000 to be expended by the Saratoga Monument Association in statuary and historical tablets within and upon the monument now erected at Schuylerville, N. Y., commemorative of Burgoyne's surrender.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FITZ-JOHN PORTER COURT-MARTIAL.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1670) to relieve the members and judge-advocate of the general court-martial for the trial of Fitz-John Porter from the operation of certain restrictions of the eighty-fourth article of war.

Mr. GARLAND. Is that a unanimous report of the committee? There does not seem to be any printed report accompanying it.

Mr. LOGAN. It is a unanimous report.

Mr. GARLAND. I wish to say a few things about the measure.

Mr. LOGAN. I will state to the Senator from Arkansas that there is no particular interest in it now that I know of, more than that the bill was introduced by the Senator from Kansas [Mr. INGALLS] and it was thought that some members of the court would probably like to have this opportunity. I suppose I might anticipate what the Senator was going to say in reference to it if it is the legal question that he proposes to discuss. I ask him whether he proposes to speak to the bill on the ground that Congress can not relieve the members of the court from the obligation of their oath?

Mr. GARLAND. That is the point.

Mr. LOGAN. I agree with the Senator from Arkansas that perhaps as a legal question he is right. The bill was not discussed in committee; it was merely reported back to the Senate and the legal question was not raised. If the Senator proposes to raise that question, I will state that I myself would vote to indefinitely postpone the bill.

Mr. GARLAND. So far as the particular case this figures in is concerned it is not a matter of any interest or moment to me, and it is not in reference to that I raise the point; but before I saw the bill my attention was called to that proposition. I do not see exactly how Congress can relieve these parties of an obligation that they have already taken. That is the point I make about it; not for anything good or bad in this case, but on account of the precedent we should set of relieving persons who have taken such oaths. I do not see that Congress can do it, and if Congress would do it I think it could be a very bad precedent. I shall not extend my remarks upon the question if the Senator from Illinois, who reported the bill, concedes that proposition.

Mr. LOGAN. I most certainly do. That was my view of it at the time the bill was introduced, and I was merely willing to have the question come up before the Senate and let it be understood. I will state to the Senate that I myself do not believe that Congress has the power to relieve the members of a court-martial from an obligation that they take under the statute not to disclose any vote or anything that passes in their proceedings. I do not see how Congress can do it; but, as I said before, the bill was reported back more to get the expression of the Senate upon it than for anything else. It was not discussed in committee as to the legal proposition, and believing, as I said, with the Senator from Arkansas that Congress has not the power to do it, I am willing that the bill shall be indefinitely postponed.

Mr. GARLAND. I have no objection to that course.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois make that motion?

Mr. GARLAND. I will make the motion myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed.

The motion was agreed to.

FRANCES H. PLUMMER.

The bill (S. 1106) for the relief of Frances H. Plummer was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HAWLEY. There is a mistake in the bill. It was not reported without amendment. The committee instructed me to report an amendment reducing the amount from \$1,500 to \$1,000. I move that amendment now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut will be read.

The CHIEF CLERK. In line 3, after "thousand," it is proposed to strike out "five hundred," so as to make the bill read:

That the sum of \$1,000 be paid, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to Frances H. Plummer, widow of J. B. Plummer, deceased, in full satisfaction and discharge of any and all claims against the United States for the loss of property by said J. B. Plummer or his said widow at the evacuation of Fort Cobb, Indian Territory, in May, 1861.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

TRUSTEES OF ISAAC R. TRIMBLE.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. I objected to the consideration of the bill (S. 91) for the relief of the trustees of Isaac R. Trimble. I now desire, with the consent of the Senate, to withdraw that objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is withdrawn, and the Senate will return to Order of Business 296. The bill will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the bill.

Mr. CONGER. Let that go over again, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan objects.

Mr. CONGER. The bill went over yesterday for the purpose of giving time to have an examination and perhaps to prepare some amendment to it. I have no objection to letting the bill be passed over until the next day the Calendar comes up for consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be passed over without prejudice.

Mr. HAMPTON. I am so anxious to get an expression of opinion from the Senate upon the bill that I shall move to take it up by a vote of the Senate. The Senate is competent to take it up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from South Carolina to take up the bill notwithstanding the objection.

The question being put, there were on a division—ayes 24, noes 12; no quorum voting.

Mr. MAXEY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNA (when Mr. CAMDEN's name was called). My colleague [Mr. CAMDEN] is paired with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. ANTHONY].

Mr. HARRIS (when Mr. JACKSON's name was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. JACKSON] is necessarily absent from the city. He is paired with the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE].

The roll-call having been concluded, the result was announced—yeas 34, nays 13; as follows:

YEAS—34.

Bayard,	Fair,	Harris,	Pugh,
Beck,	Farley,	Harrison,	Ransom,
Blair,	Frye,	Hawley,	Riddleberger,
Call,	Garland,	Kenna,	Sewell,
Cockrell,	George,	Logan,	Vance,
Coke,	Gorman,	McPherson,	Vest,
Colquitt,	Groome,	Maxey,	Voorhees,
Cullom,	Hale,	Pendleton,	
Dolph,	Hampton,	Pike,	

NAYS—13.

Aldrich,	Edmunds,	Morrill,	Wilson.
Allison,	Hoar,	Platt,	
Cameron of Wis.,	McMillan,	Plumb,	
Conger,	Miller of N. Y.,	Sawyer,	

ABSENT—29.

Anthony,	Hill,	Mahone,	Sherman,
Bowen,	Ingalls,	Manderson,	Slater,
Brown,	Jackson,	Miller of Cal.,	Van Wyck,
Butler,	Jonas,	Mitchell,	Walker,
Camden,	Jones of Florida,	Morgan,	Williams.
Camden of Pa.,	Jones of Nevada,	Palmer,	
Dawes,	Lamar,	Sabin,	
Gibson,	Lapham,	Saulsbury,	

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill. It refers to the Court of Claims for hearing and adjudication the claim of the trustees of Isaac R. Trimble against the United States for the construction and use by the War Department of Howe's patent truss in the bridge over the Potomac River.

Mr. CONGER. Let the report be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read.

Mr. CONGER. Before the report is read I wish to call the attention of Senators not only to some facts stated in the report, but that they may be connected with other statements to be made hereafter, going to show that Mr. Trimble at the very time that the Government was using what he claims as his patent truss-bridge was an officer in the confederate army, and was engaged in destroying bridges on the highways and means of communication as near the lines of the Long Bridge as he dared approach with the confederate army; that he was a disloyal man at that time while the Government was using his pretended patent; that he

himself made application in 1875, I think, for pay for the use of his patent upon the Long Bridge, which use was being made of that bridge for the very purpose of access across the river to prevent his attacks upon the people of Virginia and upon the Government of the United States; that in 1875 he himself, after the war closed, made application for payment to him for the use of this truss; that it was rejected on account of disloyalty; that subsequently his wife and another person made application for payment, claiming that they were loyal; the wife states she was loyal just as far as she could be and perform the sacred duties which she owed to her disabled and sick husband.

The whole transaction shows that subsequently, in order to pass this claim, there was found somewhere, made before the issue of the patent by the Government, a deed of the right and title to this property to one or two other persons, made in view of going to join the confederate army and leaving this and other property in the hands of women to avoid confiscation and the results arising from his own action. The reading of the report in my judgment will show a kind of persistency, not to characterize it as impudence, on the part of this man to ask payment of the Government for the use of a property which, if used at all, was used for the express purpose of reaching with the troops of the United States his forces, and to prevent the destruction which he was carrying on of the property of the State and of the United States, and against its citizens.

As this case is to come up in this way, by a vote of the Senate, I desire that all these facts shall be known to the Senate and that the transparency of the pretense under which Mr. Trimble or his wife now seeks to recover property used about the time that he was engaged in destroying property of the United States shall be made clear and go upon the record, and that the Senate shall determine by its vote whether this is the class of case which the Departments have decided could not be enforced against the Government of the United States in the name of Mr. Trimble, and where the proof of loyalty even of the wife and niece is disputed in the documents which are about to be read to the Senate.

Mr. MAXEY. In reply to what has been said by the Senator from Michigan, I beg to say that the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of the Railroad Company vs. Trimble, in a decision rendered at the December term of 1870, and reported in 10 Wallace, have settled the question conclusively and indisputably that the title of the Howe truss given long prior to that time had been taken out of Trimble and belonged to his trustees for the use and benefit of his creditors. In a contested case on all fours with the case here, for the unauthorized use by a company of the Howe truss, the title was settled to have been first in Trimble, and second to have been assigned by a valid deed of conveyance and transfer to the trustees of Trimble, that the title was in the trustees of Trimble, and a judgment was rendered in favor of the trustees of Trimble.

The question before the War Department and before the Treasury Department was not a question of loyalty on the part of Trimble, but it was a question as to whether the Treasury Department had jurisdiction to settle and adjudge this claim, for it was insisted, and with perfect propriety in my judgment, by the then Secretary of War, Mr. McCrary—unquestionably a very able lawyer—that if the Government used this truss without a special contract and without complaint on the part of the owner of the truss, there was an implied contract that it should pay a *quantum meruit*, whatever the amount of the use of that truss might be. The Comptroller of the Treasury thought while that might be true as a question of fact, it might be regarded as an unlawful use of the truss. That was the question, whether it was to be regarded as the unlawful use of this truss and therefore a trespass and the users responsible in damages, or whether it was to be regarded as an implied contract and a *quantum meruit* the measure of compensation. Mr. Justice Swayne says in the decision in 10 Wallace:

The deed of Isaac R. Trimble, of the 30th of May, 1861, conveyed all his rights under the patent, whatever they may have been, to the grantees in that instrument. If his title was sufficient theirs is so. This was not controverted by the counsel for the plaintiffs in error, and needs no further remark.

So that as early as the 30th of May, 1861, the title of the property had been transferred to the trustees of Trimble, and whatever title Trimble had passed to the trustees, and there is no question that Trimble had a title at the time he made this transfer.

The evidence was also conclusive that the trustees of Mr. Trimble were loyal, and a judgment was rendered against the railroad company for the use of this truss in favor of the trustees, the claimants who come forward here.

The Quartermaster-General's Department saw proper to make use of this Howe truss in the construction of the Long Bridge across the Potomac River. They had not a contract with the trustees, nor with Trimble. The use was made under the direction of the War Department, and there being a question as to where the title of the truss rested, the case was held open until after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1870, from which I have read. Subsequently the claim was asserted and kept up, and the report will show—I call the careful attention of all to the report—that there was no question raised as to whether the Government had used the truss. It was admitted. It was admitted also that the Government had not paid for the use of it, and the only question was the question of jurisdiction, and on that

question the Secretary of War took one view and the Comptroller took another view. If the view of the Secretary of War was good there would be no difficulty in regard to referring the case to the Court of Claims. If on the other hand the view of the Comptroller was good, it would have to come to Congress for authority. In this condition of things the bill was introduced; and if Senators will listen to the report made by direction of the Committee on Military Affairs they will find, in my judgment, that no clearer case can be made than the case which has been made in that report. Copies of the various papers are referred to and made part of the report.

I have only said this much because the bill was introduced at the last Congress, and the bill as originally worded authorized the court to render such judgment as justice and right to the claimant and the Government should require; but the committee changed that and caused it to read, "and to that end jurisdiction is hereby conferred on said court to proceed as a court of equity, and to render judgment therein," which is the precise wording of the bill here, and that bill, No. 1210 of the Forty-seventh Congress, after hearing the report called for by the Senator from Minnesota, passed the Senate without a dissenting voice. The bill now pending is *verbatim* the bill which has heretofore received, after the reading of the report, the assent of the Senate.

That is all I care to say. I have only said that much from the fact that I prepared the original report, and the Committee on Military Affairs during the present session adopted the former report and came to the same conclusion at this session that they did at the last Congress.

Mr. HOAR. I move the following substitute for the bill:

Resolved, That the pending bill be referred to the Court of Claims, under the provisions of the act approved March 3, 1883.

Mr. President, I suppose that it is not necessary to remind every Senator that if this resolution is adopted under the new Senate rules this matter goes to the Court of Claims with authority simply to report the facts to the Senate, and in that event the Government will be represented by the Attorney-General, or some officer whom he shall appoint for the purpose, who will have an opportunity to adduce evidence and examine and cross-examine witnesses.

It is true that this bill has been once passed, but that was before the existence of this legal authority and when it was necessary under the then existing law that the merits of the case should be determined by the Senate on *ex parte* affidavits. There was no existing legal mechanism for any other arrangement.

This claim may be a very just one, but it contains among other things this very remarkable, I will not say suspicious, fact, that an eminent officer in the confederate army, who, I believe, was a resident of Baltimore, though that does not appear in the report, but I am so informed by some Senators around me, so zealous in the Southern cause as to enlist at this very time in the confederate service and to be raised to high military office, should have a wife and another near female relative for whose use he conveyed this property who were at the same time loyal persons. That is possible; there were such cases; but such an allegation is one which creates certainly the demand for further inquiry. All of the evidence in regard to the loyalty of these ladies is found in their own affidavits so far as set forth in this report. It seems to me, therefore, that the interests of the United States require that all these facts, including the question of value and the question of the original contract, should be sent into the Court of Claims.

There is another fact which would put any judge, or counsel, or trustee, or Senator upon inquiry, and that is that although this claim is now presented having for its foundation an alleged deed of trust by Major-General Trimble in favor of his wife, yet it was presented long after the war as a claim of his own, and having been rejected as a claim of his own, it now reappears as a claim for his wife and another *cestui que trust*, and with the hope that his original inadvertence in claiming it as his own property will not prejudice it.

I do not say these things as making the least imputation upon the character of this officer or these claimants, and I hope no Senator will understand that I am expressing any opinion adverse to the claim. I only say that those two facts to which I have referred make it eminently proper that before the Senate act they should be sifted by the ordinary legal process, where witnesses can be heard on both sides and where the witnesses can be cross-examined face to face by officers representing the Government, and final decision reserved to us after a full report.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, as I introduced this bill I desire to say only one or two words in reply to the Senator from Michigan and the Senator from Massachusetts.

I regret exceedingly that both these Senators should bring into this case the question of the loyalty of General Trimble. General Trimble, it was true, was a soldier in the late rebellion, enlisting in the cause of the Southern confederacy. An honorable man himself, he became embarrassed before the war and made an assignment of all his property to his wife and to Miss Pressman. That assignment included his interest in the Howe truss patent, and, as the Senator from Texas [Mr. MAXEY] reminds me, has been so decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from Maryland if the date of this deed of trust is correctly given as May 30, 1861?

Mr. GORMAN. It was made in May, 1861.

Mr. HOAR. Before the war?

Mr. GORMAN. Before General Trimble became connected with the Southern confederacy, when he was a citizen of Maryland, and so far as known within the law he was a loyal citizen of the United States.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. May I inquire how soon after the execution of the deed General Trimble did connect his fortunes with the Southern confederacy?

Mr. GORMAN. I think in a very short time afterward.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. Then it would look as if it was made in contemplation of that step.

Mr. GORMAN. Whatever the motive may have been, the evidence before the Senate—and it comes from gentlemen who are as loyal to this Government as the Senator from Wisconsin, men who severed their social connections to remain true to the Union in Maryland—is that the deed of trust was made in good faith and made for the benefit of the creditors of a man who was insolvent before he became connected with the rebellion. It is therefore not a question whether you will punish General Trimble for his disloyalty twenty-three years ago, but whether you will follow it up and punish an innocent wife and a young lady who gets all that she has from the assignment made by General Trimble.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. Then how does the Senator account for the fact that years subsequent to the execution of this alleged deed of trust General Trimble claimed this royalty in his own name and for his own benefit?

Mr. GORMAN. When General Trimble returned at the close of the war impoverished and his family impoverished, the assignment having been made to these two ladies years before, he undertook to collect this claim from the Government of the United States, and he, not being a lawyer, made the claim in his own name; but when it was presented for settlement Mr. J. Morrison Harris and other legal gentlemen in Maryland, who were as loyal as the Senator or myself to the Union, advised him that he had no right to present the claim in his own name, but that it was due to his wife and Miss Pressman and his creditors. Therefore the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Michigan and my friend from Wisconsin would not be punishing a man who had gone into the rebellion, but would be punishing two innocent and high-toned ladies who reside in the State of Maryland, and who are certified here as having been loyal people during the entire war. I submit that it is too late to make war upon women and children. Make war upon men engaged in the rebellion, if you will, but do not follow it up on their wives and female members of their families.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. The creditors seem to have dropped out in some way, and now, according to the statement of the Senator from Maryland, it is for the benefit of the wife and her sister.

Mr. GORMAN. Not at all.

Mr. HAMPTON. If the Senator from Maryland will allow me I will call the attention of the Senator from Wisconsin to a letter from the judge-advocate:

(Here follow names of creditors who swear to stated sums owing them by I. R. Trimble, and present affidavits of loyalty vouched for by citizens of Baltimore.)

I will read one other extract from that same letter from the judge-advocate:

In the case as thus presented there would seem to be no question involved except such as belonged more especially to the jurisdiction of the accounting officers of the Treasury, if the proofs of loyalty are accepted as sufficient, as they seem to me to be.

Mr. GORMAN. I only desire to add one word in relation to the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts, whom I know to be entirely fair.

Mr. MAXEY. Let me remind the Senator from Maryland in reply to the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Wisconsin that the Supreme Court of the United States declared that whatever title Isaac R. Trimble had to Howe's truss on the 30th of May, 1861, passed to and became vested in the trustees. Therefore it makes no difference what may have been the subsequent course of Isaac R. Trimble. The title being vested in the trustees on that day, nothing that can be brought up here on account of his subsequent conduct can affect their character.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator will pardon me—

Mr. MAXEY. Nor did his wife have anything to do with it.

Mr. HOAR. Nobody makes that point that the subsequent conduct of Isaac R. Trimble affects this case. The loyalty of the claimants does, and the loyalty of the claimants is certified to by a Government officer of great respectability, his certificate however depending on *ex parte* affidavits. Now the suspicious circumstance. I do not use the word "suspicious" in any bad sense, but the circumstance putting us upon inquiry, putting any prudent man intrusted with the disposition of Government money on inquiry, is that this lady, who is said to have been loyal herself, was the wife of a zealous supporter of the confederacy who left a loyal State to go into rebellion, differing therefore from the people of his own State, and who was promptly raised to the high office of major-general. That is consistent with the loyalty of his wife undoubtedly, but the question is whether that being a fact for us to act on it is safer to refer it under this new process or to take the *ex parte* affidavit and certificate of a Government officer. That is the point.

I do not make war on this lady, as the Senator from Maryland says. I simply say that we should treat this bill just as if it were a case coming from any State anywhere of a person of unquestioned loyalty; that is, that if there is anything which puts us on further inquiry into the case, as there clearly is here, we should use this mechanism of the Court of Claims.

Mr. MAXEY. The Senator from Wisconsin made the precise point that because Mr. Trimble had, subsequently to May, 1861, and soon thereafter, joined the rebellion, therefore there must have been a fraudulent intent in the transfer. He did not use the word "fraudulent," but that was the inference. The point which I made was that the Supreme Court had settled the whole of that question, because they said the title vested on the 30th of May, 1861, in the trustees, which being the case no subsequent conduct of Trimble could in law, and no lawyer will say, ever affect the title of those in whom the title vested.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. I will inquire of the Senator from Texas between what parties the title was settled. The United States was not one of the parties, and consequently the United States was not bound by that decision, whatever it was.

Mr. MAXEY. As a matter of course I am speaking of the title being vested in the trustees of Trimble, nor is it disputed now by the United States, nor was the point ever made by the United States, that the title was not vested in Trimble originally. The point, and the only point, which was made was as to whether the Comptroller was right that it was a matter of damages, or the Secretary of War was right that it was a question of paying compensation.

Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin. What we want is that the United States shall have an opportunity of raising that question.

Mr. MAXEY. That is what we propose to send the case to the Court of Claims for, and let the whole case be investigated by it as a court.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. President, the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts would do very great injustice to these claimants. As has been well said by the Senator from Texas, the bill proposes to refer the case to the Court of Claims, where all the facts as to the loyalty of these parties will necessarily come before the court. Once before the authorities of the War Department they have proved their loyalty, and proved it by such gentlemen as Mr. J. Morrison Harris, the head and front of the Republican party in the State of Maryland, a man whose loyalty was not questioned in 1861 or since; a man who aided to raise the troops that were furnished by the State of Maryland to suppress the rebellion. He has been a consistent Republican ever since. These ladies have proved by such testimony their loyalty to the satisfaction of the Secretary of War and other subordinate officers of that Department. And now by this bill you can compel them to prove their loyalty again. All that the bill contemplates doing is that when they have again established this claim, and have proved their loyalty, judgment shall be given and the money paid over to them.

Now I ask the Senator from Massachusetts what injustice there is in that? They have proved their claim once before the War Department; the amount has been ascertained by the War Department by engineers who are competent to judge; and now the Senator, because of the disloyalty of the husband, would still punish an innocent wife. I trust he will withdraw his amendment. I say to him, knowing all the parties concerned in this case, that I would be the last among the Senators on this floor to present a claim for property forfeited under the law for the benefit of any general in the late war on the side of the confederacy; but this is as just a claim in my judgment as has ever been presented, and I know the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts would do great injustice. I hope he will withdraw it.

Mr. LOGAN. I will say to the Senator from Maryland that I do not see the distinction he makes between the bill as it is and the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts. The Court of Claims can only report the matter back to Congress anyhow. They can only say that they find so much in behalf of the claimant and come to Congress for an appropriation, as all matters do from the Court of Claims. The resolution refers it there under the late law to ascertain the amount due, if any. The only difference is that Congress would be under obligation to make an appropriation for the amount of the judgment of the court under the bill; but under the resolution the court would find the amount and report it to Congress for Congress to act upon. The difference is that Congress is under obligation to appropriate in one case, and in the other it may or may not as justice demands in its judgment.

I think with the Senator from Massachusetts, although this bill came from the Military Committee, that all matters referred to the Court of Claims ought to be referred under the law passed at the last session. All matters referred by Congress to that court for its decision should be sent under the law that we have passed providing for the examination of claims before the court to be reported back to Congress. We passed a law for that purpose to prevent matters of this kind coming up before Congress, so that committees could have an opportunity of referring them to the Court of Claims. I think that is a good rule, and without giving any judgment of my own in reference to this matter, I believe that rule ought to be followed out; and for that reason I am in favor of the resolution of the Senator from Massachusetts, and I think it ought to apply to all cases of this character that come before Congress.

Mr. GARLAND. I ask for the reading of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts has modified the resolution, and it will be read as modified.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That the bill for the relief of the trustees of Isaac R. Trimble, now pending before the Senate, be transmitted (in accordance with the provisions of an act entitled "An act to afford assistance and relief to Congress and the Executive Departments in the investigation of claims and demands against the Government," approved March 3, 1883) to the Court of Claims of the United States, together with the vouchers, papers, proofs, and documents appertaining thereto.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator from Maryland to state one fact. Is General Trimble now living?

Mr. GORMAN. General Trimble is living.

Mr. GARLAND. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts and the bill reported by the Committee on Military Affairs contemplate two very distinct things. The act of March 3, 1883, known as the Bowman act, was not intended to displace or repeal the prior act conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear and determine causes; and it was merely in the nature of a cumulative remedy for the relief of committees of Congress and Departments of the Government in investigating claims. The jurisdiction in the Court of Claims to hear and determine cases of contract with the Government remains unquestioned by the act, but by way of expediting business before committees of Congress it provides that they may have claims referred there for investigation by the court and a report from the court of all the facts and its opinion on the cases.

But what is the necessity of going to the trouble of referring this case to the Court of Claims, which *pro tanto* under this act is made merely a committee of the House of Congress referring a claim? That was the original organization of the Court of Claims; that was what it was under the act of 1855 creating the court; but afterward that was modified, and the court was given jurisdiction to hear and determine claims and send its judgments to Congress to be appropriated for. That jurisdiction stands. But to relieve Congress of a great deal of the burden of this kind of investigation, under the act of March 3, 1883, claims are sent there for investigation merely. But two several committees, as we have it here, have passed upon this claim, have examined all the facts. There is not an additional fact to be obtained, as I understand from the records of the Senate. In addition to these investigations the case has been twice adjudicated so far as the material points are concerned, once by the Supreme Court of the United States, in 10 Wallace, and once by the district court in Maryland—that is, as to the validity of the deed of trust of May 30, 1861, and the rights and standing of these parties under the deed of trust.

What more is there for the Court of Claims, in view of the facts, to investigate and report to Congress? This bill says they may go to the Court of Claims and adjudicate their rights. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Massachusetts particularly to the language of the act of March 3, 1883, as it seems by his amendment and the remarks of himself and other Senators in support of it that they want the fact of loyalty tested before the Court of Claims in its investigation as a jurisdictional fact. Now, under the act of the 3d of March, 1883, this can not be tested; it can not be made a question of jurisdiction in that court. Why? Section 4 of that act says:

SEC. 4. In any case of a claim for supplies or stores taken by or furnished to any part of military or naval forces of the United States for their use during the late war for the suppression of the rebellion, the petition shall aver that the person who furnished such supplies or stores, or from whom such supplies or stores were taken, did not give any aid or comfort to said rebellion, but was throughout that war loyal to the Government of the United States, and the fact of such loyalty shall be a jurisdictional fact.

There loyalty would be a jurisdictional question. This is not an application for supplies furnished or stores taken. It does not bear the remotest analogy to such a case, any more than it would be for the occupation of a house by the Army of the United States. For a very good and very special reason this requirement was limited to supplies, but it has no application to a proceeding of this character to obtain payment under an implied contract, which is within the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims, for the use of this particular property, but not in the form of a product, not for bacon or flour, not for meal or potatoes or onions or turnips furnished to the Army. Those would be supplies, but this is for a totally distinct and different thing; and with all the facts here, the case twice adjudicated in the district court of Maryland and the Supreme Court of the United States, it is not worth while to send it to the Court of Claims to investigate facts that we have already established, but we should send it there for them to adjudicate whether the claim exists in fact, and if it exists, what is the amount due, and then to return to Congress for an appropriation.

Mr. GORMAN. In answer to the Senator from Massachusetts, who inquired whether General Trimble was living, I stated that General Trimble is living; but I have been informed since I made that remark that within a very short time both Mrs. Trimble and Miss Presstman are deceased, so that whatever benefit will be derived from the passage of this bill will go to the creditors. I was not aware of that fact when I replied to the Senator before.

Mr. HOAR. As I understand the Senator's present statement, then, it is this: The husband made this assignment to trustees for the benefit

of certain creditors. The wife and the other lady mentioned are the next of kin of one of the creditors, so that the creditors' share in this trust fund—

Mr. GORMAN. Oh, no; the Senator is mistaken there.

Mr. HOAR. Let us see:

Mrs. Trimble and Miss Georgianna Presstman claim as heirs one-fifth each of the estate of Ann F. Presstman, to which Mr. Trimble is sworn to be indebted in the sum of \$9,000.

The deed of trust was:

First, to pay all his debts; then to hold for the use and benefit of Mrs. Trimble; and thirdly, to convey to her appointees.

It does not appear whether these creditors signed the instrument of trust and discharged the debtor, but it is to be presumed they did, or if they did not, the debts are now twenty-three years old at least, so that it is not likely that the creditors have any interest by reason of any claim of theirs against General Trimble. His wife is dead, and all his wife's interest, both as a *cestui que trust* under the original instrument, if there should be anything left after paying creditors, and as representing this nine-thousand-dollar creditor, whom she and Miss Presstman represent, claiming one-fifth each of the estate, has passed to her husband, I suppose, under the Maryland law as her next of kin, for I suppose the husband there, as almost everywhere else, is the next of kin of the wife in regard to personal property, and he inherits as husband.

Then, in point of fact, if the debts have been paid the whole of this fund will go to Major-General Trimble himself, his wife being dead and he being living. If the debts have not been paid his wife's share of this debt due to her ancestor will have come around to him free from any claims of creditors. So that it is very largely and perhaps wholly his case.

The Senator from Maryland seems to think—he uses the phrase—that the adoption of my amendment is trying to punish this lady; or he used another phrase, is making war on this lady. It is the mere saying that the case presents suggestions of doubt enough to make it our duty to have the facts thoroughly ascertained, which never could be done either by the Department or by the Senate before.

Mr. GORMAN. Now, I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts whether under the bill as reported from the Committee on Military Affairs all those facts would not be ascertained by the Court of Claims, and if they are to be so ascertained I ask him whether he is not willing to trust the Court of Claims?

Mr. HOAR. But the Court of Claims has a larger jurisdiction given to it by the bill than it has in ordinary cases, equitable as well as legal, and in addition to that the effect is to waive the benefit of the statute of limitations on a claim twenty-three years old. The Senate always in such cases requires itself to be satisfied by some inquiry of the merits of the case before it sends it to the Court of Claims to administer the law.

Mr. BAYARD. Mr. President, it so happens that the person who made this assignment, General Trimble, was for many years a resident of the town where I live. He was the superintendent of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, and in that way I knew him. I knew his family, and I had some professional knowledge of his pecuniary condition, not only in the spring of 1861, but for some time previous to that, and I am prepared to say that it was the most necessary and natural thing for General Trimble, or Mr. Trimble, as he was then called, to make an assignment for the benefit of his creditors to avoid the sale of his property under execution.

After he made the assignment in the spring of 1861 he became involved in the military operations of the war, and left his home and went South. An attempt was made by some judgment creditor in Delaware to obtain some personal property there, I think shares of railroad stock, and my impression is that it was either that or by some process of confiscation; but this assignment was then brought into court and tested and sustained upon an examination of its *bona fides* and reality, and it was held to be a vesting of whatever right or interest Trimble had at the time he made the assignment for the benefit of his creditors. It has undergone the examination of the courts, and courts trying and proceeding at the instance and for the benefit of the Government of the United States. For that reason I apprehend there should be no question as to where the *bona fide* legal title to all this property lay. It no longer was in him. Whether he lived or died, whether he acted well or ill after the making of the assignment, it mattered not to the parties interested under it, those who had the beneficial interest.

What the Senator from Maryland now says I also know to be true, that Mrs. Trimble and her sister are both deceased, and I will say further she was his second wife; both his wife and himself married quite late in life and there was never any issue of that marriage. So the case stands entirely free from any supposed devolution in favor of his children or in favor of himself by the death of these two *cestuis que trust* or by the terms of the trust itself.

Mr. HARRISON. Will the Senator from Delaware allow me to ask him who according to his understanding of the facts of this case would get the benefit of this money if paid?

Mr. BAYARD. The people to whom Trimble owed money prior to 1861.

Mr. HARRISON. But it is evidently contemplated that there was an excess of this sum over and above the amount of those debts, and that is also made to appear probable by the fact that the residuary *cestuis que trust* have been pressing this claim, and not the creditors. Therefore all beyond the debts for which this was pledged would go to Mr. Trimble himself.

Mr. BAYARD. As a matter of fact I may say to the Senator that I should be glad for Mr. Trimble's sake if I thought there was to be any residuum after the payment of his debts; and probably, as in any other case of assignment made for the benefit of creditors, even if the feature was not contained in the deed the law itself would put it so that if the debts were all paid the residuum, if any, should belong to the person making the assignment; but in this case I have some reason to know that Mr. Trimble's creditors were by no means paid in full or have the slightest chance of being so paid. It would amount to a very moderate dividend, I do not know how much, but I think I have enough personal knowledge of his affairs to know that I would not consider the debt a very collectible one to anything like its face value.

Mr. HARRISON. As a member of the Military Committee, from which this bill came, though I had at the time no recollection of its consideration in the committee at all, I voted with my colleague on the committee, the Senator from South Carolina, for the present consideration of the bill. I think in looking at the date of the report it was probably considered by the committee at one of those private meetings which have been held when I was not present.

Mr. HAMPTON. If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him a moment, as I do not wish him to act under any misapprehension at all, I will say that this bill received very full and exhaustive discussion in committee at the last Congress. It was then passed in the Senate unanimously; and it was brought up at a full meeting of the committee at this session—I can not say positively whether the Senator from Indiana was present, but I think we had a full meeting of the committee—and I read the report that was made at the last Congress and it was adopted without dissent. Those are the facts so far as the report goes.

Mr. HARRISON. I am obliged to the Senator from South Carolina. I have no recollection of the discussion of this bill in the committee at the last Congress, and I am sure, from the fact that it was reported by the Senator upon a Friday at the present Congress, that it was considered at one of those extra meetings when I was not present. It seems to me that there are two facts here that should be further inquired into. I do not believe it was in the mind of any member of the committee when this was being discussed; I do not know even that the Senator from South Carolina understood that the effect of this bill was to pay this claim to General Trimble himself. I suppose no member of the committee so understood it; and yet it appears that probably at the time this bill was being considered, and we were thinking of the wife and the sister as the *cestuis que trust* named in this deed of assignment as the beneficiaries, General Trimble himself was practically the beneficiary if there should be any residuum over and above the amount necessary to pay the debts.

Mr. HAMPTON. If the Senator will allow me again to interrupt him, though I do not like to trespass on the courtesy—

Mr. HARRISON. It is no inconvenience at all, I assure the Senator.

Mr. HAMPTON. As I understand the bill, the beneficiaries now will be the creditors. I know the fact that General Trimble has very little property, and I know the additional fact that some of the property that was in his hands came to him from his wife; and to show that I acted with perfect candor when I heard the statement made by my friend from Maryland [Mr. GORMAN], I went to him and told him that I thought it was due to the Senate and due to him that he should say that these ladies had recently died.

Mr. HARRISON. I was not at all imputing any lack of candor to the Senator from South Carolina either in dealing with the Senate or with the committee. I had no thought of that. I supposed the fact to which I alluded was unknown to him at the time of its consideration in committee, as it certainly was to other members of the committee.

Mr. MAXEY. Allow me to say that I heard for the first time this morning of the death of these ladies. I never knew that before. I looked upon the case as a question of law. I did know General Trimble and I did know the ladies who are parties to this bill, but I never heard of their being dead until this morning. I know the creditors are interested.

Mr. HARRISON. I do not know what weight that fact might have had with the committee, but certainly it would have been one that the committee would have considered, as to whether we should by reason of this assignment, made evidently in contemplation of going into the war of the rebellion, have allowed that to operate in such a way now that the benefit of this deed of trust should be given to the officer who thus left the State in which he dwelt to take part in the rebellion. I do not know what conclusion the committee might have come to if it had known these facts.

But, Mr. President, it seems that after the war was over and after General Trimble had returned to his home in Maryland he made a claim against the Government for the royalty on this patent. The Senator from Maryland says that he did not consult lawyers, that he did not take legal advice. Why, Mr. President, can it be supposed that a gen-

tleman of General Trimble's intelligence needed the advice of a lawyer upon the question whether property which he had assigned for the benefit of creditors and others was still his in such a sense that he could make a claim for it? The very fact that after coming back from the war he himself deliberately claimed this as due him, and that up to that time we hear nothing at all of the assignment, raises some doubt, it seems to me, as to the quality and character of the assignment itself. If the distinguished Senator had executed a deed of conveyance to some one here of a piece of property or had transferred by delivery an article of personal property, and had done it in good faith, and had believed that he had dispossessed himself of all the property, he, if not a lawyer, would not need advice to know that that was no longer in him and that he could maintain no action about it.

So this is a matter which it is well enough to look into now when this relief is asked for the benefit of General Trimble himself, as to whether the assignment was delivered, and if it was delivered, when. Was there an actual delivery of this assignment? It does not seem to be consistent with the idea that there was, that General Trimble after the war was claiming the property himself in direct contravention of the assignment which he claims to have made before.

This claim may be right or wrong; but I thought it due to my colleague on the committee, the Senator from South Carolina, that I should state the facts as to what I knew of this matter, and also to express to the Senate as a member of the committee my belief that the resolution offered by the Senator from Massachusetts should prevail.

Mr. GORMAN. Will the Senator from Indiana permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. HARRISON. Certainly.

Mr. GORMAN. I ask him whether under the original bill if the very point he makes as to loyalty and question as to the assignment would not come before the court?

Mr. HARRISON. It may be that it would; and yet the bill extends the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims; it calls upon the court to deal with and settle this question upon principles of equity. There can be no doubt in my mind, and I think there is none in the mind of the Senator from Maryland, that the provisions of the bill waive the statute of limitations. Then I am not clear that it does not also waive the defense as to the disloyalty of the person.

Mr. GORMAN. If there be any doubt upon that question under the bill, I ask the Senator as a lawyer whether under the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts it could come up?

Mr. HARRISON. The Senator asks whether the question of loyalty would come up. Undoubtedly in the course of this investigation, in the taking of the testimony before the Court of Claims, we shall get at all the facts. Of course under this resolution the Court of Claims could pass no judgment, but they would bring to us an ample statement of all the facts in the case as to who is the present beneficiary, as to who are the creditors, the character and amount of their debts, and as to their loyalty. All of these facts would be brought out, and certainly it seems to me that no harm can be done to these parties if we get from the Court of Claims an ample and full and complete statement in relation to all these parties' claims, such facts as will tend to show whether the assignment was really delivered before the war or whether it was executed and left in escrow and in some incomplete form until after the war, and until after General Trimble had himself failed to collect the claim. I think, therefore, the substitute ought to be adopted.

Mr. CONGER. Mr. President, it appears from the report in this case that the deed of trust (and this bill is for the relief of the trustees) transfers all the property on the following terms:

First, to pay all his debts.

If there are debts outstanding, as suggested by some Senators, there is no benefit from this bill that could accrue to the ladies if they were living—

Then to hold for the use and benefit of Mrs. Trimble; and thirdly, to convey to her appointees.

With that deed standing as it does now, General Trimble came before the Department and claimed pay in his own name for this trust, and he put the claim at \$3,535.96. Afterward he learned, as he supposed, that the Government had in some cases paid interest on such a claim. To my knowledge it never has been done unless by special act of Congress; and I do not even know such a case as that. He charges that a person who settled for the use of this patent paid interest on the amount of royalty he claimed. So he asked and in this report there is added \$2,545.92 for the interest from 1861 to 1873, twelve years. By the terms of this report additional interest could be added up to 1884, or whenever the case shall be decided by the court.

This bill gives the Court of Claims equity jurisdiction. Does it have equity jurisdiction unless conferred by a bill like this? Not at all. It gives them the power to hear and adjudicate; it confers jurisdiction, authorizes them to "proceed as a court of equity and to render a judgment therein." That is a simple bill to pay to the trustees, both of whom I understand are dead, whatever sum may be found due. I venture to say that there never was a report accompanying a bill which left so much uncertain in one direction and bound a court so positively against all former rules of law and practice in another direction as this; and my surprise is that Senators who desire to have a fair claim for the

benefit of anybody investigated, either by a court or Congress, should be unwilling that this, like thousands of other cases, should go to the Court of Claims for an inquiry into all the facts and circumstances, especially in view of the facts I mentioned in the beginning of this discussion, that this seems to provide for the payment of a major-general of the Confederate army for the use of materials in the construction by the Government of the United States of means to enable its citizens to go forth to prevent the destruction of Government property and prevent the destruction of railroads, of which that bridge was a part.

I have called attention to this case. If the Senate prefer to refer it to the Court of Claims under the Bowman act, I have no objection, so that the case may be fairly considered, and if the court's report shows that this property, whatever it may be, will go to the benefit of innocent women, nobody will more cheerfully vote for it than I. This report raises an inquiry whether even the women who are to take, if they are living now under this trust, had any claim against the estate of Trimble at the time the trust was made. That appears on the second page of the report. It says:

It does not, however, appear whether or not this indebtedness existed at the date of the deed of trust.

This is claimed to be an indebtedness of \$9,000, and these parties come in as a part of the creditors in one sense, and in another sense they seem to come in as the residuary owners of this property through Mr. Trimble. It is a very confused thing. I have studied it as carefully as I could, and I am so uncertain what the condition of it is, and I have heard no one attempting to explain it who agreed with another in regard to its present situation, that I hope it may be sent to the court for an inquiry and finding and report to Congress. Then, I can assure Senators if it shall be found to be a clean bill, and that the proper parties are to receive the money, I shall vote for it as cheerfully as any one.

Mr. HAMPTON. As the Senator from Michigan has attacked the report, and as I believe it has not been read, I ask for the reading of it. It covers the ground so completely, and the report itself is so unanswerable, that I ask that it be read.

Mr. CONGER. I had already asked that the report be read, and the reading was commenced, and this conversation or discussion intervened to prevent. Of course I desire that the report be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be read.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the report submitted by Mr. HAMPTON, February 29, 1884, but before concluding,

Mr. HOAR (at 2 o'clock p. m.). I ask unanimous consent that the rest of this report, which consists merely of letters and certificates, be printed in the RECORD as if read.

Mr. MAXEY. I hope that will be done, and let the whole report go together into the RECORD as if read, and that the bill come up to-morrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will come up to-morrow of course. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] asks that the remainder of the report not read be inserted in the RECORD. The Chair hears no objection.

The report, which was submitted by Mr. HAMPTON on the 29th of February, is as follows:

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 91) for the relief of the trustees of Isaac R. Trimble, beg leave to report:

That they find all the facts of this case set forth in a report submitted by this committee to the Senate during the Forty-seventh Congress, and they adopt that report, hereto annexed, as expressing the views of the committee, and recommend the passage of the bill. The report is as follows:

"The facts are as follows, as shown by the papers accompanying this report: 'The trustees of Isaac R. Trimble claim that the United States are indebted to them for the use of Howe's patent truss in the construction of the 'Long Bridge' over the Potomac River, at this city, in the years 1860, 1861.

"Judge-Advocate Henry Goodfellow, under date July, 1876, in an official communication to the Secretary of War, reports the claim to have been theretofore at \$6,081.88 for royalty on the Howe truss-bridge built on the Potomac River in 1861, 1862, and was first presented by Isaac R. Trimble himself. For a better understanding of the case as reported by Judge-Advocate Goodfellow, his letter is herein set forth, as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, July, 1876.

In the matter of the claim of the creditors of Isaac R. Trimble for royalty in the use of Howe's patent truss in the 'Long Bridge' over the Potomac River.

To the honorable the Secretary of War:

This is a claim heretofore stated at \$6,081.88 for royalty on the Howe truss-bridge built over the Potomac River in 1861-'62, being a part of the 'Long Bridge.' The claim was first presented February 17, 1873, by Mr. Trimble himself, as owner of the patent, July 21, 1873. The Quartermaster-General reported the true amount of royalty at \$3,500.45 (without interest), but cited an opinion of the Attorney-General, dated June 13, 1872, in the case of Smith & Woodruff, assignees of Hiram Sibley, for royalty on the 'Sibley tent,' to the effect that Smith & Woodruff should not be paid by the War Department, on account of Sibley's disloyalty.

Mr. Trimble having been a major-general in the rebel army, breaking up the railroad communications with Washington, and fighting against the Government of the United States at the very time the claim originated, it was rejected by the Secretary of War January 5, 1874.

January 23, 1874, the claim was again presented in the name of Mrs. Ann C. Trimble and Miss Georgianna Pressman, who claimed under and by virtue of a 'deed of trust' from Mr. Trimble, made May 30, 1861, before his disloyal career.

This deed transferred all his property on the following trusts:

First, to pay all his debts; then to hold for the use and benefit of Mrs. Trimble; and thirdly, to convey to her appointees. Mr. S. T. Wallis, attorney for the Trimble, begged that Mrs. Trimble should not suffer from any ill-advised action of her husband in presenting the claim in his own name, he having acted entirely upon his own motion without consulting the counsel of the trustees. Mr. Wallis further called attention to a recognition of the above-mentioned deed of

trust by the Supreme Court of the United States in case of Railroad Company vs. Trimble (10 Wallace, 367) and by the United States district court for the Maryland district, and the case of the United States vs. The Real Estate of Isaac R. Trimble.

Upon this application the Quartermaster-General reported February 17, 1874, that the new presentation of the case left apparently no room to doubt that Mrs. Anne C. Trimble and Georgianna Presstman were entitled to receive the amount of the royalty which was stated in his former report, provided they could establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the War Department. Thereupon Mr. Wallis was informed in a letter from Colonel Dunn, assistant judge-advocate-general, by direction of the Secretary of War, that it was then in order to present evidence of the loyalty of the new claimants.

Nothing further was heard of the claim until January 30, 1875, when Mr. H. Stockbridge, attorney for Mr. Trimble's creditors, addressed the War Department acknowledging that the decision arrived at in the claim as first presented was undoubtedly correct under the principle established in the case of the Sibley tent, and declaring his readiness at an early day to furnish full proof of the right and interest of the "cestuis que trust" under the above-mentioned deed, and also of their loyalty.

In this presentation Mrs. Trimble and Miss Georgianna Presstman claim as heirs one-fifth each of the estate of Ann F. Presstman, to which Mr. Trimble is sworn to be indebted in the sum of \$9,000. It does not, however, appear whether or not this indebtedness existed at the date of the deed of trust. As to loyalty, Mrs. Trimble swears "that the said Anne C. Trimble was in favor of the Union of the States, opposed to the late civil war, and never supplied the rebel States with material aid or comfort, nor their armies, save alone in nursing my husband when sick and wounded, as enjoined in my marriage vow;" and Miss Georgianna Presstman swears "that she, the said Georgianna Presstman, has not at any time taken part with the enemies of the United States, was in favor of the Union, and opposed to the late civil war, and never supplied the rebel States or armies with aid or comfort, but lived quietly in the country from 1860 to 1865 in Baltimore County, Maryland."

These affidavits are supported by affidavits of J. Morrison Harris, of Baltimore County, to the effect "that he has been well acquainted with the parties in question both before and after the late civil war, and that their foregoing statements are entitled to full credit, to the best of his knowledge and belief."

(Here follow the names of creditors who swear to stated sums owing them by I. R. Trimble, and present affidavits of loyalty vouched for by citizens of Baltimore.)

In the case as thus presented there would seem to be no question involved except such as belonged more especially to the jurisdiction of the accounting officers of the Treasury, if the proofs of loyalty are accepted as sufficient, as they seem to me to be. It may be remarked, however, that the Quartermaster-General is not entirely satisfied with his own statement of the account in his report of July 21, 1873, the "spans" having been measured from the center of pier instead of in the clear. He is of the opinion, however, that the true extent of the words, "1 cent per foot for each span," should be left to the decision of the accounting officer.

On the other hand, Mr. Trimble presented statement of the account June 23, 1876, which is rather larger than the original statement of the Quartermaster-General. Mr. Trimble's statement is \$3,932. He further states that in similar cases those who use the patent without leave have been charged with royalty and interest. He therefore adds \$2,830 interest to February 7, 1873; total, \$6,762.

It is respectfully recommended that the claim be now referred to the accounting officers of the Treasury for such action as they may deem just and proper in the premises.

HENRY GOODFELLOW,
Judge-Advocate.

THIRD AUDITOR'S OFFICE, February 23, 1882.

Extract copy of paper on file with claim No. 50683.

A. M. GANGEWER,
Deputy Third Auditor.

The claim, \$6,081.88, being.....	\$3,535 96
With interest from 1861 to February, 1873, twelve years.....	2,545 92
	6,081 88

was referred to War Department April 22, 1873, for report, and the following was made:

BARRACK AND QUARTERS BRANCH,
Quartermaster-General's Office, April 25, 1873.

Case of I. R. Trimble, for patent fees on Howe truss spans in Long Bridge over Potomac River, erected under the supervision of General McCallum, 1861, as per items enumerated.....	\$3,535 96
Interest to February, 1873 (twelve years).....	2,545 92
Total.....	6,081 88

Referred by War Department, April 22, 1873, for report.

February 17, 1873, claimant addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, indorsing the above claim, with statement that the facts alleged can be substantiated by General McCallum, under whose supervision the rebuilding of the bridge was executed. The reason for not presenting the claim before was owing to the rightful ownership of the patent being in dispute since 1860, and only decided in claimant's favor by the court of final appeal in 1870 (Report, 10 Wallace, United States Supreme Court) (copy with papers). Since that decision no one has disputed claimant's rights, and he enumerates a list of railroad companies, &c., who paid the patent fees on presentation, at the same rates which he has charged the Department. In support of this he incloses letters of Theo. Cuyler, esq., counsel of Pennsylvania Railroad, and Strickland Kneass, esq., of city of Philadelphia, and John L. Piper, manager of the Keystone Bridge Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The letter was referred February 21, 1873, to the Chief of Engineers for report. That office, February 25, 1873, referred to Major Babcock, inviting "attention to the copy of letter from the Keystone Bridge Co. (herewith), in which it is stated that the first payment was made by B. B. French, Commissioner of Public Buildings.

"Please report any information that may be on the files of your office in relation to the construction of this bridge, contract for same, and payments."

Colonel Babcock, U. S. A., in charge of public buildings and grounds, returned April 9, 1873, as follows:

"I find that \$20,000 was appropriated for the repair of Long Bridge August 6th, 1861 (volume 12, page 327), and the money was expended by B. B. French, then Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds.

"Upon an examination of his vouchers for the expenditure I find that no part of it was paid for the use of Howe's patent for truss bridges. The records of this office fail to give any further information on the subject.

"Under date of February 5, 1866, Theo. B. Samo, esq., engineer in charge of Washington Aqueduct, reported on the condition of Long Bridge, and a copy of the report is herewith transmitted. Attention is respectfully invited to Engineer Samo's report, with the papers."

General Humphreys, Chief Engineer, returned papers April 11, 1873, inviting

attention to Colonel Babcock's report. Referred, as before stated, to this office for report.

Respectfully submitted to the Quartermaster-General for instructions.

M. I. LUDINGTON,
Quartermaster, U. S. A.

THIRD AUDITOR'S OFFICE, February 21, 1882.

A true copy (extract) of paper on file with claim No. 50683.

A. M. GANGEWER,
Deputy Third Auditor.

"The claimants state that the claim was laid before the Secretary of War as early as 1865, but was not urged, owing to litigation springing up as to ownership of the patent, until the termination thereof by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States at its December term, 1870 (10 Wall., The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company vs. Isaac R. Trimble and Anne C. Trimble, his wife, and Georgianna Presstman, p. 367). This suit was decided that the rights under the assignment of the patent vested in the trustees of I. R. Trimble.

"An official copy of claimant's petition, and action thereon, is here appended: Petition and claim of the trustees of I. R. Trimble for the use of 'Howe's Patent Truss' in the 'construction of the Long Bridge' over the Potomac River at Washington City, D. C., in 1860-'61.

This claim was laid before the Secretary of War as early as 1865, but soon after, in consequence of litigation involving the rights under the original patent, it was not urged until after 1870. In that year, by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, at the December term, it was decided that the rights under the assignment of Howe were vested in the trustees of I. R. Trimble. (See 10 Wallace.)

By 1876 the evidence substantiating the justice of the claim was complete, as required by the War Department, when Mr. Henry Goodfellow, judge-advocate, made a report, July, 1876, in which he sums up the evidence, inclusive of testimony establishing the loyalty of the trustees and of the creditors of I. R. Trimble, concluding his report in these words: "It is respectfully recommended that the claim be now referred to the accounting officers of the Treasury for such action as they may deem just and proper in the premises." No action was taken on this report until 1878, when Senator Whyte, of Maryland, procured an order from the Secretary of War referring the claim to the Third Auditor of the Treasury for adjudication. The Third Auditor considered the claim and disallowed it for "want of jurisdiction." On application this decision was reconsidered by an order of the Secretary of War, February 15, 1881.

The Comptroller, W. W. Upton, on reconsidering the claim, thus concludes his decision: "The claimants must look to the courts or to Congress, as there is no evidence of any agreement to pay for the use of the patent.

Thus there is no resort for the claimants except through an act of Congress referring the subject to the Court of Claims with authority to adjudicate the case on principles of equity; and your petitioners will ever pray.

ANNE C. TRIMBLE,
GEORGIANNA PRESTMAN.

"Decision by Third Auditor upon a claim made by trustees of Isaac R. Trimble, for royalty (with interest thereon) for the use of Howe's patent truss in building Long Bridge over the Potomac River at Washington, D. C., in 1861-'62:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, THIRD AUDITOR'S OFFICE,
December 19, 1878.

It is not contended that any contract, arrangement, or understanding was entered into on the part of the United States to secure the right to use the patent. The claim is therefore a claim for damages for alleged invasion of a patent right. Of such claims the accounting officers of the Treasury have no jurisdiction.

For want of jurisdiction the claim is disallowed.

The papers with this decision are respectfully transmitted to the Second Comptroller for consideration by him.

A. M. GANGEWER, Acting Auditor.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, SECOND COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
February 24, 1879.

The within opinion of the honorable Third Auditor is concurred in.

W. W. UPTON, Comptroller.

WAR DEPARTMENT, December 9, 1879.

The papers in the claim of the trustees of I. R. Trimble, of Baltimore, Md., for the use by the United States of a patented improvement described as "Howe's patent truss" for bridges, are, at the solicitation of claimant's counsel, respectfully returned to the accounting officers of the Treasury with a recommendation for reconsideration.

The claimant's counsel contend that it could not have been the intention of this Government to use the patent right in question without an implied engagement to pay for such use. This view entirely commends it to my judgment, but I must leave to the accounting officers the question of law whether the executive branch of the Government can now adjust this claim.

GEO. W. McCRARY, Secretary of War.

THE SECOND COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, SECOND COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE,
February 15, 1881.

Respectfully returned to the honorable Third Auditor.

As recommended by the honorable the Secretary of War, I have carefully reconsidered this claim, and admitting fully that the Government could not intend to use a patent right without compensation, still I can not find evidence of any agreement to pay either a certain amount or the reasonable value.

If the facts show the use by the Government of the claimant's patent right, the amount to be paid therefor must be ascertained by the courts or by Congress. The decision of the accounting officers is therefore reaffirmed.

W. W. UPTON, Comptroller.

THIRD AUDITOR'S OFFICE, February 3, 1882.

A true copy of papers on file with claim No. 50683.

A. M. GANGEWER,
Deputy Third Auditor.

"It will be observed that the acting Auditor disallows the claim 'for want of jurisdiction,' and transmits to the Second Comptroller, who concurs.

"It will be further observed that claimants' counsel asked a reconsideration, insisting 'that it could not have been the intent of the Government to use the patent right in question without an implied engagement to pay for the same,' and that this view is concurred in by the Hon. George W. McCrary, then Secretary of War, who, however, leaves to the accounting officers the question of law whether the executive branch of the Government can now adjust this claim.

"The Comptroller, upon review, adheres to his former opinion with the following in addition: 'If the facts show the use by the Government of the claimants' patent right, the amount to be paid therefor must be ascertained by the courts or by Congress.' This last decision is February 15, 1881.

"In the paper is the following copy of a letter from Hon. George W. McCrary, then Secretary of War, to the Hon. William Pinkney Whyte:

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington City, November 21, 1878.

SIR: In answer to your postal inquiry respecting the claim of Isaac R. Trimble,

of Maryland, for the use of the Howetruess by the Government, I have to advise you the last action, as shown by the records under date of November 24, 1877, was a letter to Hon. J. Morrison Harris, of Baltimore, informing him of my willingness to transmit the case to the Court of Claims, if the claimant should so desire. It does not appear that any answer to this letter was received.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. W. McCRARY, *Secretary of War.*

Hon. WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE,
United States Senate.

THIRD AUDITOR'S OFFICE, February 21, 1882.

A true copy of paper on file with claim No. 50683.

A. M. GANGEWER,
Deputy Third Auditor.

"From the papers presented to the committee, it appears that the right to the use of the truss passed from Isaac R. Trimble, assignee of Howe, to claimants; that the delay in prosecuting from 1865 to 1870 is accounted for by the litigation as to ownership of the patent; that since then the claimants appear to have been exerting themselves to have their claim allowed; that it was not allowed 'for want of jurisdiction,' as stated by the Second Comptroller. In the opinion of the committee, the claimants have a right to establish the use by the Government of their patent; that they have not been paid therefor, and the reasonable value of use, and to introduce evidence of ownership and loyalty. In short, the examination made by the committee shows a state of case which, in the judgment of the committee, entitles the claimants to a hearing in the Court of Claims.

"Wherefore the committee report back Senate bill 1210, amended as therein shown, and recommend that the bill do, as amended, pass."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The hour of 2 o'clock has arrived, and the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business of yesterday, which is Senate bill 1448.

JOHN B. MONTEITH.

Mr. SLATER. I ask the indulgence of the Senator from Maine while I call up a bill which was passed this morning and have it reconsidered in order to prevent a miscarriage of action between the two Houses. I refer to Senate bill 516. I move that it be reconsidered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon moves to reconsider the vote on the passage of the bill (S. 516) to adjust the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased, for the purpose of taking up a House bill in the same words. The question is on the motion to reconsider.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SLATER. Now I move to discharge the Committee on Indian Affairs from the further consideration of the House bill which I have sent to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon asks the indefinite postponement of Senate bill 516, which will be done, there being no objection. Now the Senator from Oregon asks unanimous consent to take up House bill 1319.

Mr. SLATER. No; I move to discharge the Committee on Indian Affairs from the further consideration of the House bill, it being before the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon moves to discharge the Committee on Indian Affairs from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 1319) to adjust the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon now moves that the Senate proceed to consider the bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 1319) to adjust the accounts of John B. Monteith, deceased.

Mr. DAWES. I inquire if that bill has been considered by the Committee on Indian Affairs?

Mr. SLATER. It has been considered and a Senate bill in the same words has been passed which I have had reconsidered in order that the House bill may take its place so that there shall not be a miscarriage of action between the two Houses.

Mr. DAWES. Are they the same?

Mr. SLATER. The same in words precisely.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

WITHDRAWAL OF PAPERS.

Mr. GARLAND. I ask for the adoption of the following order:

Ordered, That the claimant in the case of the Spanish ferry-boat *Nuestra Señora de Regla* have leave to withdraw his papers from the files of the Senate.

The bill in regard to that matter has been passed, and the claimant needs his papers for settlement in the Treasury Department.

The order was agreed to.

AMERICAN SHIPPING.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1448) to remove certain burdens on the American merchant marine and encourage the American foreign carrying trade, and for other purposes.

Mr. FRYE. Mr. President, when the Senate went into executive session yesterday, I was undertaking to argue that the logical and inevitable result of the adoption of the amendment for "free ships" would be an entering-wedge to our coastwise trade, would ultimately control it and destroy it, as England has controlled and destroyed our foreign merchant marine; and, Mr. President, it seems to me there is no escape from the proposition, that no man can be found so unwise and foolish

as to purchase a foreign ship, well built, of good material, and place her under American registry with a limitation upon her rights imposed upon no other American ship carrying the American flag. And, sir, I am borne out in that proposition by Capt. John Codman. Who is Capt. John Codman? He is the drum-major of the whole "free-ship" band, and the magic of his wand sets the tune which shall be played. Capt. John Codman is the only man I know of who for ten years has besieged Congress in behalf of free ships. Capt. John Codman is the man of whom the Capital of last Sunday said:

The association of foreign steamship-owners and agents in New York, known as the "North Atlantic conference," has broken up and the companies are now engaged in a rather hot competition, which promises to destroy their profits during whatever period it may last. This association of foreign steamship-owners was an organization of which little was known by the general public. It disbursed large amounts of money in the interest of the foreign companies and some of it found its way to Washington. In fact, lobbying in the interest of the foreign ship-owners was one of the special purposes of the association. I am told that Capt. John Codman, the free-trade writer and agitator, was maintained for years by this organization. A gentleman closely identified with steamship interests told me that the funds of the "conference" were used freely to influence the New York press, and, whenever necessary, to influence official action in Washington.

Capt. John Codman, then, must be authority as to this point which I raise, and in his examination before the special committee of the last Congress in relation to this very thing he said:

I have suggested a limited tonnage—

I think his suggestion was 3,000 tons, was it not? The Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] says it was—

I have suggested a limited tonnage, which will not materially interfere with the coasting trade, rather than the admission of ships to be used in the foreign trade exclusively.

"Materially interfere with the coasting trade!" All the best vessels nearly in our coasting trade to-day come very near the 3,000 tons. He says further:

The reason is, that no Americans would wish to own ships whose voyages they could not control.

That is perfectly sound. The folly of an American speculator who would go into the buying of a ship when he could not control her after she was bought would be supreme.

If they could not use them when they desired to do so in the coasting trade, they would prefer to own them as they own them now, under the British flag, because it is more economical, and they are protected by a more efficient navy than ours.

Says Mr. Codman, on the next page, in answer to a question by Mr. DINGLEY:

Mr. DINGLEY. Is it necessary for a foreign-built vessel to participate in the coasting trade?

Mr. CODMAN. Yes, sir.

After that the deluge. Admit to American registry foreign-built ships, then, logically, as you must be compelled to do, admit them to your coasting trade, and then the old hulks in England, the sailor-coffins lying there idle now, will be purchased for half what decent ships can be built for here or elsewhere and put into our coasting trade. There is a shipyard in Hull that never has built a ship fit to sail on the ocean, that does nothing under the sun except build the poorest, cheapest ships, fit only to be sold to the insurance companies, which is generally their destiny. Ships from that yard, ships pronounced unseaworthy by the engineers, ships discarded from service by the Chamberlain bill when it becomes a law, the old iron ships of England, would come in here and with their cheaper crews would take absolute possession of our coasting trade, and the pride of America would once more be humbled.

Mr. President, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] in bringing forward this amendment is a skillful physician for a very sick patient. He dares not offer the bitter pill of free ships. No, the patient would not take it, and therefore he sugar-coats it with the provision of his amendment for free material, giving one the sugar and the other the bitter dose. Who asked the Senator from Missouri for free materials? I say there is not a ship-builder in the United States who has asked for such free-ship materials as these. I say there is not an iron-ship builder in the United States who desires that free-material clause. I say there is not an iron-ship builder in the United States who can build ships in competition with "free ships," even with the help of that free-material clause. It admits iron anchors, cables, iron plates, castings, forgings, angle-iron, beams, masts, yards, rivets, bolts, nuts, screws, engines, boiler-plates, tubes, machinery, and in fact all the materials that go into the building of an iron steamer free of duty. The remedy would be useless: first, because it would require a much larger capital and a more extended credit on the part of the American ship-builder; second, because the necessary delay in filling an order for a 4,000-ton ship would consume at least four months' time; and third, the American ship-builder purchasing the materials for such an iron ship would be subjected to freight bills and other expenses to enable him to lay them down in his yard ready for use of about \$40,000, while the Senator from Missouri under the free-ship clause could purchase the same materials fitted into a completed ship, freight her, sail her to New York, and it may be clear twenty or thirty thousand dollars by the voyage. Again, the "free materials" in cost would be about one-third of the completed ship. The other two-thirds, entirely labor, would be furnished by our mechanics at daily wages nearly double those prevailing in England.

How about these wages? I have here, very fortunately published recently, taken from an English paper, the wages which were adopted in English ship-yards only a few months ago:

Since the year came in the ship-yards have not worked half or even quarter the forces of last year. Whole yards are lying idle and in others the work hours have been cut down and wages reduced. On the 1st of March the following scale of time-wages went into effect: Carpenters, \$1.32 per day; joiners, \$1.28; spar-makers, \$1.25; riveters and calkers, \$1.20; smiths and riggers, \$1.14; painters, \$1.10; fitters, \$1.08; sailmakers, \$1.04; strikers, 80 cents. Piece-work was to be reduced 20 per cent. under the change. The workmen are intelligent enough to comprehend the situation and cheerfully accept the reduced wages.

In my State, in our ship-yards, where the other two-thirds of that ship must be built, the wages are to-day twice those named in that scale. The average of wages in the ship-yard in this country is \$2 a day, while the average of this scale is about \$1.08, so that you get your one-third in free materials under that clause. You have an extra charge upon them of \$40,000 to bring them here. Then you have a double rate of wages under which to build and to fit for sea the other two-thirds of that ship, and the Senator from Missouri with his free-bought ship escapes the whole. I ask, in the name of a decent common sense, how does that free-material clause help us, indissolubly connected as it is with the clause admitting foreign-built ships free of duty to an American registry?

The House bill also comes to us sugar-coated with the limitation of 4,000 tons. Some Senators entertain the idea that there is comparative safety in such a limitation. The freight ships of to-day and of the future are to be 4,000 tons and upward. And no Senator need flatter himself with the idea that this restriction affords any protection.

Mr. MORGAN. The Senator from Maine is a member of the Committee on Commerce; will he allow me to ask him whether the House bill has been reported to the Senate?

Mr. FRYE. It has been brought here.

Mr. MORGAN. It is in the Senate now?

Mr. FRYE. Yes, sir; it is on the table.

Mr. MORGAN. Then I would ask whether that bill will be taken up and acted on as a substitute for this?

Mr. FRYE. I can not tell.

Mr. MORGAN. Does the Senator favor that proceeding?

Mr. FRYE. That depends, sir.

Mr. MORGAN. That depends?

Mr. FRYE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORGAN. I supposed we were engaged in some real act of legislation here, and not merely in a debating society proceeding over the question of free ships. I felt anxious that there should be something that there was a prospect of putting in the shape of law, and I hoped the Senator from Maine would bring up the House bill and let it be acted on in lieu of this bill, as this is a Senate bill and would have to go to the House and be put upon the Speaker's table, which is so heavily encumbered now, I believe, with more than two hundred Senate bills, the House never would get to it.

Mr. FRYE. I do not understand why the Senator should suggest that passing the Senate bill it may not become a law. Why is it a waste of time to pass the Senate bill?

Mr. MORGAN. I suppose that the two hundred orders or more which are on the Speaker's table would of course take precedence of this, and it would be perfectly understood that, the House having acted upon a bill and sent it to us, the Senate would act upon the House bill and not put them to the trouble of considering a bill of ours. Their bill came to us before we debated this question.

Mr. FRYE. It would be better for the Senate at once to adjourn and do no more business if that is the assumption upon which we are to proceed.

Mr. MORGAN. If the Senator will allow me, it would be better that we should adjourn than not to try to do a thing, or to debate something which is a mere pretense of doing business, when in fact it has no sort of direction.

Mr. FRYE. I decline to be interrupted further. I hardly see what that has to do with this question. I thought the Senator wished to ask a question.

Mr. MORGAN. I asked it and got an answer.

Mr. FRYE. I say the House bill came to the Senate with the limitation of 4,000 tons intended to satisfy Senators that that proposition was a safe one; but I ask any Senator here within hearing of my voice what his reply is to me, if that becomes a law, and I ask the right to import a 3,000-ton ship, or a 2,000-ton ship, or any ship? Why should a man worth a million dollars be permitted to go abroad and buy a 4,000-ton ship for two or three hundred thousand dollars less than he can buy it here, and the man of smaller means, wishing to buy a 3,000-ton ship, be compelled to pay the higher price for the American ship? What is the logic of that? There is none. As a matter of course, if you to-day put the limitation of 4,000 tons on the ship that may be imported, tomorrow that limitation will be removed; it must be removed logically, and you must admit any ship that any man wishes to buy to an American register or none at all.

Then, again, the House proposition is utterly absurd in this, more absurd than the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri, because the House bill leaves the duty from 30 to 45 per cent. upon all

materials entering into a ship and admits a 4,000-ton ship free from all duty.

Mr. BAYARD. In the debate, if I may refer to it, there was a clear admission that the free-material clause should accompany the free-ship clause.

Mr. FRYE. I have undertaken to show that the free-material clause is not worth a cent to a ship-builder with free ships coupled with it, and that no ship-builder asks for it, nor could it be taken advantage of.

Mr. BECK. The Senator from Maine is interrupted now, and if he will allow me, he to-day announced that no ship-builder in this country was willing for free ships even if free material was allowed. Am I correct in that?

Mr. FRYE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BECK. A dispatch was sent to me a little while ago from a friend in the House which reads thus:

DETROIT, MICH., April 30, 1884.

FRANK H. HURD:

If you will give us free materials we are willing to have free ships and fear no competition.

FRANK E. KIRBY.

Mr. Kirby represents the largest iron-ship building industry on the great lakes.

FRANK H. HURD.

I called on the Senator from Michigan [Mr. PALMER] a few moments ago and asked him who Mr. Kirby was, and he corroborated what Mr. HURD said, that he was connected with the largest ship-building industry there, a highly respectable and a very intelligent man. That is all I know about it.

Mr. FRYE. I am not surprised that one should be found in the whole country, nor would it amaze me if Mr. Kirby failed to understand the amendments.

Again, sir, there is another interest to be looked out for here in this matter of free ships. There are iron-ship yards in this country doing to-day an immense business, and prepared to do very much more. Take the ship-yard of William Cramp & Sons, of Philadelphia, and there is no ship-yard that stands higher. Their names are known all over this country and all over Europe. They have built some of the best vessels that ever have been built in the world. They built a few months ago a vessel called the San Pueblo. It carried 4,500 tons dead weight; an iron steamship. It cost \$350,000. It was built for the Pacific Improvement Company. Its first voyage was from New York to Port Said, and it made it quicker than any ship anywhere ever did before. It went through the Suez Canal, the first large American steamer that ever went through the canal. It sailed from there to Singapore. It made the quickest time from New York to Singapore that ever was made by any steamship. The voyage was successful. William Cramp & Sons have been two generations in establishing their reputation as ship-builders. They have a plant of at least \$1,200,000. They have all the machinery necessary for building iron ships. Mr. Cramp told me that in eight months' time he could float six 4,000-ton ships from his yard. He has to-day three iron ships on the stocks, and one just launched, averaging over 3,000 tons each. He has immense machinery, everything required for building ships of three, four, five, or six thousand tons. That business built up with an experience of two generations is worth something to the owners, but more to the United States.

Take John Roach. He has a plant of over \$2,000,000 invested in the Morgan Iron Works in New York city and in his yards at Chester. He is prepared to build ships of any size, and has built several over 5,000 tons burden. He employs 3,000 men, has all of the appliances, all of the tools, everything necessary in his own ownership to commence from the very bottom and build every part of his ship and float her on the ocean. That ship-yard is worth something to the United States of America.

Take the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company, names as familiar as household words in this country as ship-builders, names above reproach anywhere, experienced, skilled men, with experienced and skilled laborers, and a million dollars for a plant. Their ship-yard is of value to this Republic. Take Pusey & Jones, also experienced ship-builders; a million-dollar plant. Take Goringe's new company on the Delaware; I presume a million-dollar plant, too. Take Neaffie & Levy at Philadelphia; another million dollars. Take the Dialogue Works in New Jersey; another million dollars.

By the last census there were 2,188 ship-building establishments, with a capital invested of \$20,979,874. In those establishments there were 21,845 workmen, who received in wages annually \$12,713,813. Besides these employers and employes directly affected by the passage of a free-ship bill there are the iron and steel manufacturers, their workmen, iron-ore and coal miners, lumbermen and raftsmen, sail and boiler makers, boiler and steam-engine works outside the ship-building establishments, associated together, employing more than 1,000,000 men.

It was a slight thing in olden days to own a ship-yard. Three thousand dollars would be plant enough for the building of the wooden ship. But when it comes to building iron ships it will take a million dollars at least, especially to build a ship of 4,000 tons and upward. Mr. Goss, the leading wooden-ship builder in the United States, living in

my own State, at Bath, Me., building more wooden ships to-day than all the rest of the ship-builders together, has already entered into an agreement with Boston parties to go down here to Alexandria and invest \$1,000,000 in an iron-ship yard there, the iron and the coal being nearer than in his own State and the saving of freight being great. They are simply awaiting the result of this bill in Congress.

I submit that free ships would ruin every yard that I have named in this country and would stop absolutely every project for new yards. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN], who interrupted me a moment ago, has in his State the best opportunity for iron-ship building that is to be found in the United States—coal, iron, water lying right side by side, and the land to-day not worth more than \$15 an acre. Pass this free-ship clause and it never will be worth more. Pass the rest of this bill and leave the free-ship clause off, and in less than ten years there will be millions of dollars invested in the State of Alabama in building iron ships, for the experience of men shows that you must go where the iron and the coal and the water are; you can not afford to bring the coal and the iron where you are.

Who has asked for free ships? Has any ship-owner? Has any ship-builder? Has any ship-carpenter asked for free ships? Has any mechanic working in those ship-yards asked for free ships? Have any of the million of men who to-day are interested in ship-building in this country, directly or indirectly, as laborers, ever asked for free ships? No one asks for them except importers, who ask for free trade in everything. France and England and Germany would like free ships. Of course they would, and then in the event of a war they would know where to go with their merchantships. They would go under the American flag, and each one of those nations with a free-ship clause could save 25 per cent. at least in the expense of maintaining a navy to take care of their great commercial interests. It is for this England so persistently seeks it at our hands, not for the sake of selling ships.

Once more I wish to appeal to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]. Here is a bill every section of which is admitted to be healthy, wise, just, every section of which and every amendment that the committee proposes to make to it, relieving American shipping from serious burdens it has borne now for a century, every section of it calculated to help to the revival of the merchant marine, the committee of the House unanimously agreeing that that is so, the Committee on Commerce on the part of the Senate unanimously agreeing that it is so. Why, I ask him, should he, then, where there is absolute agreement upon every other clause, bring in here a proposition which at least one-half would believe would be absolute destruction to the interests involved, which every ship-builder believes would destroy his ship-yard, which every ship-owner knows would depreciate the ships in his hands?

Mr. President, I was asked by several Senators to explain generally this bill, and as briefly as I can I will. Section 1 provides that officers of American ships other than the captain may under certain circumstances be foreigners. The law requiring American ships to be officered entirely by Americans was passed many years ago, was well at the time because our sailors were American, and in case a mate or second mate was disabled there was no difficulty in supplying his place in a foreign port. To-day it is changed; the most of our seamen are foreigners, and frequently now an American ship in a foreign port with a disabled mate can not supply his place with an American officer. To that section there is no objection, unanimously reported by the House committee, unanimously reported by the Senate committee, passed the House of Representatives twice, passed the United States Senate without division.

Sections 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 relate entirely to what is known as extra wages. The statutes to-day provide that in almost every contingency if an American master discharges his sailors in a foreign port, with or without their consent, he shall pay three months' extra wages, besides all the wages that are due—two months to go to the sailor and one month to the United States Treasury. That was well when it became a law and our sailors had homes, were American, and did not wish to be left in foreign ports; but to-day our sailors are at home in one port as in another, and are as willing to be discharged in one port as in another. Yet if you undertake even with the consent of your crew to discharge them in a foreign port you are compelled to pay three months' extra wages. Twice since I have been in Congress I have recovered, in one case \$1,500 and in another twelve hundred and odd dollars, for fees exacted under that law. I have a dozen cases lying in my desk where those wages have been exacted, on one ship twice within three months, amounting to over \$3,000. The proposed amendments of our law correspond almost entirely with the English law. England has repealed the extra-wage clause. It now, only in unusual circumstances, allows one month's wages to be exacted, and that one month's wages in England is only a little over half the one month we provide for in this bill for American ships and American sailors. These three clauses have passed unanimously three committees, twice through the House, once through the Senate without a division, again unanimously from the Senate Committee on Commerce, and I believe there is no objection to them.

The ninth section provides for the return of sailors home left in foreign ports sick or destitute. The law as it stands to-day compels every American vessel to take two for each one hundred tons burden and carry them home and receive as pay \$10. The average voyage from

Melbourne to New York is one hundred to one hundred and ten days, and under that law an American master in Melbourne is compelled to take two destitute or sick sailors for each one hundred tons and carry them, supporting them in every way for one hundred and ten days, for \$10. This section repeals that law, and provides that it shall be \$10 where the voyage does not exceed thirty days and where it exceeds thirty days it may be \$20.

Section 10 is a provision about advance wages. It is purely philanthropic. It is tentative entirely. I have little or no faith in it; but the friends of the sailors, the humanitarians, were exceedingly anxious to have some section here to prevent the advanced wages. To-day the sailors are in the hands of boarding-house keepers. The boarding-house keeper makes the demand upon the captain of the ship; the captain of the ship advances two months' wages; the boarding-house keeper gets the whole of it; the sailors taken on board the ship are compelled to work two months for nothing, and no one has received a dollar of payment except the boarding-house keeper and the groggeries in the cities. This is an attempt to rectify that. I do not believe it can be done. I never yet have seen any power on earth equal to the power of a sailor boarding-house keeper; anything can be evaded. England has tried for fifteen years to stop that and has not succeeded. This is our first attempt by legislation. I suppose no one will object to the trial.

Section 11 requires the ship to carry a complement of clothing, tobacco, &c., and sloop-chest. That is necessary, so that the sailor may supply himself when he gets on board, and nobody objects to it.

Section 12 repeals all consular fees now charged to vessels. It may amount to \$100,000 a year. Our consular system is self-supporting. Last year the United States made \$50,000 or \$60,000 out of its consular system, and I see now one branch of the Government in its economic frenzy is cutting down the wages of the consuls still more. Why, when the United States vessels and vessels from other countries support them and pay into the Treasury of the United States \$50,000 or \$60,000 of excess every year? The bill repeals those consular fees, the whole of them. That also has passed Congress, both branches; it has passed the committees unanimously, and no one objects to it.

Section 14 relates to the tonnage tax. We collect now, from what is known as a war tax, the tonnage tax, \$1,400,000 a year, from vessels. That is all covered into the United States Treasury and is clear profit. About \$300,000 of it comes from our vessels and the balance from foreign ships. If it all came from ours we would repeal it as a war tax as unfit to stand. Foreign governments charge us, not tonnage tax, but light dues and other taxes more than the equivalent of this tax. Therefore it is deemed wise to retain this. But under existing law a 2,000-ton ship which makes only one voyage in a year pays a tax of \$600 for that year. An English steamship of 2,000 tons making ten round voyages in the year pays \$600 and no more, the steamer paying no more than the sailing vessel.

We have undertaken to provide in the bill against that discrimination against the sailing vessel, and we provide that the tonnage tax shall be 3 cents a ton on certain vessels certain voyages, not exceeding 15 cents in any year, and collected at every entry. We provide further that on other ships and on other voyages it shall be 6 cents at each entry, not to exceed 30 cents, the present amount, for any one year. I presume there would be no objection to that. That would leave in the Treasury of the United States above \$1,000,000 a year.

Section 15 relates to the hospital tax. We collect under our law to-day 40 cents every month from every sailor on an American ship for the support of hospitals. It amounts to \$400,000 a year, and it just about supports the hospitals. I think (the Senator from Missouri will remember) it came within a few thousand dollars last year, did it not?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. FRYE. It just about supports the hospitals. Every civilized nation has hospitals for its sailors, and no civilized nation charges the sailors for it. This is a charge against the sailors, but the vessels are compelled to pay it, of course, because in shipping our crews every sailor knows the fact he is to be taxed 40 cents a month, and that amount is added to his wages, so that the vessels here pay \$400,000 a year, and the vessels of no other country pay a cent for like service. We have provided for its absolute repeal.

Mr. BECK. If the Senator will allow me to inquire—I looked at it, but I am not prepared myself to state—is the committee entirely satisfied that we can give no relief in regard to the tonnage tax to American ships without the law also affecting foreigners the same way?

Mr. FRYE. That was the conclusion they arrived at after an examination. I had supposed formerly that it could be done, but I examined it with a good deal of care and came to the conclusion it could not be.

Mr. BECK. I was aware that the Senator from Maine at one time thought it possible, so I asked him the question, though I was not sure myself.

Mr. FRYE. I remember that about the same time, and in about the same discussion, I stated another thing which I thought I knew absolutely, and that was that it was in the power of the United States to relieve those ships from taxation. I think a good many and very much abler lawyers than I am had the same opinion, and yet on consulting the Senator from Missouri once he informed me that he thought I had better look over the law. I did so, and in about two hours' time

I came to the conclusion that the United States was utterly powerless in the premises, that it was a matter within the States and for the States, and that the United States could not do it. I am happy to be able to say that I learn something every day, and the more I associate with distinguished gentlemen like the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Kentucky the more I am learning; but I never shall learn to like free ships from either of them.

The House bill provides in one section that the cost of supporting the hospitals shall be charged to the collection from the tonnage tax. This bill contains no such provision.

Section 16 provides that all articles of foreign production, supplies for vessels engaged in the foreign trade, shall be taken from bonded warehouses free of duty. That section created some commotion. The men who are engaged in the manufacture of rigging, sails, and cordage appeared before the committee and protested against it, because it admitted free of duty all which would go into the equipment of a ship. I hardly believed it. I understood the words "supplies" and "stores" to be technical and not to apply to equipment; but rather than make any mistake I addressed a note to Mr. James, chief of the customs division of the Treasury Department, in Washington, asking him, and I received the following reply. In order to quiet those gentlemen I will have it read and made a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAMERON, of Wisconsin, in the chair). The Secretary will read the communication.

The Secretary read as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, April 18, 1884.

DEAR SIR: In answer to the inquiries contained in your note of yesterday, I have to state that the words "ship-stores" and "ship supplies" are understood in the practice of this office as equivalent to each other and to the corresponding words "sea-stores" and "sea supplies," and appears to have been generally applied to such articles as are consumed on board, by being eaten, drunk, or burnt; that rigging, sails, anchors, chronometers, &c., are designated as equipment, and that the question what quantity of sea-stores or supplies should be dutiable as sufficient is wholly within the judgment of the collector of customs to whom the list of such supplies is presented by the master of an arriving vessel.

Very respectfully,

H. B. JAMES,
Chief of Customs Division.

Hon. W. P. FRYE, United States Senate.

Mr. FRYE. This simply puts us on an equality with the English ship-owner as to supplies. He has always had them free of duty and the right to withdraw them from bonded warehouses.

Section 17 is a provision in which the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BAYARD] will feel some interest. There is a statute somewhere (I tried to find it this morning and could not) which provides that articles of American manufacture for foreign markets made wholly from foreign materials shall be entitled to a drawback of 90 per cent. when exported. We manufactured a great many different agricultural implements, and very early the Treasury Department put a construction upon that law which forbade the manufacturer from putting into the article anything of American product, holding that even if a piece of wood of American growth was used he could not get his 90 per cent. drawback; and by several statutes we have provided against that construction for agricultural implements.

We have been building ships for the South American markets principally under that statute, and the Treasury Department has held the same construction, that if a plank of American growth was put into the ship no drawback could be received. That is distinguishing against us, our products and our people, and it is compelling the builder in order to get the drawback to send abroad for every dollar's worth of the material. This section provides, as has been provided about agricultural implements, that if the ship is manufactured wholly or in part of foreign material the builder shall be entitled to the drawback on the articles imported. That will have a very beneficial effect, and will enable the ship-builder on the Delaware River to build all the vessels required for the South American waters.

Section 18 touches the individual liability of ship-owners. To-day, except as otherwise provided by statute, in case of collisions, torts, embezzlements, &c., the American ship-owners are simply copartners. A dozen in the ownership, each a twelfth, or more or less, as ships are owned in our country, are copartners in the law, and in any contracts that are made, no matter what they may be, each one is held for the whole. This deters many men of wealth from undertaking to build ships. It will be remembered that we are not copartners in the ordinary association of such. It will be remembered that my share of the ship can be disposed of without the consent of the others. At any day, at any moment, I can register the bill of sale, and I am no longer a member of the copartnership, and so every share of the ship may be disposed of without the consent of the other owners. It must be understood, too, that we have no more control of our ships as ship-owners than the stockholders in a great factory have; not so much, because our ship is out of our sight three-fourths of the time. We relieve stockholders in these corporations from any liability beyond their stock simply because they are conducted by agents and superintendents; but your ship is controlled by agents and superintendents, and those agents are out of your sight and out of your reach for months at a time. I believe that that liability should be limited, and it will be a great inducement and encouragement to men of wealth to invest in ships.

Mr. BROWN. To what is the liability limited?

Mr. FRYE. To the extent of the amount owned, the same as in a corporation.

The committee have authorized me to offer certain amendments to the bill, which I will address myself to at this moment. The first two amendments are suggested by the able speech of the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST] made on free ships when the naval appropriation bill was under consideration. One serious objection urged by the Senator was that if we shipped a crew in Liverpool for a round voyage to New York and back we were compelled to discharge them in New York and reship them. If we shipped them for three months and we entered a home port twice in the three months we were compelled to discharge them each time and reship them. The Senator from Missouri complained that it increased the wages and thus made a discrimination against American ships. I complained not that it did that, but that it placed an additional expense upon the American ship which was without reason. It costs the Philadelphia line \$6,000 every year to reship when they hire their hands by the year at so much a month. These two provisions commend themselves to the Senator from Missouri for the one reason, to me for the other, and to the committee unanimously for both. I have no doubt they will be productive of great good. In fact, I have received letters and telegrams already indicating the importance in which they are held elsewhere.

The next amendment I am authorized to offer is a section in reference to the painting of the name of the ship on the stern. Not very important that must appear to Senators. Many of our ship-owners in the State of Maine think more of that than they do of the rest of this bill. The man who owns a ship looks upon her as his wife or his children; he loves his ship; and under the law as it stands to-day he is required to paint on the stern the name, it may be that of his wife or of his daughter and the port to which she belongs. For seventy-five years the port to which she belonged was construed to be the place where she was owned, and if a man built a ship in Surry and she was owned there, he painted on the stern the "Mary Ann, from Surry, Me." In 1875 a sharp Treasury official discovered that it was a violation of the law. He reported to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary issued an order that all those ships must bear the name of the port of entry regardless of where they were built or owned. They are building vessels, home vessels, owned at home, owned in families, in many instances by the blacksmith, the carpenter, the captain, and the mate. Their vessels they wish to name after one of the family and the home, the place where she is owned and built, and yet under the construction of the Treasury Department she may be the "Julia Ann" from Machias, her port of entry, but actually built and owned a hundred miles from there. Take Bath and Richmond, on the Kennebec River—Bath, the greatest ship-building city in the United States to-day of wooden ships; her rival, Richmond, is fifteen miles above. The men who build their ships in Richmond regard it as about as serious a wrong as can be imposed upon them by law to compel them to put a ship built there and owned there under the name of Bath, her port of entry, and Bath would fully reciprocate under like circumstances. I take it that no Senator will object to that provision.

Mr. HALE. Just there let me ask my colleague, was not the reason for the ruling of the Secretary of the Treasury that the technical view was taken of the word "port," and it was concluded there could be nothing but the port of entry, thereby taking away this privilege from the men who built the ship?

Mr. FRYE. I so understand it.

The next provision I was authorized to offer was:

That until the provisions of section 1, chapter 376, of the laws of 1882 shall be made applicable to passengers coming into the United States by land carriage, said provision shall not apply to passengers coming by vessels employed exclusively in the trade between the ports of the United States and the ports of the Dominion of Canada or the ports of Mexico.

A law was passed in 1882 imposing a head-tax upon emigrants of 50 cents a head. It was for the benefit principally of New York city. It intended to apply as a matter of course to emigrants crossing the ocean. Nobody dreamed it would apply to those coming across a river or a bridge or a ferry-boat, or anything of that kind, from Canada. Under that law to-day every steamer sailing from Portland or Eastport or Machias, Me., across one hundred miles to Saint John or up the Saint John River or down to Halifax is compelled to pay 50 cents a head for every Canadian returning in her to the United States. There is a railroad running right down by the coast going straight across the Saint John River into Saint John city, and that can bring all the emigrants it pleases without being subject to any tax. You may take it up the Saint Lawrence River, it is the same. If you ride over the railroad bridge you pay no tax; if you come across the ferry-boat you pay 50 cents a head; and so all the way along the borders of the Canadian coast down the lakes and the rivers. It is working a great hardship and injustice, and it ought not to apply except as this provision directs it shall. I trust that amendment will be adopted.

Now, I come to what I regard as the most important provision of the whole bill, and that is sections 19 and 20. Under the law to-day the United States seizes an American vessel, detains her at the wharf until the mail-bag is ready, puts the mail-bag on board, compels her to deliver it at the port of destination, and pays her about 1 cent a letter. In one-third of the cases to South American ports it does not pay the ship the actual cost of delivering the letters at the port of destination.

To all the Mexican and South American ports last year the whole amount paid for carrying the United States mails was \$10,351.57 under that infamous law. I say that \$10,351.57 did not pay \$5,000 over

and above the actual cost of handling and delivering those mails. Let me present a table showing the sums paid last year for ocean mail service:

Statement showing the sums paid for ocean conveyance of mails exchanged between the United States and Mexico and South America during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1883, and the lines of vessels employed in the conveyance of said mails.

MEXICO.		
Line.	Termini of service.	Amount paid.
New York, Havana and Mexican Mail Steamship Company.....	New York to Mexico.....	\$4,485 15
Do.....	New Orleans to Mexico.....	644 89
California and Mexican Steamship Company.....	San Francisco to Mexico.....	358 44
Pacific Mail Steamship Company.....	New York to Mexico.....	50 48
Do.....	San Francisco to Mexico.....	975 48
North and South American Steam Navigation Company.....	New York to Mexico.....	51
Morgan line.....	Galveston to Mexico.....	14 79
Steamer Chase.....	New Orleans to Mexico.....	485 69
Steamer Sidberry.....	do.....	10 60
	do.....	46 78
Total.....		7,051 81
SOUTH AMERICA.		
Atlas Line.....	New York to United States of Colombia.....	\$606 41
Do.....	New York to Venezuela.....	7 93
Red D Line.....	do.....	653 24
Royal Mail Steamship Company.....	New York to United States of Colombia.....	42 96
Pacific Mail Steamship Company.....	do.....	1,520 63
Do.....	New York to Colon for Chile.....	954 51
Do.....	New York to Colon for Ecuador.....	304 64
Pacific Mail Steamship Company.....	New York to Colon for Peru.....	\$1,052 77
Do.....	San Francisco to United States of Colombia.....	79 89
Do.....	San Francisco to Panama for Chile.....	94 43
Do.....	San Francisco to Panama for Ecuador.....	9 99
Do.....	San Francisco to Panama for Peru.....	73 81
Do.....	New York to British packet agents Colon and Panama.....	27 62
Do.....	New York to United States consul, Panama.....	5 50
Do.....	San Francisco to United States ships and United States consul, Panama.....	208 70
North and South American Steam Navigation Company.....	New York to Colon for Chile.....	7 47
Do.....	New York to Colon for Peru.....	5 57
Do.....	New York to United States of Colombia.....	84 35
Do.....	New York to Colon for Ecuador.....	1 85
Steamer Mendoza.....	New York to Argentine Republic.....	43 75
United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company.....	New York to Brazil.....	2,377 74
Do.....	Baltimore to Brazil.....	108 86
Do.....	New York to Brazil for Argentine Republic, &c.....	199 22
Merchants' Line.....	New York to Brazil.....	1,128 01
Do.....	Philadelphia to Brazil.....	19 73
Do.....	Baltimore to Brazil.....	30 13
Do.....	New York to Brazil for Argentine Republic, &c.....	58 49
Booth & Co.'s steamers.....	New York to Brazil.....	370 92
Do.....	New York to Brazil for Argentine Republic, &c.....	8 38
Morris Wain & Co.'s steamers.....	Philadelphia to Brazil and to Brazil for Argentine Republic, &c.....	199 61
W. H. Crossman & Co.'s steamers.....	New York to Brazil and to Brazil for Argentine Republic, &c.....	66 73
William Darley & Bentley's steamers.....	Boston to Brazil.....	8 13
Total.....		10,351 57

Last year we paid the Pacific Mail Steamship Company for carrying the United States mails \$21,559.34, 7 cents a mile. We paid the American line from Philadelphia to Queenstown \$3,006.37, 3 cents a mile; and two years ago we paid from Galveston to Brashear, for one year, \$50,000, or a dollar a mile. That was a coastwise vessel, while the former was an American vessel sailing to foreign ports.

Great Britain carried last year 46,051,500 letters on the ocean; the United States carried 23,958,691. The United States made \$1,300,000 and covered it into the Treasury; and Great Britain paid \$1,600,000 more than she received for twice the number of letters. The United States, under that infamous statute which authorizes the Postmaster-General to seize a vessel and compel her to take the mails, covers into the Treasury every year over a million dollars taken out of the merchant marine, and then Senators wonder what is the trouble with this service, and every time any attempt has been made to repeal that section the cry of "subsidy" has been raised and the repeal has never been made.

The United States paid last year for its whole foreign mail service about \$279,000; \$40,000 of it went to American ships; the balance of it, about \$239,000, to foreign ships. The largest price paid by the United States to an American vessel was 7 cents a mile. What is it in the steamboat service on our rivers, lakes, and coast? San Francisco, Cal., to Eureka, Cal., \$6,500 a year—58 cents a mile; Portland, Oreg., to The Dalles, Oreg., \$7,487—21 cents a mile; Seattle, Wash., to Sehome,

Wash., \$8,439.83—32 cents a mile; Port Townsend, Wash., to Sitka, Alaska, \$16,000—\$1.23 a mile; San Francisco, Cal., to Portland, Oreg., \$22,000—69 cents a mile; New Tacoma, Wash., to Port Townsend, Wash., \$29,700—97 cents a mile. How does that contrast with the 7 cents a mile to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and 3 cents a mile to the expiring Philadelphia and Queenstown line? How can Senators justify the continuance on the statute-book of a statute which does that gross injustice? What is the difference between sailing and carrying your mails across the ocean to a foreign port and carrying them from Galveston to Brashear, or from Boston to Portland, or from New York to Baltimore? Why do you apply one rule in the one case and another rule in the other? Why is it a subsidy for you to pay a reasonable price for carrying the mail to Liverpool and not a subsidy when you pay an unreasonable price for carrying it to Sitka?

Take your star-routes. I have half a dozen of them here, which I will present, where the pay per mile to one is 20 cents, to another 27 cents, to another 25 cents, to another 45 cents, and to another 29 cents.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECOND ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
Washington, D. C., January 8, 1884.

SIR: In reply to your letter of the 7th instant (No. 64025 Stat.) I have the honor to inform you that this office can not give you the weight of mails on steamboat and star mail-routes, but the following table will show you the length of travel, the frequency, and cost of six of the largest of the steamboat routes, and also six of the largest star-routes:

STEAMBOAT ROUTES.

No. of route.	From—	To—	Pay per mile.	Miles.	Trips.	Annual pay.
46096.....	San Francisco, Cal.....	Eureka, Cal.....	\$0 58+	216	Once a week.....	\$6,500 00
44099.....	Portland, Oreg.....	The Dalles, Oreg.....	21+	111	Six times a week.....	7,487 00
43098.....	Seattle, Wash.....	Sehome, Wash.....	32+	167	Three times a week.....	8,439 83
43096.....	Port Townsend, Wash.....	Sitka, Alaska.....	1 23+	1,083	Once a month.....	16,000 00
46100.....	San Francisco, Cal.....	Portland, Oreg.....	69+	688	Four times a month.....	22,000 00
43097.....	New Tacoma, Wash.....	Port Townsend, Wash.....	97+	98	Six times a week.....	29,700 00

STAR SERVICE.

No. of route.	From—	To—	Pay per mile.	Miles.	Trips.	Annual pay.
46162.	Cedarville, Cal.	Reno, Nev.	20+	177	Six times a week.	\$11,328 00
46155.	Bieber, Cal.	Lakeview, Oreg.	27+	115½	Seven times a week.	11,500 00
37116.	Green River City, Idaho	Fort Washakie, Wyo.	25+	153½	Seven times a week.	13,000 00
42121.	Boise City, Idaho	Winnemucca, Nev.	27+	267	Seven times a week.	26,700 00
46153.	Redding, Cal.	Grant's Pass, Oreg.	45+	200½	Seven times a week.	34,572 00
41111.	Kelton, Utah	Pendleton, Oreg.	29+	544½	Seven times a week.	57,665 97

Very respectfully,
HON. JAMES S. CRAWFORD, Superintendent Foreign Mails.

H. D. LYMAN, Acting Second Assistant Postmaster-General.

Why, Mr. President, the average paid on star-routes and steamboat service coastwise is 57½ cents a mile, and the average paid on the ocean for your foreign mail service, when you are trying to recover and restore your merchant marine, is not 5 cents a mile. Why? Because the Postmaster-General has absolute power and dominion over your vessels under that statute.

Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky shied when he struck these two sections. He said that he had a little fear that there might be a subsidy here. What is a subsidy? The Senator from Missouri in his speech the other day said that England never paid a subsidy; she paid for carrying the mail. Is this a subsidy, paying for carrying the United States mail at a fair and reasonable price? Is the Senator from Kentucky unwilling to pay a fair and reasonable price for this service? Does the Senator from Kentucky believe that it is not only right but it is the duty of the United States to pay a fair price for carrying the mail anywhere? It never will until this section of the statutes is repealed.

This bill simply provides that the United States may pay as much as it receives—no more; that is to say, the foreign mails shall be self-supporting. Is that subsidy? Suppose it was required of Kentucky, let me see how she would come out. We paid last year for mail service and mail facilities in Kentucky \$135,816.93 more than Kentucky paid us; we paid for Missouri \$305,429.17 last year more than we got from the mail service there; we paid for Texas \$749,238.64 last year more than we received; we paid for Arkansas \$540,309.56 more than we received. We even paid for the great State of Ohio nearly \$600,000 last year for her mail facilities over and beyond what the State of Ohio actually paid into the United States Treasury for the Post-Office establishment. Suppose we take Missouri, Ohio, Kentucky, and the rest of those States, and say that that is a subsidy, and refuse to give them any more than this section gives for the foreign mails, why should we not? I will submit this table as a matter of information:

States.	1880.		1881.	
	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.
Maine.....	\$4,860 40		\$54,642 71	
New Hampshire.....	45,329 58		60,080 71	
Vermont.....		\$13,250 11		\$602 40
Massachusetts.....	737,210 18		919,091 56	
Rhode Island.....	114,638 44		129,345 62	
Connecticut.....	142,106 91		164,577 54	
New York.....	1,816,069 56		2,011,475 43	
New Jersey.....	138,892 59		108,234 06	
Pennsylvania.....	496,832 40		653,403 85	
Delaware.....	7,727 58		14,950 81	
Maryland.....		50,451 42		29,084 98
Virginia.....	226,736 30		320,309 33	
West Virginia.....	36,326 68		27,928 77	
North Carolina.....	150,339 80		164,448 78	
South Carolina.....	67,728 29		77,461 51	
Georgia.....	182,187 06		238,902 71	
Florida.....	123,183 65		138,146 70	
Ohio.....	437,000 66		506,516 02	
Michigan.....	139,618 91		192,371 21	
Indiana.....		52,313 87		43,136 70
Illinois.....	172,024 62		294,448 81	
Wisconsin.....	51,064 75		48,701 82	
Iowa.....		19,299 84		7,654 07
Missouri.....	240,571 78		305,429 17	
Kentucky.....	123,606 89		135,816 93	
Tennessee.....	83,605 82		90,111 31	
Alabama.....	186,425 52		217,698 83	
Mississippi.....	106,925 12		126,905 03	
Arkansas.....	525,575 17		540,309 56	
Louisiana.....	187,967 83		165,352 10	
Texas.....	701,882 81		749,238 64	
California.....	663,703 25		569,708 24	
Oregon.....	214,996 20		243,460 94	
Minnesota.....	59,759 88		37,731 15	
Kansas.....	241,643 27		346,769 89	
Nebraska.....	523,758 13		543,852 53	
Nevada.....	175,084 79		192,432 40	
Colorado.....	189,518 59		309,767 41	
Utah.....	203,822 08		220,115 52	
New Mexico.....	231,027 18		169,804 54	
Washington.....	88,585 19		85,005 16	
Dakota.....	188,602 73		193,072 75	
Arizona.....	357,022 57		327,342 75	
Idaho.....	154,537 66		164,470 66	
Wyoming.....	124,560 76		129,027 99	
Montana.....	172,541 88		232,978 61	
Alaska.....	230 96		132 64	
District of Columbia.....	44,957 49		61,189 77	

The profit column shows the amount that the receipts are greater than the expenditures for the year.

The loss column shows the amount that the expenditures are greater than the receipts.

Very respectfully,

W. B. THOMPSON,
General Superintendent.

Mr. President, I have here a statement of the Postmaster-General showing our foreign mail service for 1883. I have already stated the amount, but it is necessary for information as to the other sections of this bill that this should be printed:

Statement showing approximately the net revenues of the Post-Office Department of the United States on mail matter sent to and received from foreign countries during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1883, based upon the tabulated estimate of mail matter exchanged during that period, given on page 697 of the Postmaster-General's Report for 1883:

RECEIPTS.

Amount of postage prepaid on letters sent abroad.....	\$1,450,078 90
Amount of postage prepaid on postal cards sent abroad.....	32,328 25
Amount of postage prepaid on printed matter sent abroad.....	451,357 92
Amount collected on unpaid mail matter received.....	145,148 46
40 per cent. on \$52,507.80 of registration fees on 525,078 registered articles sent abroad, this being estimated as net profit on registration.....	21,003 02
Total receipts.....	2,099,916 56

EXPENDITURES.

Amount paid for sea conveyance, other than intermediary or transit, namely:	
1. To foreign vessels, including French packets.....	\$284,076 41
2. American vessels.....	32,445 72
Amount paid foreign administrations for intermediary, territorial, and sea transit of United States mails.....	\$86,745 91
Less amount received for similar service performed for said administrations by the United States.....	30,252 96
	56,492 95
Estimated cost of interior (domestic) mail service on 57,573,272 letters sent and received (three letters to one ounce—19-191.091 ounces, 2 cents per half ounce).....	767,643 64
2,939,735 post cards sent and received, at 1 cent each.....	29,397 35
48,329,548 packets, prints, &c.; 490,422 packets, samples, sent and received (50-851.391 ounces, at 1 cent for two ounces).....	254,256 96
Total expenditures.....	1,051,297 95
Net revenue.....	675,603 53
Net revenue, without charge for estimated cost of interior service as above, namely.....	1,051,297 95
	1,726,901 48

Mr. President, England of course is a model in these matters of shipping. I admit that she is, and that we should do well to follow her. Has she ever pursued any policy like this to her ships in ocean service? Let me look for a few moments. In 1837 England made her first mail contract. In 1840 she made one with Samuel Cunard to build a line of mail steamships for the North Atlantic. In 1840 he had four 1,200-ton wooden side-wheel steamers; speed, nine knots under favorable circumstances. It did not cost over \$200,000 each to build them, making a total cost of \$800,000 for those vessels. Mr. Cunard received from England \$413,000 the first year for carrying the mail on those ships, and the second year \$550,000, or nearly 70 per cent. on his whole investment. We pay 3 cents a mile.

She contracted with the Oriental Steamship Company in 1840 for a monthly service to Japan and China, and paid \$1,121,500; increased it the next year to \$2,243,000. She also made contracts with the Royal Mail Steamship Company to the West Indies and Brazil, with the Pacific Steam Navigation Company to the west coast of South America. In 1850 she was paying annually \$4,523,666 for carrying the mails, 30 per cent. on the capital invested that year in her ships. She made a contract with the Peninsula and Oriental Company for \$2,500,000 in 1853, and renewed it in 1867. She made a new contract in 1870 with the same company, and in the articles of agreement provided that the vessels should be of a certain kind and fitted for war purposes. Besides this, other governments pay the same English ships.

Take the Royal Mail Steamship Company and the Pacific Steamship Company: Brazil and other countries pay them \$1,000,000 more a year, besides what England pays them. The official reports of the Eng-

lish post-office department show that England paid in 1880 \$3,708,618, the other countries paid these lines enough to make it \$5,000,000 for carrying the mail, and the same year we paid for carrying the United States mail \$279,000, and the English lines were getting \$5,000,000. Brazil paid them \$950,000. The same year the United States and South American States paid them nearly \$800,000 more.

France paid last year \$5,000,000 for carrying her mail, and not content with that, she has a law now, which I believe is the best one ever enacted, by which she pays bounties to the builders of her ships and bounties for the sailing of them. I will present a statement of the French law, as reported by Mr. Frazier:

To illustrate this new French bounty law, apply it to a 3,000-ton iron ship. The bounty would be—
On building:

Weight of iron in hull, 1,800 tons, at \$12.....	\$21,600
Weight of machinery, 500 tons, at \$24.43.....	12,615
	34,215

Then there is allowed 30 cents per ton for every 1,000 miles run, after being put in service, for first year, diminishing 1 cent per mile each year thereafter. Presuming the above 3,000-ton steamer makes ten trips from Havre to New York per annum, or 60,000 miles, this gives for first year's service as follows: Three thousand tons at 30 cents = \$900×60 = \$54,000; and second year's service, \$52,000. This bounty expires entirely at the end of thirty years. Adding the bounty and allowance per mile, the law would grant the 3,000-ton ship the first year \$89,015. The French Government for this requires in return the carrying of its official mails, and the right to use the ships in case of war, taking them at a fair valuation.

Bismarck, the distinguished German statesman, in speaking of this French law, with the keen criticism of premier, said: "The merchant marine is the handmaid of all other industries, of agriculture and of commerce, and this act will create for France a powerful navy, which may prove of effective service in time of war."

Mr. President, that is the condition of things. There are France and England and Germany paying not only fair prices, but munificent prices for carrying their mails, establishing their lines all over the world, keeping them running, in one instance England, when she saw the line in trouble, guaranteeing 8 per cent.—that comes pretty near a subsidy; and here we are paying to-day about \$250,000 a year under this compulsory process. Mr. President, we have provided for the repeal of that law, and we have provided in that section that the Postmaster-General shall make contracts for the carrying of foreign mails in American vessels, as he makes contracts for carrying the coastwise mails in steamers. He shall advertise, receive proposals, let to the lowest bidder, and the sum paid shall not exceed \$1 a mile. That is the provision of these sections. There is no injustice in it, no subsidy, nothing from which the purest statesman on earth may shrink from enacting into law.

What do I expect that this bill will do? Do I expect that it will lead to the establishing of lines from the United States to Europe? I certainly do not. I do not believe that we can maintain them under the provisions of this bill if each provision becomes a law. But there is one thing I do think can be accomplished. I believe that if the provisions of this bill become a law in less than five years we shall have regular lines of steamers to every South American port of any importance; and it is to Mexico, the isthmian and the South American States that the United States must look for its exports; not to France, not to England, not to Germany. They can manufacture cheaper than we can, and each country manufactures for sale more than can be consumed at home.

South America and Mexico manufacture nothing, will not in the next century, and they open up to us a place where we may deposit the surplus of our products which can not be consumed by our own people, and in my judgment we must look to them alone; and can we have hope in that direction without regular lines? A manufacturing company in my city a few years ago undertook to sell cotton goods in Rio de Janeiro, to send a half-year's productions. They forwarded them to New York, then they were shipped on an English steamer, carried to Liverpool, re-shipped on another English steamer, and carried in her to Rio de Janeiro; and the mails went the same way. Those goods were handicapped from the very minute they left the wharf in New York city until the minute they were stored in Rio de Janeiro.

Without lines of direct communication, regular communication with these ports, we never can hope to establish trade there. I read a while ago an exceedingly interesting article from the New Orleans Times-Democrat touching these countries. I wish to put in here for the benefit of those who may happen to read my speech a few items showing the importance of this trade.

Take Mexico, lying right by us, with whom we have recently made a treaty. Her inhabitants are, I believe, in the neighborhood of thirteen or fourteen millions. Her exports last year were \$29,526,000; her imports, \$28,000,000.

Take British Honduras. Her imports last year of breadstuffs from the United States were \$93,892; cotton goods, \$77,790; provisions, \$107,589; miscellaneous, \$10,729.

Take Guatemala. Her imports reach \$3,200,000 annually; her exports amount to \$4,000,000.

Honduras: Exports, \$1,500,000 a year; imports about the same. San Salvador, in 1881: Exports, \$4,992,000; imports, \$2,706,000. Nicaragua: Imports, \$1,200,000; exports, \$2,000,000.

Costa Rica, in 1881: Imports, \$5,000,000; exports, \$6,500,000.

The Antilles: Imports, \$30,143,000; exports, \$78,532,000.

Colombia: Imports, \$20,000,000; exports, \$18,000,000.

Venezuela: Imports, \$14,000,000; exports, \$16,000,000.

The Guianas: Import and export trade, \$29,550,000.

Brazil: Imports, \$95,955,000; exports, \$119,106,000.

Paraguay: Exports and imports, \$8,000,000.

Uruguay: Imports, \$19,400,000; exports, \$22,600,000.

Argentine Confederation, in 1881: Imports, \$44,067,000; exports, \$56,497,000.

Ecuador: Imports, \$9,500,000; exports, \$11,000,000.

Bolivia: Imports, \$1,602,000; exports, \$411,000.

Peru: Imports, \$28,000,000; exports, \$4,600,000.

Chili: Imports, \$27,100,000; exports, \$46,482,000.

And notwithstanding these countries lie right by us, notwithstanding they are on the same hemisphere with us, notwithstanding every dollar of their trade legitimately belongs to the United States, yet we enjoy but little over one-fourth of the whole, and England, Germany, and France have the rest. Why do those countries have three-quarters of all that immense trade in supplying these people and in taking supplies from them for their home market? For no assignable reason other than the fact that those countries have regularly established lines of steamers to the Mexican and South American ports—speedy, prompt, and reliable—while we have, comparatively speaking, none.

Why did they have lines running there? Because England pays over \$4,000,000 a year for carrying her ocean mail; because England pays \$1,500,000 a year for carrying her mail to Brazil; and we paid \$10,000 last year for carrying the United States mails to every one of the countries I have named. Why did we pay \$10,000 and she \$1,500,000? Because of that law full of injustice to American ships. Brazil paid England \$900,000 more for carrying the mails. Brazil offered to pay for carrying the mails to the United States, and the offer was refused because forsooth it was a subsidy.

But, Mr. President, it is no subsidy to pay a fair and reasonable price for service rendered. If the United States makes \$1,500,000 a year out of carrying the foreign mails of the United States, it is no subsidy to say that she may pay the whole \$1,500,000 for this service; then it is the cheapest mail-service there is in the United States.

Mr. President, I regard those sections as more important than any others in this bill. I trust that Senators will examine them, and that they will not be frightened by any talk about subsidies, but that they will, in justice to American ships, be willing to pay a fair and reasonable price for carrying the ocean mails.

Mr. President, I admit that I feel a very deep and a very profound interest in the fate of this bill. I have been in Congress, I believe, fifteen years, and during the whole time I have tried to have something done for American ships. I have seen them as you have seen them going down and down and down and no successful attempt made on the part of Congress to stop the downward progress. Attempt after attempt has been made to have some legislation. There is not any legislation in this bill proposed that every Senator will not admit is right in itself, and there is no legislation proposed here that does not remove an existing burden. There is no section here which does injustice to anybody or to the United States. Take all the sections together and enact them into a law; pay every dollar for carrying the United States mails that the bill allows you to pay, and then the United States makes every year out of the merchant marine \$1,000,000. England on her consular service alone loses \$1,500,000 a year; on her mail service \$1,600,000, loses it cheerfully, and has the finest merchant marine on this earth, doing 65 per cent. of the carrying trade of the world, comes to our own borders and does the carrying trade and three-quarters of the selling trade for us. England has been willing to deal justly. I say she pays millions every year. We do not ask you to pay one single dollar; we do not ask you to pay by this bill so much as our ships pay you.

Take the consular fees which are removed by this bill, the custom-house fees, the tonnage tax that is reduced, the hospital tax that is taken off the fair amount paid for postage, and add them all together; then take the credit side, the amount received from postage, the amount received from tonnage tax, the amount received from customs fees paid by ships, and you will find the balance in favor of the United States Treasury over \$1,000,000 every year.

Now, am I asking a great thing for American shipping, appealing to the Senate to pass such a bill? I have no doubt the Senate will support it, and yet it can destroy every word of it, take out all of its vitality, render it worse than useless, give us a stone when we ask for bread, give us a serpent when we ask for a fish, by putting the "free-material" and "free-ship" clauses on it. I appeal to the Senate to approve here what is fair and just, what commends itself to all, and do not poison the whole, so that when we take the cup we die.

Mr. President, I am greatly obliged to the Senate for patiently listening to me this length of time. I shall take but little part further in the discussion of this bill, leaving it to Senators on the committee who understand it better than I do, who have been acquainted with its investigation longer than I have. I should not have spoken and did not intend to speak if the bill had been read, as I asked, section by section for amendment. I thank the Senators for their patience and their courtesy.

Mr. VEST. Mr. President, I have no disposition "to commend the poisoned chalice" spoken of by the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] to the lips of the merchant marine of the United States. If I were its worst enemy instead of being, as I profess to be, one of its best friends, I should simply be content to let the present system alone, because it can, not even under the most rapid and successful poison, come to its death any sooner than it promises to do upon the road which it is now traveling.

I take no issue with the Senator from Maine in what he has said with regard to the postal system of the United States now on the statute-book. I had the honor at the last session of Congress to report from the Commerce Committee substantially the provisions contained in the present bill in regard to payments for ocean mail service. The present system is niggardly, unworthy of a great people, unjust to those who carry the mail, and in every respect fails to commend itself to my judgment, and I was glad to hear the honorable Senator say that he accepted England as the model in regard to naval matters, and especially as to her merchant marine, and that he was willing to take her as such; and yet that Senator in his cooler moments and upon reflection will not accept the proposition I now make to him.

I will meet him more than half way, although I belong to the opposite school upon this question. I want the English system, I have pleaded for the English system, I am to-day willing to take it; but the Senator will not take it, notwithstanding his public declaration to that effect. Mr. John Roach will not take it, for I put the question to him in New York, before our special committee, specifically, and he answered in the negative. Mr. John Roach, the distinguished Senator says, is an Irishman by birth, but keeps no corner grocery saloon in the city of New York, nor votes the Democratic ticket. He has a better corner than a corner saloon in New York—he has a corner on the Navy Department, and he votes the straight Republican ticket; and while Mr. John Roach is becoming each year more plethoric with wealth, fatter, and more unctuous in his declarations against free ships, the American merchant marine has been declining, until it is to-day *in articulo mortis*.

The Senator says he will take the English system. What is the English system of postal subsidy? I say here that subsidy in the English system does not have the meaning which is attached to it in the United States. Subsidy according to our construction of the word is a payment by the Government to individuals to induce them to do that which they would not otherwise find profit in doing; it is bounty; but under the English system all pay for Government service is called subsidy, and England ever since she has adopted the system of postal subsidy upon the ocean has invariably put up the contract to the lowest bidder, and that lowest bidder need not be a citizen of Great Britain at all. To-day some of the mails of Great Britain are carried in steamships belonging to citizens of other countries. Never in any contract made by the English Government has there been a provision that the ships should have been built in Great Britain. Is the Senator willing to say that here? Is he willing to-day to say, like the English, that contracts for carrying the mails upon the ocean shall be put out by the United States to the lowest bidder and all the world can compete for carrying the mails if it sees proper to come in and bid? Oh, no! my honorable friend says they must be carried in American ships. In other words, while American owners of ships may bid upon these contracts, they must come in under the navigation laws and pay Mr. Roach 30 per cent. more for the vessels in which to carry those mails on the ocean. I will take the English system. I never saw the time when I did not want to take it, and the Senator never saw the time when he would take it.

I grant that England has paid large postal subsidies, as they are termed there. England to-day is a vast workshop, with 200,000,000 of people in her colonies. It is absolutely necessary under her system that she should secure communication both for mail purposes and commercial purposes with the most distant and remote portions of the earth where her flag floats above her people and in her colonies, and in order to do this she has paid postal subsidies in the English meaning of the term. But I undertake to say that in the very years when the United States successfully competed with Great Britain upon the ocean, and when our clipper ships carried our flag to every sea and to every port; when, according to the British historian, Mr. Lindsay, the American merchant marine not only successfully competed with that of Great Britain but had outstripped it upon the ocean, at that very time England was paying enormous subsidies for postal service and the United States none. If subsidy be the remedy, subsidy then should have brought England to the front and ahead of us in this race for maritime supremacy, but it did not. Subsidy was not the remedy then. It is not the remedy now.

While I say this, I go as far as the Senator from Maine in paying just compensation to the ships that carry the mails of the United States upon the ocean, as I believe in paying the same just compensation to the railroads that carry our mails inland. But it is not subsidy, it is not bounty; it is simply a fair compensation to the citizen for performing for the Government what is an absolutely necessary function of the Government itself.

The bill before the Senate, as I had the honor to say some weeks ago, is a palliative, but it does not treat the disease that is to-day destroying the life of our merchant marine. The statesman who thinks that by the application of the provisions of this bill as it stands before the Senate he can bring back the merchant marine of the United States to its ancient and pristine splendor is like the empiric who, when he finds the patient sinking and dying under an organic disease, attempts to relieve the malady by cuticura and moderate doses of sulphur. This is no disease upon the surface; there is something more than the hospital tax, something more than consular fees, something more than advance wages.

Why, sir, in the years prior to 1855, when the United States competed successfully with her clipper ships on the ocean with Great Britain, when the fears of English statesmen were excited in regard to that race for the supremacy, we had the same system. We have had it since 1790, substantially the same laws which are upon our statute-book to-day. And did they prevent the United States then from competing successfully with our great rival? The mere statement of the fact shows that the seat of the disease is not in this system as it stands to-day. It is not in that; it is somewhere else; it is a deeper and a more deadly malady under which the merchant marine of this country is suffering.

The Senator says he is willing to take the English system. I will put another proposition, and I undertake to say he will not take the English system, neither he nor any one of the exponents and advocates of the school to which he belongs. For five hundred years England had the navigation laws which we have to-day upon our statute-book. In the reign of Richard II they were adopted, and it is curious as a mere matter of antiquarian research to go back to the old English statutes five hundred years ago, enacted in 1300, and find the British statutes declaring that all goods shall be brought into Great Britain in the ships of His Majesty; no goods shall be carried to any British colony except in ships built in England, and all the different enactments of the navigation laws we adopted in 1790, as the friends of this system say, were in retaliation for the navigation laws that then existed on the statute-books of Great Britain.

From 1837 to 1850 the struggle between the United States and Great Britain was a hand-to-hand fight for supremacy upon the ocean, and our enterprise, our skill, our energy enabled us to compete with Great Britain not only successfully, but to outstrip her in this great maritime struggle. Will the Senator go with me now and adopt the English system as adopted when England was in exactly the same condition that we are found to-day? When Great Britain discovered that her former colonies of America, which had successfully separated from her as the result of a war, were about to snatch from her the scepter of the ocean, what did she do? Did she do what the honorable Senator from Maine wants us to do to-day?

Great Britain discovered that in the manufacture of wooden ships the United States could excel her. She found that the wooden clipper-built ships of the United States were the fastest upon the ocean, that the trade of the world was fast passing out of her grasp, and what did she do? Did she sit still and rely on her navigation laws and say to an English subject, "you shall not buy a ship from the United States?" If you should go back to the debates in the British Parliament in 1849, when the proposition was made to repeal the navigation laws which we have to-day upon our statute-book, and which Great Britain had then, and if you would shut your eyes and listen to the Senator from Maine you would think that you heard the words of Disraeli or Lord Brougham and Lord George Bentinck as they declared that if the navigation laws were repealed utter destruction and ruin would come upon the merchant marine of Great Britain. Great Britain was then almost exactly in the very condition the United States finds itself in to-day. She could not compete with us upon the ocean in the construction of wooden vessels, and so soon as her statesmen found that to be the case they threw down the barriers and said to the people of England, "Buy where you can buy the cheapest; obtain the instrumentalities of trade; ships are the children of commerce, and not its parents."

Mr. President, what would be thought of this rule in the business affairs or private affairs between man and man? Suppose two men were rival mechanics and one of them should buy the most improved implements and should have his materials free of duty, and just across the way his rival was told by statute, "You shall not buy at the place where are sold the best implements and your materials shall not be free to you." What would be the result? Is there any doubt about it? And yet to-day that is the position which the honorable Senator assumes and upon which he stands before the American people.

I can not refrain from calling attention to a speech made in the Parliament of Great Britain, and which we have heard here in different words but of the same substance for the last few hours, Disraeli protesting against the repeal of the navigation laws in these passionate and eloquent words:

Will you, by the recollections of your past prosperity, by the memory of your still existing power, for the sake of the most magnificent colonial empire in the world, now drifting away amid the breakers, for the sake of the starving mechanics of Birmingham and Sheffield, by all the wrongs of a betrayed agriculture, by all the hopes of Ireland, will you not rather, by the vote we are now coming to, arrive at a decision which may to-morrow smooth the careworn

countenance of British toll, give growth and energy to national labor, and at least afford hope to the tortured industry of a suffering people.

And he closed by saying sarcastically:

I will not sing "Rule Britannia," for fear of distressing Mr. Cobden, but he did not think the house would encore "Yankee Doodle."

Lord George Bentinck followed in the same strain, and Lord Brougham concluded the debate in words almost identical with some we have heard to-day from the Senator from Maine. It was prophesied then that if the navigation laws of Great Britain were repealed the grass would grow upon her wharves, and the ships would rot by the side of her piers; and yet the navigation laws were repealed, and what was the result? The result is seen to-day in the unparalleled and magnificent progress of the merchant marine of Great Britain that carries now more than one-half the commerce of the world. Last year they built in Great Britain 845 vessels of more than 600,000 tons burden. No such thing has been known in the annals of maritime nations, and yet this is one of the results of the repeal of this barbarous code, repealed everywhere to-day except in these United States of America.

In 1856, six years afterward—because these laws were repealed on the 1st of January, 1850, by the British Parliament—in 1856 the same Parliament repealed the navigation laws as to the coastwise trade, and again were the same prophesies made. "Repeal the laws which protect our domestic coastwise trade," they said, "and you strike down all the energies, all the wealth of the people of Great Britain," and yet the repealing act was passed, and what has been the result? The coastwise trade of Great Britain has doubled since that time; it has excelled the foreign trade, and to-day there is not a case of maritime success known to all history like that of the Kingdom of Great Britain.

The Senator says that in 1854 England reorganized her maritime system and that was the cause of her unparalleled prosperity. In 1850 Great Britain repealed her navigation laws. As soon as the statesmen of Great Britain saw that they could not compete with us in building ships they threw down the barriers and told their people to buy where they could buy cheapest, and they did buy our ships, according to Mr. Roach, to the amount of \$20,000,000 in one year, and took those ships and put the British flag over them in order to compete with their rivals. But we are told to-day that we must respect these navigation laws, although there has been continued decline of our shipping from 1855 down to the present time.

The Senator from Maine predicts that we shall have a large increase in the construction of iron ships. Oh, Mr. President, how long are we to hear this song? How long is this "word of promise to the ear" to be "broken to the hope?" Why, sir, there has not been a session of Congress nor a committee for the last fifteen years that John Roach has not been here with his dulcet song to tell us that next year would see ships turned out of his yard rivaling those of Great Britain upon every sea and in every port. Now let me call the attention of the Senate to facts; not to prophecies, but real results. I have here what is worth all the prophecies in the world. I have here the official report of the Register of the Treasury of the tonnage of iron sailing and steam vessels in the United States from 1868 to 1883, inclusive. In 1868 it was 2,801 tons, in 1869, 4,000 tons, and so on up to 1882, when it was 40,140 tons sailing and steam iron vessels, both for the coastwise trade and the foreign trade; and in 1883 it fell off from 40,140 to 39,646, both of iron sailing and steam vessels in the coastwise and foreign trade. Who ever heard of such a decline as that with free trade? And yet the Senator from Maine stands in the Senate and tells us that in a few years the ship-yards of the United States will turn out an iron merchant marine that will compete with any nation on earth. I put this table before Mr. Roach a year ago without the decline for 1883, and asked him to explain it. I said, "You have said here"—any Senator who is interested in this question will find it in the report of the testimony—"you have said here, Mr. Roach, that the manufacture of iron vessels in the United States is on the increase. I show you this table. Will you be kind enough to read it and explain the figures?" He looked at it, read it, and said, "I cannot understand it; there is some mistake about it." I came back to Washington, went to the Register of the Treasury, and obtained this table which I incorporated in my remarks made here the other day. In the presence of these facts the talk and the denunciation indulged in by the honorable Senator from Maine and his compeers on this question is mere "leather and prunella," sound and fury. The merchant marine of the United States is going down day by day and hour by hour.

What is the remedy? Does the Senator from Maine give us any? Will he point it out? What is it? He has spoken for four solid hours and not one particle of medicine has he given this dying patient, nothing but declamation, nothing but denunciation. The whole of his speech is syllogistically this: a high protective tariff is the greatest of all blessings and must not be disturbed. A high protective system makes high wages. High wages are the cause of the decline of American shipping because it prevents us from competing with other nations. Our protective system must not be disturbed and these wages must be continued, and therefore the merchant marine can not be revived. Is that not it? If the Senator from Maine has done one single thing effectually in this debate he has proved that under his system there is no remedy at all. We have tried it for thirty years. We are

to-day upon the very verge of dissolution. The Senator comes to us and says, "I stand by the high protective tariff system, although our flag disappears from every ship upon the ocean."

I had the honor to make a statement on this subject some days ago. Had I made it in the West, the farmers that heard me would have believed that I had manufactured the story for campaign purposes. I stated here before the American Senate that in 1873 the Congress of the United States enacted a law that every American vessel which hired a crew in any port of the world, whether by written contract or for any length of time, when it came back and touched the shores of the United States, should discharge that crew and rehire them or others, and pay the fees to the shipping commissioners.

What did they do it for? Can any Senator tell me? Will the Senator from Maine tell me? He says now he does not know what it was done for. It was done to give money to the shipping commissioners, and for no other purpose under heaven. It was done to put money in the pockets of a few men. Did it help the merchant marine? It was as fatal to it as if you would strike down a bullock in the shambles with a butcher's ax. The president of the Red Star line said in a letter which I read some weeks since, that it doubled the wages of his crews and caused him to put all his vessels under a foreign flag. And yet that law has stood here without any attention being paid to it, without any attempt to repeal it, when the whole result, as every intelligent man knows, was to double the wages, and for whose benefit? The Senator from Maine says he will not attack wages, he is for American labor. Is this American labor? Ninety-five per cent of the sailors on American vessels to-day are foreigners. The American sailor to-day is a curiosity. He would bring more in a museum than some of the curiosities that will be here next week under the charge of that distinguished gentleman, Mr. Barnum. The American sailor has almost passed away from even the memory of living men. Ninety-five per cent of all the sailors that we have upon our vessels, coastwise and foreign—

Mr. FRYE. No, no.

Mr. VEST. I have heard it stated this was so in the coastwise trade.

Mr. FRYE. That is true of the foreign service, but not of the coastwise trade.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. I rose because I had made a statement myself that 95 per cent of the sailors engaged in foreign service on our vessels were not Americans. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECK] quoted it. I do not wish to be misunderstood. In our merchant marine engaged in the foreign trade it is true; but in the coastwise trade we have American sailors.

Mr. VEST. I have it from very good authority in regard to that branch. I do not question that the proportion is larger than the Senator from Maine thinks it is, but for the purposes of the argument let the coastwise trade stand aside. I do not propose to attack the laws in regard to it. That system is doing well enough. It would do much better in my opinion if we would throw it open to ships built anywhere; but the amendment I propose to-day does not affect that trade at all. The fact remains that when the Senator avows his zeal for good wages to the American laborer he is paying no wages to the American sailor, he is paying them to the extent of 95 per cent. to foreigners upon American vessels, and that is all I desired to say.

But the Senator says, as all his school in the discussion of this question say, that the sacred protective system must not be attacked in any particular. He seems to forget, as all his compeers do, that the merchant marine of the United States is as much a branch of industry as the manufacture of cotton goods or of Bessemer steel or of iron or of jute, or any other domestic manufacture, and yet the Senator is willing—for his speech amounts to nothing else—to keep down the merchant marine rather than break through this Chinese wall of protection which to-day surrounds all the industries of the people of the United States.

The Senator says the high protective system has fostered the coastwise trade until it has assumed its present colossal proportions. Why, Mr. President, look at it, think of it for a moment. The coastwise trade of the United States is a domestic trade protected from competition with the whole world. It is a struggle between American and American with the same wages, the same ports, the same advantage, the same sky above them, and the same air. The Congress of the United States can protect that trade by any system it sees proper to adopt, but can you touch the foreign trade of the world? The waves of the ocean are not confined to your coast, the maritime nations of the world laugh at your statutes. Your ships in the domestic trade are protected, and the natural increase of the country causes an increase of our coastwise trade. We have 10,000 miles of seaboard; we have twenty large cities upon the salt bays of the ocean; we have 50,000,000 people, and a continent to give them food and raiment and wealth, and all this pours itself into the coastwise trade of the United States naturally, and it is a fight between our own citizens, and to-day the competition is such that the minimum has almost been reached in prices for transportation in that trade. But when you come to the foreign trade it is different; there you strike free trade upon

the ocean; and while our vessels are handicapped by a protective system which causes them to go out loaded and come back empty, the Senator from Maine stands here and draws a parallel which can not hold good between the foreign and coastwise trade of the United States.

In order to make profitable shipping there must be mutuality between the countries of the world. Suppose you had two lines of railroad running into the city of Washington to-day, and one of them came in loaded and went out loaded and the other came in loaded and went out empty, do you think there would be any difference in the dividends? Do you think there would be any difference in the results at the end of the year? To-day you have exactly that state of things with the merchant marine of the United States. Under the protective system they go out loaded because we have overproduction from year to year. To-day your tariff produces through overproduction strikes and disorder; and labor meetings and socialistic harangues. One of the largest manufacturers in Saint Louis, on my recent visit to my home, said to me, "I have been for a protective tariff, but overproduction is the curse to-day resting upon the manufacturers of the United States, of whom I am the largest in this city." All this overproduction goes to the seaports and loads vessels for foreign ports; but when they attempt to bring back a cargo to our ports they find a protective tariff meeting them which says, "You can not enter unless you pay enormous sums," so great as to amount to an exclusion of all competition with domestic manufactures.

I want to give to the Senator from Maine an illustration. Chili produces seventeen million five hundred thousand dollars' worth of copper and copper products. The cotton goods brought to Chili amount to an average value of \$53,000,000 per annum; that is, goods imported for sale to those people in the tropics. England has control of that trade under the wise system that established mail steamship lines, and the British ships go there loaded with their cheap cotton fabrics to sell to the people of Chili and take in exchange copper and copper products and wool and carry them back to Great Britain, sell the copper to the manufacturers at Swansea, in the southern part of England, who make it into yellow metal, into different sorts of copper utensils. They use British coal, British railroads, British labor, British capital, and then they supply the whole world with this valuable and useful article.

In 1876 an enterprising American merchant of Boston concluded for patriotism and for gain that he would attempt a competition with Great Britain, for he had been to Chili in quest of health and he concluded he could build up a fortune by commercial adventure. He bought vessels in England; put them under the British flag; came over to his own country and loaded them with American goods, the calicoes of Massachusetts and Connecticut and Rhode Island. He went down to Chili and sold his goods at a fair price. He loaded with copper and copper products, and came back to the United States and found a protective tariff absolutely prohibiting him from bringing in copper; and the result was that he was forced to put his copper in bond in Boston, have it shipped to Great Britain, and have it sold there. He abandoned the venture, and I have a letter here in which he says that he found it absolutely impossible to compete under the present tariff system with the free-trade system of Great Britain. So it is that to-day England monopolizes that entire trade. I have before me, received this morning, a pamphlet in regard to yellow metal and it is signed by "Revere Copper Company, by S. T. Snow, treasurer; Taunton Copper Manufacturing Company, by Timothy Gordon, treasurer; New Bedford Copper Company, by William H. Mathews, treasurer; Bridgewater Iron Company, by Isaac Pratt, jr., president."

The Senator has asked me the question, who wants the tariff taken off materials, who wants materials free? These gentlemen sent me this pamphlet with an elaborate argument and begging the enactment of the following laws:

Be it enacted, &c., That all unwrought materials of foreign production to be manufactured in this country into articles needed for and used in the construction, equipment, repairs, or supplies of American vessels, employed, or to be employed, exclusively in the foreign trade, including the trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States, may be withdrawn from bonded warehouses free of duty; and if the duty shall have been already paid on such material so used, the same shall be refunded and repaid to the owner or owners of such vessels so using them, or to their legal representatives, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Be it enacted, &c., That all unwrought materials of foreign production to be manufactured in this country into articles needed for the repair of American vessels engaged exclusively in foreign trade may be withdrawn from bonded warehouses free of duty, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

I call the attention of my friend from Maine to the fact that in this pamphlet is contained a report made by him in the House of Representatives in favor of a bill which took off the duty on copper ore and gave it the American manufacturer free of duty. The Senator seems to have lost sight, I will not say of his political antecedents, but of his former convictions on this great question. To-day under the law of the United States we have this outrageous anomaly—

Mr. FRYE rose.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. I never have seen the time that I was not in favor, for the interest of our manufacturers and our ship-builders, of admitting

free of duty unwrought materials, and the difference between unwrought materials and the Senator's amendment is as broad as the earth itself. The Senator's amendment is to admit free of duty all wrought materials ready to go into a ship where the ship-builder would have nothing to do but to send his specifications to the Clyde and have those specifications complied with and every single article going into the ship delivered at his ship-yard and then with nothing to do but simply to put them together—one-third of all the labor in the ship. The difference between "unwrought" and "wrought," is the difference between bread and stone.

I know these copper-men perfectly well. I remember their call. I remember my report. I hold to the same views to-day that I did then. It was unwrought material and not material made up, as the Senator's amendment has it, and brought in in entire readiness for the ship itself.

Mr. VEST. In the first place there is no such word in this amendment as "wrought material."

All or any part of the materials, whether wood, steel, iron, copper, yellow metal, bolts, spikes, sheathing, treenails; canvas for sails, whether flax or cotton; rigging and cordage, whether hemp, manila hemp, or iron wire; anchors and cables; iron plates, castings, and forgings; angle irons, beams, masts, yards, rivets, bolts, nuts, screws, engines, boiler plates and tubes, and machinery, and all other materials and appliances—

Where does the Senator get the word "wrought?"

Mr. FRYE. Go on.

Mr. VEST. Very well, I will—

which may be necessary for the construction and equipment, in whole or in part, of vessels, whether steam or sail vessels, to be built and furnished in the United States after the 1st day of January, 1885, may be imported in bond under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Mr. FRYE. The Senator is reading from the statute that has been on the books ever since the special committee of which Mr. John Lynch, of Maine, was chairman, reported a bill which was then enacted into law; and those copper-men simply asked that the copper might be admitted under the same terms to be manufactured in this country into yellow metal ready to go on the ship's bottom.

Mr. VEST. The Senator is again at fault, and as much as he has studied this question he is a little negligent at times. In the first place, this law has never been on the statute-book. There never was any such law as provided for the introduction of iron plates. Iron plates are provided for in this section, and are put in now for the first time.

All or any part of the materials, whether wood, steel, iron, copper, &c.

This is a new section, and not section 2513 of the Revised Statutes. A great deal of it is in the Revised Statutes.

Mr. FRYE. Nearly all of it is in the Revised Statutes.

Mr. VEST. A great deal of it is, I admit. The Senator may take the Revised Statutes and compare them with this provision and he will see the difference.

Mr. FRYE. But I ask the Senator if my report was not at the instance of the copper-men and did not relate to copper and nothing else.

Mr. VEST. Of course it was, because under the law as it stands to-day, and as it stood then, this yellow metal could be brought into the United States and used for building a vessel in the foreign trade free of duty, but the copper ore itself could not be brought in; it was excluded; and as a matter of course the Senator wanted free raw materials, as he called them, and yet he asked me to-day the question who is for free materials.

Mr. FRYE. But where labor entered into it and made it into copper sheathing, in the interest of our laborers and our manufacturers I wanted that protection.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course you can not get any of these materials without labor. They do not grow on the trees; they do not grow up like Topsy. There is nothing of that sort in manufactures. They all come from some sort of labor.

I say the Senator's report goes to the extent of free material so far as copper is concerned, and here it is in black and white, if he has any doubt about it.

The purpose of this bill is to correct an incongruity in the existing tariff laws whereby a manufactured article, yellow-metal sheathing, is admitted free of duty, while the raw materials composing it, copper and spelter, are required to pay a duty.

Mr. FRYE. I stand by that.

Mr. VEST. Of course you do. Then you stand with me.

Mr. FRYE. No.

Mr. VEST. I am for free material. I am for the copper coming in free when it is to be used in the building of a ship and letting anything else come in free for that purpose, and I am in favor of letting the American citizen buy his ship where he can buy it cheapest, as the Frenchman does, as the German does, as the Englishman does, as the Chinaman does. To-day even China has stricken down the navigation laws, and she has a better merchant marine, so far as iron steamers in the foreign trade are concerned, than that of the United States. Germany has struck down the navigation laws and built an iron steamer two years ago at a cost of \$375,000 for those barbarous Celestials. Every country that has any pretense to civilization has struck down this system except the United States, and the Senator from Maine stands here and says, although your marine is disappearing from the ocean, although

year after year your flag is becoming scarcer and can not be found now in the ports of the world except by accident, we must adhere to the system. What would you think of the business man who had lost money for forty years by following an old-fashioned system, instead of changing it, and saying all the time, "I will cherish the system that my father had;" like a man I knew, living in sight of a railroad, who instead of having a patent pump to bring water up used the same old forked stick and bucket that his father did, and with the scream of the locomotive in his ears would not drop it, because he said the old man used it during his time, and anything good enough for his father was good enough for him.

These navigation laws were made in 1790, when this country was in its infancy, when we had all to gain and nothing to lose, when England was attempting to force her merchant shipping upon us and we retaliated. England was then a friend of this system, but to-day she has struck it from her statutes, like France, Spain, Germany, and every other civilized country but the United States.

I am not astonished at my friend from Maine. He is consistent. I heard him once on this floor in the tariff discussion declare that he would be for a high protective tariff if the Government did not need a dollar of revenue. He holds that in spite of the Constitution, which says we shall have the right to lay import duties in order to sustain the Government for revenue purposes, if we did not need one dollar and if the Treasury was bloated and plethoric with money, still for protection's sake he would impose a high protective tariff on the American people. There is no question about his consistency. I have never doubted that. The trouble with the Senator is that he belongs to the school of Henry C. Carey, of Philadelphia, who was to the high protective system what Brigham Young has been to Mormonism and Mahomet to Islamism. Henry C. Carey said that he would to God that the Atlantic Ocean was an ocean of fire between Europe and the United States. My friend from Maine belongs to the school which at the University of Pennsylvania teaches Thompson's Social Science and National Economy, a book which says that foreign commerce is no criterion of a nation's prosperity, and the demoralization caused by it to sailors should be enough to strike it down.

He belongs to the school one of whose leaders some years ago said—and I am prepared now to admit that I voted for him once for President, Horace Greeley—who declared that the smoke of the locomotive was the black flag of destruction to the farmers of the West. I voted for him because I thought of two evils he was the lesser. Between the Republican party and Greeley I swallowed Greeley with a wry face and sour stomach, but I took him. [Laughter]

Mr. FRYE. I suppose that the distinguished gentleman of Pennsylvania, the high priest of the tariff system, as the Senator says, desired an ocean of fire between here and all foreign countries for some similar political reason; that is, that if the ocean was one of fire there would be no Democratic party. [Laughter.]

Mr. VEST. There would be no ships.

Mr. FRYE. No Democratic party.

Mr. VEST. I do not know about that. I think the Democratic party will succeed in the near future. If fire could have burned us out our party would long since have been ashes. No, Mr. President, he meant that upon an ocean of fire there would be no ships. He did not want any foreign commerce. He wanted the high protective system, which put a wall of fire around this country, to build up a home market to shut out the whole world, and to-day your ships are going out loaded and coming back empty, and yet you talk about competing with free trade upon the ocean. Your statutes can not reach the ocean. They can not reach the maritime nations of the world. There is no similarity between your coastwise trade and your foreign trade. The statutes of the United States, so far as the coastwise trade is concerned, are good enough; let them alone; but with changed conditions it is a mere mockery of statesmanship to talk about preserving the laws of 1790 to rebuild our merchant marine.

But the Senator says if we have free ships the inevitable result will be that the rotten ships of Great Britain will be sold to the American people.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. VEST. Yes, sir.

Mr. HOAR. One point the Senator has made which I do not understand—I have followed his argument carefully—and I should like to ask him to repeat it and make it clear. I understand him to say that the American ship-owner takes out a full cargo but comes back with an empty one because of the high protective tariff and the heavy duties he would have to pay on his return cargo if he brought it back. Now, how does that affect the American ship-owner in his rivalry with the ship-owner of any other country? Does not the British ship-owner who trades to this country have to pay the same duties on the cargo he brings this way? Perhaps I have failed to follow the Senator fully, but I should like to understand the point.

Mr. VEST. I have been under the impression that the profit of a business and the amount of business that was done went to sustain it, and the lack of business and lack of profit kept it back. If a man has

an intelligent idea of his business, the more he does the more money he makes, and the less business he does the less money he makes.

A ship goes to Chili, for instance, sells her cotton goods, and loads with copper. She can go to England and sell that copper at a profit. She is making money both ways. She makes profit off the Chilians; she makes it in the home market off the cargo she brings in. If an American vessel lying alongside of her sells her cotton goods in the Chilian market and loads with copper and comes back to the United States she can not sell it on account of the high protective tariff, because it excludes copper, and the result is that she comes back to our country with a commodity from which she can make no money. That is the reason.

Mr. HOAR. But does the Senator mean, then, to say simply, as the whole point of his argument, that any ship trading to an American port and returning is forced to be a loser because of our tariff? I understood him to be arguing that the American ship-owner engaged in the carrying trade, no matter where he went, was at a disadvantage with the English ship-owner. He said just before that the English did the American carrying trade between America and foreign ports—95 per cent. of it.

Mr. VEST. No; I said the sailors were 95 per cent. foreigners.

Mr. HOAR. I am mistaken about the Senator's percentage, but he said the English did the American carrying trade.

Mr. VEST. A large portion of it.

Mr. HOAR. Now, is there any earthly disadvantage whatever which a man that owns an American ship is under in competing with an Englishman who owns an English ship trading to and from the same places by reason of our protective tariff; and if so, what is it? I do not see the point of the Senator's argument.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator means to say that a vessel which goes out from the country loaded and comes back empty is upon the same basis so far as profit is concerned with one that is loaded both ways, I despair of convincing him of anything.

Mr. HOAR. No; but if the English ship-owner, living in Liverpool, having a Liverpool-built ship, trades from Boston and New York, as the great English lines do, the Cunarders and the others, the protective tariff has precisely the same effect upon him so far as the duties paid upon the cargo are concerned as it does upon his American rival. Whatever may be the cause of the advantage of the Englishman in competition, trading from Europe to any American port and returning, certainly the Senator, I think, will admit on reflection that the argument which he has made and repeated so many times, that it is due to the fact that the American pays duty on the cargo by reason of the protective tariff, is not good, for the Englishman pays the same duty on his cargo. If the American sails his ship from New York to Liverpool and comes back empty, does not the Englishman who sails his ship from Liverpool to New York and back come over empty? Is there any difference by reason of our tariff?

Mr. VEST. I misunderstand the Senator or he misunderstands me. When the American goes to Chili and sells his goods he makes a profit.

Mr. HOAR. We are not talking about Chili.

Mr. VEST. Any other foreign country.

Mr. HOAR. We are talking about American ports and European, or put it any other country. Put it from Liverpool to New York; is there any advantage which a line of steamers owned in Liverpool or Glasgow, plying between Liverpool and New York, has over a line of steamers owned in New York, plying between Liverpool and New York, by reason of our protective tariff? That is the point of the question.

Mr. VEST. The question that I stated and the proposition that I advanced was in regard to the ship-owner who invested in a vessel and undertook to establish a trade between America and a foreign country, not between England and some other foreign country, and when he comes back to his own country he must come back empty; and we are talking about building up the merchant marine of the United States.

Mr. HOAR. No matter what the trade is, if the Senator will pardon me, whether it is Liverpool and New York, or anywhere else, what earthly difference does our tariff make between two vessels engaged in the same trade running to and from the same ports and carrying the same goods, because we have a tariff on the goods brought to American ports? The Englishman or the Brazilian, if they have a Brazilian line, or the Frenchman, or the Scotchman plies over the seas wherever business is good, and the American does the same; and is there any earthly difference that our tariff makes? I am not talking about the other point of the Senator's arguments. Is there any earthly difference that our tariff makes? It is of course true that, whoever does the carrying, there will not be so many goods carried into New York or Boston if those goods pay a heavy duty there; but it bears on all mankind alike, does it not, on the Englishman and on the American alike?

Mr. VEST. But the Senator overlooks the fact that when an English vessel comes here it comes with English goods and pays the tariff duty, knowing what it is, deliberately, and undertakes to compete with the domestic manufacture in the United States, and the tariff does not affect it, as it goes back loaded with American goods and the freight is put into the pocket of the foreign ship-owner. I say that when the American ship-owner goes out with American products and sells them in a foreign market, if he buys goods in that foreign market and undertakes to bring them in he is handicapped with the tariff.

Mr. HOAR. Is not the Englishman equally handicapped if he buys English goods and brings them here?

Mr. VEST. He is not compelled to come here with any goods unless the sales will pay him, notwithstanding the tariff. There may be, as is the case in Chili, a market in which there is such a production as copper, upon which our tariff is exclusive. What is the American to do? He has either got to abandon the Chilian market altogether or else he has got to go out loaded and come back empty. They have but two exports of any size. Chili exports wool and copper. The difference between the English ship-owner and the American ship-owner is that the Englishman goes there, sells his cotton goods, takes his copper and carries it in free of duty, and is enabled to sell it at a large profit to the copper manufacturers of Great Britain. Therefore he makes two profits; and he has either got to take copper or take nothing.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator let me try my hand at arguing?

Mr. VEST. Oh, certainly.

Mr. HALE. What difference does it make in the voyage from England to Chili and from Chili back whether it is a British or an American ship? The Senator says that the English ship takes the English manufactured product to Chili, exchanges it for copper and makes a profit, and that he takes the copper back to England, where there is no duty upon it, and makes a profit upon his cargo there. The English ship does not do anything of the kind. The shipper in England makes a profit, it may be, out of his shipment, the shipper in Valparaiso makes a profit out of his shipment, but the owner of the English ship does not make a dollar of the profit. It makes no difference what are the products carried back and forth, as the Senator from Massachusetts has stated; protection does not touch that question at all. If the English shipper bought as in the primitive days—I fancy as was done in the days of Venice when Shakespeare's play is located there—took his risk in the market of the world and then bought a cargo and returned, there might be force in the Senator's argument; but the ship has nothing to do with it—the ship gets no profit out of it. It gets its trade, and the American ship would be in the same position if it could afford to run as cheaply.

Mr. VEST. I will answer the Senator briefly. In the first place your American ships do buy their cargo in the foreign markets and bring them on trading speculations back to this country; and in the second place, the English merchant buys the copper from the ship that is brought from Chili, and the British ship-owner knows that he has got a market there. The difference between that and a high-protective tariff is that the American ship-owner knows when he gets to his home port that he has no market because the tariff excludes him. That is the difference. He can not bring the products of that country here; he can not compete at all with the production of copper in the United States under the tariff system. If that is not plain enough I am utterly unable to make it so. It is exactly parallel to the case of two railroads. One of them is loaded both ways and the other is loaded only one way. It is precisely the same, and there is no escape from it. There can be no other conclusion in regard to it.

But the Senator from Maine [Mr. FRYE] made the remarkable point that if we had free ships all the rotten ships of England would find a market in the United States. Mr. President, I have assumed all my life long that if there was one thing impossible on the face of the earth, one thing entirely out of the ken of mortal men or the range of the most active imagination, it was that any living human being could cheat a Yankee. If anybody ever found one, even if he was considered intellectually a very inferior man in a New England town, who could not get the best of any other human being outside of New England in any trade, from a jack-knife up to a \$350,000 ship, I should like to hire him and loan him out to Barnum for the rest of his natural life. Who believes that the people of New England would go over to Old England, take the old rotten hulks, take the old decayed and condemned cruisers, pay out their good money for them and bring them back to be sunk here by the mere force of the water itself? Who believes that a people of ship-builders, a people of sailors, a people for whom the navigation laws were made, a people who have been "rocked to sleep upon the ocean wave," could be cheated and hoodwinked and beaten out of their money in any such fashion, or that they would be? That cause is indeed a bad one that could thus depreciate the native shrewdness and intellect of one's own people.

Sir, I would risk my constituency of the prairies of the West, when self-interest was at stake, against any foreigner that God has ever created, whether Englishman, Italian, Frenchman or German. Trust the people of the United States, in every section of the United States, to protect themselves in any bargain or any traffic whatever. The Senator is driven to his last resort when he says that to protect the imbecile and half-idiotic traders of New England we must not permit them to buy their ships wherever they can.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Does the Senator from Missouri yield to his colleague?

Mr. VEST. Certainly.

Mr. COCKRELL. I think under the circumstances it is time for us to adjourn. I move therefore that the Senate adjourn.

Several SENATORS. Until Monday.

Mr. COCKRELL. I will move that the Senate adjourn until Monday at 12 o'clock.

Mr. HALE. I hope that will not be done.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri moves that the Senate adjourn until Monday at 12 o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

Mr. HALE. I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, May 1, 1884.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. JOHN S. LINDSAY, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. WOOD for ten days.

SARATOGA MONUMENT.

Mr. WEMPLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to discharge the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union from the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 3327) to provide statutory and historical tablets for the Saratoga monument, and that the same be put upon its passage.

Mr. COBB. Let it be read, subject to objection.

The bill was read at length.

Mr. COBB. I object.

Mr. WEMPLE. I hope the gentleman will withdraw his objection to hear a brief statement with reference to this subject.

Mr. COBB. I have no objection to that.

Mr. COX, of North Carolina. I demand the regular order.

Mr. COBB. If the gentleman from North Carolina will withdraw that demand for a moment I would like to have some evidence submitted in order to have it printed.

Mr. COOK. I renew the objection if it is withdrawn.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The regular order is the morning hour for the call of committees.

Mr. MORRISON. I move to dispense with the morning hour.

The motion was agreed to, two-thirds voting in favor thereof.

Mr. MORRISON. I move that the House do now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the tariff bill; and pending that motion I move that all general debate on the pending bill be closed at 4 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon next.

Mr. RANDALL. I have no objection to that, but I hope I will have the assistance of the gentleman from Illinois to enable me to have one hour of the remaining time.

Mr. MORRISON. As far as I can control the matter, of course.

Mr. RANDALL. I understand, of course, that the House has control of the time.

Mr. MORRISON. As far as I can.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I desire to give notice in this connection that whenever the motion is in order a motion will be submitted to strike out the enacting clause of this bill.

Mr. EATON. I hope my friend from Illinois will not press that motion this morning. There are several gentlemen who desire to be heard on this subject. I know I do for one. I would rather not be shut down upon by making an order for closing the debate on Tuesday. I do not want to do anything to antagonize any motion my friend desires to make, but it seems to me that it is not necessary to say at this time when the debate shall close.

Mr. MORRISON. I make this motion by way of giving notice to gentlemen, as I deemed it probable that the motion which was indicated by the gentleman from Ohio would be made and I thought it would be proper that they ought to know the fact as to when a vote would probably be taken.

In reply to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. EATON] I want to say it is very evident that all of the gentlemen who desire to be heard upon this subject can not by any possibility have that opportunity. I thought after the debate we have had that the House would now be able to come to a distinct understanding on the matter, and that the time I have indicated is as much as can be given to the consideration of this subject in view of the pressing character of other public business. I will say to him, however, that so far as I am able to do so I will facilitate his desire to be heard on this question.

Mr. FINDLAY. I hope that debate is not going to be choked off on this bill.

Mr. MORRISON. There is no occasion for talking about choking.

Mr. FINDLAY. I will modify the expression. I will say I hope the debate on this bill will not be suspended or brought to a sudden close until those who have convictions upon it in opposition have a

chance to be heard. I for one am against the bill *in toto* from beginning to end and would like to express my opinion upon it if I can have an opportunity.

Mr. DEUSTER. I desire to address a question to the Chair. I should like to be informed how many of the gentlemen who have desired to speak on this question have had an opportunity? I for one desire to be heard on it.

The SPEAKER. The Chair in reply to the gentleman from Wisconsin will say he is advised that forty-three gentlemen have thus far addressed the committee on this bill.

Mr. HEWITT, of Alabama. I hope we are not to take up the whole of this session with the discussion of the tariff.

Mr. MORRISON. In connection with the motion I have made I will ask unanimous consent that to-morrow may be devoted to debate on this question to the exclusion of the consideration of private bills.

Mr. BEACH. Not to interfere with the evening session for the consideration of pension bills.

Mr. McMILLIN. In view of the importance of this bill and the kindness the House has exhibited in connection with the consideration of the Private Calendar, as the mover generally this session of the motion to go into Committee of the Whole to consider the Private Calendar, I think for my part it would be proper to agree to the request of the gentleman from Illinois in regard to to-morrow's business.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MORRISON] asks unanimous consent that the consideration of the Private Calendar be dispensed with to-morrow.

Mr. MORRILL. Does that include to-morrow evening?

Mr. MORRISON. I do not wish to interfere with the order for the evening.

The SPEAKER. It is a special order which assigns the consideration of pension bills for to-morrow evening. The Chair thinks unless that were expressly included in the request it would not be affected. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question now is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois, that general debate on the tariff bill be closed next Tuesday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

Mr. YORK. I would suggest Wednesday or Thursday instead of Tuesday.

Mr. MORRISON. I insist on my motion. Gentlemen may vote it down if they see fit.

The question being taken, the motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question now recurs on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois, that the House now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of revenue bills.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, Mr. COX, of New York, in the chair.

TARIFF.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union resumes the consideration of the bill (H. R. 5893) to reduce import duties and war-tariff taxes. The gentleman from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. DORSHEIMER. Mr. Chairman, there are two ways of dealing with a redundant revenue; one is to reduce it, the other is to spend it; one way is to lessen taxation, the other way is to increase the appropriations. The latter is the easier path. There are many temptations which invite to it. Impulses of generosity, motives of policy, the interests of locality, pride of country, all tempt us to enter a road where progress is delightful, the pavements smooth, and the prospect alluring. Other and more sinister guides are also at hand. The public contractor, those who hold places of profit, those who collect the taxes and those who distribute them, those whose business thrives upon taxation, and who find in the weight of the public burdens a means of crushing rivalry—all these are eager and most persuasive in their efforts to convince us that the way to deal with a redundant revenue is to spend it. So there are some statesmen who always like to have an excessive income. One such has lately told us that the surplus should be generously distributed to the States, so that the States would be spared the necessity of levying taxes for any purpose of local administration.

However great the income there are always methods of using it. Thus it happens that among the conspicuous and picturesque characters in history we find none who had any trouble in dealing with a surplus revenue. I can not find that either Louis XIV or Charles of Spain or Charles of England or either of the Napoleons was ever in any perplexity with too great an income. A splendid court, largesses to their servants, pompous public works, and frequent wars gave full employment to all the revenues of the state.

The other way, that of reduction in taxation, is a hard road. It leads over a rough country and is beset with foes. Those who follow it find no treasure with which to reward friends or bribe enemies, to control a convention, to win a nomination, to corrupt an election. Those who now take this way do not find it easy. We are told even by some of our friends that our course is not the right one, that great interests

will be disturbed, that the present is not the time, that our political enemies will discover our intentions, and thus the fall elections will be affected and the regular current of party politics turned awry.

Our political opponents resist on many grounds, some of which are curious enough. The gentleman from Massachusetts who represents that State upon the Committee of Ways and Means proposes, indeed, that revenue shall be decreased, but he proposes to lower it by the novel method of increasing taxation. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] indulged himself in a generalization so striking that I must refer to it. He says that the trouble now is, not that prices are too high, but that commodities are too plentiful. The harvests have been too bountiful and the artisans too industrious. After having made this startling statement he drew a dismal picture of the condition of the poor in Europe. He seems to think that the poor there are starving because there is too much food and go naked because there are too many clothes. To doubtful friends, and also to our opponents, we answer that the taxes yield too much, and that our first and imperative duty is to leave the surplus in the pockets of the people. It has been suggested that the needed reduction should be made by abolishing the internal taxation. I do not think such a measure would be approved.

The internal revenue is now chiefly obtained from taxes upon spirits, malt liquor, and tobacco. All of these are luxuries. The taxes upon them have the great advantage that they are in the nature of voluntary taxes. Any one who feels burdened by them may avoid the tax by ceasing to use the articles. So far as alcohol enters into the arts it should be relieved from taxation, and I hope that some means may be found of giving that relief. But if it is impossible to relieve alcohol without impairing the tax on spirits I would prefer that the tax should remain and that the arts should rest to that extent under the public burden.

It seems to me beyond controversy that the reduction of tariff taxes is the true course. They rest upon clothing, food, and fuel, upon houses and ships, upon manufactures and arts, upon the implements of trade and agriculture, upon the vehicles of commerce, upon all the things by which industry is pursued and civilization advanced; nay, upon many things without which life can not be maintained. It is a monstrous suggestion that these burdens should be continued, and that whisky, beer, and tobacco should be made free. Fortunately there is no popular demand for such a measure. There never was a clearer expression of public opinion made in this country than that which comes from every quarter in favor of the retention of these taxes.

It being determined that the first step in the direction of reduction should be the lowering of tariff taxation, the question for us to consider is whether the measure proposed is a wise one and whether it effects the purpose. As to the character of this measure there has been, I think, much unnecessary concession. I think the chairman of the committee himself has gone quite too far in his admissions that the measure is not as good a one as he would wish. Doubtless a statesman familiar with modern teachings and experiences and free to arrange a system of tariff taxation suited to the country would have framed a very different bill. But considered with reference to our situation, to the condition of the protected industries, which should not be subjected to too sudden a change, and above all considered with reference to the state of public opinion, until lately most indifferent to these important subjects, I think the committee have acted wisely and have adopted the most available method of reduction. I say this with the distinct admission that I have changed my opinion upon this subject.

I came here with a strong conviction that the true course was to enlarge the free-list and not to make a general or horizontal reduction. I have come to think otherwise, and I have been somewhat influenced by an argument common with our adversaries and which greatly troubles some of our friends. It is said that the bill will increase the revenue and not diminish it. Is this true? Can you take off one-fifth of the taxes and still increase the revenue? If you can, you certainly ought to do it. And you ought to do it first of all. If you can take off one-fifth of the taxes and still increase the revenue, then it is clear that taxation has been carried far beyond the revenue point, and that a reduction will leave a great sum in the pockets of the tax-payers, a sum which now does not go into the Treasury, but which is taken from the tax-payers and given to certain favored persons. There has never been a declaration of Democratic policy which did not declare that revenue was the only purpose of taxation.

It has never been our doctrine that taxes should be levied for the purpose of taking money from one citizen and giving it to another. The much-talked-of Ohio declaration is for "a tariff for revenue limited to the necessities of the Government, economically administered." If there is a Democrat here who believes that this bill will increase the revenue and who is still disposed to regard the declarations of his party, I say to him, "We are entitled to your vote, because the existing tariff is by your admission far above the revenue standard." Let us take off one-fifth now. If that does not reduce the revenue we can take off more. Some time we will cut to the quick and draw the blood. If 20 per cent. will not reduce the revenue, perhaps 50 per cent. will.

This argument is also strong against the suggestion that the free-list should be greatly increased. For if taxation is above the revenue stand-

ard, then placing raw materials on the free-list may make manufacturing cheaper without making the product cheaper. It will help the manufacturer and not the consumer, and still further increase the inequalities of the tariff. Nay, it would invigorate the vicious process by which money is taken from one class and given to another. It is said that domestic competition will bring prices down. But the manufacturers can easily combine, as the coal and oil men have combined. Let the whole tariff be first brought near to a revenue standard, and we can then with propriety increase the free-list. Partly by reason of the assertion that this bill will not diminish the revenue, but still more by a careful consideration of it, I have come to the conclusion that the committee have taken the proper method.

But it is said that the bill only proposes a horizontal reduction, and that a horizontal reduction is not a skillful, not a scientific method. To those who are troubled by the lack of skill and science in the bill I have nothing to say. I shall be content with their absence if it relieves the public burdens. But I wish to say that to speak of it as a horizontal reduction merely is incorrect, and those who do so leave out of consideration three most important provisions. I refer to the clauses which provide that hereafter no article in the wool schedule shall pay a higher duty than 60 per cent., that none in the metal schedule shall pay a higher duty than 50 per cent., and that none in the cotton schedule shall pay a higher duty than 40 per cent. These provisions have an important effect, and, so to speak, cut off the tops of all the excessive and anomalous duties which are the disgrace of the present tariff. I find on examination that the provisions will operate upon ten articles in the cotton schedule, upon ten in the woolen, and upon nineteen in the metal, and that at present the duties upon these articles range from 50 to 104 per cent. The effect of the provision that no duty shall be lower than the one prescribed by the act of 1861 operates upon twenty-eight articles, and prevents the inequalities which would be caused by a 20 per cent. reduction upon the low taxes as well as the high ones, and avoids the evils of which the gentleman from Ohio spoke when he said that a reduction of 20 per cent. would destroy some of our manufacturers. All American manufacturers grew fat under the Morrill tariff.

The gentleman from Ohio said the bill was complicated and impossible of execution. I listened to his remarks with care, but they did not produce the impression upon me that they did upon him. It is easy by a specification of details to make a simple process seem protracted and complicated. Suppose I apply the gentleman's method to the operation of eating one's dinner. You take a seat at a table, you open your napkin, you take a fork in one hand and a knife in the other, you cut with the knife, you lift the food with the fork, you chew with your teeth, you swallow with the muscles of your throat. All this would doubtless to a Congo negro seem to be a very complicated transaction, but to the gentleman from Ohio it is an easy one and not unattended with pleasure.

It will be necessary for the appraiser to estimate the duties upon an invoice under two tariffs, the existing one and the act of 1861. That act was in operation several years, and duties were levied under it upon all imports. If they were collected then they can be collected now. As to the limitations of 40, 50, and 60 per cent., in most cases a man of ordinary ability can apply them by looking at the figures without doing the sum. I will say to the gentleman from Ohio that if the present custom-house officers are unable to do the work we will soon be in a situation to supply to the public service men who will make this calculation without any difficulty whatever.

I further say that the whole measure shows a wise conservatism in dealing with the protected industries. I much mistake the opinion of those with whom I act if there is any disposition on this side of the House to deal harshly with the protected industries. Since 1866 there has been collected through the custom-house the sum of \$3,181,000,000. This vast and unexampled taxation has been constantly adjusted so as to foster certain industries. Those who were engaged in them have had the benefit of this colossal protection, if indeed it was beneficial to them. The taxation can no longer be maintained. There is no use to which the money can be put. The protected industries must accommodate themselves to the necessity for reduced taxation. It is not the desire of those who are interested in revenue reform to make the change suddenly or too rapidly. There is only one way in which a sudden change may be brought about. If the manufacturing interests shall stubbornly resist, if they refuse to accept moderate measures like the present one, an appeal will be made to the public, and the people, once awakened to the monstrous character of the present system, will deal with it in the peremptory manner in which matters are dealt with when condemned by the tribunal of public opinion.

Our opponents will do well to listen to the advice of their leading journals, like the New York Times, the Buffalo Express, the Boston Herald, and the Springfield Republican. Accept this measure, receive it in the spirit in which it has been framed, and you will do much to keep the tariff out of politics and you will have time and opportunity for the inevitable change. But reject it, remit it to party conventions, to the stump, and to the ballot-box, and you will presently receive a blow from which there will be no time to recover. Need I recall to your minds another system, like this the relic of the ignorance and cruelty of the past, and like this supported by a false philosophy and

defended on the ground that it was for the good of the toilers who were its victims? Need I recall its fate? Five and twenty years ago the South refused to accept the offers which the North was ready and eager to make. Such changes might then have been made in our Constitution as would have caused the emancipation of the slaves by purchase and by slow and graduated measures. Those who rejected that proffer saw their treasured system go down amid the violence of war and with every circumstance of mortification. Its defenders lost it and all besides; except, indeed, that they preserved the proud memory of the sacrifices they had made and the splendid fame with which the world has crowned their valor.

I can only refer to a few of the arguments used by our opponents. They justify their refusal to reduce the tariff taxes on the ground that their maintenance is necessary to certain of our industries. It is noticeable that the protectionists have changed their position. The system was first commended to the people on the ground that it was needed for the encouragement of infant industries, for the education of workmen in arts unknown to them, and to persuade capital to enter enterprises which were important to the general welfare, which would make us independent of the foreigner and contribute to our defense in war. Mr. Clay asked that the American system should be encouraged for a few years; even as late an advocate of protection as Mr. Greeley used to say that he would be content with ten years of protection.

All this has been changed. After twenty years of protection the favored industries need it more than they ever did. Their infancy has passed, but they have not grown to manhood. They are still mendicants asking for alms. The protectionists now openly avow that the system must be permanent. The gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman from Pennsylvania both declare that it must be permanent. We must face the distinct proposal that we must continue to maintain a part of our people in unprofitable employments. Why are we asked to do this? The gentleman from Massachusetts says that by so doing we will make a home market for our agriculture and that American agriculture can no longer depend upon the foreign market. He tells us that East Indian competition will destroy the European markets for our breadstuffs. It is a little curious that whenever the protective policy is urged upon Congress the specter of East Indian competition is invoked. It was so when the tariff of 1842 was under discussion. It was then said that India would outdo the South in the production of cotton.

Gentlemen will find this matter dealt with at great length by Mr. Calhoun in the speech which he delivered in the Senate on the 16th of March, 1842. Mr. Calhoun had no fear that India would drive American cotton out of European markets. It may interest gentlemen to refer to his speech and see the reasons he had for his confidence and also learn how truly he foretold what would happen. I have no fear that India will be a serious competitor in the grain markets of Europe. India is a thickly settled country, with a population of 229 to the square mile—more thickly settled than France, which has a population of 183 to the square mile; more thickly settled than any part of the United States except Rhode Island and Massachusetts. I do not find that densely peopled countries are great exporters of grain. I think no country can export much food unless it be thinly settled and have a congenial soil and climate and sufficient means of transportation. The increase of wheat production in India will probably lead to a greater use of wheat by the people of that country. In 1881 the East Indians were visited by a famine without parallel in modern history, and England bought vast quantities of our grain to keep from starvation those who live in what our friends fear will soon be the granary of the world. It is interesting to know that the cotton exports of India have greatly increased; in 1882 they amounted in value to about \$90,000,000, and yet our cotton has not been driven from the markets of Europe. Last year India sent to Great Britain about twenty million dollars' worth of grain. I do not think this rivulet will soon grow into a flood.

But how is it proposed to meet this danger? If we are to have competition from India one would say the way to meet it would be to make wheat-growing cheaper here; to lighten the taxes of the farmer and to lessen the cost of his supplies. But that way is not proposed. It is said we will make a home market; we will create a class who will eat all the wheat and use all the cotton. Mr. Calhoun was told the same thing. He was offered a home market for Southern cotton, but the home market was not nor has it ever been large enough to take in the cotton crop. Indeed, when compared with the size of the crop, the market is ridiculously small. In 1882 only about a third of our cotton was used at home. In the same year we sent about 40 per cent. of our wheat abroad. Who is there here to wear our cotton? Who to eat our wheat? Our wheat and cotton growers are profitably employed. Some of our artisans—those engaged in protected industries—are not. It is proposed, in order to make a home market, to take men out of profitable employment and put them into unprofitable employments. If we do, they certainly must be maintained by those who remain in the profitable employments. Will the farmer be made able to overcome competition by an increase of his burdens?

When I hear gentlemen talk about making a home market for the consumption of food and merchandise, I sometimes wonder they do not cite European examples. In Europe great standing armies are main-

tained. Whatever objection there may be to standing armies, and I certainly do not favor them, they make an excellent home market. Germany, in time of peace, maintains an army of about 445,000 men. We employ about 400,000 persons in the highly protected cotton, iron, silk, and woolen industries. The German army costs about \$80,000,000. We could maintain it quite within our surplus revenue. How much better a home market the soldiers would make than the artisans do. You could spend any amount on them. There never would be any surplus. There would then be that permanency to our taxation which seems so desired by the gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from Massachusetts and the gentleman from Ohio and all the gentlemen on the other side of the House. They would stimulate many industries. They would wear more and eat more than the artisans. They would need horses and barracks and guns and tinsel and musical instruments. Indeed, the making of instruments for the bands would be a most valuable industry, and would make up perhaps for the loss of that quinine manufacture, the emigration of which caused such sorrow the other day to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman, one can not answer the arguments about a home market without falling into triviality, but it is because the arguments are trivial.

Our opponents use an argument of a more serious character and entitled to serious consideration. They say that the tariff is necessary in order to give our working people adequate wages. It is observable that the ground of the wages argument has been changed. At first it was said high duties are needed because labor is dear in this country. Now it is said that the tariff is necessary to keep labor dear. But without dwelling upon this inconsistency I say in all seriousness that if the effect of protective duties was to equalize property, to distribute it more widely, to give to the workman an easier life, to give to his children better opportunities, and to fill his home with comforts, I would gladly yield and join my opponents. But as I see it, this device of protection is the cruellest wrong which society does the poor and makes heavier the burden of poverty.

Let us consider a moment; if we find that prices of labor vary as much here under the protection of these laws as they do between Europe and America, the statement that the tariff adds to wages will I think be somewhat shaken. The difference in the cost of labor in California and in New York is as great as it is between New York and England. Nay, labor costs more in New York than in Boston, or even in Philadelphia. You may go to a mining camp in Colorado, and if it is on a railway the miners work for \$2.50 a day. If you go forty miles away, over a range of mountains, the miners get \$5 a day. In the South the negro works at from \$8 to \$12 a month, while on the Hudson we pay the farm laborer from \$25 to \$35 a month. It is plain, then, that something else besides the tariff has to do with the differences in the cost of labor. Where labor is plentiful, it is cheap; where it is scarce, it is dear. Where the workingman can be cheaply supported he works for less than where the cost of his support is great. Besides, the wages of the workingman are affected by the value of what he does, by his skill and intelligence. The Englishman is better paid than the Frenchman, the Frenchman better than the Italian, the Italian better than the Arab, the American better than any. You can hire a negro in Africa for a few beads, but he can not do anything except carry a pack. An American able to till a garden will in a day earn money enough to buy beads enough to hire a whole tribe of negroes.

In a word, Mr. Chairman, the price of labor is controlled by the great law of supply and demand. It is the one thing which the tariff can not affect except in this: that it may do the vast injustice of taking from profitable labor a part of its earnings and of giving it to the support of those whose labor does not support them.

I will, however, not leave this branch of the subject without saying that I do not believe there is any gentleman on this floor more desirous of finding some relief for the workingman or more solicitous as to the peril which threatens him than I am. No one can think of the experiences of this country during the last twenty years without dread for the future. We had supposed that we would escape the more serious evils of European society. But they are coming to us with daily increasing rapidity. The property of the country is falling into the hands of the few. The number of land-owners in proportion to the amount of land under cultivation has greatly diminished during the last decade. There are many counties in New York where there are not as many farmers as there were fifty years ago, and yet the population of the State is 5,000,000 and fifty years ago it was 2,000,000.

What is true of land is also true of other forms of property. No one can contemplate the rapid concentration of railway properties into the hands of a few men without admitting that it is the special scandal of our times. Mr. Chairman, I here aver that I regard a continuance of this concentration of property as a great danger to the country, and that unless it is arrested the peace of society can not long be maintained. What the measures of relief are to be I can not predict. But it is clear enough that relief can not come from taxing one class of our laborers and distributing the proceeds of the taxes in part to some of our laborers and in part to some of our capitalists, giving to the capitalists by far the larger share. This is shown by the fact that manufacturing property has been concentrated during the last ten years

more rapidly than any other. We find that the tariff instead of being a defense against this danger is itself a prolific cause of it.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania drew in the darkest colors at his command an impressive picture of poverty in Europe. But it was not necessary to go there to find the extremes of human misery. I think he can find them in his own State. I think he can find them in his own district. But if he can not, let him come with me. I will show him on one of these bright days the Fifth avenue filled with a glittering stream of wealth and youth and beauty, and then we will go a little way and look at the dwellings of the poor. He will find whole families crowded into a single room, without a window from which the tender sky of the spring-time can be seen. He will see strong and skillful hands that can find no work. He will see gaunt faces and wasted figures; men without manhood; women without womanhood; age without solace and infancy without a hope. And when he has seen this spectacle—I will not charge it upon the tariff alone, nor yet upon the drink which he would make free; its causes lie far deeper; but I will tell him that, despite more than twenty years of the protection he has so carefully given, scenes like these are common in our land. He describes the degradation of the English poor; but in England there has been worked out during the last forty years an amelioration of social evils without parallel in history. The policy which Cobden and his associates persuaded England to adopt has resulted in pauperism diminished, crime diminished, and the welfare of the workingman greatly advanced. The policy which England abandoned has been transferred to our shores, and has brought with it and planted in our soil the foul weeds which had grown up in Europe during centuries of ignorance, superstition, and misrule. Simple measures have been potent to accomplish great results. But a little while ago Europe was given over to sectarian wars. The stake and the faggot, the thumb-screw and the rack were the instruments by which the Church herself sought to spread the gospel of peace and good-will. At last the spirit of charity came into the weary hearts of men, and suddenly religious hatreds fled, taking with them all these bloody instruments of wrong.

A few years ago we were told that the negro would not work except under the lash. He was made free, and behold the products of his voluntary labor now crowd the seas. You tell us that the workingman can not be protected unless you make his food, his clothing, and his shelter dear, unless you take away a part of his earnings and send him each day into servitude. We answer, make labor free. These are the triumphant monuments of human progress. First conscience free, then manhood free, and now labor free.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania says that we differ from other nations and should "isolate" ourselves from them. That would be a strange result of our boasted experiment in self-government. China alone has isolated herself, and after long centuries of isolation she has fallen into such moral degradation that we exclude her people from our shores.

Should we isolate ourselves, and other countries follow our example, the world would again be inhabited by nations ignorant of each other and regardless of each other's rights; frequent wars would create the necessity of great armies and strong governments. Those who now are free would soon lose their freedom in the grasp of successful soldiers, and not unlikely literature and civilization would be lost as they once were lost, and mankind again be compelled to begin the long and toilsome journey which our ancestors made from darkness into light.

I commend to my country a different policy; I advise her to continue in the path in which she began. Let the union of States be her purpose. That policy has brought under one government first thirteen and now thirty-eight separate communities; it has lately made a commercial treaty with Mexico; it advises us to a similar arrangement with Canada; thus bringing the whole of North America under the shelter of one commercial system. But we will go further still, and advise union, commerce, and peace with all nations. I see with other eyes than those of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I see in a future, not too remote I hope, all the nations bound together by swift fleets, by railway and cable lines, by the exchange of products and of manufactures, of letters and of the arts, and in this family of the world my country holding a commanding place, her voice heard, her counsels heeded, her example followed, and her power always used for the welfare of mankind. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLEY. Will the gentleman from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER] now permit me to say a word to him when it will not interrupt the thread of his argument?

Mr. DORSHEIMER. Certainly.

Mr. KELLEY. I desire to correct an error into which the gentleman fell touching myself personally. I was told on coming upon the floor that the gentleman had referred to me and had reported me as saying, "The difficulty is that the world has too much at present; the harvests have been too bountiful and the artisans too industrious." The gentleman did not do me the honor to hear me, and he evidently has not read my remarks. But I desire to say to him that whoever may have reported me as so saying has played upon him most egregiously. My complaint was that the distribution of the joint products of labor and capital was so inequitable, so at variance with the laws of national

economy, that the laboring people were forced into idleness a great part of each year, and were sufferers from want and not from superabundance.

Mr. DORSHEIMER. I will say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I heard his speech and I have read it with great care, and now I formally repeat the observation which I made in the course of my remarks.

Mr. KELLEY. I regret the gentleman's course, for it lessens my estimate of his character.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. BAGLEY). The gentleman from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER] has ten minutes of his time remaining.

Mr. DORSHEIMER. I shall reserve that time for the purpose of yielding it hereafter.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. DINGLEY having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, a message from the Senate, by Mr. McCook, its Secretary, informed the House that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

A bill (S. 820) to authorize the Oregon Pacific Railroad Company to construct one or more bridges across the Willamette River, in the State of Oregon, and to establish them as post-roads; and

A bill (S. 1706) to accept and ratify an agreement with the confederate tribes of the Flat Head, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles Indians for a portion of their reservation in the Territory of Montana, required for the use of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and to make the necessary appropriations for carrying out the same.

THE TARIFF.

The Committee of the Whole resumed its session.

Mr. BRUMM. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding with the remarks I had intended making I shall at this point endeavor to answer at least one of the erroneous propositions made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER]. His arguments are fair samples, Mr. Chairman, of the arguments of free-traders on every proposition that they make. The gentleman tells us that Germany has an army in round numbers of half a million men; therefore this army furnishes Germany with a home market. Why, sir, he might have said that Germany and Italy and Spain have an army of millions of paupers, sick, weak, lunatics, aged and infant, and they too furnish a market for home consumption. He might as well say that America has had army upon army of Indians upon these reservations under the support of the Government, and they too furnish a home market; that every State and county has its almshouses, its jails, and other institutions, and they too furnish a market for home consumption. But the gentleman forgets that all of these home consumers are not producers. Throw the army of Germany upon the producing army of Germany, glut the labor market of that country, and you will find a state of affairs that has never yet been paralleled in either protective or free-trade countries. The question is more a question of distribution of products than of surplus productions, as I shall show further on.

No function, duty, or attribute of government is more important and none more difficult than the proper adjustment of economic laws. As the human family is as diverse in race, nationality, government, wants, conditions, and circumstances as the human face, and as variable and shifting as the winds, this problem can not be solved by any inexorable law, nor can any principle or rule of action be evolved that will adjust itself to all men at the same time, or to any man or set of men at different times or in different places. Therefore every government must regulate and adjust these matters according to its own peculiar systems, necessities, and circumstances, having for its paramount object the greatest good to the greatest number.

The man who talks about universal free trade or universal adjustment of tariffs talks about universal impossibilities. It never was done and never will be done until the millennium makes angels of all mortals. And as the establishment of any general rule is impossible with the world at large, your horizontal humbug is just as impossible and as impractical with the individual government.

I can not understand for the life of me how such an intelligent gentleman as the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means [Mr. MORRISON] could ever attempt to adjust this matter upon a horizontal scale, unless from the fact that his party has been laid out so long that he has become horizontal on the brain.

Sir, the solution of this problem would be very much simplified if gentlemen would take a broader and more patriotic view of this question; if they could rise above the mean horizontal level of their party, and beyond mere locality and individual industry. The trouble with the average Democratic statesman is that he is national in nothing. He has never yet learned that the whole is equal to all its parts. He has never yet been able to comprehend the grandeur of a republic based on the equal rights, equal duties, and equal burdens of all its citizens. He has never yet discovered that our greatness and glory depend upon our willingness and determination to stand together and protect each other as one nation and one united family against all our foreign enemies, not only in military and naval warfare but also in political, social, and commercial warfare.

The Democrat of the period is a thing of opposite extremes, a kind of a jumborian midget, a great big nothing, an incomprehensible tattooed "what-is-it," that stopped growing before it had half matured, that does nothing but ape all the evils and mischief abandoned by others; without the ability to originate, adopt, or comprehend anything good or decent, an extremely selfish "dog-in-the-manger" economist, who can not utilize the gifts of God himself and will not permit his neighbor to enjoy them. This creature seldom has a commercial thought above a single commodity or a political idea beyond a local habitation. Some think the solution of the whole question is in sugar alone; others wrap their gigantic intellects in wool and are happy; with many more cotton is king; while nearly all agree with their Kentucky leaders that the *summum bonum* of all earthly glory may be found in the spiritual product of sour-mash bourbon. Few of them have ever been able to see farther than their own barn-yard; none have ever dared to venture beyond their State lines; while every one of them can always be found within the pale of his party. They are always orthodox in their paradoxical shibboleth "Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy," disregarding the fact that Jackson wanted to hang the only practical Jeffersonian exponent higher than Haman. And so they keep up this Kilkenny-cat fight between the straight-out free-trader, the "tariff-for-revenue-only" man, horizontal reductionist, incidental straddler, and last, but not least, the "raw-material" sophist, under the pretext of stopping the surplus revenue, or *vice versa*, and of lowering prices.

The burden of the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER] was against surplus revenue. The gentleman from Kentucky reversed this by saying and proving that we had not a dollar of surplus revenue in the Treasury. You pay your money and you take your choice.

The second proposition is under the pretext of lowering the price of all except their specific pet commodities. As to the surplus-revenue cry, that is only a sham and a fraud, for the revenue can be decreased more surely and positively by a horizontal or a discriminating increase of tariff than by a decrease. The nearer you approach a prohibitory tariff the more you reduce the receipts from impost duties. Moreover, if the so-called surplus troubles you so much, why do not you abolish the internal revenue and protect the home producer against foreign competition, instead of crushing out the home producer and protecting the foreign monopolist?

A better system of protecting your farmer is to so reduce the tax on all alcoholic spirits and all that goes into the making of liquors, and even on your tobacco. If I had time I should like to discuss this question from a temperance standpoint and to show that even as temperance men, in order to be consistent with the temperance doctrine, we ought to advocate the taking off the tax from liquors and tobacco.

But your second and main object is to so lower prices that you may be able to undersell all competitors in any market of the world—i. e., the producer must have the lowest possible return for his product, no matter how it may affect his comfort or his social, political, or moral status. Our object is to so adjust prices as to give the producer the greatest possible return for his product and to elevate the American citizen to that high plane so essential to the maintenance and stability of republican institutions. For this purpose we must consider the three prime factors of political economy, which I contend are supply, demand, and stability.

And right here let me call attention to the fact that in that one word "stability" there is more virtue than in all the arguments that you have produced on your side of this question. We are suffering more by reason of fluctuations caused by foreign intervention and speculation than from any other reason under the sun. We must shelter ourselves against the baneful influences of pauper labor, cheap foreign capital, barbarous nations, and despotic governments.

Cheap capital is a more potent factor in the question of political economy than labor itself. I may disagree with some of my friends on this side of the House, but I repeat it, capital, by reason of our modern inventions, by reason of our utilization of the elements of nature, electricity, wind, water, and steam, is becoming every day a more potential factor and labor is relatively becoming a less powerful one.

I contend that with our financial system to-day, even if labor were as low here as in Europe, we could not compete successfully with the European producer. I showed last session that the European producer could sell his goods in the American market for much less than cost and yet make money. This may seem paradoxical to you gentlemen. Oh, you may smile, but it is a stubborn fact. Foreign producers can sell in this country for less than the article cost them and make great profits. And how will they do it? They do it because they sell on credit. Selling for cash, they could not do it of course. It is a notorious fact that the great silk dealers of New York can buy silk in Paris cheaper on credit than they can for cash. It is a fact that the English capitalist invests his surplus wealth in our railroad stocks, in all our corporations, not in dollars and cents, but in iron, in steel, in products that are to be used by these corporations. Money with them on permanent loans is worth only 2 per cent. Here, as my Democratic friends, Mr. HEWITT and others, showed conclusively, money in Iowa and other States is worth 7 and 8 per cent. on permanent loans, on the best security, without any loss or risk at all.

The Englishman can sell his rails at much less than cost by borrowing money at 2 per cent. in England, sending it here, and taking stock or first-mortgage bonds on our roads, then drawing 7 and 8 per cent. interest, and pocketing every year from 5 to 6 per cent. profit. Why, sir, in many instances it would pay him to sell his surplus dump in this country for almost nothing. In a short time he would make up the loss in the difference of interest, on the same principle that long-time bonds sell at a greater premium than short-time bonds.

But it is not only the difference in the rate of money that we must be sheltered against. What is the governmental policy of England? And I have not a word to say against the English people. I respect and honor them. They show their wisdom, their enterprise, their energy when they succeed in getting the advantage they have over us. It is our folly, not theirs. But it is their government which even above the great power of cheap money enables them to drive us out of the markets of the world. England is peculiarly a despotic commercial government; a government which has no object above and beyond commerce and the "almighty dollar;" a government every fiber of whose power is used to assist its citizens to drive every other nationality out of the commercial world; a government that has declared its war against Egypt, has subdued India, has pauperized Ireland; a government that has its colonial possessions at its feet, serfs and slaves, to pay tribute to their commercial gods. It is in this way that England has succeeded in driving all other countries out of the commercial world.

It has never been disputed that supply and demand are great factors in political economy. Supply and demand, so adjusted as to produce stability, are the greatest, and I may say the only, factors in this question. The price of your grain, as already shown, is not fixed by your foreign market. It is fixed by the surplus which is not consumed in this country. The prices in Liverpool and Chicago are raised or lowered just as the dealer finds that the crops are successful or unsuccessful and as the demand of the home market may affect that crop. This may well be illustrated. In the States of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland the peach-growers, when their crop is so great as to affect unfavorably the price of peaches, dump their surplus into the Delaware River or Bay. Time and again have these farmers dumped their peaches. Why? Because there was a surplus, and they were not going to allow even a small surplus to ramify through the whole peach market and thus reduce the price of the entire peach crop. It is not a great surplus either that makes it necessary to do this. A very small surplus will glut the market. The moment there is a surplus, if it be as one to a thousand, it affects the price of the entire crop. The surplus dumped from foreign pauper markets is the great bane of our industries. It is this dump that we want to stop; it is protection against this dump that the protective system seeks to accomplish, and by avoiding the spasmodic glut assure stability and prevent the periodical crisis and stagnation that destroy the plant, and after the plant is destroyed the world's supply is lessened, but the demand goes on, prices again rise to an abnormal degree, and then it is that the consumer is truly robbed by the foreign monopolist.

Protection, it has been said, raises the prices of commodities. I deny the proposition. Under a protective system, assuring stability, the average prices of all commodities will be cheaper in a long period than they will be if subject to the spasmodic fluctuations incident to the baneful influence of foreign monopolistic despotism.

Let me give you some examples. Such industries as we have in this country—and I hope you free-trade Democrats will be kind enough to pay attention—such industries in this country as can not in the nature of things be interfered with by foreign competition furnish their products more cheaply than anywhere else in the world. Why, sir, can you ride as cheaply per mile in an English railroad-car as you can in an American? Can you have as cheap fare at your English or even your German hotel as you can in America? Why, sir, the kind of meal that they set in our hotels in this country would in Germany, France, or England cost you ten times the price you pay for it here. You gentlemen who have been abroad know this to be the fact. Nay, go further. Take the newspaper. You get an eight-page, twelve-page, or sixteen-page paper, as good as any published in the world, and you pay but 2 cents for it. You can not get a similar paper for that price anywhere else in the world. Take photographs, melanotypes, or any pictures of that kind. You can get a better photograph taken in America for less money than you can anywhere in Europe.

Why is it? These are all things which by the nature of the product can not be interfered with by foreign intervention. Europe can not put her railroads over here. She can not get our coastwise trade, because our laws protect it. That is cheaper, too, as shown by my friend from Maine [Mr. DINGLEY]. You can not have your picture taken in Europe unless you go there. They can not set their camera on the other side of the Atlantic and take your picture on this side. They can not furnish you with a daily newspaper. They can not remove their hotels here nor furnish you daily meals while you are here.

I challenge you free-traders to show me one American industry which by the nature of things is free from foreign competition that the prices of its products are not lower and the articles better than any like article anywhere in the world.

Under a healthy, free American system, with just and equal laws—

most products would not only be cheaper to the consumer but would realize more to the producer, and especially to the farmer and the workman. While the other side is constantly crying "Lo! the poor farmer!" you are adding insult to injury by presuming upon his ignorance, for the intelligent farmer well knows that he above all others is benefited by the protective system. He has under its benign influence better houses, better fences, better barns, better utensils, better furniture, better instruments, better schools, better morals, better men, better women. The farmer never gets to the point of starvation by reason of any general business crisis. No man can economize much in the consumption of farm products, for food we must have at all times, while the product of the business man, the laboring mechanic, is not at all times indispensable.

Moreover, farm products under our tariff system have generally increased in value while other products have decreased. Why, sir, during the last Democratic administration, under "ten-cent Jimmy" in many localities coal was so dear and corn so cheap farmers used corn for fuel. I remember very well, and I want you farmers to remember—I remember very well, in my short lifetime, when it took a good cow to buy a good cooking-stove. To-day a good cow will furnish the best kitchen in the land with cooking-stove and all the utensils necessary for a well-regulated kitchen.

I worked for years as a watchmaker, and I remember well when it took a good horse to buy a good clock, and to-day the price of a good horse will set you up in a respectable watch and clock business. Clocks for a dollar. A good horse is all the way from \$250 to \$1,000.

Why, sir, it used to take, in my short lifetime, a whole calf to buy a saw. To-day you can buy the best of Disston's make for the hide of a calf.

I remember when it took a pound of the best butter to buy a pound of nails. To-day you can buy a pound of nails with a quart of skimmed milk.

Yet you talk about protection to the farmer. Where has his commodity fallen in price? Every other commodity has fallen by reason of protection, while the farmer has always held his own or rose steadily from year to year, and this is what I learned the rhetorical oracle [Mr. HURD] called legalized robbery of the farmer, while that is false. The truth is, your system of free trade, involving the Malthusian doctrine of the survival of the fittest, is rapine and murder most foul and unnatural, by forcing brother against brother in the desperate struggle for life. But they tell us a protectionist is a monopolist. Protectionists never were and can not be monopolists. What does it mean in that sense? Do we protect the individual wool-grower, do we protect wool only in one locality or in one State? Do we protect any one man or any one corporation or any one locality? No; we protect the article and we invite every man to partake in that protection. If wool-raising by our protection is a profitable business, we invite you to become wool-growers.

If iron and steel be more profitable under our protection, we beg of you come and develop the undeveloped iron and steel and coal and minerals of our hills and valleys. Is that monopoly? Why, your system involves the very essence of monopoly—to protect and defend British monopolies; to protect and defend the American whisky monopolies. Why, there is not a whisky dealer that is not praying and begging to have the tax kept on. The monopoly has driven all other men out of the whisky business except the rich nabobs in Kentucky and other States, and yet you charge us with being monopolists!

Then, again, you tell us that under free trade we have had better wages as compared with the purchasing power of commodities. I deny it. In the first place we have never had free trade in this country, and especially have we never had free trade and free labor at the same time. For ever since Abraham Lincoln issued the emancipation proclamation abolishing slave labor we have had protection, and therefore when you say that example has taught anything in favor of free trade you tell us that which you know is not true.

Then, Mr. Chairman, comes the raw-material sophist, the greatest humbug of all. Sir, there is no raw material except the pure sunshine of heaven, the air, the water, the earth in its natural state. Gold as raw material in the bowels of the earth is worthless. Dig it out—that is, apply the magic wand of labor—and it becomes very valuable. Yet it is still raw material under your theory to the assayer, the coiner, the jeweler, the artist, and the scientist. Iron and coal are worthless raw materials in the mine, but the talismanic touch of labor changes their value from the iron in the mine to the hair-spring and the almost invisible pivot and screw, which are much more valuable than their weight in gold; and yet, under your theory, they are raw material to the watchmaker.

Sir, the more human tissue and brain-sweat that is expended on a production the further it is removed from raw material. Now, by this bill you call coal raw material; and Mr. HEWITT, of New York, above all others, advocates placing coal upon the free list. Why, sir, there is not a product of earth upon which so much human tissue is expended, so much brain-sweat, so much labor, so much suffering and toil as there is in the production of coal. The miner makes greater sacrifices in producing that article than any other producer in the world. Down miles into the bowels of the earth, groping his way in the darkness, facing all the torturing elements of sickness and death, fire,

sulphur, falling rock, dust, the treacherous black-damp, and water, amid these elements this toiler produces what Mr. HEWITT chooses to call "raw material," a commodity in which more money is expended and more lives lost to the product or the return than any other commodity that was ever yet produced by the labor of man. The price of the coal in comparison to the waste of tissue is less than that of any other article; nay, it not only requires this waste of tissue, but requires men, men with muscle, men with brains, men with hearts, heroes that face danger in all its most horrid forms, men who take their lives in their hands, who leave their wives and little ones every morning, go into the bowels of the earth out of the pure air and sunlight, which they never see except on the Lord's day in the winter months! These are the men who produce the article that the honorable gentleman from New York chooses to call "raw material."

Why, sir, of all men on this floor, Mr. HEWITT certainly ought to know better. He is the owner of coal-lands and of coal-mines, and ought never to forget the slaughter of Avondale and Pocahontas in this country and greater slaughters in the old country. I am sorry he is not here. I do not see him in his seat, for I should like him to answer the question why he attempts to hoodwink you with the idea that coal is raw material.

But I must hasten on. I had intended answering a number of equally ridiculous propositions of other gentlemen, but I find my time is growing short. One remark further, however, upon this point. Mr. HEWITT himself described the horrible scenes of poverty in the coal regions, but permit me to say it was very much overdrawn. He only described the surface scene; he only described the horror and the misery of the miners and the laborers on the surface, and that picture was much overdrawn. For I tell you, sir, that among the miners and laborers in the coal region there is as much comfort as there is among any other class of workmen in this country and far more intelligence than the gentleman's constituency possess. It is only this imported labor that you find in such wretchedness and misery. You find the Hungarian, an article of recent importation, housed as you find some of the constituency of the gentleman from New York housed in New York, but none others of our laborers are in that condition. And who is responsible for this? Why, Mr. HEWITT himself, on the Committee on Ways and Means, in reply to Mr. Day said he [Mr. Day] was a public benefactor because he imported this foreign element.

I do not mean to say Mr. HEWITT imported this element himself, nor that he is responsible for the short hours. But he is a member of one of the coal corporations he speaks of that brought about this state of contracting the hours of labor to three days a week under the anthracite board of trade. If he is not now, he used to be of the firm of Cooper, Hewitt & Co. One of the largest miners of coal in my region turned his cash assets and lands into stock forming a corporation known as the Alliance Coal Company. The gentleman finds fault with the very men of whom he was, or seems at least to be, a part.

It is an argument, he says, to show that overproduction is the great evil we are contending with. That has been repeated by almost every gentleman on that side of the House. I tell you, sir, there can be no such thing as overproduction, general overproduction. It is simply a question of ability to distribute. Our capacity of consumption is correlative with the power of destruction, and all you need do is to give us the opportunity, give us the chance, and we will consume everything you produce that is worth making. The argument is as false on that proposition as every other one that you have advanced. Your remedy should be in such a financial system as would facilitate the interchange of commodities and prevent spasmodic fluctuations by allowing corporations to control the medium of exchange, namely, money; in such just and equitable laws as would give to the producer a fair share of his product. The evil is not in the tariff; it is in your monopolies. It is in the fact that under your monopolistic system you have allowed them to build up their railroads on credit and to absorb the sweat and blood of laboring men in gambling in watered stocks, unearned interests, and dividends encouraged by your vile credit system.

You talk about your millionaires of recent date. Who are they? Railroad men, commercial nabobs, stock-jobbers, bankers, brokers, and bonanza kings. There is hardly one that is a manufacturer; hardly one that is a producer. Had you been half so zealous in stopping the evil effects of these monopolies as you have been in falsely attempting to charge it upon the doctrine of protection you might have solved this problem and proved yourselves great benefactors.

Why, says the gentleman (Mr. HEWITT), in the iron-ore regions of my State men are working for 62 cents a day. And yet in the same breath he would make iron ore a raw material. Where is the consistency of such logic? That the demand for iron ore is so meager that you can only get 62 cents for mining it, and for the purpose of bettering that condition you must allow the foreign iron ore to come in on our market and flood it more than it is flooded already! Only 62 cents for mining; but bring in the product of the pauper laborer of Europe and we will cure it all!

Again, the unions of labor, trades-unions, are the fancy of Mr. HEWITT. He thinks they are the only thing that will remedy this evil. In England the trades-unions have made progress, I grant you. But they have made it simply because there are no conspiracy laws there pre-

venting them from combining. I was glad to learn that the gentleman from New York [Mr. HEWITT] was in favor of the abolition of conspiracy laws. He was right in that. I wish he was as right in other propositions. Under the English system they have made this progress by their unions. In this country they will make greater progress if you will only abolish the conspiracy laws, restrict the powers of monopolies, and keep up your protective system.

The importations of foreign contract labor is one of the hardest questions to solve. I grant you that manufacturers are no better than other people. They will take advantage of a business point as well as the farmers and others. But they are no worse. If they can get cheap labor from Europe they will have it. And in that they are only human. Stop the importation of your serf labor, stop the importation of the laborer under contract, open the door to white labor in the South, and that will go far toward remedying this evil.

Whatever chance the laborer has to compete with this foreign labor he has by virtue of protection. Take that away, and you pull down his only remaining support, you aggravate the evil the more. Simply because we are not all perfect, simply because we have not arrived at that point where every workingman can be independent and stand erect in the true dignity of his manhood and assert his rights, you say, wipe out what little chance we have in this protective policy, thus aggravating the evil. You tell us that cheap products in themselves mean cheap living, and that will cure it. This, too, is false. Let me call your attention to this fact: If a laboring man earns \$10 a week, having a mortgage on his house say of \$100, and he can save 5 per cent. of that \$10 a week, it will be 50 cents. If he gets but \$5 a week he saves the same percentage. Five per cent. on \$5 is 25 cents; 5 per cent. on \$10 is 50 cents; and thus he will be able to pay 100 per cent. more on his mortgage every week under our system than he will under yours.

To say the least of it, this protective system is in favor of the debtor classes. Your system, in its best shape and phase, can only possibly help the creditor, can only possibly help the banker, can only possibly help the broker, can only possibly help the commercial shark. Our system must at all times help the debtor and the honest creditor by stability. Therefore your system contemplates no other mode of acquiring a foreign market unless your commodities be so cheaply produced as to enable us to undersell all foreign competitors. This, sir, is utterly impossible. You may try it from now to doomsday and you will never accomplish it while we are in direct unprotected competition with them, for they are already down to the bottom rock of despair. The European, the Asiatic, the African producer is already down so low that we can get no lower, no matter how much you may attempt to crush us down.

We can never hope to supply their market except, first, with our incidental surplus productions, our "dump," if you please, the result of domestic competition, for which we rely principally (under our protective system) upon our home market. Second, we can only hope to supply their market with products in which by our superior genius, climate, quantity, quality, and other resources we have the natural advantage over them.

Sir, cheapness alone will not do it. Even if by your damnable policy you force us down amid the poisonous vapors of Asiatic misery and African wretchedness we can not cope with our foreign adversaries in their markets, for we still lack the necessary stability that can only be acquired by a proper system of economic laws and protection against the dump of the pauper labor and cheap surplus capital, backed by all-powerful despotic commercial governments.

But, sir, the most astonishing jugglery and necromancy is in the success of the deception you practice by reasoning from false premises, and the wholesale perversion of the truth. Many of your cheap statesmen while clamoring for cheap products of labor are loud-mouthed for just reward for the man that is to produce this very cheap article. Oh, yes; you favor high wages, but want nothing to result from labor to pay it with. But the most cheeky of all propositions is the claim of your party to be the friend of the poor workingman. Since when, I pray, have your acts sustained the claim? Why, sir, ever since I have known anything of the Democratic party the whole history of that party is a history of championship of slave labor.

You not only championed slave labor until we forced you away from it; but you were willing to destroy the greatest government, the only free government under the sun, that you might build up your confederacy on the rock of the divinity of slavery. Slave labor was your shibboleth; slave labor gave you your strength. You are to-day no more honest than you were then. You are to-day in favor of slave labor just as much as you ever have been. You are to-day fighting under the same black flag of Bourbon Democracy.

You are to-day in favor of grinding down not only the laborer of your own sunny South, the negro, by depriving him of his political rights and of his manhood, but you are endeavoring to deprive the laborer of the North of his rights by the horizontal leveling of all labor to your Southern status. And, as suggested by my friend near me [Mr. PERTINAX], all this is in the name of Democracy.

Moreover, you restrict the labor market and hem it in by a system of social, commercial, and political ostracism that prevents the natural

ebb and flow of the labor of our country. Tear down your Chinese wall of selfishness, jealousy, and envy and encourage the superior talent and energy of the North to come among you and teach you how to become as progressive and prosperous as we are. You will then not only benefit the laborer of the North, but will add threefold blessings to your own people.

Sir, your system seeks a commercial victory at the expense of social, political, and moral defeat. Our system seeks commercial supremacy by the broad highway of progress that leads us to national greatness. The whole problem of life under your system is only the almighty dollar, and for this soulless god you would sink the American citizen beneath the mire of India serfdom and have him burrow under the slime of British despotism for the laudable purpose of dragging us with all humanity down into the Cobden and Malthusian hell of extermination by oppression, war, famine, and pestilence.

While protection to American industry means protection to American institutions, it means the elevation of the American citizen to a still higher plane of civilization, it means a broader and purer democracy, a more comprehensive republic, a more charitable and liberal toleration to all men. It means, sir, a wiser, healthier, and happier people, going onward in the way of progress, adding a haloed luster to the bright sunlight of liberty, that it may shed its rays over the rest of the benighted world and show all mankind, in the name of God and of American institutions, the direct road up to the horizontal plane of universal rights, universal duties, universal burdens, and universal happiness. [Great applause.]

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I listened a few days ago with interest to the speech of a gentleman who has for twelve consecutive terms been elected to a seat on this floor—who has served longer continuously than any other member, and who receives and is entitled to the appellation of the Father of the House, for by it I expected to be advised of the benefits of a protective system, and of the evils of a contrary policy. And if I say that by his argument I failed to be convinced of the one or the other, I have an abiding faith that those who heard it as well as those who may read it will not attribute it to my mental obtuseness. All the poverty and misfortunes of "prosperous, merry, free-trade England" were charged to the account of her free-trade policy.

Lest it might be regarded *mal apropos* in me I shall not criticize the mode of investigation by which the learned gentleman ascertained certain facts, but will be content with saying that the best investigation of the misfortunes of that country could not be made by an invalid tourist in the short space of eleven weeks, nor is the best authority in regard to the diseases of Switzerland the hearsay statement of an unnamed medical pauper practitioner of this country.

Is there naught but the system of free trade that causes the poor of England to suffer more than the poor of the United States? Is it not a fact that other causes than that named by the gentleman produce the results to which he so feelingly alluded? Are tales of woe, and poverty, and misery, and crime unknown among the sovereigns of free, enlightened, prosperous, but tariff-ridden America?

We claim, sir, that we have the freest, the fairest, and the proudest governmental fabric ever erected by man, in which every man is a sovereign. The freedom of speech, the liberty of the press, the right of trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, the right to worship God according to the dictates of the conscience of each, all guaranteed and maintained—a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." We pay no tribute to the monarch. The cost of keeping up magnificent households and the gorgeous paraphernalia of royalty are not paid by us. We have no princes to whom we grant annuities, no titled nobility that draw a pension from our exchequer. Does the laborer in a country so ruled and possessed of such rights have no advantages over those of merry England? If not, our form of government is a farce, and the glories of a republic a myth!

England has been known for centuries to the civilized world. From the invasion of Britain by Caesar to that of the elder Napoleon eighteen hundred years intervened. It is Old England. Every acre of her available lands has been cultivated for centuries; worn out, they have been restored by costly artificial processes time and time again to productiveness. An eternal fog rests upon her, and her climate is cheerless and forbidding. The limits of her municipalities cover almost the entire realm, and her territory, small in extent, is crowded with teeming millions of people. The agricultural acreage of the country is not sufficient to supply her people with the necessary means to feed and clothe themselves, and for these they are dependent on the great world's supply. To render her less dependent on the South for her cotton and on the West for her supplies of animal and vegetable food she has made the great sacrifices and such questionable experiments in India that she has. Her real estate is owned and held in large tracts by a landed aristocracy. The masses as a rule have no interest in it save as the tenants of extortionate landlords or as the servants of a titled nobility. Her poor have no homes, no lands—landless and homeless. Her laws of primogeniture and entail have prevented them, no matter how industrious and frugal, from acquiring a real-estate footing.

How great the contrast when compared with the United States. Scarcely a century has passed since she had a government of her own. Not four centuries have elapsed since Columbus discovered it as an

unbroken wilderness uninhabited save by roving bands of untutored savages. There are yet living those who saw the first President inaugurated. It is Young America! An athlete unfettered, able to cope with the world in the world's great battle! Within her limits she has every character of climate to satisfy the varied tastes of mankind, possessed of a soil, a large proportion of which has never been scarred by the plowshare, it needs "but to be tickled with a straw and it laughs with an abundant harvest." Her territory, as compared with that of England, is limitless. Though we have a population of over 55,000,000 of people, our country is sparsely settled. The products of our farms afford not only enough to supply the demands of the people at home, but under proper encouragement and wholesome laws capable of supplying the deficit of every country beneath the sun. Under her wise and beneficent homestead laws there are none so poor that they are not able to acquire lands and homes from the public domain—a domain sufficient, unless unwisely granted by Congress to corporations, to satisfy the wants of settlers for generations yet to come.

I shall not speak of other natural and material advantages possessed by her lest I weary the patience of the House; but I ask, is it any wonder that, surrounded by all these advantages and blessings, the American laborer is more thrifty than his brother of England? If these are not the causes that contribute to this end rather than that claimed by those who favor a protective tariff, then I assert by a parity of reasoning that the wages paid in the countries of Europe whose governments maintain a high protective tariff should be higher than those who have adopted the free-trade system. Is this so? England is a free-trade country. France and Germany are dominated by a protective tariff. A comparison between the wages paid by these countries ought to settle this question.

I hold in my hand tables prepared from unquestioned data by Mr. Jacob Schoenhof, showing the different prices paid in the different industries of those countries and in the United States. I shall not detain the House by reading them, but will incorporate them as part of my remarks, where gentlemen can consult them at leisure if they so desire.

In the cotton industries Mr. Schoenhof says that the wages paid in the United States in 1878 were on the average not more than 15 per cent. higher than the wages of English cotton operatives. And he says that, "as compared with Germany and France, English wages are fully 50 per cent. above those of Germany and on the average at least 30 per cent. above those of France. In the woolen industries wages on the average are about 30 per cent. higher in the United States than in England; in England about 20 to 35 per cent. higher than in France, and fully 50 per cent. higher than in Germany. In the iron industries American wages average fully 75 per cent. more than English wages. Wages in England are fully 75 per cent. higher than those paid in Germany for like work in metals, and perhaps one-third higher than in France. In the manufacture of boots and shoes about the same relative prices exist as in metals."

The protectionists by these facts are placed in the anomalous position of explaining how a high protective tariff makes lower wages in France and Germany than in England, and how the same kind of a tariff in the United States makes higher wages than in England. *Reductio ad absurdum*. The truth is, there was never a more senseless argument made by sensible men to a sensible people than that a high protective tariff makes high wages. In different countries they may be different, and in different localities in the same country, but everywhere they are regulated by the same inexorable and unchangeable law of supply and demand. Ah! gentlemen, it is not for the laborer that a high protective tariff is sought to be maintained. It is not for him that our desks are laden day after day with periodicals and papers containing essays and letters in favor of this system. It is not in his interest that tours are made to Europe by paid correspondents that fill the pages of dailies and weeklies with questionable statements and statistics favorable to a tariff.

It is sought to be maintained by monopolies that under its fostering care and protection within the last quarter of a century have been warmed into existence; monopolies that have destroyed individual enterprise, consumed individual energy, and blighted American manhood.

If for the benefit of the laborer such laws were maintained, instead of occupying a humble cottage and sharing his frugal meal with his humble family he would be occupying the costly mansion of the manufacturer and his table would be laden with imported viands, tropical fruits, and all the luxuries that wealth could bring. Instead of himself and his family being scantily clothed they would be clad in silks and satins and fine linens; instead of rising at early dawn and walking to his place of labor, and when tired and worn out returning by the same conveyance to his humble home, he would with his family be riding in splendid equipages, driven by liveried servants, from palace to shop, from capital to capital, knowing no weariness save that imposed by a study of how best to satisfy his own tastes and desires.

The able Senator from Texas [Mr. COKE], in an elaborate and unanswerable argument made in the Chamber at the other end of this Capitol, in February, 1882, said:

During the fiscal year just closed the value of dutiable merchandise imported into this country from abroad, as the Treasurer's report shows, was \$448,061,-587.95. Upon this merchandise was collected at the custom-houses \$193,800,897.67,

being an average of 43½ per cent. This is the entire revenue of the Government derived from the tariff for the last fiscal year. Now, what amount do the manufacturers receive from the tariff? By the census of 1870 it was estimated that four million dollars' worth of manufactured articles were consumed annually in the United States. The figures for 1880 are not yet published so as to be accessible, but following the ratio of increase in population and everything else, they must now amount to at least \$5,000,000 each year. All these manufactures being increased in cost to the consumer by the amount of tariff duty, which, as I have before stated, is an average of 45 per cent., which goes to manufacturers, it is easy to see on that basis what the share of the manufacturer would be. But I will discount that per cent. so as to more than cover all contingencies and all drawbacks, and say they only receive under the tariff 25 per cent. on the sum total of manufactured articles consumed in the United States, and it amounts to the enormous sum of \$1,250,000,000 annually. And the amount increases each year with the population and trade of the country.

So for the year 1881 the results of tariff taxation and the distribution of its proceeds may be tabulated thus:

Revenue received by the Government	\$193,800,897 67
Bounty received by manufacturers	1,250,000,000 00

So that for every single dollar paid into the national Treasury under the existing tariff six and a half dollars, at the lowest calculation, go into the pockets of the manufacturers. If this vast sum of money were collected annually from the pockets of the people directly to be given to the already richest class of people in this country each year its monstrous iniquity would of course be so apparent as to defeat it. But it is collected indirectly, though as surely, in an increased price of everything they consume, in everything they eat, drink, and wear; in every tool and implement they work with; in every article which enters into the construction of the houses they live in, whether used for strength or utility or ornament; in every book or newspaper they read. This tax is as all-pervading as the atmosphere they breathe, and they have been so accustomed to it that they neither feel nor appreciate its enormity.

The total number of all the laborers in the United States in 1880, including those dependent on them, engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries, was in round numbers 7,700,000; divide the bounty received by the manufacturers, according to the statement of Senator COKE, \$1,250,000,000, by this number and it gives to each laborer \$162.26 per annum, and to each one dependent on him the same sum. Placing the number of dependents, including himself, at three, which is a moderate estimate, and the laborer would receive from the Government direct \$486 per annum instead of as now the sum of \$395 per annum, which is the average amount paid to the laborer by the manufacturers of this country. This amount would be given him without the stroke of a single lick or the effort of a solitary muscle.

I have spoken alone of that class of laborers who are engaged in the mining, manufacturing, and mechanical industries of the country. According to the census report these represent only about 22 per cent. of the laboring population, and under the mechanical head is included carpenters, blacksmiths, brick-masons, &c., which receive no direct benefit from the tariff. Deduct these and we have but about 12 or 15 per cent. that the advocates of a high tariff claim are directly protected.

The exactions laid by the tariff are paid, as I claim, not to the laborer, but to the manufacturer; but admit for argument sake that they are distributed alike to the laborer in the manufacturing industries and the manufacturers, 85 per cent. of the population of this country pay the immense bonus to the other 15 per cent. What do they in turn receive? Says the protectionist to all the people: you are nourishing the infant industries of the country; they will soon be self-sustaining and enabled successfully to compete with foreign manufacturers. How much longer will the cry of the infant be heard in the land; when will his lamentations cease? In the beginning of this century it was thought a temporary tariff of 8 per cent. would bring about this result. In 1815 the father of the American system thought that a tariff of 25 per cent. would accomplish it, and that too within the short period of three years. In 1824 it was increased for the same purpose; again in 1828, and so on, and so on. The infant is yet in its swaddling clothes, though manufacturing has increased to that extent that the home demand—the only demand we are allowed by our law to supply—can be fully met by running on half time.

It is time this infant stopped "puling in its nurse's arms." It will be an infant so long as Government pap is furnished it. It needs but to come in contact with the world and the world's trade to show its manhood. Strip it for the fight by taking off the garment of protection that weakens and enervates it. Bid it God speed; and in a few years, grown strong by competition, it will return to you bronzed and hardened by contact with the world to pour into your lap the commerce of the South American governments, of Mexico, of the islands of the Atlantic, of far-off China and Japan, and it may be, entering the British dominions, turn her trade to America, and secure to your country the title of Queen of the Sea.

To the American farmer the advocates of a high protective tariff say you are benefited by having furnished to you at your own threshold a market for your surplus products. I state it as a fact that the enhanced prices paid by the farmer on account of the tariff on every article he wears and consumes will more than double the gross amount received by him by sale of his products to the manufacturer and all his employes. This home-market theory has been told him for "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." If this be so, why does the report of the trade of this country with foreign countries show that at least 80 per cent. of its total exports consist of farm products?

The truth is that foreign countries to-day fix the price of the produce of American farms and not the home demand. But for this foreign demand the fields on which this surplus grows or is raised would grow up in weeds, or after having been garnered it would rot in the barns or gins or

be burned for fuel, as in my country years ago. The farmer receives no protection at the hands of Congress. He is compelled to ship his surplus produce to other countries, taking there the price that is fixed by the law of supply and demand. Rising with the morning sun, he is compelled to work until the going down thereof. Receiving no bonus like the manufacturer, his gross profits in the year 1880 were only 5 to 7 per cent., while those of the manufacturer for the same year were over 36 per cent.

The wages of the laborer on the American farm are from 300 to 500 per cent. higher than similar labor of any other country with which his farm products come in competition abroad. Notwithstanding all this, he is not permitted to buy what he wants or needs in the market where he sells or the cheapest market. To illustrate: A farmer may ship a cargo of corn to Liverpool and sell the same at a better price than he could receive at home; yet if he wished to buy any article of necessity or luxury with which to make up a return cargo the tariff laws of this country would, before permitting him to receive and use them, compel a payment of a tax of 35 to 150 per cent., prohibitory in its effect. He is thus compelled to enter into competition in the sale of his products with the lowest-priced labor of the world, and is compelled to buy what he may need in a market that under the law is permitted to fix a price from 35 to 150 per cent. higher than in the market in which he sold his produce.

Doubly robbed, the high protectionist would doubly damn him because he repudiates their doctrines, or, like the gentleman from Pennsylvania, would compel him to raise sorghum as an antidote for "all the ills that flesh is heir to." Under this system the farmer of this country, notwithstanding he has a virgin soil to work, is growing year by year poorer and poorer; mortgages are made on the homestead to make ends meet, with the hope that next year will bring better prices, but hope deferred makes the heart sick, and the old man dies with the incubance still on the farm, and the young man takes it up where he left off, and the same tale is repeated again and again. If this be the case when the lands are new and fresh, how much more sad will it be when the soil is exhausted and there is no surplus to sell, but the tariff tax must still be paid.

No wonder, sir—

Said Mr. Marshall, of Illinois, several years ago, in a speech on this floor—

No wonder, sir, that the Western farmer is struggling with poverty and conscious of a wrong somewhere, although he knows not whence the blow comes that is chaining him to a life of endless toil and reducing his wife and children to beggary.

It is claimed by the advocates of a high protective tariff that the higher the import duties the cheaper will be goods. So flimsy a claim can only be based on the idea that the manufacturer is too honest to take advantage of the privilege that is given under the law of charging a profit equal to the tariff or promulgated in the belief that a credulous people will receive as true any statement that may be made by this favored interest. No fact is better established than that the importer of any article not produced in this country on which a tariff is laid must pay the duty upon it, and in selling it to a consumer must have returned to him what he pays for the article, including the cost of transportation and insurance and the tax or tariff paid to the Government. And if the article be produced in this country the producer will place the price on a level with the foreign article. There may be and doubtless are times when the American producer sells for less, but it is the exception and not the rule.

It is asserted, and notably by the gentleman from New York [Mr. HISCOCK], that the great prosperity of the country within the last decade is attributable to a high protective tariff, and comparisons were made by him to establish this fact.

It is needless to say, Mr. Chairman, that no one cause could produce prosperity in a country. It is dependent on many, the least of which in my opinion is the tariff. I wondered while the gentleman was speaking if he would have attributed the unparalleled prosperity of England in the last forty years to the abolition of all import duties and the establishment of free trade—that prosperity that showed itself by the increase of her exports of merchandise from \$310,000,000 in 1840, to \$1,533,000,000 in 1882. The fallacy of such arguments is easily exposed.

As it is not for the benefit of the laborer so it is not for the purpose of creating a home market for the farmer, nor for the protection of infant industries, nor for the purpose of making goods cheaper, nor yet, as claimed by the gentleman from New York, of causing the general prosperity of the country, but it is for the purpose of enriching the few at the expense of the many, of concentrating the wealth of the country in the hands of a favored class. It is for the purpose of building up a moneyed aristocracy, the most disgusting and contemptible of all aristocracies, not relying upon its antiquity nor its noble deeds nor on an unsullied escutcheon, but acquiring and maintaining its position through dollars contributed by the sweat and muscle, the groans and mental anguish of the poor laborers of the country. Beware of fostering and encouraging such an element. It will fasten itself on the body politic and by corrupt practices will destroy the liberties of the people and uproot the foundation-stones of the Republic.

If all were accomplished by levying a high protective tariff that its

advocates claim, I still protest that Congress has no power to levy or impose any tax on the people except for the legitimate purposes of Government, for the payment of its expenses, ordinary and extraordinary. It has no right to take my money and give it to another to enable him to succeed in an enterprise which would otherwise be unprofitable. The power of taxation is a sovereign power, delegated by the people and the States to the General Government. It is a power that should be restricted and confined within the limits imposed by the letter of the fundamental law. When this limit is intentionally overleaped, taxation in excess thereof becomes legalized robbery. I need not quote the Constitution of the United States, neither the decisions of the Supreme Court under it, to prove the position I have assumed.

It has time and again been announced and approved by the judiciary of the Federal Government, and of every State in the Union, and he who would dispute it would "dispute against the sun." Yet in the face of these universally approved propositions, we find some of the leading apostles of a great national party asserting that they are in favor of protection for protection's sake, which interpreted means that if the Government were out of debt and required no revenue, yet they are willing and ready to impose restrictions on importations from foreign countries that would give to American manufacturers the exclusive control of the home market. That a doctrine so monstrous should be espoused in the full blaze of the nineteenth century, is but an evidence that there are those who respect no landmarks and know no constitution.

The United States needs no high tariff laws to protect her labor or her manufactures, and a tariff limited to the purposes of revenue is the only tariff that can be imposed under the Constitution; it is also the one that will bring the greatest prosperity. It is a conceded fact that the capacity for manufacturing in all the leading industries of the country exceeds the home demand and the small export demand; that the present overproduction of manufactured articles is very large; that the factories do not run on more than three-quarters time and frequently on half-time. I assert that one of the best evidences of the prosperity of a country is in the fact that its labor has continuous employment. It will not be denied that a population spends what is already earned when not actively engaged in work more rapidly than when it is, because it must find that recreation in pleasure which is in part yielded by active employment. Idleness is said to be the devil's workshop, and any population that has nothing to do will become more or less vicious according to surrounding circumstances, and discontent and restlessness undoubtedly follow.

What is the cause of labor being unemployed? The reason is given that manufacturers have stocks on hand more than sufficient to supply the demands of trade. What trade? The trade of the people of the United States. What limits the manufacturer to this trade? Why does he not sell his goods in other countries? The answer is that the citizen of the United States is prohibited by law from buying or interchanging commodities with the people of other countries, and that right exists between the people of other nations. Not being permitted to sell what they make or produce to the citizens of the United States, it is not strange that they should buy what they want from others who are given that privilege.

It is the interchange of commodities that produces commerce, without which no country was ever truly great. It is the high tariff that closes the ports of foreign countries to our trade; that has swept our merchant marine from the high seas and placed 95 per cent. of our foreign carrying trade under foreign flags. Modify these laws by reducing your tariff to a revenue basis, break down the barriers that prevent the manufacturer from seeking a foreign market for the sale of his manufactured goods, and you will hear no more of overproduction, of labor unemployed, of machinery stopped, of silent forges, or furnaces blown out, and in a few years your flag will be floating in every sea and in every harbor over ships freighted with rich treasures from America.

The truth is that there is now no excuse for a high protective tariff. When a large part of the able-bodied men of the country was engaged as soldiers in a great strife, when the labor of the country was in a measure demoralized, when the honor and credit of the country were at stake, and immense sums of money were needed to preserve the one and sustain the other, when great drafts for materials were made on foreign countries, and the importation of merchandise of all kinds, through the abnormal condition of the country, was stimulated and increased, the Government was afforded temporary relief by imposing high duties. It was a war tax, and when the war ceased it should have been repealed or modified as other taxes levied under the same circumstances and for the same purposes, or at least when the needs of the Government no longer required them to be collected. With about \$150,000,000 surplus in the Treasury, and the prospect of an additional accumulation of fifty or sixty million dollars annually, the people should be relieved of the great burden which they have so long been subjected to, and which they have borne with a patience unequalled in the annals of any other country, and there is no earthly excuse for their servants on this floor to fail to give them the relief they have the right to demand and expect.

The honorable gentleman who opened the debate on the other side of the House [Mr. KELLEY], as well as others who succeeded him, insist that they be relieved by abolishing the tax on tobacco and dis-

tilled spirits, and the tariff be permitted to remain as it is. Sir, I am unwilling that the luxuries used by a part of the people shall escape taxation and the necessities of life used by all shall be made to pay the expenses of Government; that the tax on whisky and tobacco, which goes directly into the Treasury of the Government, shall be abolished, and the salt and sugar, the cotton and woolen goods, the lumber, the coal and iron, the medicines and drugs, necessities of life, shall be burdened with taxation, the larger part of which does not go into the coffers of the country, but into the pockets of a favored few. I am aware that there are many and serious objections to the mode and manner of collecting the tax on whisky and tobacco, but by wise legislation the defects of that system can be remedied. Dear luxuries and the necessities of life, cheapened by the removal of unnecessary and illegitimate burdens and the reduction on others, will afford the relief expected and demanded by the good people all over the country. The latter remedy is proposed to be effected by this Morrison bill; and though it does not come up to my views in the matter, I endorse it as the beginning of the end of a most iniquitous system of taxation.

It was conceded by all parties a few years ago that this step should be taken. Mr. Garfield, in a speech delivered in this House on the 28th of March, 1870, said:

It is undeniable that the heavy internal taxes imposed upon manufacturing industries neutralized the effect of productive duties and made an increase of the tariff necessary as a measure of compensating protection. But as I have already shown, the heaviest burdens of internal taxes have been removed from manufactures, and a demand that some corresponding reduction in the tariff rates shall be made is coming up from all quarters of the country. The signs are unmistakable that a strong reaction is setting in against the prevailing rates, and he is not a wise legislator who shuts his eyes to the facts of the situation.

That note of warning is no less true to-day than then.

Mr. ALLISON, now Senator from Iowa, then a member of this House, used the following language:

It is admitted by all that the increase of the tariff was commenced and carried on upon the basis of the protective duties of the Morrill tariff of 1861; the increase of direct taxation, added to the price of domestic manufactures, rendered an increased tariff necessary in order to prevent our country being flooded with cheaper foreign productions. Certainly, then, upon the decrease of internal taxation the tariff may be, and ought to be, decreased in proportion, the danger being no longer in existence which was sought to be averted by these increased duties.

But I may be asked how this reduction shall be made. I think it should be made upon all leading articles, or nearly all; and for that purpose, when I get the opportunity in the House, if no gentleman does it before me, I shall move that the pending bill be recommitted to the Ways and Means Committee with instructions to report a reduction upon existing rates of duty equivalent to 20 per cent. upon the existing rates, or one-fifth reduction. Even this will not be a full equivalent for the removal of all internal taxes upon manufactures. It will not be difficult to make a reduction upon this basis.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. MORRILL], in a speech made in the Senate May 9, 1870, used this language:

At the same time it is a mistake of the friends of a sound tariff to insist on the extreme rates imposed during the war if less will raise the necessary revenue.

And again:

Protection has here no legitimate claims and it may be taken off whenever direct taxes are repealed and less revenue is required.

In obedience to the demands of the country a decrease of 10 per cent. was made by act of June 6, 1872, but by act of February 8, 1875, the duties were restored, so that with some few changes on certain articles they remained up to the last Congress unchanged from the war rates. Two years ago the demand for a reduction was so great that the Republican party, then in control of this House, could not turn a deaf ear to the people; but the protectionists, bent on receiving for as great a time as possible the profits that inured to them under a high tariff, insisted that this should not be done until a tariff commission had examined into and reported on the matters connected with a reduction. The country is familiar with the facts connected with the formation of that commission, of the appointment by the President of parties interested in maintaining a high tariff. And right here let me read an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Delano, a former Secretary of the Interior, before an association of wool-growers in the State of Ohio, as it gives a better insight into the workings of the protectionist than anything I can say:

The personnel of this commission was not overlooked by the manufacturers. They, with a vigilance and industry that seem worthy of commendation, did not fail to secure as its president a distinguished gentleman of great experience and ability in such matters, who was and had been for many years their agent and salaried employé. It is true, as I understand, and if so it should be mentioned, that this gentleman resigned his official relations to the manufacturers before entering upon the duties of his office. It is equally true, as I am informed, that he resumed these official relations as soon as he was *functus officio* with the Tariff Commission.

It is certainly true that as soon as his duties on the commission were ended he entered upon his normal duties as agent for the manufacturers, advocating and securing changes in the report of the commission greatly beneficial and advantageous to manufacturers.

It will be remembered how this commission had about concluded to ask for an extension of time to make their report. What a cry from the people of the whole country went up against it! How hurriedly it was drawn, and all that, and how under the force of public opinion they advised a reduction on the average of 20 per cent. in import duties! The Republican party had in effect pledged themselves that they would abide by the report of that commission and enact legislation in accordance therewith, but Punic faith is no phrase by which to characterize their bad faith. By a species of jugglery and legislative legerde-

main unknown in the history of this country they passed a law reported by a committee of conference, which was opposed to the action of both Houses solemnly expressed, a law which, instead of reducing rates 20 per cent., and instead of blotting out the inconsistencies and incongruities of the old law, increased them on many articles, made a Chinese puzzle of its provisions, and reduced the revenues but 1.74 per cent.

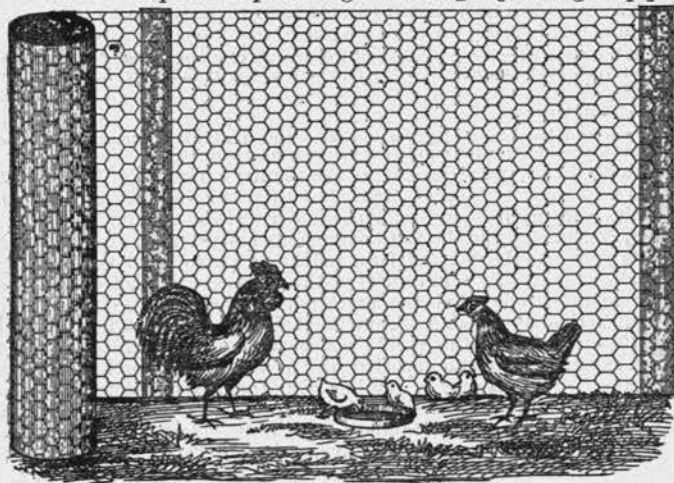
I said, sir, by that act the tariff was largely increased on many articles. I have not the time if I had the data to prove this statement by detail, but I will give one instance supported by actual figures that has recently come within my knowledge. A firm of standing in this country, who have had occasion recently to buy the articles mentioned in the following invoice, writes to a distinguished gentleman from my State a letter, from which I take the following extract:

DEAR SIR: We take the liberty of inclosing for your information a copy of an invoice recently imported by us. The duty under the present tariff not only amounts to nearly double what it would have been under the old, but almost equals the cost of the goods free on board steamer in London. These nettings are used mostly by persons of small means engaged in the business of raising poultry for the market.

The invoice alluded to is as follows:

Bought of Boulton & Paul, Manufacturers and Galvanizers.			
Galvanized netting:		£ s. d.	
250 yards, 24—18, at 11d.		11	9 2
250 yards, 18—18, at 1s. 10d.		22	18 4
		34	7 6
Less 75 per cent.		25	15 7— 8 11 11
Special netting:		£ s. d.	
500 yards, 24—18, at 9d.		18	15 0
500 yards, 36—18, at 1s. 1d.		28	2 6
250 yards, 30—18, at 11d.		11	14 4— 58 11 10
		67	3 9
Less 20 per cent.		13	8 9
Sheep netting:		£ s. d.	
500 yards, 36—3—4, at 1s. 2d.		29	3 4
Less 72½ per cent.		21	2 9
		8	0 7
Less 10 per cent.		16	1— 7 4 6
		60	19 6
Five per cent. off for cash.		3	1 0
		57	18 6
Value of goods in United States currency.		\$283	83
Duty paid under new tariff.		202	08
Duty previous to July 1, 1883.		101	15

I have here a picture representing the netting. [Holding it up.]



It will be observed from this invoice that the amount of tariff paid is within \$81.75 of the full value of the goods and that the tariff paid under the new law is within 22 cents of being double the amount paid under the law as it existed July 1, 1883.

What an astonishing commentary on the iniquities of the law. This material is not a luxury. It is used by the old woman who perhaps has given her sons as a sacrifice on the altar of her country, and who in her declining years is compelled to raise poultry as a means of obtaining the comforts of life. It is used by the farmer, when for the night he throws himself down to rest from his plodding labor, to inclose his sheep against the attacks of the wild animal or the ravenous dogs. And this is the tariff that makes goods cheaper! This is protection—such protection as the robber gives to his helpless victim.

Confronted by the demand of the people for revenue reform, by the fact that a corruption fund in the shape of an immense surplus is being piled up in the Treasury, by the quasi fraud by which the tariff of last session was enacted, the appeal is made to members of this House not to discuss the tariff, not to attempt to modify or reduce it, lest the business interests of the country may be disturbed. If the business interests of this country are builded in wrong and injustice, the sooner they topple and fall the better will it be for the country and people. But, sir, there is no such result to be apprehended. The real business men of the country are demanding a change. The bugbear conjured up by the monopolists of the land is but the tale of a nurse to the infant to quiet public opinion and lull it to repose, that it may reap the benefits of existing unwise and vicious legislation. Others say it is unwise for the Democratic majority in this House to attempt to do anything, because their efforts will be futile from the fact that the other branch of this Congress is Republican and are opposed to this bill, and from the further fact that the President of the United States would veto the bill if passed.

I do not know whether these statements or either of them be true, but I have yet to learn as a legislator that a failure on the part of one branch of this Government to conform to its obligations and duties relieves or excuses any one of the others from performing its duties. Let us throw the burden of a defeat of this measure where it properly belongs, and if the Republican party through its Senate or by its Executive fails to join us in our efforts to relieve the people the cyclone in the fall of 1882 will be as a soft breeze compared to the political tornado which will sweep over this country in the ensuing November. [Applause.]

Statement of weekly wages in the boot and shoe industry.

Description of occupation.	United States.		
	1880—Great Britain (Leicester and neighborhood).	1878—Massachusetts.	1881—Massachusetts.
	56 hours.		60 hours.
Sewing-machinists, men	\$7 20	\$17 75	\$15 40
Sewing-machinists, women	3 80	7 13	7 81
Cutters, men	5 04	11 05	14 91
Clickers, men	6 48		
Riveters, men	6 00	13 75	11 31
Machine operators, men	6 72		
Finishers	7 20	11 75	12 18

In France wages of shoemakers are between 5 and 6 francs a day (report of Secretary Everts, State of Labor in Europe, 1878).

In Germany, in 1882, according to the tables of the Concordia Society, wages for men in the shoe industry vary from \$4, paid in Frankfurt (on the Main), Karlsruhe \$3.84, to Offenbach (on the Main) \$3, the latter the center of a large manufacturing industry in this line.

Statement of weekly wages in two important industries.

WOOLENS.

[Values reduced to American dollars: English shilling and German mark, 24 cents; franc, 19 cents.]

Description of occupations.	Great Britain.					United States.		France.		1881—Aix la Chapelle, Germany.
	1885—Huddersfield, &c. a	1880—Batley, b	1880—Dewsbury, b	1880—Huddersfield, b	1880—Leeds, b	1880—Stroud, b	1878—Massachusetts, c	1881—Massachusetts, c	1880—Elbeuf, e	1881—Rheims, d
	66 hours.	56 hrs.	54 hrs.	56 hours.		56 hours.		60 hrs.	72 hrs.	76 hours.
Wool sorters, men	\$5 28 to \$7 68	\$7 20	\$6 24	\$5 76		\$6 50	\$8 50	\$9 43	\$4 62 to \$5 82	
Scourers, men	3 84 to 5 04	5 28	5 76	5 28		3 84	6 66	8 84		\$3 00
Dyers, men	3 60 to 5 04	5 28	5 28	5 28		3 60	6 66	7 81	3 18	
Dyers, foremen		12 00	14 40	12 00		\$7 20 to 10 80				8 00
Teasers and willyers, men	4 00	5 28	5 04		\$5 76	4 08			4 37	
Scribblers, men	6 00		6 72			3 78				3 57
Scribblers, women	2 16	3 36	3 00	2 64		2 52				
Condenser minders, lads		2 40	3 00	2 64		2 52				
Spinners, men	5 76	\$7 20	7 68	\$7 20	9 00	\$5 83	7 64	9 05	4 62	4 62 to 4 92

WOOLENS—Continued.

Description of occupations.	Great Britain.						United States.		France.		1881—Aix la Chapelle, Germany. ^f
	1865—Huddersfield, &c. ^a	1880—Batley. ^b	1880—Dewsbury. ^b	1880—Huddersfield, &c. ^b	1880—Leeds. ^b	1880—Stroud. ^b	1878—Massachusetts. ^c	1881—Massachusetts. ^c	1880—Elbeuf. ^e	1881—Rheims. ^d	
	66 hours.	56 hrs.	54 hrs.	56 hours.		56 hours.		60 hrs.	72 hrs.	72 hours.	76 hours.
Spinners, piecers, lads.....	\$1 92	\$2 88	\$2 40	\$2 16	\$2 28		\$3 00	\$4 81	\$1 74	\$6 36 to \$7 50	
Spinners, foremen.....		12 00	9 60	10 80	13 20	\$7 80				2 88 to 4 62	\$2 00 to \$2 80
Warpers, women.....	3 26	3 60	3 36	3 61		*2 18					
Beamers, men.....		5 82			6 25	*4 68					
Healders, lads.....		2 88		*2 40							
Fettlers, men.....		5 28	5 28	5 28							
WEAVING.											
Pattern designers, men.....		14 40	14 40	14 40		8 40 to 13 20					
Pattern weavers, men.....	5 04	5 76	7 20	6 00			9 50	8 53		4 62 to 6 36	
Furriers, men.....		9 60				5 40					4 25
Weavers, men.....	4 32	*4 80	6 00	*6 25		*4 32	6 95	7 45			
Weavers, women.....	3 60	3 60	3 60	*4 32	3 50	*3 00			4 32		
Burlers, women.....		2 64		2 10 to 3 60		1 92	4 59	5 13			
Knotters, men.....		5 28			6 00						
Menders and sewers.....											
Women.....		3 12	3 00	3 00		2 88	6 34	5 09		2 08 to 2 70	
FULLING.											
Fullers, men.....		*6 00	5 76	5 52	6 00 to 9 60	3 60 to 4 82	6 89	7 35	3 48		2 90
Fullers, foremen.....		*9 60	14 00	8 40		7 20 to 9 60					
DRESSING AND FINISHING.											
Dressers, men.....	6 24	5 28	5 04	6 24		3 60	7 08	7 53			
Tenterers, men.....		*6 00	5 25	5 76		3 84					
Cutters, men.....		5 72	5 52	5 76		3 60					
Cutters, lads.....	2 15	2 40	2 88	2 88		1 44					
Press setters, men.....		6 00	5 52	6 00		4 08					
Steamers, men.....		6 00	5 52	6 00		4 00	7 50	7 68	3 18		2 85
Drawers, men.....		*8 40	9 60	7 20							
Engine tenders.....	9 60	9 60	8 40	8 40		5 04	10 50	11 07		5 82 to 6 96	4 30
Stokers.....	5 14	4 32	5 28	5 28		3 60	8 78	7 97		4 62	3 60
Mechanics.....		8 40	6 48	6 48		6 12	12 33	13 43			3 90
Carters.....		5 28	5 28	5 28		3 60					
Warehousemen.....		5 28	5 28	6 00		4 32 to 6 10				3 78 to 4 62	2 85
Laborers.....			4 80	4 80		3 56	6 69	8 58			2 90

* Piecework. ^a Leone Levi, "Wages and Earnings." ^b Report to Parliament, 1883. ^c Report of Carroll D. Wright, commissioner of labor, Massachusetts. ^d Report of United States Consul-General Walker. ^e Report to Corps Legislatif. ^f Report of United States Consul Dubois.

NOTE.—In 1882, for a week of 60 to 78 hours, the Concordia Society of Germany reports: Wool-spinners, men—Returns from 94 factory towns, woolen mills: average weekly wages, 6 at \$1.92; 6 at \$2.16; 10 at \$2.40; 4 at \$2.64; 33 at \$2.88; 6 at \$3.12; 11 at \$3.36; 7 at \$3.60; 4 at \$3.84; 7 at \$4.32, or a total average of \$3. The Secretary-General of the United Chambers of Commerce gives the average of wages in woolen mills at \$1.96 to \$4.32 for male, and \$1.67 to \$3.60 for female operatives.

COTTON GOODS.

Class of occupation.	Great Britain.			United States.		1881—France. ^e	1881—Germany. ^f
	1865—Glasgow. ^a	1880—Manchester and neighborhood. ^b	1880—East Lancashire. ^c	1878—Massachusetts. ^d	1881—Massachusetts. ^d		
	66 hours.	56 hours.	56 hours.	60 hours.	60 hours.	72 hours.	66 to 72 hours.
Scutehers, men.....		\$5 40		\$6 23	\$6 67		
Scutehers, girls.....	\$2 06	2 04		3 45	3 45		
Strippers, men.....		5 40	\$5 28 to \$5 76	5 06	6 21	\$4 34	
Strippers, lads.....	2 76	3 50					
Grinders, men.....	4 68	5 16	5 28 to 5 76	7 34	8 42	4 34	\$2 86 to \$3 09
Grinders, lads.....		3 50					
Lap and can tenders, lads.....		2 16		2 80	2 70		
Draw-frame tenders, women.....	2 40	3 67	3 90 to 4 56	4 47	4 90	2 84	2 14 to 2 38
Roving and slubbing, women.....		3 60	3 90 to 4 56	3 70	4 52		2 10 to 2 25
Slubbers.....				4 80	5 90		
Bobbin tenders, girls.....	1 38	1 50	2 16	3 34	2 95		
Card winders, men.....	5 28	5 87				3 47	2 50 to 3 70
Card winders, women.....		2 88					
Overlookers, men.....	6 48	9 24	8 40 to 12 00	18 72	17 80		
Mule-spinners, men.....	6 24	6 90	7 20 to 8 40	7 41	10 09	5 79	3 57 to 4 09
Creelers, lads.....		1 44	1 68 to 2 04	2 32	2 97		
Piecers, lads.....		\$2 04 to 3 00	2 76 to 3 36				
Overlookers.....		8 40 to 10 80	8 40 to 12 00	18 00	13 80		
Throttle spinners, women.....	2 28	3 61		3 52	4 38		
Doffers, boys.....		2 16		2 80	2 70		
Overlooker.....		6 00	7 20 to 8 40				
Assistant.....		4 32					
Engine driver.....	\$5 76 to 9 60		5 04 to 12 00	11 37	17 75	6 08	
Fireman and laborer.....	2 88 to 3 60		3 84 to 5 04	8 33	8 33		

^a Leone Levi, "Wages and Earnings." ^b Government report to Parliament, 1883, on wages in the United Kingdom in 1880. ^c Report of Consul-General Shaw, December, 1881. ^d Report of commissioner of labor statistics of Massachusetts, 1883. ^e Report of United States Consul-General Walker, 1882. ^f United States consular reports.

NOTE.—For 1882 the Concordia Society gives reports from one hundred and thirty-four factory towns of the German Empire. The earnings of weavers in power mills (66 to 72 hours per week) are at rates varying from \$1.50 to \$4.50 per week, mostly of 66 hours (some with 72 and 78 hours). The earnings are: 2 at \$1.44; 7 at \$1.92; 9 at \$2.16; 16 at \$2.40; 7 at \$2.64; 18 at \$2.87; 10 at \$3.12; 13 at \$3.36; 20 at \$3.60; 6 at \$3.84; 10 at \$4.32; 2 at \$5.04; average, \$3 for men; women's earnings, of course, are considerably less.

Mr. EATON. Through the kindness of my friend from Ohio [Mr. FORAN] I have at this time an opportunity of addressing this committee, but by his request I first yield fifteen minutes of the time to my friend from Illinois [Mr. FINERTY].

Mr. FINERTY. Mr. Chairman, I will not inflict upon this body a repetition of the rather indigestible statistics that have been furnished by so many gentlemen on both sides of this question. The devoted student of political economy may, perhaps, revel in the multiplied evidences of the different and differing theorists, but the masses will appeal from the doctors in the temple to the results outside of it.

The word "free" carries with it, especially to Americans or to people naturalized as Americans, an overpowering charm. It covers a multitude of errors, if not an aggregation of sins. Without the qualification "free," the argument of "free trade" would lose half its potency. In times not long past weak nations were compelled to submit to the strong on this question by the argument of bribes and of cannon. The nation which at one time was the hoggish protectionist of the globe, which denied her nominal dependencies, like the Ireland of 1778, the right to trade with countries not on commercial terms with herself, has, of late, because of different conditions, become the hog of the "free-trade" market. She has bullied China, beggared India, and ruined Ireland. She has been the champion of opium among the Mongolians because it benefited her merchants, just as she was the strangler of the woolen trade of Ireland because it interfered with the prosperity of Bristol and of Liverpool in the reign of William of Orange.

In America she seeks to accomplish by means of pamphlets and dinners what in China and in Ireland she won by the bolder operation of brute force. She wants to be the workshop of the world, and the American advocates of what is called "free trade" are doing their utmost to gratify her ambition.

The bill under consideration is not, I will admit, "free trade," but it is the precursor of that policy. It is "not the light, but to bear witness of the light," and it shines in the darkness only to make its economic darkness more visible. It is an easy mode of legislation—aiming at the reduction of taxes while it strikes at the very heart of infant industries. The great monopolies, as they are called, will not be crushed by it; the struggling manufacturers will. Twenty per cent. off the industries that pay a large present profit will still leave them able to continue in operation, while the industries that are trying to establish themselves at a present loss, or at any scale under the proposed horizontal murder system, must disappear from the earth.

It is like filling a large tank with water to the depth of, say, 5 feet 6 inches and putting into it men of different statures. The six-footers would pull through, while without assistance those of 5 feet 9 would be hard pressed, and those under that figure, like my distinguished friend now in the chair [Mr. COX, of New York], must drown. [Laughter.]

That there are abuses in the tariff system hardly any member will dispute. That the free-list in the matter of necessities for the masses should be enlarged few will care to argue against, but that the almost unqualified "free trade" advocated by the frank and brilliant gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD], the American El Mahdi of the "free-trade" army, is an impossibility, while American workmen intend to live outside the conditions of European and Mongolian pauperism none but a splendid enthusiast like himself will care to dispute.

The gentleman from Ohio as an orator, not to flatter him, reflects luster upon this House, but as a Democrat he must not be intolerant of those who, while differing from him on this, are constitutionally in sympathy with him on other questions. In his remarks, as quoted in a morning paper, he is made to say:

The agitation has already begun. The people, long silent and quiet, are moving now. The culture and chivalry of the nation, long anxious for this hour, are ready to take the lead. The conflict can not long be delayed, and then the result can not be doubtful. Private extortion must yield to public rights: selfish interests must be sacrificed to the general good, and each individual's manhood must be left free, unhindered and unaltered by the Government, to work out its own destiny. And in the glorious result of the struggle I am sure that this protective grant of robbery and extortion will disappear from the land, never again to offend America or darken her fair fields with its shadow.

I have failed to observe, looking over the customary mediums of news, where "the people" have begun to agitate this question in a violent manner. A few politicians, anxious to make "an issue," some socially inclined gentlemen at a banquet board, a limited number of rhapsodical theorists, "the culture and chivalry," perhaps, to which the gentleman has made allusion [laughter and applause], all these may be "moving now," as indeed they have been for a long time, but the stern masses of the artisans and laborers of the country, who do not desire to accept the condition of European serfdom or Mexican peonage, are they "moving now?" The "culture and chivalry" of the Democratic party, fumigated by the postprandial odors of the Cobden Club dinner parties [laughter], may "move" all they please, but the man of toil, who is not "cultivated" to enervation, and whose "chivalry" is concentrated in the protection from pauper surroundings of his wife and little ones, is not influenced by such incentives to a suicidal policy of experimental economy.

If he is, where are his mass-meetings in advocacy of "free trade?" You may say "the agricultural interests demand free trade." I have

respect for the agricultural interests, but they do not embrace everything in the life of the nation. I fail to observe where they labor under the panicky evils depicted by some gentlemen. The English farmers are not protected, and they are tired of being exposed to our competition. Protection is rapidly becoming a living issue in Great Britain. It has even entered the house of commons, and will go beyond that body. Germany bars her gates against our exports of "hog products." France has only lately modified her embargo. Europe, in general, is apprehensive of the American farmer, especially of his beef and bacon, and where she is threatened she either agitates for protection or arbitrarily, as in the case of Germany, protects. Evidently she is not in love with "free trade," unless where she can undersell the market and ruin her transatlantic competitor.

The object of Great Britain, particularly, has been to get hold of American trade, to control the American market. For this she, the perjured apostle of negro emancipation, espoused the cause of the seceding American States, and let loose her thinly disguised privateers to ruin our carrying trade. The advocates of free ships may say what they will, but history confronts them with the fact that England, upholding slavery for a bribe of cotton, drove the flag of our merchant marine from the ocean. [Applause.]

What the aggregate damage, constructive if not direct, was is beyond the reach of the ablest of our statisticians. We know, however, that while maintaining our blockade the Navy of the United States captured seven hundred and thirty-three foreign ships, mostly British, whose cargoes of cannon, rifles, uniforms, and other requirements of war aggregated \$26,000,000. Great Britain could afford to sink most of the foregoing amount in the hope of breaking up the American Republic and placing the cotton crop of the South at her mercy. The desire to place the consumers of this country, now happily reunited, at the mercy of her greedy capitalists would impel her to spend a hundred times the amount in carrying out the policy of free trade, in which she as a small country, with a large and dependent population, must have, under the most favorable conditions, the lion's share of advantage. Should England in a possible conflict with some of her colonies be treated by the United States as the latter was treated by her, she must disappear from the face of Europe and of Asia as a first-class power. It was only our great territory, the variety and multiplicity of our resources, that enabled this Republic to still continue the home of American freemen and the asylum of all of the oppressed of the older world who have come or who may come here to accept American conditions.

It will not do to damn the protective system with the cry of "war taxes." It is true we have a large surplus in the national Treasury, but our Navy remains unbuilt, our coasts are almost defenseless, and were all that should be done in time of peace to prepare for war accomplished, that much-complained-of surplus could be materially and to good purpose reduced. American labor would find a wider field of industry, and the voice of this Republic, now subdued and fearful in the presence of the despot, would be heard with respect to the remotest corners of the globe. [Great applause.]

The protective policy was the great bridge that carried us safely over the bloody gulf of the civil war; that prevented a more stringent direct taxation, paid our armies, sustained our fleets, and maintained our credit in Europe. It was, perhaps in a measure a war policy, but with Cuba again knocking at the door of liberty for refuge from the Spanish tyrant, and with the latter showing his teeth almost at our gates, it may be doubted whether the entire abolition of "war taxes" on foreign products might not lead to national disaster. We can not afford to strip our Treasury while the government of Madrid holds in its vindictive grasp the Queen of the Antilles.

The vigilance of this Government can not always prevent the departure of revolutionary expeditions from these shores to Cuba, and with the lesson of the Virginian difficulty fresh in our minds, we can not doubt the covert resentment and hostility of Spain. And we know that she is now, by reason of her naval armament, in a condition to beard us if she so desires.

I am not opposed to a fair revision of the tariff, but I consider the time for even that inopportune, and I can not look upon the horizontal proposition as a cure for such evils as may exist.

The CHAIRMAN. The fifteen minutes yielded to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINERTY] have been exhausted.

Mr. BRUMM. I hope the time of the gentleman will be extended.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been speaking in the time of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. EATON].

Mr. BRUMM. I know that.

Mr. CALKINS. Let the time be extended, not to come out of the time of the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. COX, of North Carolina. I must object to extending the time, for there are other gentlemen who desire to be heard and the time for debate is now limited.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. EATON] controls the time. Does he yield further?

Mr. EATON. I yield gladly to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINERTY].

Mr. FINERTY (resuming). John Randolph, of Virginia, in 1824, delivered a speech against the tariff in this House of Representatives.

He went somewhat further than any gentleman who has spoken in this debate in support of his favorite theory. Speaking of England, he said:

It is in such a climate only that the human animal can bear without extirpation the corrupted air, the noisome exhalations, the incessant labor of these accursed manufactories. Yes, sir, accursed; for I say it is an accursed thing, which I will neither taste, touch, nor handle. If we were to act here on the English system, we should have the yellow-fever at Philadelphia and New York not in August merely, but from June to January, and from January to June. The climate of this country alone, were there no other natural obstacle to it, says aloud, "You shall not manufacture!"

That, gentlemen, is a quotation from one of your idols. Such, sixty years ago, were the words of the sage of Roanoke. Since he blasphemed against our climate, as one in which we could not manufacture, the American inventor, the American artisan, the toiler in the blast-furnace and the mill, all these have proved their superiority, and the march of the American manufacturer has kept pace with the course of empire, until to-day the smoke from 10,000 factories rises like incense to the god of industry, and brings from the clouds the beneficent rains that make fruitful beyond the fruitfulness of Egypt the limitless prairies of the West. [Applause.]

I could load you with statistics, but I have mercy on your patience. The ghosts of Adam Smith and of Richard Cobden have been summoned to this banquet of wisdom, but as truly as John Randolph erred when he said our climate forbade us to manufacture, so surely do the free-trade apostles of this day err when they assert that the destruction or emasculation of the tariff is the one thing necessary to perfect the prosperity of this nation. Time will permit me to say but little more. You may cover the earth with the pamphlets of the Cobden Club, you may tickle the ears of the gods with your imposing rhetoric, but the workman who flies from European conditions will not vote to place around his neck new and more revolting chains.

The Germans, the English, the Irish, the Scandinavians—all these, who come here to escape from pauper wages and oppressive laws, will not be in haste to establish on this continent the system they abandoned in Europe. The American workingman will ponder long and deeply before he flies to the ills he knows not of. He is not always justly or generously treated, but he will never voluntarily come under the galling yoke of the foreign monopolist.

Men do not fly by millions from their native homes to seek for poorer wages. Were America reduced to the condition which some of our political alarmists depict, the tide of emigration would set eastward across the Atlantic. I, who was born on a foreign soil, and who was old enough when I left that soil to remember what insular Europe was, will not by my vote aid in inflicting upon the working people of this Republic the evils that disfigure and disgrace Lancashire as well as Limerick. I want for this people the full measure of commercial glory, and that can never be attained by the surrender to the tender mercies of foreign capitalists, as is virtually proposed in this bill—not so much the great corporations, that defy extinction, as the struggling industries that have hardly begun to breathe.

I will not vote to place the whip of monopoly in foreign hands. The native monopolist we may curb by legislation or alarm by revolution, but what is our influence in Manchester, in Sheffield, or in Birmingham?

If the idea is to benefit the people, spend some of your surplus fund in constructing new water ways or improving old ones, so as to lower the freight imposts on the producer. You have plenty of opportunity to do this—to spend American money on American soil.

If you are really the friend of labor, protect it against the fatal competition of contract slaves; maintain American conditions; punish the greed of the monopolist. You can do that in America, but can never reach it in Great Britain.

You say our manufacturers can compete without protection. Do you mean to affirm that when nine-tenths of them at least are opposed to free trade they stand in their own light and are foes of their own prosperity? If so, it is an extraordinary development of national folly. Nobody can doubt the business talent of our manufacturers. They will not sin against their own interests.

In a word, sir, I oppose this bill because it is indiscriminate, inopportune, and unwise. It is but a feeble movement toward "free trade," which means the commercial domination of Great Britain on this continent as well as upon the ocean. Against it the voice of every patriot should be lifted, against it the vote of every freeman should be cast. If we are to legislate on this matter at all, let us so frame our laws that the mechanic shall not be sacrificed to the pretended interests of the farmer and that the American manufacturer shall not be beggared to enrich the foreign monopolist. [Great applause.]

Mr. EATON. I have no set, prepared, memorized speech to make. I have sat here during this discussion and occasionally jotted down memoranda that will govern me in the remarks I shall make to this committee at this time.

In my judgment some plain talk is necessary, and believing it to be necessary, I shall not hesitate to express myself so that I may be understood and not misunderstood. I have no speech to make—and I say it in the presence of two associates—I have no speech to make to my people. They know where I stand. On the stump, when I made the

canvass for Congress, I was denounced as a free-trader. Here I am denounced by Democrats as a protectionist. Both ends of the candle are to be burned at my expense. [Great laughter.]

I may be pardoned, my age will force you to pardon me, if I speak a little of myself. I am a tariff reformer. For forty years I have been before the people of my State and of other States, and always and everywhere I have been in favor of a low tariff.

I would not talk here to-day but for the fact that on this floor, in the corridors of this Capitol, in the lobbies of the hotels, men who feel as I feel, that this is not the proper time to legislate upon the subject, have been denounced without measure. Sir, I accept the combat against those men, here and everywhere.

In my judgment no tariff can be properly made except under the provisions of the Constitution. Let me read them. I will not dodge this question in any particular:

Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.

Now I am in favor of no tariff, of no system of taxation, that does not come directly under that clause of the Constitution. The enumerated powers of Congress are named, and paragraph 18 gives this:

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department thereof.

If a tariff bill is offered that does not come under that clause of the Constitution, I will not vote for it. And I say to my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER], and I say to the eminent chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means [Mr. MORRISON] that this bill they have forced upon us is utterly and directly opposed to the Constitution of the United States. They say it is a step in the right direction. I say it is the staggering of a political inebriate. [Laughter and applause.] It is not a step forward in any direction; it is a crab-step. [Renewed laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, the right to tax is a sovereign right. The right to tax is inherent in all governments. No government can exist on the face of the earth without exercising this sovereign power. Some governments exercise it in one way, some in another. We tax in accordance with the constitutional provision I have read.

Why did I read the "general-welfare" clause of the Constitution? I desire not to be misunderstood. That "general-welfare" clause, I beg to say, embraces no power except to carry out the enumerated powers. Under the enumerated powers you may for the "general welfare" of the country exercise the right to tax.

Now the manufacturers of this country buy 2,000,000 bales of cotton in round numbers annually. I may not state the precise amount within 100,000 bales; but no matter, the principle is the same. The manufacturers of this country then give to the cotton producers of the South from \$75,000,000 to \$90,000,000 annually for their product. The manufacturers pay the West from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 a year annually for their breadstuffs and their cereals. And is it not for the "general welfare" that taxes should be paid? The South draws from us \$80,000,000 annually; the West, \$50,000,000 annually. Were there no manufactures, what would cotton be worth to-day? If 2,000,000 bales of cotton were not consumed in the United States, what would be the value of cotton to-day in Great Britain?

But, say my friends from the South: "The price of cotton is governed by Liverpool, because Liverpool buys more than the United States." I grant it; but only the other day we were informed by one of these new lights that the price of grain, 90 per cent. of which is bought and consumed in the United States, is determined by the 8 per cent. bought and consumed in foreign countries. Thereby hangs a difference.

I agree that the country which consumes most of the product of any other determines the value of that product. That is sound commercial sense. Therefore I say that so long as Great Britain consumes 4,000,000 bales of our cotton, and the United States 2,000,000 bales, the price will be determined by Great Britain. But if Great Britain consumed 6,000,000 bales and the United States none, the price, instead of being 10 or 12 or 14 cents a pound, would be 6 or 7 cents a pound.

But I wish to read a provision from another constitution, because it seems to me some of our friends here are acting under it:

SEC. 8. Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States—

[Laughter.]

But no bounty shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duty or tax on importation from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.

A MEMBER. What is the gentleman reading from?

Mr. EATON. From a book belonging to the Library of Congress called the Weekly Register; and I have read what purports to be the eighth section of the constitution of the late so-called Confederate States; and it seems to me some of our friends are acting under that provision. [Laughter.] They seem to have forgotten that this is Washington, not Montgomery. [Renewed laughter.] I speak in all kindness, as they know. I say this, because in that constitution there

is no clause authorizing Congress to promote the "general welfare" of the country. In the Constitution of the United States there is a clause giving Congress power to promote, under the enumerated powers, the "general welfare" of the people of the United States. Such a provision is not found in the instrument from which I have just read; and it seems to me (again I say I speak in all kindness) that many of the arguments which have been used on this floor take that constitution as their basis.

Again, this is a great economic question. It ought to be outside of politics entirely. It has no business here as a political question. Being impressed with this idea, having no doubt of my duty in the premises, five years ago I introduced in the other end of this Capitol a bill to establish a tariff commission. With the aid of my friends there—and on that question my friends embraced every Senator—that bill was passed by the Senate. Fifteen Senators, while adopting the principle, did not vote for that bill, but for another measure giving Congress the power to name the commission. The principle, however, of the two bills was exactly the same; and every member of the United States Senate is on record in favor of a tariff commission. Yet I hear gentlemen say in the course of this discussion that that commission was an infamous one—the child of protection. Is Mr. BECK, one of the Senators from Kentucky, a protectionist? Can you apply that name to my friend Mr. GARLAND, of Arkansas, or twenty other gentlemen whom I might name? Yet each and all of those men supported that bill and avowed themselves in favor of its principle.

And permit me to say, Mr. Chairman, as a man who has seen not a little of political life, not a little of that which governs the industry and business of this country, that in my judgment had this House passed the bill which at that time passed the Senate you would have had no more tariff agitation. It was agreed between my friends and myself and the Cabinet of Mr. Hayes who should be upon that commission.

The commission would have had a year and a half to get together all the information that the country could give them; and then there would have been nothing for this House of Representatives to do except when full of information to have passed such a bill as the business interests demanded. I say this much in defense of a measure which I believe to have been the wisest one I ever advocated.

It seems to me when I look around this House that in the estimation of a certain class of minds here there is no other question except this tariff question. Local self-government, the preservation of the true rights of the States, good government everywhere—these are nothing; and this Congress has nothing to do except to piddle with an economic question which they have not the power to act upon. I beg to say that I do not read this matter as do my good friends from whom I differ. Why do I oppose this bill? In the first place, it is not the part of wisdom and it is not the part of true statesmanship in my judgment to undertake the passage of a measure (and I am now supposing this to be a good one) that you know you can not pass.

"Ah! but," says my friend from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER], with great power and eloquence—I am not quoting him exactly, for I did not note it—"but it is our duty to make a record; it is our duty to show to the people what we would do if we had the power." I give the idea, but not the words. I would have done this, desiring to keep this question out of politics, believing fondly five years ago that it might be taken from the political arena. I agree all I did in that regard passed for nothing; but here it is in the political arena. The duty, then, of the patriot alone has gone by; as a patriot alone I would not have this question before Congress; but now I come to it as a party man, a Democrat of forty years' standing—yes, sir, of forty years' standing; and I am to be read out of the party, am I? [Laughter.] I should be apt to say, as a much greater man said on another occasion, where shall I go?

Now, then, there are thousands of industries in this country the plants of which amount to three thousand million dollars. Would you unsettle them for nothing? My friend shakes his head. I believe he would not, but, if he will pardon me, he has a poor way of showing his belief. [Laughter and applause.] Believing as I do, and as my friend the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means well knows, as all my friends on this side of the House and on the other side of the House well know, I was averse to any action by this Congress. I, as a party man, was averse to it. I said so frankly to my Republican friends, and yet I am told I joined the Republican party because I voted with them. I might as well say my friend from New York and my good friend from Virginia [Mr. TUCKER] joined the Republicans the other day because they voted for a certain thing against which three-fourths of the Democratic party voted. [Laughter and applause.] I do not say any such thing. Perhaps my friend has forgotten what that was. [Laughter.] It was simply taking out of a committee of this House, the Committee on Appropriations, the right to carry into conference what was very necessary to have in order to make a good trade with the Senate conference committee. [Laughter and applause.] That is all there is about it.

Again, as a political measure the Morrison bill so called, and I use the name of my friend from Illinois because it is attached to this bill—the Morrison bill so called is in my opinion unworthy of the distinguished committee who have brought it before this House. He smiles, and I

think he himself agrees with me. [Laughter and applause.] I have not heard him say to the contrary. [Renewed laughter.] If a record is to be made, about which so much is talked, why, then, let us make a record, a clean one, a decent one, and not cut off the tail of this miserable Republican bantling and call it a Democratic measure. [Laughter and applause.] A bill passed by the last Congress, a Republican Congress, a bill, I said to all my friends—though I was not a member of either House, but I was here—for God's sake, do not vote for that measure, it is rotten; have nothing to do with it. But now they come and cut the tail off that bill and call it a Democratic measure. [Laughter and applause.] There is not a car-driver, permit me to say in all kindness—there is not a car-driver in the District of Columbia who is so stupid he could not have made just such a bill as this. [Great laughter.] All he would have to do would be to take his car-hook and chop off a little of the old bill. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Now, then, I have a right to say here, after having done everything I could do to prevent the consideration of this bill, for I did all I could and I shall do all I can to defeat it; but after it was brought to the House I had the right to say to the Democratic members of this body that I propose to go to work with certain gentlemen, I need not name them, they are here and hear me, to formulate a bill that would honor the Democratic party and not dishonor it. [Applause.] Against my judgment that anything ought to have been done, that this was not the time to do it, what would you have done as a party man? I will tell you what I would have done. I would have formulated a tariff bill; not the Ohio platform either, but a tariff bill. I would have asked every member of the House to sign that bill. I would have recommended the Democratic national convention to make that unanimous formula of the Democrats of the House the platform of the Democratic party.

That is what I would have done. In my judgment that is wise statesmanship. I would commit every one to a bill of that character; not to a deformed, misshapen thing like this.

Mr. DORSHEIMER. Bring forward your bill.

Mr. EATON. What does the gentleman say?

Mr. DORSHEIMER. I say bring in the bill which you propose; we are ready to formulate a more radical bill. Bring it here; let us know what it is.

Mr. EATON. Sir, I thank you for the suggestion. I know to whom I made that proposition. I made it in the proper quarter. Shall I tell you the result? Well, it was refused, and I did not choose to bring in a bill for the mere purpose of saying that I had fathered it.

Mr. DORSHEIMER. Why is not the House the proper quarter?

Mr. EATON. Because, sir, in my judgment it was the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means who was the proper man to take charge of that subject.

Mr. MORRISON. Did you ever present any bill?

Mr. EATON. No, sir, I never did. Is it desirable for the gentleman that I shall state to him the reason why I did not? I was not about to state it.

Mr. HERR. Let us have it.

Mr. EATON. I did not present any bill, but why? I did not choose to go to the labor and undertake a work of two weeks with the services of two or three experts to make up a bill which I knew would not be accepted. But if the proposition had been accepted the bill would have been brought forward.

Now, sir, I will have nothing to do with this bill. It is a bastard Democratic bill. [Applause and laughter.] It is a misbegotten bantling. It has but two god-fathers that I know of—one the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD], and the other my distinguished friend from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER].

Why, I did not know until to-day that anybody was really in favor of the bill. [Laughter and applause.] Now, sir, that bill, that Republican bantling that they are ashamed of, has been brought here by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and he can dandle it and then pass it over to my friend from New York [Mr. DORSHEIMER], and the eloquent and distinguished gentleman who spoke his piece here the other day, from Ohio, may sing free-trade dulcet tunes over that child if he likes. Sir, I will have none of it, and the people of this country will have none of it. [Applause and laughter.]

You get up another meeting of the Cobden Club, make a good many more speeches, drink a good deal more of wine, and think that that is the will of the people. [Laughter.] You may ask Tammany Hall to get up a public meeting and pass a series of resolutions that every Democrat in the land would vote for, and then make free-trade speeches on top of these resolutions. [Laughter.] That will be manufacturing public opinion. But it does not mean anything in the end.

Now, they say that public opinion is terribly in earnest on this subject, in manufacturing districts in particular. Well, here I am a member of one of the largest and richest manufacturing districts in the United States, and not one single solitary individual from that district has ever written me a letter as to the course I ought to pursue on this subject. They take for granted that I would do what was right. They knew that I would. They could trust me. I say I have no doubt that was the opinion, that they could trust me; and I try to be worthy of their trust and confidence.

But now, sir, a word or two on a different thing. Protection for the sake of protection in my judgment is wrong. I have no doubt about it. I find no power, no authority, no warrant in the Constitution of the United States to lay duties of that character. If other gentlemen may find such authority, then I suppose they will act under it. But I do not find any. A close examination has not enabled me to find any. But there are certain facts that ought to be known to all of the people of this country. We have heard a great deal of talk here on this floor, and they do not agree well either. These men who hunt the same coon do not hunt him into the same tree. [Laughter.] My good friend from Kentucky [Mr. TURNER], to my utter astonishment, said the Yankees stole from them three thousand millions a year in the shape of protection; my good friend from Texas [Mr. WELLBORN] says it is \$1,150,000,000 a year; and my friend [Mr. CLAY] from Kentucky has got it up to one thousand two hundred and fifty millions a year; while another gentleman who spoke yesterday, whose name I have forgotten, put it at \$550,000,000 a year; and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD] puts it at four hundred and fifty millions a year.

Mr. WARNER, of Ohio. And that from the agricultural classes alone.

Mr. EATON. Oh, I thought it was from the South. [Laughter.] I did not quite understand, then, the gentleman's argument. Nor did I understand, I am free to confess, how my friend from Kentucky figured up that these terrible Yankees stole \$3,000,000,000 a year from the people of the South when their entire cotton crop is not worth but three hundred millions a year. I did not quite see where the other twenty-seven hundred millions came from. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, then, there is another thing I desire to say here on this floor, in this House, and I want to say it to the members. I am not talking to my people. I revise no speech. If the reporter can get down any of this disconnected rambling stuff he will do better than I could. I could not write it out if I tried to. But to the members of this House I desire to address myself, to those who are talking of robbery, of plunder, corruption, stealing, and thievery. There is not a single article bought in the South, from the wagon that draws the farmer's cotton to the markets to the pin that his wife uses, that is not 100 per cent. cheaper than it was fifteen years ago. [Applause on the Republican side.] No matter how wrong the principle of protection may be, that is the fact. I grant you that it is wrong; but the fact remains the same. It has cheapened everything under God's heavens that men, women, and children use in this land—everything. And there is a reason for it. We are growing out of it. Let us grow out of it. There are sixty articles manufactured in the State of Connecticut alone that might just as well go on the free-list as to be where they are to-day. I want the people to know it.

Talk about the cotton of which my shirt is made. There is 50 per cent. duty on that cotton. And it can not be made anywhere on God's great earth except in New England; it can not be made for the same money anywhere else. I know it; I assert it; I defy contradiction from anybody and anywhere. Take the Collins axes that have driven the English axes out of England and Scotland and Ireland and the Swiss ax out of Switzerland, and yet there is a duty of 50 per cent. on the Collins axes made in my county, their office under mine. There is not an ax that can be sold anywhere on the face of the earth in competition with the Hartford ax; and yet they pay, permit me to say, to meet the argument of my friend from New York, they pay for what is called raw material—and it is not raw material, it is material, but not raw—they pay duty on their iron and steel and yet make an ax which has driven every manufacturer of every other country out of the market.

I assert it as a fact, for I brought it to the attention of the State Department when I occupied a very honorable position in the other branch as head of a committee, that the trade-marks of Massachusetts and Connecticut are stolen by Great Britain to-day—four in my own State and four in the State of Massachusetts; that she can not sell her own wares in her own country without stealing the trade-marks of the United States. [Applause.]

These are facts, and ought to be known. Then, shall we reduce the tariff? Certainly I say so. Take these things and put them on the free-list, where they belong, and let the people of the United States know they are not imposed upon. They are now; I assert it without fear of contradiction from anybody.

Now a little story. Mr. Lincoln used to point an argument with a story. Suppose I do it, although I know it will not be as good as his stories were. There was a certain professor in my country, a theorist of the first water, a man who does not know any more about the practical tariff than I know about the Hebrew that he is well acquainted with. This professor came up into a large manufacturing village in my county to make a theoretical speech, such a one as my friend from Ohio delights in. There was a farmer standing by a post in the lecture-room and the professor thought he might be a good subject to operate upon; so he said to him, "My friend, you are a farmer?" "Yes." "You live here?" "Yes." "Do you know these manufacturers in this village are robbing you?" "Why, no, I do not know it. How can they rob me? I came here ten years ago with \$500; I bought a farm, running in debt \$2,500 for my farm and stock. I went to work raising truck for this village. I paid my debt and have got money in

the savings-bank and do not owe any man a dollar. How have they ruined me?" The professor said, "Well, it appears you have been a hard-working man and have lived it through. But you pay 6 cents a yard duty for the very cloth your shirt is made of." "Well, Professor," replied the farmer, "you may think so, but you can not prove it by your algebra or your logarithms; you can not prove it unless by Æsop's fables; for I did not give but 5 cents a yard for the cloth." [Great laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

Mr. MCKINLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair can not entertain a request for unanimous consent. The gentleman can not have more time unless someone yields it.

Mr. CLAY. I believe I have some time remaining.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CLAY] has ten minutes.

Mr. CLAY. I yield that time to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. EATON. I am under very great obligations to my friend from Kentucky.

Mr. HENLEY. I desire to make a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HENLEY. I was put down for an hour in this debate. I have not yet availed myself of the privilege although I believe my time was to have been assigned me to-day. I wish to inquire of the Chair the status of that question, whether I am entitled to an hour or not?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair can not tell when the name of the gentleman from California will be reached on the list.

Mr. HENLEY. Would it be in order to yield a portion of my time to the gentleman from Connecticut?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California has not yet been recognized. The gentleman from Connecticut has already obtained ten minutes more.

Mr. HENLEY. I did not want him to limit himself, and I wish to yield him some of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The House has already limited debate. The committee has no power over it.

Mr. HENLEY. I desire to yield the gentleman such portion of my time as he wants.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Connecticut has ten minutes more.

Mr. EATON. A great deal has been said about free-trade England. Sir, I thought ten years ago that I would look into the business of free-trade England a little. England commenced her system of protection more than six hundred and fifty years ago, under one of the early Norman monarchs. She determined she would refuse to purchase the cloths that were made in Flanders, Ghent, and Bruges. What did she do? She imported the weavers of those countries and made them to belong to England. And from that time until 1844, for more than six hundred and fifty years, the system of protection was pursued by England; not methodically for the first two or three hundred years, but methodically for over four hundred years. This is the history of free-trade England.

In 1844, as some gentlemen would fain have you believe, because she wanted to better her people, England adopted free trade. It was that she might control the commerce of the world, because she had become the manufacturer of the world. That is the reason.

What was the cause of the Revolutionary war? Talk about throwing tea into the harbor of Boston. Talk about this, that, and the other thing. It was the refusal of England to permit New England to manufacture even a hob-nail that caused the Revolution of the United States. What said one of the leading statesmen of England on the floor of Parliament? That he would not permit Massachusetts to make a hob-nail. And Massachusetts made hob iron for him. [Laughter.] Now England became the manufacturer of the world by necessity, by protection. And, sir, we have advanced further and nearer free trade in forty years than she did in six hundred years. We are growing out of protection to-day. My friend from Massachusetts knows it; I know it, in very many of our productions we could stand to-day with a tariff collected directly for revenue; not that we wish to do that, or that it is best for the country; but we could.

But let us go on with wise legislation and in fifty years or less—I will not live to see it, but there are members on this floor who will live to see it, who I hope will be members here forty years from now—and those men will be members of a great confederacy of one hundred States with 100,000,000 freemen having free trade, because the country will have grown into free trade. Nobody will rejoice more than I to have that brought about; but let us be wise in our day and in our generation.

Something has been said about our commerce, about our commercial marine having been driven from the sea. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD] in his speech made some remarks in regard to that. Sir, he does not understand the very horn-book of our commercial marine. I say here that the gentleman from Ohio knows nothing about the commercial marine of this country or what caused it to be driven from the ocean. When he says it was protection he says so because he has got

before his eyes an *ignis fatuus* that he calls protection, and when he turns around it is free trade, and he can not see any further; that is the end of it.

What makes commerce? What was the freight-money of the United States in 1859? It was \$60,000,000. What is the freight-money this year? It is \$122,000,000. Protection has driven us from the sea, has it? Sir, freights go to the country that carries them the cheapest.

For divers and sundry reasons, which I have not time to go into here, we have been driven from the oceans, such as the change from wooden to iron ships and the manner in which England seized upon that change. Putting heavy subsidies into the hands of her iron-ship makers, she drove us in four years half from the sea, and the war did the balance. Let us look at these things like sane men and sensible men and estimate them if we can. Let us bring free ships here and we will get back our commerce.

One remark fell from my friend from Kentucky, whom I do not see in his seat [Mr. TURNER], that I was sorry to hear on this floor; I dislike it. He spoke about the "Yankees." What does he mean by that, or what does any other man mean by it? The Yankees! Does he know the origin of the term "Yankees?" Does he know that it is a corruption from the Indian "Yengeese," their way of pronouncing the word "English;" that from that comes the term "Yankee?"

Sir, I am a Yankee, a New England Yankee. I desire to say that I love my native State and my country—my whole country. But I will not hear without administering just rebuke any man sarcastically allude to the term "Yankee."

I do not forget who fought the battle that turned the tide in the Revolutionary war. I do not forget that it was the husbandmen of New England who won the battle of Bennington. I do not forget that when at the battle of Saratoga the commander-in-chief was either stupid, a coward, or drunk, one of the three, in his tent, a Connecticut general who had no command led the attack three times and won the battle.

A MEMBER. What was his name?

Mr. EATON. His name, I regret to say, was Arnold. My friend from Georgia [Mr. HAMMOND] laughs. Sir, he did his duty that day when other men sulked and skulked. I speak of him as a Yankee.

A MEMBER. And a traitor.

Mr. EATON. Yes, and the only one I know of from New England. I think I could go to other States and find a great many. [Great laughter and applause.]

Again, who fought the battles of the United States on the waters in 1812? Where did the tars of the United States come from? They came from Connecticut, from Massachusetts, from Maine, a few from New York, and a few from Philadelphia. Go ask the shades of Decatur, Preble, Hull, and Bainbridge, who fought and won the battles of 1812 on the water, and they will tell you it was the Yankee tars.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. MILLER, of Pennsylvania. I will yield from my time to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. EATON] whatever time he wants. [Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and applause.]

Mr. EATON. Sir, I am through with an unpleasant thing. I do not want to speak about the last terrible civil war between the sections of this country, a war that I would have laid down my life, would have laid my body on the altar to have prevented, and thus have saved a million of lives and ten thousand millions of treasure. Sir, there were heroes in that war on both sides. I do not talk about it. I talk about only those wars when we were all as we are now—one people, solid to the core, one people.

A favorite expression in debate here is that men would build a Chinese wall around this country. Well, that is good poetry but poor fact. No Chinese wall can be built around this country of fifty or sixty millions of people, that in the near future will be a hundred millions. There can be no wall built around this country. The world requires our products and we require the products of the world. We shall get theirs and they will get ours. There is no Chinese wall here and there is to be none, and very few Chinese. [Great laughter.]

What is to be the future of the country? The future of party is of small consequence. I am a Democrat, a party man, and desire party success. I desire the Democratic party to be in power, because I honestly believe, I may be mistaken, I honestly believe that with the Democratic party in power government will be better all over this broad land. I so believe; therefore I am a Democrat.

Other gentlemen are Republicans, and for equally good reasons, I doubt not. We shall therefore do our best to win in the coming struggle, I for the Democratic candidate, and my friend in front of me [Mr. WATT] for the Republican candidate. But we will be brethren all the while, friends all the while.

Now, I see no good that is to be effected by the passage of this bill to my party, none at all; therefore I shall oppose it.

Mr. RANNEY. Or anybody else.

Mr. EATON. I do not know that anybody does, my friend; if they do they have different spectacles from mine. [Laughter.]

But the future of this country I can in some measure grasp. I shall not live to see it, of course; my sands are well-nigh run. But there are men here who I hope will be members of this House in the future and who will see this country the greatest country on earth—independ-

ent of every other nation; independent, without "Chinese walls;" independent because of the manhood of her sons and the virtue of her daughters; independent because the prairies of the West will furnish breadstuffs for the world; independent because New Mexico and Colorado and Texas and Nevada and California and Ohio will be in ten years the sheep-walks of the world. I see it. There is no reason why we should not raise wool cheaper in New Mexico and in Texas and in California by and by than it can be raised anywhere else in the world. Do not let us grudge a little for the public welfare as connected with the great wool industry. In other words, discriminate, my friends; lay your duties under the enumerated powers of the Constitution (for we have no other guide to go by) in such a way as to discriminate in favor of American industry, as Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Jackson and Benton and Polk and Buchanan and Calhoun and Lowndes did, and as every other great Democratic American leader has done in the past [applause], not for protection's sake, but for the common weal, for the general welfare. As some one has said, "Not a cent for tribute, but millions for defense," so I would say, "Not a dollar for protection, but discrimination for your friends and brethren."

In closing let me say (and I am under great obligations to the gentlemen who have given me their time, for I was not prepared to make a set speech, only a discursive talk), let us act as a great brotherhood of States. Let us never forget that this Government rests upon thirty-eight pillars called the States—they may become a hundred. The rights of the States are the salvation of the Federal Union. There never was a truer thing said in the world than was said by the Emperor Nicholas of Russia to my friend Thomas H. Seymour, then minister to that government; and you knew him very well, sir [Mr. COX, of New York, in the chair]. Said the Russian Emperor to my friend, Colonel Seymour: "There are but two governments in the world that can stand; my government, which I hold in the hollow of my hand, can stand as long as I am just. As long as my people believe in my justice so long will my government stand; yours, Colonel Seymour, will stand so long as the rights of the States are preserved against the dangerous centralizing power of the Federal Government." [Applause.] I mention this as a remark of a great man, a man who had read the history of our country justly.

In speaking of the rights of the States I do not speak of the ghost of dead secession; I speak of State rights such as Massachusetts and Connecticut have combated for and are ready to combat for again—rights older than the Constitution, because they belonged to Connecticut and Massachusetts and New York when Connecticut and Massachusetts and New York were independent governments. Until we subscribed to the Union we were independent sovereignties as Russia and Great Britain are independent sovereignties.

For eighteen months, or thereabouts, after our present Constitution had gone into operation—I do not undertake to be accurate as to the exact period, for at this moment I do not recollect—little Rhode Island and the State of North Carolina, now so ably represented on this floor, flew their flags to the breeze on every sea as independent nations of the earth. They did not come into the Federal Union for a year or two after the present Government had begun the exercise of its powers.

Let us then stand by this great principle of the rights of the States as upholders of the Federal power. Let a proper discrimination be made by the Federal authorities with regard to State power and their own, and our Government may stand a thousand years. Aye, sir, I hope that we may stand as one people and one Government until—

God shall fall
The darkness for creation's pall.

[Great applause.]

Mr. HAMMOND. Mr. Chairman, a surplus of anything is bad. It has grown to be a proverb that "too much of even a good thing is too much." Too much money in the hands of one man works many wrongs to society, unless he uses it with exceptional good sense. Too much money in the hands of a government is bad, and only bad because it can not be wisely used. Speaking of its evils in this country President Jackson, in his eighth message, said:

The influence of an accumulating surplus upon the legislation of the General Government and the States, its effects upon the credit system of the country, producing dangerous extensions and ruinous contractions, fluctuations in the price of property, rash speculations, idleness, extravagance, and a deterioration of morals, have taught us the important lesson that any transient mischief which may attend the reduction of our revenue to the wants of the Government is to be borne in preference to an overflowing Treasury.

If that was wisdom in 1836, with the then insignificant income of the Government, how forcible is it now? Those who have observed the course of affairs here for the past few years have seen this prophecy become history. Specifications need not be made to prove what none dare deny.

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solved to keep the tariff high and distribute the surplus among the States to use as they please.

DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE STATES.

In many quarters it was commended; but when reflection had operated Mr. Blaine opposed that plan in his letter of 22d November, 1883, published in the Philadelphia Press. His first objection to it was that the amount would be uncertain. "It may be one million or it may be one hundred millions," he said. He urged as a more serious objection that it would divide the duties of supplying State and Federal wants and tempt the Representatives and Senators to starve the latter to fatten the former. He urged nothing else on that point but that "such a partnership is at war with the well-being of both State and nation." But he foresaw, what every high protectionist must have foreseen, that the temptation to make revenue for distribution among the States very large might result in a very low tariff to increase importations and customs income. He urged another objection, and his last, in these words:

A third objection to the Pennsylvania proposition is that it proceeds upon the assumption of a continuing redundancy of national revenue.

He said:

This is opposed to all sound views of national administration. The Government wants just enough revenue. A redundancy always leads to extravagance, to many forms of corruption, and to all manner of schemes for getting rid of money. A Congress assembling with tens of millions of surplus at its disposal is very sure to hold sessions which would prove profitless to the people and perilous to its own members.

Having thus delivered himself of these universally accepted truths as to the dangers of a surplus and mentioned the probability of the abolition of the internal-revenue system by a coalition of Judge KELLEY and his protection allies and Mr. Cox and his low-tariff allies, he came to his real solution of the question. He declared that "our State and municipal taxation is direct. It comes upon the property with crushing force;" and showed how easily fell a tax collected as liquor glided down the throats of the tax-payers. Then he asked:

Why, therefore, should not the States be permitted to have the tax on spirits for their own benefit if the National Government does not need it?

Others have thought the United States should cease to collect this tax in order that the States might have it for their use. But that will not suit his views. He was so kind to the States that he feared they could not collect the tax, and to urge that the best way is for the United States to collect it and divide the same among the States in proportion to population. He said:

The machinery of collection is to-day in complete operation. A bill of ten lines could direct the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the whole of it, less the small expense of collection, to the States and Territories in the proportion of their population, and to continue it permanently as part of their regular annual revenues.

Mr. Blaine said he had considered the question "very carefully for several months," and had "possibly overlooked objections which others may suggest." But he hinted at no possible objection. Indeed, he attempted to support it while arguing the objection of uncertainty of amounts, which he urged against the Pennsylvania plan by saying:

An occasional gift from the national Treasury would not be valuable. That was proved by the distribution of the revenue under the act of 1836 in the Presidency of General Jackson.

That was said apparently without design, but carries with it the force of a precedent and the sanction of high Democratic authority. And it has been so treated by writers, if not carelessly ignorant, not caring to disclose the truth.

The United States never made any "gift" from the national Treasury to the States during Jackson's Presidency. The act of 1836 simply loaned the surplus to the States subject to call by the General Government, and that only to get rid of greater dangers.

In proof I place against Mr. Blaine's assertion the history. That act was approved on the 23d of June, 1836. It required each State before it could take its share to authorize some officer to "pledge the faith of the State for the safe-keeping and repayment thereof, and pledge the faith of the State receiving the same to pay the said money and every part thereof, from time to time, whenever the same shall be required by the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of defraying any wants of the public Treasury."

In his eighth annual message in December, 1836, on the same subject, President Jackson used this language:

The suggestions made by me in my annual messages of 1829 and 1830 have been greatly misunderstood. At that time the great struggle was begun against that latitudinarian construction of the Constitution which authorizes the unlimited appropriations of the revenues of the Union to internal improvements within the States, tending to invest in the hands and place under the control of the General Government all the principal roads and canals of the country, in violation of State rights and in derogation of State authority. At the same time the condition of the manufacturing interests was such as to create an apprehension that the duties on imports could not, without extensive mischief, be reduced in season to prevent the accumulation of a considerable surplus after the payment of the national debt.

In view of the dangers of such a surplus and in preference to its application to internal improvements, in derogation of the rights and powers of the States, the suggestion of an amendment of the Constitution to authorize its distribution was made. It was an alternative for what was deemed greater evils—a temporary resort to relieve an overburdened Treasury until the Government could, without a sudden and destructive revulsion in the business of the country, gradually return to the just principle of raising no more revenue from the people in taxes than is necessary for its economical support. Even that alternative was not spoken of but in connection with an amendment of the Constitution.

No temporary inconvenience can justify the exercise of a prohibited power, or a power not granted by that instrument; and it was from a conviction that the

power to distribute even a temporary surplus of revenue is of that character that it was suggested only in connection with an appeal to the source of all legal power in the General Government, the States which have established it. No such appeal has been taken; and in my opinion a distribution of the surplus revenue by Congress, either to the States or the people, is to be considered as among the prohibitions of the Constitution. As already intimated, my views have undergone a change, so far as to be convinced that no alteration of the Constitution in this respect is wise or expedient.

Later in the same month (to wit, on the 21st December, 1836), Mr. Calhoun, in discussing the deposit law, said:

One point was perfectly established by the proceedings of the last session—that when there was an unavoidable surplus it ought not to be left in the Treasury or in the deposit banks, but should be deposited with the States. It was not only the most safe but the most just that the States should have the use of the money in preference to the banks. This, in fact, was the great leading principle which lay at the foundation of the act of last session. He considered it no less fully established that there ought to be no surplus if it could be avoided. The money belonged to those who made it, and Government had no right to exact it unless necessary.—*Calhoun's Works*, volume 2, page 572.

But it may be claimed that these are the words of Southern Democrats opposed to high tariff, internal improvements by the General Government in the States, and to the deposit banks. I call to witness Mr. Webster, the great Whig expounder, he who claimed that internal improvements had brought the far-off Western settlers so near to the East that he could almost "see the smoke of their cabins and hear the strokes of their axes." On the 31st of May, 1836, Mr. Webster introduced into the Senate a proposition for the distribution of the surplus revenue, and spoke in its support. He advocated the deposit in State banks and to increase their number to get rid of the "distressing uncertainty which now hangs over everything" and which culminated in the terrible financial crash of 1837. He called it the "unparalleled pressure for money which is now destroying and breaking down the industry and even the courage of the commercial community."

He then spoke upon his second proposition, to distribute all in one year, instead of dividing it into several years, as follows:

I have already observed that in my opinion the measure should be limited to one single division, one distribution of the surplus money in the Treasury. * * * I think it safest to treat the present state of things as extraordinary, as being the result of accidental causes or causes the recurrence of which hereafter we can not calculate upon with certainty. There would be insuperable objections in my opinion to a settled practice of distributing revenue among the States. It would be a strange operation of things, and its effects upon our system of Government might well be feared.

After drawing a distinction between other money in the Treasury and the proceeds of public lands, he said he would willingly distribute the latter, "regarding the public lands as a fund belonging to all the States." But rather than take money from the Treasury for distribution among the States, he said:

I have no hesitation in declaring now that the income from customs must be reduced. It must be reduced even at the hazard of some branches of manufacturing industry, because that in my opinion would be a less evil than the extraordinary and dangerous state of things in which the United States should be found laying and collecting taxes for the purpose of distributing them when collected among the States of the Union.

Here these great souls have "risen from the dead" to denounce the pretended precedent and the perversion of history. This would seem enough; but we live in "perilous times." We have seen a State bought during an election; we have seen several States bought after an election. But here is a proposition to bribe all the States and all the influence of property and monopoly in all the States by one magnificent offer before an election. The devil, when he took our Saviour "up into an exceeding high mountain" and showed him "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," had doubtless considered the matter "very carefully for several months," and saw no objection to the unholy worship which he craved. But the Saviour did. And if there be virtue left in the people they will adopt His language and cry out, "Get thee hence, Satan!" That I may do no injustice, Mr. Blaine's words are quoted. He showed how by such distribution Maine would be entirely relieved and Pennsylvania almost entirely relieved from State taxation, and by way of peroration he concluded:

States that have been so oppressed by debt as to be tempted or driven to repudiation would be enabled to regain their credit, and every community from ocean to ocean would in one form or another realize that burdens of taxation were in some degree ameliorated.

He did not mention that thereby the present tariff might remain unreformed. This he knew would be understood by the manufacturers of the East and West.

Mr. Webster thought he saw great evils in that "extraordinary and dangerous state of things in which the United States should be found laying and collecting taxes for the purpose of distributing them when collected among the States of the Union," but never dreamed of this enormity. Do not the rich, "rounding their millions" invested in untaxed United States bonds, pay little enough now to their States for the protection of their persons and property? Must the whole Government be perverted from its constitutional purposes to lighten their burdens and keep the load upon the propertyless consumers of food and clothing? Shall the dust be wiped from the dirty bonds of the carpet-bag governments to be ready for their part of the spoils? Suppose the plan adopted and the States unwilling to pay the repudiated bonds? What then? Suppose the people tire of the hateful "machinery of collection," which Mr. Blaine says is "in complete operation," and destroy that machinery. What then?

Suppose the States no longer self-reliant but dependent upon the

bottle, the whisky bottle furnished by a centralized empire. For a time they might feel "o'er all the ills of life victorious." But how long would that last? What a state of life would that be the daily food of which depends upon the changes of trade, the caprices of taste for strong drink, the votes of a Congress! No, this plan will not do; another remedy must be found. I say must be found, because with this surplus of revenue are linked all the dangers before mentioned and surplus taxation besides.

TAXATION.

In the eighth message of Jackson, from which I have quoted, he said: The safest and simplest mode of obviating all the difficulties which have been mentioned is to collect only revenue enough to meet the wants of the Government, and let the people keep the balance of their property in their hands to be used for their own profit.

And in his farewell address, in 1837, he said:

The taxes which it—

The United States—

lays upon commerce—being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the tax-gatherer. But the tax imposed on goods enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer, and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money raised by these imports is drawn from their pockets.

In his sixth annual message, in December, 1874, speaking of the tariff, General Grant questioned whether the law did not often result in "the direct loss of the Treasury and to the prejudice of the interests of honest importers and tax-payers."

In his last annual message Mr. Arthur said:

There are cogent reasons, however, why the national indebtedness should not be thus rapidly extinguished. Chief among them is the fact that only by excessive taxation is such rapidly attainable.

That this is not simply the language of high officials of both parties but the common understanding of the country, I make two quotations from the leading Democratic paper of Georgia, to wit, the Constitution, published at Atlanta. The first was on the 10th of May, 1883, in these words:

There is no room to doubt the disposition of the voters of the country with respect to the tariff. They are in favor of cutting down the enormous taxes, which, in the name of "protection," are wrung from the people for the benefit of the monopolists, and they are ready to indorse and support any party that takes a bold stand against this infamous system of robbery.

The other was on the 2d of June, 1883, and said:

Mr. McDonald advocates in a letter recently published a tariff within the limits of the Constitution, and he adds the belief that the public mind will never be satisfied "with any tariff that has not for its leading purposes the raising of revenue for the Government." The sentiment of the South is practically solid in support of the policy that these eminent Northern leaders [Tilden, Hewitt, McDonald, and Hendricks] unhesitatingly support; and it is therefore difficult to see how it is possible to swerve the party from the position it took both in 1876 and 1880. The man who does not know that a revenue tariff is gathering strength rapidly does not understand the drift of public sentiment. The more light the people get on the tariff question, the more the subject is discussed in Congress and out of Congress, the sooner will we secure a just and equitable and constitutional system of taxation.

THE REMEDY.

The Democratic party alone can right this wrong, for the Republican party has brought it about and will not aid. It but hinders the reform. But many of our friends say, wait until we are in possession of the Government. When will that be? It is not certain that we will even have the House in the next Congress. It is certain that we will not have the next Senate. But suppose we should have both, and also the President. May our majority not come from the protected States? May the President not be from one of them? Shall the large Democratic majority in this House confess to the people that it dare not now even originate a bill for their relief? Verily one feels like asking the questions of Patrick Henry, which, as schoolboys, we were fond of declaiming:

Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely upon our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

All agree as to the evil, but all do not agree as to the remedy. Some say, repeal the internal-revenue system and thereby rid us of its horde of officers and offensive machinery. Others contend that such repeal, however desirable, would be but a partial and temporary remedy; others, that it would not do to make strong drink cheap and keep bread high. Some especially fear cheap whisky in the Southern States. Say others, yet such repeal should not be thought of until at least the millions of taxes on distilled spirits and malt-liquors are collected. To this Mr. KELLEY replied that he would repeal now, without collecting the tax, because the corn now made into whisky could build up the growing industry of making glucose sugar. But Louisiana cries out that the people should have pure sugar made of cane and not the bogus sugar of corn. An eager Eastern manufacturer says make sugar as free as the coffee which it sweetens. Mr. KELLEY would advise an increase of duties so as to diminish importations and destroy revenue.

But the farmers of the West, with a surplus of grain and meat, and the manufacturers, with a surplus of goods for sale, assert that prohibition would destroy their markets. Some say, increase the free-list, but none agree as to which of the 4,000 articles taxed shall be freed. Mr. HEWITT, of New York, would make free all "raw material." But no two men agree as to what is "raw material," and some suspect that that would break down the growing industries of the South in

iron and cotton by helping that capital to stay in the East which should be carried to our mines and the cotton belt.

There are difficulties in the way, many and serious, but they are not so many nor so serious but that careful attention and an honest purpose to do the work will succeed.

Mr. Chairman, the place left for me being so near the end of the general debate I will not reiterate general doctrines already so forcibly put, but reply to the main objections to this bill and to some of the points made by its opponents.

Some of our friends disapprove of a horizontal reduction. We have had a horizontal reduction of 10 per cent. in each of the years 1833, 1835, 1837, and 1839, and of 20 per cent. in 1842. We increased horizontally 20 per cent. in 1865, and a 20 per cent. decrease horizontally was made in 1866. In 1872 we reduced 10 per cent., and in 1875 increased 10 per cent., all horizontally. A horizontal scale is often applied to wages; why not to taxes? It might in some instances work unequally, but these, as well as all other instances of wrong, can be and will be righted by amendment while the bill is under consideration by sections. This horizontal plan is therefore usual, and it is simple.

Special cases of hardship can be better taken care of under it than under a bill specifying every item in the tariff-lists, because it will give more time to consider those special instances. Such a bill being shorter allows more time for other matters of public and private importance. And it is doubtful whether we would have time to pass a bill in any other shape. We tried it last Congress, and after spending weeks in its discussion had to take a bill originated in the Senate and pass it in the House without its details having even been read by the Representatives of the people. However, its form and contents are only suggested by a committee of this House, and are entitled to no more weight than the reported bills from that committee should have. We are of course at perfect liberty to alter or amend as we please. All that our party has agreed to do is to make an honest effort to pass some bill which will reduce somewhat the surplus revenue and somewhat more the burdens of taxation. Upon that we have agreed with far greater unanimity than is usual upon public questions of any unusual interest, and have a right to expect the co-operation of all whose absolute sense of duty does not compel them to hold back.

Seeing that the Democratic party was in earnest in this matter, the protectionist press began with one accord to put obstacles in the path to prevent even a discussion of the bill. They tried to alarm the manufacturing States by a cry that we were about to inaugurate free trade. They knew the bill aimed at no such thing. They had read the speech of Mr. RANDALL on the Tariff Commission, of May 5, 1882, in which he said:

In my judgment the question of free trade will not arise practically in this country during our lives, if ever, so long as we continue to raise revenue by duties on imports, and therefore the discussion of that is an absolute waste of time. * * * So, too, with free trade, there is hardly a man in public life who advocates it pure and simple.

And to impress that upon the public mind he spoke of four representative Democratic tariff reformers as follows:

Let me cull a few sentences from recent debates to show the feeling on this subject.

Senator JAMES B. BECK says:

"Nobody asks or expects this Congress to establish free trade or tear down custom-houses. * * * In adjusting taxation on imports with a view only to obtain revenue or 'for revenue only,' we never thought of discriminating against American industries, or of depriving them of the incidental benefits or protection a proper revenue tariff would afford."

Senator BAYARD says:

"The power to tax by laying duties upon imports may be so exercised as to do what it has done ever since the foundation of the Government, and that is to give an advantage equivalent to the amount of the tax to the American producer or manufacturer over his foreign competitors in the same line of production or manufacture, and this becomes his protection."

Senator COKE, of Texas, says:

"As an inevitable consequence domestic manufacturers and producers of the articles upon which such revenue import duties are laid are to that extent protected against foreign competition."

Mr. CARLISLE, of Kentucky, in substance reiterates these sentiments. So they all say, with rare exception. The real question presented and which is in controversy is the revision of taxes, so we may hold the control of the markets of the world for the benefit of our excess of productions over the home consumption.

They next cried out that we favored direct taxation. No man in either House of Congress had hinted at any thought of direct taxation. In that same speech Mr. RANDALL had said:

Who favors direct tax? No one. * * * Nobody wants direct taxation, although it would bring taxation so near and so constantly before the people that Congress would hesitate long before it voted the sums of money it now does, if not for improper, at least for questionable purposes.

That was the only suggestion in its favor which I recall since I have been in Congress.

The platform of the Democratic party in 1840, among other things, declared:

Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our country.

And these words were repeated in every Democratic platform up to and including that of 1860. Nor has the party ever uttered any doctrine inconsistent with that resolution. Even the Ohio platform, honestly interpreted, is not inconsistent with that resolution.

Mr. MCKINLEY, in his speech, said we would tax tea and coffee. He knew that both were made free in the Democratic tariffs of 1846 and

1857 and so kept in the act of March 2, 1861. They were taxed, coffee from 4 to 5 cents per pound and tea from 15 to 20 cents per pound, by the acts of August and December, 1862, and that of 1863, and so remained till May, 1872. Before the act of 1846 tea was taxed as high as 68 cents per pound when not shipped in American vessels. Individuals have favored the return to the policy of taxing them, but neither party has so desired. Mr. McKINLEY said that because a committee of a Democratic House so reported our party must be so considered. John Sherman, as Secretary of the Treasury, repeatedly so recommended, and by parity of reasoning his party must be so considered. Nor has the Democratic party ignored all considerations of special classes. It has uniformly discriminated between luxuries and the common supplies of the masses of our people, favoring the poor rather than the rich.

But to return. Failing to prevent discussion an appeal was made to prejudices and hatred (no milder word will tell the truth), and the bill is denounced by the New York American Protectionist as the "Jeff Davis bill." The National Republican of this city puts it thus:

Having failed to shoot the Union to pieces, the Southern free-traders, the disciples of Calhoun and nullification, propose to starve the Northern mechanics and laborers.

This remark excites naught but a pleasurable pity, pity for the man who thus sneers at one of the brightest names that has shone in American history, and pleasure to see an opponent reduced to such straits; and, Mr. Chairman, I have been mortified to-day to see the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. EATON], a man in experience older than he is even in years, a man of broad views and generous impulses, in his advocacy of a doubtful dissent from his party, stoop to take comfort by like twaddle. He read from the Constitution of the Confederate States—in order to do what? To prove that this tariff bill was wrong? Not at all, but to excite Northern prejudice against the South, because it furnishes Democratic Representatives favoring tariff reform.

Mr. EATON. The gentleman has no right to make that statement.

Mr. HAMMOND. I know it is true. Any one but a fool would know that. Gentlemen can not conceal their purposes from people who have brains. They can not conceal them from the working people of this country. They read and they think.

I wish to make a remark or two about that confederate constitution. It was almost in its very words the Constitution of the United States. The resolution under which it was framed was that, being satisfied with the form of government from which we seceded, our committee should report a constitution as nearly as practicable the same. That constitution preserved the peculiar institution of slavery because that was the property of the South. It lengthened the term of president from four years to six, because the framers of the instrument had seen, as you have seen and as we yet see, the corruption which may be exerted for the securing of a second term. In the promotion of purity that instrument undertook to cut off such a source of corruption.

With these exceptions I recall none other but those the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. EATON] has to-day brought before the House. They did "wipe out" "the general welfare" clause, for under it all the jobs, all the corruption, all the dishonesty, all the black pages of American history in legislation have been written. They were a people without any manufactures comparatively; they had but little seacoast comparatively, and they believed so much wrong had been done by a perversion of the taxing clause and by the perversion of the commerce clause of the United States Constitution in legislating for one section against another section, in the teeth of Democratic platforms, that they determined to take that power away from their congress. They were as honest in making that constitution as were Carroll and Hancock when they signed the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. EATON. I did not impugn their honesty at all.

Mr. HAMMOND. No, sir.

Mr. EATON. I stated a fact.

Mr. HAMMOND. You stated a fact, and I have stated why you stated it.

Mr. EATON. You have not stated that correctly, because you do not know.

Mr. HAMMOND. I am proud the gentleman disavows it. He now comes up to the measure of the man I have thought him to be. He does not stoop like these penny-a-liners to make false prejudice against a measure instead of arguing against it.

Mr. EATON. If the gentleman will permit me, he ought to know me better than that. I am in favor and shall be one of a committee to report an amendment to the Constitution making a single term of six years for the President, as it was in the confederate constitution.

Mr. HAMMOND. I am glad to see the gentleman following after the grand men who undertook to make successful that ever-to-be-lamented attempt at revolution.

Mr. EATON. I do not quite understand you.

Mr. HAMMOND. I will now go on with my remarks.

Such twaddle is an insult to the Northern voters. They can read; they can think. They know that a cause is good or bad without regard to who favors the cause; that the proposed reform is urged by men from the North as true to the Government as any who oppose the measure. Those voters know that that cause is weak which must be supported not by combating the arguments made in its favor, but by abuse

of some of its advocates. Let not the Republicans hope in that way to distract attention from the merits of the controversy. Nor can those voters be made the followers of the new theory of Mr. RUSSELL, of Massachusetts, as to the functions of this Government. He attributes the prosperity of this country to "the laws which force such a diversity of interests and at the fullest possible compensation for labor." And elsewhere in his speech of April 17 he lauds "a law, whether natural or otherwise, that compels a diversity of interests."

It recalled to my mind the famous "Georgia protest" of 1829 against the tariff of 1828, the first tariff in which sections were directly opposed to sections as such in this country. The protest was signed by John Forsyth, governor, and presented in the United States Senate by John McPherson Berrien, "*par nobile fratrum*." The climax of the State's denunciation of the principles which led to its adoption was "the degrading system which considers the people to be incapable of wisely directing their own enterprise; which sets up the servants of the people in Congress as the exclusive judges of what pursuits are most advantageous and suitable for those by whom they were elected." So Mr. Tilden wrote:

Devoted to the rights of our American industry, which is now beginning to fill the world with the renown of its achievements, it [the Democratic party] has refused to direct its application by prohibitory or protective tariffs, preferring that each man should judge how he can make his own labor most productive, and trusting for the aggregate result to those natural laws which enable every one of our million of city population to daily choose his food, and yet furnish buyers for everything that has been provided beforehand.

Mr. RUSSELL's doctrine would authorize Congress to forbid our boys from following callings or professions suitable to their capacities and tastes and bind them to the trades of their fathers, as has been done in despotic ages and governments. Such doctrine would have authorized Congress to bind forever to drudgery men who have adorned the highest places in our country.

SOUTHERN MANUFACTURES.

It is conceded that the Morrison bill can not affect Southern cotton-mills. Absolute free trade subsists between us and the North and West, and yet they can not compete with our cotton-mill products; much less can distant Europe give us trouble. Our advance is due not to tariffs, but to natural advantages of which none can deprive us, though bad laws may greatly impair these advantages.

I am about to call attention to some figures taken or made up from the Compendium of the Census of 1880. I do not claim absolute correctness for them, for the basis is not infallibly correct.

That the censuses of 1850 and 1860 contain many errors none deny. The grossness of the falsity of that of 1870 in the Southern States is recognized by all. Taken in a fluctuating currency, it is wholly misleading everywhere. On these have come the census of 1880, the fragmentary reports of our consuls and of the Agricultural Department; and the brood of lying conclusions drawn from them all has multiplied like the lice in Egypt. In every speech, in every newspaper, they crawl and squirm. But in default of anything better our reasoning must be from these censuses. I call attention to a few of their statements from our last compendium. It is a very common impression that the South was less prosperous as to manufactures before the war, as compared with the North, than since the war. The census shows that that is untrue. Take Georgia and Pennsylvania as representative States. Georgia's capital so invested stood to that of Pennsylvania as 1 to 18 in 1850; about the same in 1860; as 1 to 31 in 1870; and as 1 to 23 in 1880. Southern investments greatly increased, but those of the North increased more.

But the table shows that from 1850 to 1860 manufactures in the Southern and cotton States grew relatively faster than they did in the great manufacturing States of the North. Alabama almost trebled, Arkansas more than quadrupled, Georgia doubled, Tennessee more than doubled, and Texas increased sixfold. No Northern State doubled but Pennsylvania. Cotton never sold for so much as it did in 1857, except just after the cotton famine produced by the war. And all this occurred under the low Democratic tariffs of 1846 and 1857. Here is the table:

Capital invested in manufactures, as shown by the censuses of the United States.

States.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Alabama.....	\$3,450,606	\$9,098,181	\$5,714,052	\$9,668,008
Arkansas.....	305,015	1,316,610	1,782,913	2,953,130
Georgia.....	5,456,483	10,890,875	13,930,125	20,672,410
Louisiana.....	5,032,424	7,151,172	18,313,974	11,462,468
Mississippi.....	4,727,600	4,501,714	4,384,492	1,815,820
North Carolina.....	7,456,860	9,693,703	8,140,473	13,045,639
South Carolina.....	6,053,265	6,931,756	5,400,418	11,205,894
Tennessee.....	6,527,729	14,426,261	15,505,295	20,092,845
Texas.....	539,290	3,272,450	5,284,110	9,245,561
Connecticut.....	25,876,648	45,590,430	95,281,271	120,480,275
Massachusetts.....	88,940,292	132,792,327	231,677,862	303,806,185
New Hampshire.....	18,242,114	23,274,094	36,023,743	51,112,263
New Jersey.....	22,293,258	40,521,048	79,606,719	106,226,593
New York.....	99,904,405	172,895,652	366,994,320	514,246,575
Ohio.....	29,019,538	57,295,303	141,923,964	188,939,614
Pennsylvania.....	94,473,810	190,055,904	406,821,845	474,510,993

FARMERS.

Those who have spoken against tariff reform endeavored to alarm the farmers. The Democratic party would not knowingly take any step which even might injure them. But let us examine the allegations.

Mr. CHACE, of Rhode Island, is a manufacturer, living in a State which in 1880, by the census, raised but two hundred and forty bushels of wheat, and yet he undertakes to advise the wheat farmers of the West. To his speech in the RECORD of 25th April, 1884, he appended a table of values of selected articles for the years 1846 to 1850, inclusive, and 1876 to 1880, inclusive, to draw a contrast between "free trade" and "protection" to the advantage of the latter as to farm products. Who made his figures I do not know. Perhaps it was the same man who in February, 1883, betrayed him into using a table which, upon examination, I showed covered arrowroot, macaroni, croton-oil, "coffee and milk prepared," "frogs dressed and prepared," plum pudding, venison, house furniture, hubs for wheels, shingles, willow baskets, and sawdust, which table he averred only showed the protection given to our farmers upon "agricultural products pure and simple."

The following table is taken from Grosvenor's Does Protection Protect? I am told that he is now the statistician of the New York Tribune. His figures were made in 1870, and, without regard to his own merits, are trustworthy because made up from the official report of the Secretary of the Treasury in 1863 (Mr. Chase) carefully prepared under Mr. Chase's supervision. Mr. Grosvenor at page 274 gives average prices for six periods, first, the years covered by the protective tariff of 1824 and the higher protective tariff of 1828; second, ten years of "compromise non-protective tariff," 1833-1842 inclusive; third, protected years 1843-1846; fourth, next four years unprotected; fifth, the succeeding four years, and last the years 1855 to 1860 inclusive; all from 1847 to 1860 inclusive being under the Democratic or "free-trade" tariffs. From those six tables Mr. Grosvenor made the table of averages following:

Table showing comparative prices of farm articles during the protection era from 1825 to 1846, and the "free trade" era from 1846 to 1860.

Years.	Wheat.	Cotton.	Corn.	Rye.	Oats.	Butter.	Cheese.
	Per bu.	Per lb.	Per bu.	Per bu.	Per bu.	Per lb.	Per lb.
1825-'32	\$1 10½	\$0 10½	\$0 62	\$0 67	\$0 37	\$0 15½	\$0 06½
1833-'42	1 35½	12	77½	84½	43	16½	07½
1843-'46	1 02	06½	57	63	34½	11½	05½
1847-'50	1 26	09	68½	74½	43	15½	06½
1851-'54	1 44	09½	71½	91½	47	17½	07½
1855-'60	1 69	10½	81½	94	48½	19½	08½

Certainly this table is far more satisfactory than Mr. CHACE's comparison of two periods of five years each and they thirty years apart. The most absurd part of his speech was that showing that a bushel of wheat in 1846-'50 would buy less iron or cotton prints than in 1876-'80, utterly ignoring the fact that the price of wheat varied little, but of the others had enormously decreased in thirty years.

Mr. CHACE. If these figures are correct, then your policy is a bad one for the farmer.

Mr. HAMMOND. I know more farmers than you do. I see more in one day than you have in your State. I see more in my district than you have voters in your State. You come here, with every laborer in your State driven from the ballot-box, to preach the dignity of labor.

Mr. CHACE. The gentleman is now stating one of his free-trade facts when he says every laborer is driven from ballot-box. That is about as true—

Mr. HAMMOND. I should have said every laborer of foreign birth. You know what I meant.

Mr. CHACE. I denounce the statement.

Mr. HAMMOND. Only 10,000 men voted in the last election in all your State.

Mr. CHACE. You drive ten from the ballot-box where Rhode Island does one, and you do it with the shotguns.

Mr. HAMMOND. In the South some are driven off in violation of law, but yours are driven away by your law.

Mr. CHACE. If you can make anything out of that, you can.

Mr. HAMMOND. If you can make anything out of this debate, you are welcome.

Mr. HISCOCK on Tuesday presented many figures showing increase in farm products, &c., from 1860 to 1880, and attributed that to the tariff. He makes the high protective war tariff take all the glory which has come from the development of the country, the reapers and mowers, the railroads, steamboats, and telegraphs, all the work of brain and muscle for twenty years. How will he explain that India increased her wheat export from 2,000,000 bushels in 1879 to 36,000,000 in 1883 under English free trade?

Answering them, it would be fair to attribute all the gain to the Democratic "free-trade" tariffs. But candor compels me, and should have compelled them, to admit that the differences are not always attributable to the tariff only. Sometimes it seems so and at others not. For instance, in 1830 wheat sold for \$1.07½ and the tariff was 25 cents per bushel. In 1832 the price was \$1.23½, and the tariff 12½ cents per

bushel. Price plus tariff in 1830 was \$1.32½, and in 1832, \$1.36. On the other hand, in 1841, the price, \$1.20, plus tariff, 25 cents, equals \$1.45, and in 1842, the price, \$1.06½, plus tariff, 12½ cents, equals \$1.19. In one case wheat was higher under the lower tariff and in the other the reverse. Again, in 1854, 1855, and 1856, wheat averaged \$1.51, \$2.12½, and \$2.38 per bushel, respectively, and the tariff was the same in all three years; but the Crimean war made increased demand. In 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1860 wheat averaged \$1.70½, \$1.60, \$1.30, and \$1.47½, respectively. The reciprocity treaty with Canada was in force from September, 1854, to 1866, and under it Canadian wheat came in free, and that was our main source of foreign supply. With practical free trade wheat was higher than ever before. (My figures are by averaging the highest and lowest prices for each year, taken from Spofford's Almanac.)

But if it be fair so to argue, I present another short table, taken from the censuses of 1859 and 1879, of articles commonly quoted as of 1860 and 1880. The first column is from Secretary Chase's report of 1863, before mentioned, except hay, not there given. The second column is from the Bureau of Statistics, copied into census of 1880, at page 27.

Prices of farm products in 1859 and 1879 and the per cent. of increase of 1859 over 1879.

Article.	Prices in gold in—		Increase, 1859 over 1879.
	1859.	1879.	
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Per ct.
Corn, per bushel.....	90.5	47.1	92
Oats, per bushel.....	47.0	29.7	58
Wheat, per bushel.....	1 47.5	1 06.8	40
Cotton, per pound.....	11.5	09.9	15
Hay, per ton.....	24 64.0	15 02.0	60
Bacon and hams, per pound.....	09.0	07.0	28
Butter, per pound.....	20.5	14.2	43
Lard, per pound.....	10.0	07.0	57
Tallow, per pound.....	10.5	06.9	43
Tobacco, per pound.....	09.0	07.8	12
Wool, per pound.....	39.0	29.0	34

These considerations show how very deceptive mere tables of figures are. Arguments confined to them are only less false than that of attributing all increase of prices to protection in the face of greater decrease in Europe, protected and unprotected Europe. Mr. CUTCHEON yesterday mentioned the cheapening of steel rails as a sample. He knew that by expiration of patents, better machinery, &c., they are so much cheaper in England than here that we fence them out by tariff. Mr. CHACE, of Rhode Island, Mr. RUSSELL, another Eastern manufacturer, and Mr. KELLEY expressed great alarm for the farmers of the West because the wheat of India, Australia, and Russia are crowding them out of the markets of the world. Mr. KELLEY advised them to raise sorghum, and told them that they could live on its seed, for that swine, horned cattle, and the negroes of interior Africa had so lived. His words were:

Our farmers, therefore, need not fear the competition of low wages in the wheat-fields of India and Russia as threatening a vital change. Wheat-culture exhausts the soil. The wheat we export beyond the sea carries with it the vital principles of the farm on which it was raised, which does not return to enrich the producers' acres as it does when consumed in industrial villages or large cities near to where it was grown. With sugar-yielding plants it is otherwise; they are green plants and give to the soil the nutriment they absorb from the atmosphere. Wherever corn will ripen sorghum can be produced in perfection, and the value of the seed of this plant alone is found to be equal to the cost of growing and housing the entire crop. Not only does this seed furnish nutriment to swine and horned cattle, but history and travel afford abundant assurance that in the past more people have lived on sorghum seed than have been sustained by wheat. Myriads of the people of the interior of Africa and Asia, from which dark regions we are but now receiving supplies of richer varieties of the sorghum plant than we have yet grown, have for centuries found in its seed the same food-supply that the Caucasian races have found in wheat.

Mr. RUSSELL reminds us that the yield of Indian wheat increased from 2,000,000 bushels in 1879 to 36,000,000 bushels in 1883, while our exports of wheat fell off nearly 36,000,000 bushels in 1883, and he says that this is but a beginning of the vast trade in wheat which must result from opening up transportation, &c., in India and Russia, and which must cut off our English market. He advises a prohibition tariff on wheat and other cereals, so as to force 700,000 farmers into factories. Would he stop all importations and force direct taxation or an enlargement of the hateful internal-revenue system?

Mr. RUSSELL did not explain how he would keep up wages with this enormous crowd forced into competition with wage-earning mechanics. He said:

This would in itself give a home market for about one-third of our total exports of agricultural products.

But what would become of the other two-thirds, even if the present product be never increased? And where would the increased product of the factories beyond the present surplus be bestowed? When we shut out the goods of other countries they would refuse to take ours, would reject our cereals and swine and beef and cotton. How much better to encourage exchanges rather than stimulate preparations by

foreign countries to supply themselves without coming here. This brings me to recall that far-off Maine sends stone and ice to Georgia almost for nothing, because her ships need ballast when they come for cotton. The very life of prosperity is facility of exchanges of products.

It is remarkable that no Northern or Western man, when arguing that a high tariff favors farmers, deigns to notice the cotton-makers of the South. The crop of cotton is, say, 6,000,000 of bales. The great bulk of it is exported. It has no protection. Even the long-staple cottons, sea-island cotton, has no protection, though the Northern thread-makers import as much of it as we raise in this country. Cotton is almost the exclusive crop of many States. Its farmers can see naught but increase of price to them from the tariff, which keeps Canadian wheat and the like out of the North to enable Northern farmers to sell to us without competition. The tariff on cotton-seed oil is a sham; for none is imported. But five gallons came in in 1881, and none since. These cotton-planters remember the succinct statement of Calhoun, that "a tariff on imports is a tax on exports." Exports in the long run must pay for them. They know Mr. Webster's answer, that the Kentucky mule-raiser and hemp-grower, the ship-owner and others, who furnish supplies, help to make the cotton. But they also know that part of their cotton pays for all that and still leaves the exported balance to pay the tax. I recall also that cotton in the fall of 1857, under the lowest tariff we have had for half a century, brought 13 cents per pound, the highest price ever had except war prices, and wheat ranged from \$1.25 to \$1.95 per bushel, and wool from 33 to 44 cents per pound.

AMERICAN LABOR.

Mr. KELLEY told us that because Congress made quinine free from import tax the house of Powers & Wyhtman was removed from Pennsylvania to Germany, "where wages were low," and that thus they will be able to "monopolize the American market," and that by thus banishing one house we have closed all the others and made the United States the dumping ground for the cheap and adulterated quinine of all irresponsible continental manufacturers. If Powers & Wyhtman will "monopolize the American market," how can anybody else sell quinine here and how can we get adulterated quinine except from them?

But his main conclusion of that subject was—

Thus did anti-protective legislation banish one vital industry and deprive a few hundred American laborers of employment.

If there is no other work for them to do they are without employment; otherwise not. Should all the people of this country have continuously paid that quinine tax forever to keep those few men from seeking other work? In the same speech Mr. KELLEY denounces the importation of contract labor that is being brought here by Pennsylvania protectionists. It seems that while they talk so much of protecting American labor they will have cheaper labor if they must bring it here under contract or go themselves to Europe to use it there. Verily, "for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" the Pennsylvania protectionists are "peculiar."

Advocates of protection profess great concern for the wages of factory operatives. Their exaggeration of their pictures throw suspicion upon their sincerity. On the other hand we have listened to a speech of Mr. Wood, of Indiana, who took the opposite ground. He belongs to the Committee on Labor Statistics, and I suppose he has made this matter a special study. He was speaking for the wage-earning class. He said:

I think a high protective tariff the worst foe we have to American labor. It gives high profits to large investments in certain kinds of industry, and every system is adopted or machine purchased that will do away with laboring men. If the tariff act was reformed, the highly protective duties cut down, profits would be lower but reasonable; then the great inducements for centralized capital would cease, and it would go all over the country to establish other but useful industries. One great and highly protected industry, such as iron or steel, woolen or cotton, having from \$500,000 to two or three millions invested, with its labor-saving machinery, does not employ a tithe of the labor that would be employed if this aggregated capital was divided among a dozen different and necessary industries. * * * One great trouble about labor now is that there is not a sufficient market for its products, and one able to consume them.

The Democratic policy would give labor more steady and more remunerative employment. But there are many erroneous statements about wages in the press and in speeches here. Wages, like other things, are not always what they seem. Wages in the protected United States are higher than in England unprotected. But in unprotected England they are higher than in protected Germany or protected France. It is, therefore, certain that protection does not make the difference. A thousand causes operate. Perhaps the chief cause here is that lands are so cheap that the capitalist can not force our mechanics to take his price and stay in his employment at inadequate remuneration.

In a speech made here on the 8th of May, 1879, Mr. KELLEY, of Pennsylvania, said, speaking of wages:

Indeed the condition of the laboring people of the civilized world is in this respect pitiable. Our country, more favored than any other, is suffering greatly, but less than others. Our broad, open, cheap lands are protecting us against the intense sufferings others are enduring.

If English wages are so low, with no countervailing advantage, why do not more English mechanics come here? Our factories contain but 80,000 of them and 213,000 German operatives. Germany is a "protected" country. England's population is 484 to the square mile and Germany's is but 213.

The fairness of wages depends not wholly on what is paid a person

for any given time, but also upon the value of his labor to his employer during that time. By the Census Compendium it appears that each person in manufactures over 15 years of age produced in 1850 one thousand and sixty-four dollars' worth of goods, and in 1880 twenty-one hundred dollars' worth of goods. Wages are greatly affected by the use of machinery. Suppose, to do a certain quantity of work in a day in India, requires ten laborers. Say their wages and food cost the employer \$2, i.e., 20 cents per man. Now if the employer can get a machine with which one will do the work of the ten, he may pay that one much higher wages. But whether the aggregate of wages for the country will be increased depends upon whether the men displaced by the machine are idle consumers or have other remunerative employment.

The wages of individual shoemakers in the United States is double that in England, but it costs the manufacturer less to have a pair of shoes made here than there. With an American machine one man can make three hundred pairs of boots per day, and the number of these machines has increased from fifteen in 1862 to 3,100 in 1880. Before the invention of Blanchard's machine it took seventy-five men to make one hundred gunstocks per day. It reduced the number of men necessary for that work down to seventeen, then to twelve, and now to nine. Suppose the seventy-five men got \$2 each per day, the hundred gunstocks would have cost the manufacturer \$150 plus material. Suppose he now pays \$6 per day to each man, his hundred gunstocks would cost him but \$54 plus material and interest on his investment in the machine. Wages for gunstock-makers would thus appear to be trebled, but it would also appear that sixty-four men had been driven to some other employment unless there had been equivalent increased demand for gunstocks. Again, the census tables show that "in manufacturing at the rate of 1,000 rifles a day three men will do as much work as seven to nine men in manufacturing at the rate of fifty a day."

These examples from our census show how deceptive are usual statements about wages, and that whether a mechanic is being well paid for his work depends upon where he works, with what sort of machinery, in what sized establishment, and above all what the food and clothing of his family, fuel, and rent of his dwelling cost.

It is vain for Mr. CHACE to read about the abject poverty of some in England. It is vain for Mr. KELLEY to tell of those whom he saw there living with their pigs. They know, everybody knows, that these are exceptional cases and that such may be found everywhere; that in our own boasted land such may be found of men and women living in squalor and without any pigs to live with them.

The speech of Mr. KELLEY in 1879, from which I have quoted, painted the condition of some of our mechanics as deplorable. He said:

Why, sir, the people of my city (Philadelphia), the working people whose pride it has been to have their families live under their own roof, are many of them huddling together three or four families in one such house, and then are probably unable to pay their rent.

It is vain for gentlemen to try to make grown men believe that such are fair samples of English laborers, and vainer to try to make them believe that such a condition is due to her trade policy.

How much better off are the laborers of England now than before she abolished her protective policy? Since then imprisonment for debt has been abolished, drinking spirits has greatly decreased, education has become general, wages have increased almost twofold. Manhood suffrage has been granted; asylums, hospitals, churches tell the munificence of the government and the charity and devotion of the people. It was to these mechanics and laborers in factories, or men like them, that Cobden and Bright, men born without titles, belonging to the people, preached a crusade against the corn laws. They had imbibed the truths of Jackson's farewell address, that Jackson so glibly quoted as being in favor of a "judicious tariff" when he said:

The various interests which have combined together to impose a heavy tariff and to produce an overflowing Treasury are too strong and have too much at stake to surrender the contest. The corporations and wealthy individuals are engaged in large manufacturing establishments, and desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor and to obtain the means of profuse expenditure for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters. * * * The surplus revenue will be drawn from the pockets of the people—from the farmer, the mechanic, and laboring classes of society.

They might have adopted his very words, except that the main prohibitive duties then were on farm products. It was at Manchester and from the mechanics that the agitation came. For years they struggled until the failure of the potato crop brought Ireland to starvation. Thus re-enforced, they succeeded. The corn laws fell before the hunger of the people. We must come to a revenue basis sooner or later. The present tariff can not be permanent. We have no physical famine. With our broad acres and fruitful soil "the early and the latter rain" will furnish plenty; but our products of hand and loom, of factory and mine; our multitudinous "cattle upon a thousand hills;" our countless droves of swine; our cereals rotting in barns and elevators are more than home consumption can exhaust. Short time, short wages must come unless we appease the universal hunger for a market for the surplus. If this demand is heeded things will adjust themselves slowly and quietly. If this demand is despised the result will come nevertheless. But in that case it may come suddenly; it may come ruinously

upon all who withstand the people's clamor for reform and reduction of taxes and cost of living. [Applause.]

FREE COAL ILLUSTRATES THE SPIRIT OF THE MAJORITY.

Mr. McCOMAS. Mr. Chairman, to illustrate the practical results of the financial revolution intended by the leading spirits of the Democratic majority in this House I will confine myself to their attempt to put bituminous coal on the free-list. It will exhibit their ulterior designs. For it is not reform, not reduction, but revolution that is the burden of most of the speeches in support of this "Morrison bill." The leaders of this movement display themselves as impatient, champing at the bit or tugging at their chains. Could they draw along with them the small minority of their conservative colleagues, not 20, not 50 per cent. reduction would content them.

The discussion of the tariff question consumed the winter session of Congress two years ago. The result was a tariff commission, which after months of laborious investigation over the whole country reported to Congress. Then the last session of Congress resulted in a marked reduction of internal-revenue taxes and the tariff of March 3, 1883. The country was disturbed, business unsettled, capital and labor uneasy by reason of the two years of discussion which produced that tariff. The American people have been taught to regard tariff agitation as a necessary evil, but they have not yet learned to "hanker" after it for the mere love of agitation at a time when it can not by reason of an opposing majority in the other House result in a change of the law. And yet, without waiting to see the operations of the new tariff, which began July 1, 1883, this House wants to change it materially with a confessed purpose to rapidly change it again and again.

The business of the country, its manufactures, its mines, its markets, its laborers, must be sacrificed to political expediency. It is too soon to reargitate, but the agitation may give a party cry, and some men more closely consider a Presidential election than they do the industries of the country.

The Republican party alone can reduce tariff and direct taxes with the confidence of the country. And it has been doing so. The Republican party is ready to reduce the surplus. It alone can reduce the tariff without alarming the country. When manufactures have enjoyed a century of protection, when labor for a century has adjusted itself to a discrimination in its favor, a sudden change coupled with a threat of repeated change to follow can only bring disaster.

The last Republican Congress swept away millions of direct taxes and so reduced the tariff that under the new law the first six months yielded a decrease in revenue of \$11,636,854. While the majority here would legislate for a great producing nation on its vast and varied industries upon the shifting basis of clerks' estimates, the Republican party would first observe the actual working of the new tariff and then it will further reduce the tariff, and, what is just as important, reform and readjust the tariff.

A scientific readjustment can not result from such discussion as this. To-day all over the world there is overproduction, a juncture in trade which has happened and will happen at intervals in every age of commerce and in every country, which results from laws of the human mind and not from acts of assemblies. But we find free-trade orators bold enough to say that for overproduction here we must blame the tariff, while overproduction in free-trade Britain I find a British member of Parliament charging to be due to free trade. A fair-trade league has been established in England, which is undoubtedly increasing in influence. It numbers among its members some very able men, and its publications are being widely read. A fair-trade congress was held at Leamington, England, on Saturday, November 17, last, under the presidency of Lord Dunraven, K. P. Mr. Ecroyd, M. P. for Preston, and himself a manufacturer, sent a letter containing the following remarks:

I had hoped that it might be possible for me to come to Leamington to-morrow, though I had engagements for both last evening and this. I am very glad to find you are already strong in speakers qualified to deal with the question most ably. I have been indeed so closely associated with it from the beginning that I always rejoice to see others taking a more prominent place in its discussion than myself. The course of events is now more clearly than ever demonstrating the truth of our principles. Those who confidently assured the Lancashire workmen two or three years ago that we were on the eve of a recovery of trade and an era of prosperity for both employers and employed are now frankly proclaiming that either a serious reduction of wages or a recurrence to longer hours of labor, or perhaps both, will have to be accepted by the operatives. We are, indeed, apparently entering upon so serious a contraction of our great industries (not necessarily of our buying and selling and shipping trade) that I look for a prolonged and exasperated conflict between the two suffering parties—masters and workmen—as to who shall sustain the first and heaviest share of the common loss. The political and social efforts will, I fear, be lamentable in the extreme. Fair-traders would counsel them instead to join hands against the forces which are silently sapping the prosperity of both, and to insist on the adoption of a national policy which would restore scope and hope to our industries and banish from us, in this active period of the development of the world's resources, the miserable fear that English workmen may have to suffer unexceptional and undeserved reduction of their earnings, their comforts, and their leisure.

Other Democratic speakers ignore the general shrinkage of values in all commercial countries, which, while it raises ad valorem duties, enables them to declaim against the enormous percentage of specific duty when they should in fairness confess, under the tariff, a great decline in price and cheaper goods for the people.

What an enormous surplus these gentlemen predicted in the last Con-

gress. How greatly have they diminished their estimate now! They then said the tariff would not reduce the revenue for this year, and I find the customs revenue reduced about \$23,000,000 per annum this year.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN WITHOUT ALARM TO THE COUNTRY REDUCE TARIFF AND DIRECT TAXES.

Can the country be persuaded to trust the tariff to their hands? When the English people adopted the doctrines of Cobden, Bright, Poullett, Thomson, and Villiers, they did not listen to the Whigs, who seized upon free trade as a party cry; when the unprotected manufacturers and operatives were seeking free bread they did not accept the guidance of Lord John Russell and Macaulay, but for the quiet of the country and the safety of its business intrusted the proposed changes to Sir Robert Peel and the party in power.

This is ever the wise tendency of a cautious people who care more for their production and wages than for party politics, for their industries than for campaigns, for markets than for platform promises. The Republican party found a bankrupt Treasury and inaugurated a system which yielded a surplus. They can safely readjust the system and decrease that surplus. The people can trust the Republican party which made the tariff to reform it.

But this task is not possible until the comparative working of two tariffs differing in many important particulars and operating under different and complex commercial conditions has had a single year's trial. It will require the result of several years under the operations of the new law to throw abundant light on this subject. Then the Republican party can and will, as I believe, not in a hostile spirit, but in sympathy with labor, with manufactures, and home markets, carefully readjust and gradually reduce until there be no surplus, by abatement of direct taxes and customs duties. This country does not yet know the effect of the new tariff, this Congress does not know it. And my topic, bituminous coal, will show that the very able committee, whose aggregate wisdom far exceeds the combined knowledge of this House respecting revenue, are not even familiar with the very terms of the law which they hasten to change. (Arguments before the Ways and Means Committee, pages 370, 371.)

The chairman and his party friends found a provision respecting coal which they did not know was in the tariff law, whose operation when so instructed they wholly misapprehended, and then the committee fell into a long discussion in which it was discovered that a very important discrimination in the coal tariff did not, in the elegant parlance of the chairman, prevent him from warming his toes in Illinois by a bituminous-coal fire, but only favored foreign steamship lines to the prejudice of our own American coastwise trade. The result of the inquiry shows, if it shows anything, that this provision was not inserted in the law in this House nor in the Senate, nor yet in the conference committee, and that the distinguished chairman, who has presumably thumbed the tariff law until the pages are dog-eared from use, did not know anything of its history, of its effect, nor even of its presence in the law.

A CENTURY OF TARIFF ON COAL.

In this spirit and with this preparation they approached the tariff on coal, which does not yield a half million dollars' revenue, and swept it away. The first tariff (1789) imposed a duty on bituminous coal, and during ninety-five years it has had continuous protection. In 1789 it was 56 cents per ton; in 1790, 84 cents per ton; in 1794, \$1.40; in 1812, \$2.80. Reduced in 1816 to \$1.40 it was increased in 1824 to \$1.68. The tariff of 1842 raised this duty to \$1.75, and even the lowest of all tariffs in 1846 only reduced the duty to \$1.30 per ton.

To admit foreign coal needed in time of war in 1861 the duty fell to \$1 per ton, to be raised successively to \$1.10 and \$1.25 per ton in 1864. It was not until 1873 it was reduced to 75 cents per ton, which is 24 per cent. ad valorem.

But to-day, without warning, it is proposed to pass a law in June putting bituminous coal on the free-list on the 1st of July. Of the 58,000,000 tons of soft coal produced last year in this Union, east of the Alleghanies, not one ton of soft coal is used to one thousand of anthracite for domestic purposes. Free coal for the fireside is thought a good party cry to entrap the unwary. There is no popular demand for it. No one has appeared before the committee asking any reduction of the duty on bituminous coal. Anthracite coal east of the Alleghanies is the coal of the domestic fireside, and anthracite is free from duty. That coal is produced too fast for consumption, and the owners of it time and again have combined to lessen the output, manifestly a monopoly of the worst sort in a free-list commodity. On the Atlantic coast, and away from the mining region, bituminous coal is not used as a domestic fuel.

I challenge any member to show that 10,000 tons per annum of bituminous coal is applied on this seaboard to domestic consumption. You can not by free coal help the fireside, but you can paralyze an important industry and reduce the price of its labor. You will strike an unexpected blow at the coastwise trade. From Georgetown the ships of Maine carry coal to every port of the Atlantic coast. It is an immense tonnage in American vessels. Ninety-three millions of capital, principally east of the Alleghanies, is invested in the bituminous coal trade. Ninety-six thousand people are engaged in it. Of these 36,000 people are in my own State in my own district, 4,500 in West Virginia, 33,000 in Pennsylvania.

THE CORPORATIONS BENEFITED BY FREE COAL.

The only coals in the Union affected by putting bituminous coal on the free-list are the gas coals and steam coals of Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania, because their market is at the seaboard at Baltimore, New York, Boston, and Portland, and their coals are not there sold for hearth fires. If the people who used 29,130,096 tons of anthracite last year are not benefited by it, if the cost of transportation makes indifferent to the coal tariff millions of people who use bituminous coal west of the Alleghenies, whom does this new legislation benefit? The great corporations alone will inevitably reap the benefit of this sham reform. The cry is, "free fuel" to a people whose fuel is free.

It cheapens fuel to the great railway companies of the Atlantic seaboard, who ought not to be favored, and whose rates of freight it will not reduce. It gives cheaper and better coals to the English steamship lines, which will help English monopolies to delay the revival of American shipping. It will help a few glass companies. It will give further protection to the great iron manufacturers of the seaboard already enough protected, and it will delight the gas companies of the great cities by adding to their profits still more, but will not cheapen gas to the consumer.

Since 1873, when the duty was fixed at 75 cents, a review of the price of our Cumberland coals affords a striking proof that a protective tariff, by encouraging the rapid development of new coal-fields, may steadily reduce the price to the consumer, and by inducing a constant home competition afford the people cheaper coal.

I quote from Saward's Annual this table:

There was a larger output during 1883 than for a period of years, but the prices realized were very low by reason of the severe competition with Clearfield coal. It is expected that 1884 will show a similar state of affairs—low prices and large tonnage.

Prices have been as below at Baltimore:

Year.	Prices.	Year.	Prices.	Year.	Prices.
1872.....	\$4 52	1877.....	\$3 15	1882.....	\$3 50
1873.....	4 83	1878.....	2 86	1883.....	2 90
1874.....	4 70	1879.....	2 75	1884.....	2 70
1875.....	4 35	1880.....	3 75		
1876.....	3 87	1881.....	3 75		

The rate of mining remains at 50 cents per gross ton.

The same coal, which in 1873 sold at Baltimore for \$4.83 per ton, sells to-day at that port for \$2.70 per ton, and the tendency is steadily downward. Protection has reduced steam coals to one-sixth of the price of Canadian coals in Boston during the war.

If your theory were correct that the duty is always added to the price of the article, take off the 75 cents, and you leave scarcely enough of the price at \$2.70 to transport the coal from the mine to the seaboard and not a cent of profit to the miner of the coal, nor a penny to the man who mines the coal.

I rely upon figures given by a gentleman of rare ability and special information.

1. At present the standard freight from mines two hundred and twenty-five miles to Baltimore is..... \$1 75
Shipping charges, no insurance or other terminal charges..... 15

Total..... 1 90

The actual cost of putting the coal on the railroad cars and at the mines, including the cost of mining, hauling it out to the mouth of the mine by mine locomotive, steam machinery, and horse-power, and running it down the incline and putting it on the railroad cars, including 50 cents per ton to the miner..... 80

Total..... 2 70

2. Railroad transportation 225 miles, per ton 2,240 pounds, from the mines to Baltimore..... 1 75
To shipping charges, insurance, and other terminal charges..... 22
Vessel freight from Baltimore to New York..... 1 20

3 17

The actual cost of putting a ton of coal into the railroad cars at the mines being the cost of mining, of hauling it out to the mouth of the mine by mine locomotive, steam machinery, and horse-power, and the cost of running it down the "incline" and putting it over machinery into railroad cars..... 80

3 97

The actual selling price in New York is \$3.90 to \$4.10, according to the nature of the delivery there, \$4 per ton of 2,240 pounds, leaving the owner of steam coals a royalty (per ton) of..... 03

Total..... 4 00

If coal is shipped to Boston the price there is as much higher as the additional vessel freight, say generally 20 cents to 25 cents per ton.

Tariff on coal has substituted it for wood as a steam generator in this country. Since the destruction of forests has become a public question it is well to see how a protective tariff has indirectly spared them from destruction.

Prior to 1856 the Cumberland region was the sole producer of soft steam coal for the Atlantic seaboard trade. In that year the Broad Top region of Pennsylvania began shipping thither, and in 1862 the Clearfield region commenced, but since the reciprocity treaty expired has been the real development. These regions which in 1865 sent 1,280,030 tons, in 1883 sent 5,246,203 tons to the seaboard.

Since the development began it has substituted coal for wood as a generator of steam, and the active development of our home fields under this fostering tariff has led to the present large proportions on the seaboard of the steam-coal trade. In a day you ask it to compete with English ballast and Pictou coals. How can you reassure the miners of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia? How can you encourage the mine-owners to further develop or even venture to continue the present output?

A DUTY ON PRODUCTS A RELATIVE QUESTION.

Will you continue to tax everything the miner wears, the tools he works with, and half of what he eats, and yet not protect his product also? The reduction is horizontal as to all else, but you launch a thunderbolt at him. Elsewhere you carefully provide the duty shall not fall below the Morrill tariff; but while you reduce every other product 20 per cent. on that basis, which would leave to the coal-miner his present duty untouched, you rudely sponge it out entirely. You can give no adequate excuse for this discrimination against the coal-miner. It is only agitation for political effect, and not a statesmanlike reading of duties. It illustrates the recklessness of the whole scheme. It is an added folly upon the folly of horizontal reduction.

COAL AND RAW MATERIAL.

The free-list is appended to the list of dutiable articles. This House should not forget that before the committee reaches coal in this long list it has retained a tax on nearly everything the coal-miner is compelled to use. This is a relative question. Nor can the plea of raw material apply. Raw material is also a relative term. What is raw material to one man because he manipulates it is finished product to another. The manufacture of one man may be used as the raw material of the next.

Coal is not raw material except in the bowels of the earth. A ton of coal, according to the census of 1880, is 60 per cent. labor. And that labor is skilled labor of a high order. It involves, more than most avocations, courage, quick intelligence, and self-sacrifice. It is fraught with peculiar danger and hardship.

The adventurous miner in subterranean darkness, noxious vapors, and falling strata, requires a varied fund of knowledge. He must know how to blast to advantage, to place the prop with skill, to so lay the track that the car and horse may follow his advance to remove the coal; he must "shear" his coal, and with quick decision know where to drive the steel or iron wedges to bring down the coal in marketable shapes. The miner knows where run the seams of slate or sulphur, and he must have a care to divest the coal of all impurities. He must mine the adhesive mass several feet beneath and on the sides and follow a line ascertained by the compass all the while. Unskilled labor, when resorted to, often impairs the mines, wastes the coal, and costs many lives.

Even the most skillful, by the jarring of his blows, may fall a victim to a treacherous roof overhead, or the mass he is manipulating may suddenly maim or crush him. Ceaseless vigilance alone prolongs the life which is always shortened by the nature of his toil. I can speak for the miners of my own district, whom it is a great honor to represent, and all who know them will with me claim for them a high degree of intelligence, and the statistics of the Postal Department will attest that they are a community of reading, thinking men, women, and children, rarely equaled.

How can you reassure them if, with a keener foresight than yours, they fear that not only their wages (now but 50 cents per ton) may be impaired, but their occupation may be gone if their coal here at the seaboard is made free to compete with Nova Scotia and English ballast coals.

My own State, Virginia, and Congress in 1823, 1824, 1825 started the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which, commencing at the base of the Cumberland mines, once ended at the base of the mound whereon this Capitol stands. This city furnished money; Maryland spent \$17,000,000 to open this canal to the coal-fields of Alleghany County. This great public work, now in distress by reason of many mishaps and railway competition, will be no longer the thoroughfare which has supplied a market for the produce of the farmers on the western side of Montgomery, Frederick, Washington, and Alleghany Counties and has built up during a half-century the towns along its banks. Where is a more distressing example of hasty tariff legislation to be found? These communities all have had the trials of war and many vicissitudes since; but you are about to strike a violent, perhaps a fatal blow to a great water way from which the plastic hand of industry may never revive it, if you place the product of our mines at the mercy of foreign competition. At the present rates boatmen of my district can barely make a living, and by reducing the selling price of coal, their principle freight, 24 per cent. what will become of the boatmen who can now barely maintain themselves?

Sir, the great Union to which this section of my State has ever been

steadfastly loyal, and to whose defense her sons hurried from the farm and the mine, the town and the mountains, has not spared my district throughout its length from the ravages of war. Its armies have seized and appropriated the property of the citizens, yielding scarcely a pittance of redress. You propose now in this bill to strike a blow at the important railways, a fatal blow at another great public work of my State, and a far-reaching injury to the people I have the honor to represent. There is not a parallel to this legislation. The chairman of this committee would pass this law in June and enforce it in July. Even the English economists, whose disciples are the leaders of this House, would have recoiled from this hasty measure. It is haste unlike the English free-trade statesman's methods.

The most difficult thing of all is for masses of men gathered together at the principal seats of industry to distribute themselves. What is intended to do is commenced long in advance without maintaining vain hopes, and a long space of time is left to enable people to make their arrangements accordingly.

Huskisson proceeded more wisely when he proposed to get rid of the English silk prohibition. It was announced as early as 1824 that on July 5, 1826, protective duties of 30 per cent. would take the place of the prohibition. It was true there was no Presidential election at hand then, and besides, Huskisson was a statesman. But perhaps this coal region of three States is too remote from the home of the distinguished chairman of this committee to awake his interest.

Webster said that every one accustomed to self-examination discovers that there is in human nature that which incapacitates a man from taking a very lively interest in a community situated very remote from his own locality. It is charitable to assume that by this unconscious influence the chairman was persuaded in his efforts through the sanction of his committee to protect the producers of bourbon whisky in Kentucky and to neglect the producers of coal in Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Can the Ways and Means Committee of the House afford to go to the country saying that we give thirty days' notice to the hardy miners of coal that the protection, which by the legislation of a century they had a right to expect to continue, must end, but in tender solicitude they would afford an unexpected stay of three years in collecting a tax which for years had been imposed, without a right of a day's delay, in favor of the producers of whisky?

What a sham reform is this. What an improving spirit of reform is abroad in the Democratic party. Its leading committee in the same session of Congress has tried to take away protection from miners of bituminous coal that to the maker of bourbon whisky it may give protection.

Mr. MORRISON. I move that the committee do now rise.

Mr. McCOMAS. Before that motion is submitted I desire to say that I wish to yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. NUTTING], who will take the floor in the morning.

Mr. MORRISON. I now renew the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having taken the chair, Mr. BAGLEY reported that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 5893) to reduce import duties and war-tariff taxes, had come to no resolution thereon.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF A PAIR.

Mr. WILSON, of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday last a pair between the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. MORGAN, and the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. RYAN, was not announced by some oversight. It is due to those gentlemen that this statement should be made.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

Mr. PERKINS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found duly enrolled a bill and joint resolutions of the following titles; when the Speaker signed the same:

A bill (S. 767) for the relief of Columbus F. Perry and Elizabeth H. Gilmer;

Joint resolution (H. Res. 236) authorizing the Secretary of War to loan two hundred flags to the city of Charlotte, N. C., for the celebration of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence; and

Joint resolution (H. Res. 240) to print 12,500 copies of eulogies on Thomas H. Herndon, late a Representative in Congress.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. KELLEY, until Monday next.

To Mr. DORSHEIMER, on account of important business, until Tuesday.

ANN HUNTER.

Mr. RAY, of New Hampshire, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, by unanimous consent, reported back the bill (H. R. 3493) granting a pension to Ann Hunter; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

OLON L. SIMONDS.

Mr. RAY, of New Hampshire, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, by unanimous consent, also reported back the bill (H. R. 5781) granting a pension to Solon L. Simonds; which was referred to the

Committee of the Whole House on the Private Calendar, and, with the accompanying report, ordered to be printed.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland, Mr. TALBOTT, will preside as Speaker *pro tempore* at the evening session.

The hour of 5 o'clock having now arrived, in pursuance of the previous order, the Chair declares the House in recess until 8 o'clock p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The recess having expired, the House at 8 o'clock p. m. resumed its session, Mr. TALBOTT in the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*.

Mr. BAGLEY. I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the further consideration of revenue bills.

The motion was agreed to.

THE TARIFF.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, Mr. BAGLEY in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee resumes the consideration of the bill (H. R. 5893) to reduce import duties and war-tariff taxes.

Mr. PEELLE, of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, I do not rise with the purpose or expectation of surprising either the committee or myself by saying anything new upon the subject now under consideration. I find, by reading the history of the debates in Congress, that the tariff question has been ably discussed, pro and con, by the foremost men in the country from the time of the assembling of the first Congress under our Constitution to the present time. From these debates I find that there has been at all times a well-defined difference of opinion as to the wisdom of the protective policy; and at times a difference of opinion as to the power of Congress under the Constitution to impose duties on foreign imports other than for revenue purposes; but in the main the protective feature has been maintained from the foundation of our present system of Government.

It would ill-become me to assert that the question was not debatable, and, out of deference to those who differ with me, I assume that the question is debatable, not that I am in doubt as to the power of Congress over the subject, or as to the wisdom of the policy, but that I concede to others the right to differ with me; and whenever their arguments convince me that I am wrong in principle or in policy I shall yield in obedience to that conviction which ought to guide men in public affairs.

We are all equal upon this floor; and are servants of the people to do their will. And now what is sought to be accomplished by our legislation? It is conceded by all that the object is to benefit the agricultural, manufacturing, and laboring interests, with resulting benefits to all classes of our people. Here we meet upon common ground; there are no party lines to be drawn as to the object sought to be accomplished. Now, as honest, well-meaning servants of the people, looking with a common interest to the welfare of our common country, how can we most likely reach that desired result?

In what I may say upon this occasion I shall assume that Congress has the power under the Constitution to levy import duties for the double purpose of revenue and protection.

TRUE POLICY OF A NATION.

The true policy of a nation is to protect by wise legislation its citizens in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and there can be no beneficial protection of the one without the harmonious protection of the other. Without life there is no need of either liberty or property; without liberty life would be a drag and a curse; without property there can be no leisure; without leisure there can be no time for study and thought, and without study and thought there can be no intelligent fixedness in human affairs; and all will concede that what our country needs most is fixedness of purpose in the minds of the people on economic questions, so that our country may develop its resources with reference to the future and assume the responsibility of a nation with reference to its own interests as well as among the nations of the earth.

A nation is but a community of citizens in the aggregation of nations; but the form of government in the one may be so materially different as to necessitate an internal policy wholly antagonistic to the other. Hence our laws should be shaped with reference to our own institutions and interests. No one will deny that we have the power, and that it ought to be our policy, to protect ourselves against the encroachment of all nations that threaten the destruction of our commerce or that tends to impede the development of our own resources. Our people have been educated in the school of fair wages; labor has been elevated, made honorable, and now to place it in competition with the poorly paid labor of Europe would degrade it. Our laboring classes are none too well paid now, and any policy which would weaken or in any way cripple our industries would not better their condition.

COMMENCEMENT OF TARIFF AGITATION.

At the time of the adoption of our present Constitution the population of our country was but one-fifteenth of what it is to-day, and our Treasury was bankrupt, while the manufacturing industries, which had been destroyed or rendered useless at the close of the Revolutionary war

by reason of heavy importations of foreign goods, were struggling for existence with shrinking capital; hence the first questions which engaged the attention of the First Congress, which convened in April, 1789, and within two days of its assembly, were revenue and encouragement to domestic manufactures by means of duties levied upon foreign imports. The questions were discussed and considered from that time until July of that year, when a law was enacted and the sense of that body expressed in the preamble thereto in these words:

Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid, &c.

So that it will be seen that the first Congress which convened under our present Constitution gave force and effect to its meaning as to the power of Congress to levy import duties and to regulate commerce, and that a necessity existed at that time for the exercise of that power to the end that revenue might be obtained and our home industries encouraged and protected.

It was understood then, as now, that the fewer imports of manufactures the more protection to domestic manufactures, and that the more imports the less protection; and this is true, whether the price of the domestic be the same as the foreign, or whether it be higher, so that then as now to check foreign imports legislation was necessary. Not, however, for the purpose of increasing the price of the domestic manufacture, however much it may have that result, but to lessen competition with the foreign product so that the domestic manufacturer might have the privilege of supplying our own people. For instance, if there be but one customer for a suit of clothes and the domestic manufacturer has one and the foreign manufacturer has one to sell, of whom shall he purchase? Our Democratic friends who advocate free trade say that depends upon which he can buy the cheapest; but does it? Shall we regard the cheapness of the article as paramount to the condition of the men who are engaged among us in similar industries? Is a dollar worth more than a man, or shall we esteem a dollar saved in the purchase of foreign manufactures as of more value and importance to us as a nation than the elevation and education of our laboring classes? The voice of God with us is expressed by the people at the ballot. Our destiny as a nation is in their hands.

INTELLIGENCE AND LOYALTY THE SAFEGUARDS OF THE NATION.

The development, progress, and perpetuity of our country depend upon the intelligence and loyalty of the people. Shall we continue the fabric for the encouragement of both? The man who has no children to educate in our public schools is equally taxed with he who has, because education is the basis of society, and society based upon intelligence is essential to the perpetuity of our free institutions; and if we would have our people remain loyal to our common country and its flag we must legislate for their interest, benefit the greatest possible number, and maintain our national identity with less sentimentality.

INCONSISTENCY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Our Democratic friends at the first session of the last Congress were clamorous for the exclusion of Chinese labor as a measure of relief and protection to American labor, and yet, with few exceptions, on that side of the House, they offer no objection to the importation of the products of their labor or of the labor of Europe, when they know that the exclusion of the products of such labor is as essential to the protection of our laboring classes as the exclusion of the laborer himself. I voted for that Chinese bill because it was in harmony with the declarations of the Republican party and in accord with my views on protection, but why did you Democrats, who advocate free trade or a purely revenue tariff, vote for it. You say it was simply to protect our laboring classes, and so say I, but I am willing to protect them by laying duties upon foreign manufactures; but you say no, give us free trade ultimately or give us death, while some of you on that side of the House have the honesty to advocate free trade now, notwithstanding you know that free trade means heavy importations of foreign manufactures and consequent death to our manufacturing, laboring, and farming interests.

Under free trade, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] says, raise your revenue from income and internal sources. Tax a man on his energy and thrift, encourage him to conceal what he has made, prevent him from investing his money and putting it into circulation, and educate him to abuse the Government that compels him to commit perjury to save what he has earned by honesty and industry. How much revenue would you get from such a source? Then did it ever occur to you that if free trade had the effect to destroy our industries there would be no income to tax?

Where next would you go for revenue? The expenses of the Government must be paid, and the pensions due our soldiers can not be neglected. You say tax whisky and tobacco, articles of luxury, and so say I; but did it occur to you that with little money men buy few luxuries, and that with no money they can not buy any? The payment of the tax on whisky and tobacco would depend then as now ultimately upon consumption, as without consumption there would be no sale, and without sale manufacturers would have no money to pay tax with; so that however much the lessening of the consumption might be desired you can readily see that it would not be a safe source from which to anticipate revenue to meet the emergencies of the Government.

REPUBLICAN TARIFF.

We must, then, in addition to the tax on whisky and tobacco, derive our principal revenue from import duties; and in levying such duties I believe it to be wise policy to impose duties sufficiently high to encourage and protect the domestic industries that come in competition with like industries abroad; and upon such articles of foreign import as are not produced or manufactured in this country I would impose a purely revenue duty, unless such articles were of common necessity, and then I would put them on the free-list.

The biography of our country is in its Constitution and laws, and the wisdom of its laws can be measured only by their results. The development and progress of the nation may be read in its legislative enactments, enactments which were necessitated by the demand of the people to meet their changed conditions, and the experience of the past is the lamp by which we should be guided in the future.

We legislate for a people whose ancestors had the courage and the manhood to seize the reins of British despotism in their own hands; and that their posterity might continue the grasp, instead of wear the bridle, they declared our independence and the equality of all men, and to gain the mastery they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors. A century has come and gone and our free institutions still live, with serfdom and slavery blotted out. We are a prosperous, happy, and contented people to-day because we have maintained our freedom and independence, and by wise legislation protected the agricultural, manufacturing, and laboring interests, making each harmoniously dependent upon the others, instead of all being dependent upon Europe.

PROTECTION DEVELOPS THE COUNTRY AND INCREASES OUR NATIONAL WEALTH.

The nation that depends upon a foreign country for its selling and buying markets can never secure or maintain its independence of that country; and unless we maintain our present independence of Europe by maintaining a home market for our field products, the corporations and land monopolies now justly complained of by so many will fade into insignificance, as our lands will then become the property of the few, as it is in free-trade England to-day.

In England, excluding her numerous parks and waste lands, there are about 52,000,000 acres of land, 5,000,000 acres of which are owned by twenty-five persons, while nine-tenths of the whole acreage are owned by 47,000 persons. This is the result of England's policy—a plutocracy of less than 50,000 land-owners ruling and controlling the 35,000,000 of people within her border. Although her bill of rights forbids a standing army in time of peace, she has an army of nearly 1,000,000 of men, besides her most powerful and improved navy. In England under such a policy one necessitates the other, not only to maintain the iron grip which the plutocrats have, but to enforce discipline among her bread-hunters.

Not so with us. Here we have over 4,000,000 farms, containing nearly or quite 300,000,000 acres of improved land (seventy-five acres to the farm) valued at more than \$10,000,000,000 (one-fifth of our entire wealth), producing annually, including live-stock, over \$4,000,000,000, and giving employment to more than 7,000,000 of our people, with a standing army of less than 25,000 men and no navy. This is the result of the policy which has been pursued by the United States. We have maintained the dignity of our nation and its credit at home and abroad, not by its Army or its so-called Navy, but by giving encouragement to the development of our resources and in enforcing discipline by giving ready employment at fair wages to our farming and laboring classes.

Our Democratic friends assert that this condition of things has been in spite of our protective policy and not in consequence of it, but where is the proof in support of such a proposition? What has been our growth and development since the tariff of 1861? Let us glance at our condition in 1860 and in 1880, both being census years, and what have we:

Comparative growth and development of the country in 1860 and 1880.

[Compiled from official sources.]

Subjects.	1860.	1880.	Increase.
Population of the United States.....	31,443,321	50,155,783	Per cent. 60
Value of farms.....	\$3,271,575,426	\$10,197,161,905	212
Wheat produced.....bushels...	173,104,924	498,549,868	188
Wheat exported.....do.....	4,155,153	153,869,935	3603
Corn produced.....do.....	838,792,742	1,717,434,543	105
Corn exported.....do.....	3,314,305	98,169,877	2862
Wool produced.....pounds...	60,264,913	232,500,000	286
Cotton produced.....bales...	3,826,086	6,343,269	65
Oats produced.....bushels...	172,643,185	407,858,999	136
Barley produced.....do.....	15,825,898	44,113,495	179
Butter exported.....pounds...	7,651,224	39,236,658	413
Cheese exported.....do.....	15,524,830	127,553,907	722
Petroleum produced.....barrels...	251,000	22,282,509	8817
Pig-iron produced.....net tons...	919,770	4,295,414	367
Rails produced.....do.....	205,038	1,461,837	613
Hogs packed.....do.....	2,350,822	6,950,451	196
Mercandise imports.....	\$353,616,119	\$667,954,746	89
Mercandise exports.....	\$333,576,067	\$835,638,658	150
Gold and silver produced.....	\$46,150,000	\$75,206,000	63
Gold and silver exported.....	\$66,546,239	\$17,142,919	
Gold and silver imported.....	\$8,550,135	\$98,034,310	988
Railroads.....miles...	30,635	88,237	189

If such growth and development as there shown has been in spite of our protective system, then it certainly has not impeded our progress as some on that side of the House assert. And now, in the face of such prosperity under our protective policy, you propose to abandon it and adopt "a tariff for revenue only," notwithstanding our experience under the Walker revenue tariff from 1846 to 1861. Under that tariff our industries were crippled and our people depressed because of the heavy importations of foreign manufactures, and the heavy exports of gold and silver coin and bullion; and need I say that but for the discovery of the gold mines in California, in 1849—three years after the Walker tariff went into operation—and the silver mines ten years later, which together produced from 1850 to 1860 inclusive, as estimated by the Director of the Mint, \$601,750,000, our condition would have been infinitely worse, and as it was the excess of exports of gold and silver coin and bullion over imports for the same period was \$420,313,081, or within \$181,431,919 of our total production; whereas the excess of imports of merchandise over exports for the same period (1850 to 1860) was \$384,913,005, or \$35,405,076 less than our excess of gold and silver exports.

So that it will be seen by the above showing that our gold and silver went abroad to pay the balance of trade against us, and that but for the gold and silver production during that period our prosperity would have been measured only by worse calamities, so that whatever prosperity there was under the Walker revenue tariff, was due more to the discovery of our gold and silver mines than perhaps anything else.

PROTECTION HAS RESTORED OUR CREDIT AS A NATION AND KEPT OUR MONEY AT HOME FOR OUR OWN PEOPLE.

Now, what was our financial condition in 1860? I shall not speak of the lost credit of the nation at that time or its depreciated bonds. There was in 1860 but \$280,000,000 of specie in the country, and doubtless most of that was held by State banks for the redemption of their outstanding depreciated notes, while there was then but \$207,000,000 of paper currency in circulation, or the total amount of gold and silver and paper currency in the country in 1860 was but \$487,000,000, but the \$207,000,000 of depreciated currency was the principal circulating medium and in many localities the only circulating medium; whereas to-day, with a little more than 60 per cent. increase in population, we have in this country in gold and silver and paper currency, including \$217,495,861 gold and silver certificates, all equal to gold, \$1,706,895,404, of which amount it is estimated by the Director of the Mint there was on March 31, 1884, \$550,924,000 in gold coin, and of silver coin \$249,578,000, and if we deduct the gold and silver certificates we will then have left \$1,489,399,543, every dollar of which is as good as gold in any section of our country.

Again, the balance of trade is now many millions in our favor and has been for some years, so that we are selling more than we buy, thereby adding to our gold and silver and giving to our people money with which to transact the business of the country. Notwithstanding this condition of affairs, you gentlemen on that side of the House say that our protective system, which has brought us the balance of trade and kept our money at home for our own people, has been oppressive. You not only say it has been oppressive, but you say it has built up monopolies in this country. That is because our people have had more money to do business with than they had during the Walker revenue tariff; they have prospered more, and some have made large fortunes. It is certainly true that some manufacturers have made more money than others, but I apprehend that if you will compare the prices under the Walker tariff with the present prices you will find that those who have made the most money have made the largest reduction in their prices. If they have not made money honestly, that is no argument against the protective system, but most likely an evidence of the abuse of the system, and if so we should check the abuse rather than tear down the system.

PROTECTION BENEFITS THE FARMER.

Can it be questioned that the products of the farm are more valuable to-day than in 1860, or that the laboring classes are better paid? Can it be questioned that these manufacturing industries have built up a home market, developed our railroad system, and enabled the farmer to sell his products in a near market at better prices? Can it be questioned that 90 per cent. of our agricultural products are consumed by our own people; and can it be questioned that the price for that 90 per cent. of field products has been regulated by the supply and demand in this country? Can it be questioned that the great majority of manufactured goods can be bought in the markets of the United States to-day for less money than they were bought for in 1860 and prior years? So that the protective system has not only encouraged manufacturing industries and built up the farming interests, developed our agricultural resources, furnished employment at fair wages to our laboring classes, and built up the railroads of the country, but has cheapened the price of manufactured goods and built up a national credit which is excelled by none in the world. It will be conceded that every industry in this land depends upon agriculture, and therefore the importance of protecting agriculture is in the interest of all classes, and this I say whether the cost of agricultural products be little or great.

Why is it that the Cobden Club, free-traders, are constantly advising the farmers in this country to resist our protective system? Is it because under the present system they have been enabled to sell their products at home for higher prices? Is it because the proximity of their

lands to manufacturing industries have enhanced their value? Is it because they have a better market at home for their perishable and non-exportable products—such as vegetables, berries, and fruits? Is it because the system has furnished a home market for 90 per cent. of their products and increased the value thereof? Is it because they have prospered since the system was established beyond all measure? Is it because they are happier to-day than they were under the Walker tariff from 1846 to 1861, when business was so depressed and manufacturing industries so disturbed, that in his message to Congress in 1857 President Buchanan felt called upon to specially ask the attention of Congress thereto? Is it because the farmers of to-day enjoy more luxuries than they did during the "Walker free-trade" days? No, Mr. Chairman; these are not the reasons! It is because the farming classes of this country constitute a larger percentage of our population than any other class, and are important factors at our elections.

These spokesmen for England are endeavoring to turn the greater number of our citizens against the system, knowing that the ballot is the power that wields our destiny, and that to adopt free trade or a purely revenue tariff in this country would enable the English manufacturers to so successfully compete with our own as to force down the price of labor and to eventually reduce it to the English standard. That is the case in a nutshell; and the question is, shall we by our legislation permit that reduction now for the sake of cheap English goods for a while, giving the English manufacturer in the end the control of our market, which would be followed with reduced price of labor and agricultural products, or shall we maintain our present system for a few years longer, until by improved facilities for manufacturing our industries can compete with England without curtailing the price of labor under a revenue tariff? The latter seems to me to be the wiser policy for this country to pursue, and especially in the light of results.

Is the purely revenue system a better one for us now? How can we determine? Our experience with it ought to teach us something. A burnt child fears fire. I have never yet been able to admire the so-called reformer who seeks to tear down without giving something better in its stead, or the man who would lead the people through tried difficulties under promise of something better beyond, and especially when the beyond has passed and is within the knowledge of the most of our people.

You approach any community to-day in this country where manufacturing is carried on and you will find the people prosperous and happy in the main, lands commanding better prices, labor better paid, children going to school, people better dressed, more books and papers to read for less money, and in fact their general condition superior to 1860 and prior years. The farmers have been protected for years against Canada, South America, and other foreign countries, and under the law passed the 3d day of March, 1883, the agricultural products are protected by the following duties:

Rice, cleaned, per pound.....	\$0 02½
Butter, per pound.....	04
Cheese, per pound.....	04
Wheat, per bushel.....	20
Corn, per bushel.....	10
Oats, per bushel.....	10
Rye, per bushel.....	10
Barley, per bushel.....	10
Potatoes, per bushel.....	15
Ham and bacon, per pound.....	02
Beef and pork, per pound.....	01
Wool, per pound.....	10 to 12
Hay, per ton.....	2 00

On horses, cows, bulls, oxen, steers, calves, sheep, lambs, goats, hogs, and pigs, except for breeding purposes, 20 per cent. ad valorem. Those for breeding purposes are admitted free of duty because it is in the interest of the farmer to get the best known breed in stock from all countries. So that it will be seen that these duties which are imposed upon the agricultural products of foreign countries directly benefit and protect the farmer, and this protection will become more important hereafter, as India, Russia, and Australia are to-day rapidly developing their wheat interests and they will soon be able to supply England with wheat instead of us; that will of course lessen the foreign demand for our wheat and compel us to rely still more upon the home market, and every industry which may be established in this country where labor is required creates an additional demand for the farm products. Within the near future and as other heretofore non-agricultural producing countries are developed we will be required to look well toward enlarging our field of manufacturing to supply a market for our farm products and look more to the exportation of our manufactures.

England's wealth to-day is the hard earnings of other nations to whom she has sold her manufactured products, notwithstanding she has been compelled to rely upon other nations for food for her people, and with the grip that she now has on India, with prices of labor in that country below all precedent, she has but to solve the transportation question to get food for her people at prices much below what she now pays; and the cheaper England can get food for her people the less will she pay her laboring classes, and the less she pays her laboring classes the greater profit will she make on her manufactures at even lesser rates. She is a manufacturing country and is to-day "mistress of the seas," with her ships in every known port and hunting more, her flag beckoning commerce from every nation on the globe; so that we must regard commerce, internal and foreign, in all its phases and encourage ship-building.

But you gentlemen on that side of the House say, "Give us free ships and a tariff for revenue only and we will in a few years control the commerce of the seas and benefit both our farming and laboring interests." Why, a purely revenue tariff, as I have said before, was tried in this country from 1846 to 1861, when the conditions were most favorable, and when we had over \$600,000,000 in gold from the California mines to aid us, and then the system proved a failure. What industries were developed during that period that gave evidence of prosperity and permanency? None, and the farming and the laboring classes of those times who are still living know it, and it would be useless to cite statistics. Results are facts fixed in the minds of the people, and if the Democratic party would only accept results by examining the accounts of the people then and now, they would be with this side of the House; but infidels always reject established truths and rely on theory.

Why, look at the growth of this country! Why do you shut your eyes to its development? In 1860 we had but sixteen billions of wealth and to-day we have over fifty billions. In 1850 we had a little more than twenty-one million head of sheep, and during the ten years that followed there was an increase of less than one million, whereas to-day we have more than fifty million head of sheep, as shown by the following figures, taken from official and reliable sources:

It appears from reliable statistics that during the last four census years the number of sheep and the production of wool were as follows:

Census years.	Sheep.	Wool.
	Numbers.	Pounds.
1850.....	21,723,220	52,516,959
1860.....	22,471,225	60,264,913
1870.....	28,477,951	100,102,387
1880.....	43,576,899	235,648,834
1883.....	50,500,000	320,000,000

It will be seen from the above table that the increase in the number of sheep in the decade from 1850 to 1860 was only 748,055, equivalent to 3½ per cent.; but from 1860 to 1870 it amounted to 6,006,675, or 27 per cent. This augmentation was largely due to the protective tariff of 1867, the influence of which was felt during the subsequent decade, as the increase of more than 15,000,000 (15,098,948), or 53 per cent., in the number of sheep conclusively proves. From information that is believed to be trustworthy the number of sheep in the United States in the year 1883 was 50,500,000, an increase of 6,923,101 in three years, or 5.3 per cent. annually, the same average percentage of increase as occurred in the decade from 1870 to 1880.

And now, notwithstanding the rapid increase in our sheep-growing, the price of wool to-day is higher than it was in 1860, while the price of woollen manufactures is from 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper. And if it were not for the duty on wool which protects the wool-grower woollen manufactures would be cheaper here than in England. And now let us see what the price of some of the woollen manufactures are in this country to-day as compared with 1860. I give wholesale prices of like goods actually sold in 1860:

Articles.	1860.	1884.
Pair Middlesex bed-blankets, net wholesale price.....	\$2 75	\$2 55
Pair Norway plain all-wool bed-blankets, net wholesale price.....	4 00	3 75
Made-up horse-blankets, burlap lined, wholesale price.....	2 00	1 20
Samples of Fitchburg cassimeres, all wool, 27 inches wide, wholesale price.....	1 05	92
Samples of Haile & Frost cashmerettes, 27 inches wide, average wholesale price.....	51	42

Average prices of Bessemer-steel rails at works in Pennsylvania, from 1868 to 1884.—Per ton of 2,240 pounds.

Years.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Average.
1868.....	\$165 00	\$167 50	\$174 00	\$172 00	\$165 00	\$162 50	\$150 00	\$150 00	\$150 00	\$150 00	\$148 00	\$147 50	\$158 50
1869.....	145 00	143 25	135 00	134 00	130 25	128 00	130 00	130 00	130 00	130 50	130 25	120 00	132 25
1870.....	110 00	110 00	108 50	107 00	106 00	109 25	110 00	110 00	108 75	101 50	102 50	98 00	106 75
1871.....	95 00	96 00	106 00	95 00	103 00	104 00	103 75	104 00	106 00	105 75	105 25	106 50	102 50
1872.....	104 50	104 00	104 25	111 50	110 00	113 00	114 50	115 25	114 00	113 50	118 00	120 75	112 00
1873.....	121 00	120 00	122 50	120 25	120 00	121 75	121 75	121 75	118 00	120 00	120 00	120 00	120 50
1874.....	117 50	117 50	115 00	98 66½	98 33	96 25	91 00	89 25	78 25	78 25	75 66½	75 67	94 25
1875.....	71 00	71 00	71 00	69 00	69 00	69 00	69 00	69 00	69 00	67 00	66 00	65 00	68 75
1876.....	67 00	65 00	62 00	62 00	62 00	60 00	59 00	59 00	56 00	54 00	53 00	52 00	59 25
1877.....	49 00	49 00	49 00	49 00	47 25	46 50	45 25	44 75	44 00	42 25	40 50	40 50	45 50
1878.....	41 00	41 50	41 50	42 00	43 50	43 00	42 50	42 50	42 50	42 50	42 00	41 00	42 25
1879.....	41 00	42 25	43 00	42 50	42 00	43 00	44 00	48 00	50 00	55 00	61 00	67 00	48 25
1880.....	75 00	85 00	82 00	75 00	65 00	63 75	62 50	63 75	61 25	60 00	59 00	58 00	67 50
1881.....	60 00	62 00	62 50	63 00	63 00	60 00	61 00	60 00	60 00	60 00	61 50	60 00	61 12½
1882.....	58 00	55 00	54 00	52 75	48 75	48 25	48 00	47 00	45 00	44 25	42 00	39 00	48 50
1883.....	40 00	39 50	39 00	38 50	38 00	38 00	38 00	38 00	37 50	37 00	35 00	35 50	37 75
1884.....	34 00	34 00	34 00	34 00									

Does that look like robbery? In the face of such facts your arguments fall. Without protection to our steel-rail industry, would England to-day be selling steel rails at \$34 per ton, when without protection to the industry she was getting \$165 per ton?

Now, another question in connection with this. In 1867, when there

These reductions have been made because of the increased skill in American manufactures and by competition with each other, brought about by our protective system.

There are nearly twice as many sheep in Australia to-day as there are in this country, and the importance of protecting our wool-growers can not be overestimated.

Let us take another industry in this country. Need I say to anybody in this House or in the country that the price of cotton goods in 1860, after fourteen years of a practical free-trade tariff, were from 20 to 40 per cent. higher than they are to-day? You who purchase bleached shirtings, brown sheetings, drilling, prints such as are used by the great mass of people, know full well that in 1860 they were higher by from 20 to 40 per cent. than they are to-day; and you know that to-day in the markets of this country you can buy prints at from 4 to 5 cents per yard that before the war you were compelled to pay from 10 to 15 cents per yard for. Here are some of the prices of the best cotton goods, furnished me from reliable sources, comparing the prices of 1860 with now. I give wholesale prices:

Articles.	1860.	1884.
	Cents.	Cents.
Bleached shirtings.....per yard...	15	9 to 10½
Brown sheetings.....per yard...	8½	6½ to 7½
Drilling.....per yard...	9	7 to 7½
Prints, best make.....per yard...	9	5½ to 6
Ginghams.....per yard...	10½	8

Those are articles purchased by the great mass of our people. The cost of silks has declined still more as the silk industries have developed in this country. So has queensware and crockery, but those who purchased then and who purchase now know the difference without my giving comparative prices.

Now, let us take another great industry, one of the greatest industries in this country, one which affects the building of railroads, the improvement of estates; one which affects the blacksmith and all classes of labor. That is the iron interest, and what do we find there? Why, we find that as late as 1868 steel rails were selling in this country at an average price of \$158 per ton; whereas in the month of April, 1884, steel rails of a better quality could be purchased in this market at \$34 per ton.

Is not this an item when we consider that the railroad interests of this country transport the farming and the manufacturing products to the market? And it is a fact, which is sustained by the reports from the Agricultural Department, that the cost of transportation over the railroads in this country have diminished as the cost of railroad material has diminished. What would be the cost of transporting the agricultural products from the West to the East to-day if the railroad companies were compelled to pay \$165 a ton for their rails? Can you conceive the importance and the magnitude of a question like that, which reaches at once to the agricultural and business interests of the country, for every dollar that the farmer has to pay for the transportation of his grain diminishes the value of the product to him?

Now, in order that you may see for yourselves, and that the country may know how the price of steel rails has diminished in this country from 1868 down to April, 1884, I furnish you a table which is compiled by James M. Swank, secretary of the Iron and Steel Association, &c.:

was a duty of 45 per cent. ad valorem imposed on steel rails, there was but 2,277 gross tons manufactured. In 1868 there was but 6,451 tons manufactured. In 1869 there was but 8,616 gross tons manufactured, and so on down to 1883, when we manufactured in this country 1,148,709 gross tons, showing that the increased production of steel rails in

this country has been followed by an increased demand for steel rails, while at the same time the price has gone down from \$165 per ton in 1868 to \$34 per ton in April, 1884.

Here is a table showing the production of steel rails from 1867 to 1883, also furnished me by Mr. Swank:

In the following table we give the statistics of the annual production of Bessemer-steel rails in the United States since the commencement of their manufacture, together with the average annual price at which they have been sold and the rates of duty imposed on foreign rails. The yearly price has been obtained by averaging the monthly prices.

Table showing annual production, price, &c., of Bessemer-steel rails.

Years.	Product in gross tons.	Price in currency.	Duty.
1867.....	2,277	\$166 00	45 per cent. ad valorem.
1868.....	6,451	158 50	
1869.....	8,616	132 15	
1870.....	30,357	106 75	
1871.....	34,152	102 50	
1872.....	83,991	112 00	\$28 per ton to August 1, 1872; \$25.20 to March 3, 1875; \$28 from that date to July 1, 1883; \$17 from July 1, 1883.
1873.....	115,192	120 50	
1874.....	129,414	94 25	
1875.....	259,699	68 75	
1876.....	368,269	59 25	
1877.....	385,865	45 50	
1878.....	491,427	42 25	
1879.....	606,397	48 33	
1880.....	852,196	67 50	
1881.....	1,187,770	61 13	
1882.....	1,284,067	48 50	
1883.....	1,148,709	37 75	

The price of cutlery, hardware, and tools have also declined; likewise farming implements. Reapers, mowers, drills, harness, and trace-chains and everything that is used by the farmer to-day in cultivating the soil is cheaper than it was in 1860. To assert that under a purely revenue tariff the manufacturing industries of the country will develop as well as under a protective tariff is to make an assertion without any facts upon which to base it, and such an assertion is in the face of the experience of the people of this country.

INCIDENTAL PROTECTION A SHAM.

But you Democrats say that a tariff for revenue may be so adjusted as to afford incidental protection; that is, that our tariff duties should only be such as to secure the revenue required for the necessities of the Government, and that such duties should be so adjusted as to afford, by chance or accident, protection to some of the industries of the country; and this has been the declaration in the platforms of the Democratic party in some of the States, and was in Ohio at the last election. You might impose a heavy duty on sugar for the purpose of revenue and thereby protect an incident to the sugar consumption in this country; but the imposition of a duty for the purpose of revenue only can not be adjusted so as afford equal protection to all industries. And if any protection did result from the imposition of such a duty to any industry it would necessarily be to the detriment of some other industry equally entitled to protection. In other words, to give equal protection to all our industries, that object should be kept in view as well as revenue when duties are imposed.

If you concede that you may lay a tariff for revenue with incidental protection, then you concede the constitutional question; for if the Constitution warrants the levying of duties for revenue purposes in such a way as to afford incidental protection, then the Constitution will permit Congress to do by direction what you seek to do by indirection.

But will it do? Is it safe that the capital of this country and its commerce shall depend upon chance, upon something that may or may not happen? No; capital is timid; and, as I have said before, if there is any one thing in this country which is more desirable than another, it is to have fixedness of purpose in the minds of the people on economic questions; and the sooner this question is settled by the people the sooner will capital seek permanent investment and the sooner will its growth and development be made to harmonize with the agricultural and all other interests in the land.

If the tariff question is to be treated as a sore and scabbed at every session of Congress, then will capital be driven from our manufacturing industries and agricultural products forced to seek a foreign market, not 10 per cent. as now, but with the increased product of agriculture which would necessarily follow the destruction of our manufacturing industries we would have a surplus of 50 per cent. or more of agricultural products to sell in the markets of Europe in competition with India and Russia. And the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD] say that it is of vital importance to the farmers of this country to buy their manufactured products abroad, because Europe will always be the market for our field products, and that we should exchange the one for the other. While in the next flight the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD] says that already India can supply England with 40,000,000 bushels of wheat annually, and that she will rapidly increase her production to meet the demand of England for cheap bread for her people.

If our farmers are compelled to seek a foreign market for their prod-

ucts and compete with India and Russia what will their products bring? The argument of the gentleman is a strong one in favor of a home market, just such a market as this side of the House is contending for. The gentleman's reasoning is right, but his conclusions are wrong; eloquence is usually at the expense of sound logic.

AMERICAN MONOPOLY PREFERABLE TO AN ENGLISH MONOPOLY.

But it is claimed on that side of the House that our protective system has built up monopolies; that it is in the interest of the few against the many; but it seems not to have occurred to them that the system they advocate would build up a still more powerful monopoly in Europe, one from which we could extract no benefit and which would be beyond our control. As between the two, I would prefer to have the monopoly at home where we can grapple with it by legislation, rather than aid the building up of one in Europe where it would be beyond our control, so that I am not frightened by such arguments. That has been the argument of the Democratic party ever since the Republican party came into power. Cotton-growing is a monopoly because it can only be raised in the South; slavery was a monopoly because none but the rich could own slaves; sugar growing has been a monopoly because Louisiana alone produced it; mining is a monopoly because it is confined to few localities and requires large capital to operate it; the Standard Oil Company is a huge monopoly and supplies the world with oil, in addition to electing a Democrat now and then to the United States Senate, and I am sure you will not claim that our protective tariff did that.

Before the war you paid from \$1.20 to \$1.50 for a calico dress of ten yards, now you can buy the same goods for 50 and 60 cents and even less than that. Before the war you paid 200 per cent. more for salt than you pay to-day. Before the war you paid more for boots and shoes than you pay to-day, and yet this system which has reduced the cost of manufactured goods you say has built up monopolies. Well, the people like that kind of a monopoly, which, while it is in process of erection, furnishes them cheaper goods and in return consumes the field products. Agricultural products are 6 per cent. higher to-day than before the war, while the cost of manufactured goods is at least 30 per cent. lower. Now let us see what the farmer's wheat, corn, &c., will buy to-day under protection as compared with free-trade days before the war.

Here is a table which was prepared by my friend, Mr. CHACE, of Rhode Island, published with his remarks on the 24th ultimo, the value of the articles named being based upon the prices from 1846 to 1850 as compared with the prices from 1876 to 1880:

	Salt.	Coal.	Bleached sheeting.	Prints.	Pig-iron.	Bar-iron.	Railroad iron.
One bushel of wheat would buy—							
Under free trade.....	.91	422	8.51	12.21	107.3	35.8	47.23
Under protection.....	1.80	719	11.04	16.27	134.00	57.35	72.6
One bushel of corn would buy—							
Under free trade.....	.47	256.5	4.46	6.4	56.24	18.78	24.76
Under protection.....	.73	328.5	4.49	6.65	54.49	23.32	29.55
One bushel of oats would buy—							
Under free trade.....	.31	168.5	2.93	4.20	36.94	12.33	16.26
Under protection.....	.536	240.4	3.27	4.89	39.87	17.07	21.63
Ten pounds of butter would buy—							
Under free trade.....	1.112	597.5	10.39	14.92	131	43.74	57.69
Under protection.....	3.417	1532	20.95	31.04	254	108.82	137.87
Ten pounds of cheese would buy—							
Under free trade.....	.474	250.9	4.36	6.28	55.02	18.37	24.23
Under protection.....	1.376	619.3	8.43	12.52	102.36	43.82	50.53
One pound of wool would buy—							
Under free trade.....	.264	141.7	2.46	3.54	31.06	10.37	13.68
Under protection.....	.661	296.5	4.05	6.00	49.16	21.64	21.08
Ten pounds of Kentucky tobacco would buy—							
Under free trade.....	.431	231.8	4.03	5.79	50.82	16.97	22.34
Under protection.....	1.117	526.9	7.19	10.66	88.33	37.38	47.87

Corn has been depressed in price on account of the tremendous increase of production. While the price of corn is comparatively lower than that of any agricultural product, still the farmer can produce it relatively cheaper, as all know who know anything about it, and he can land it cheaper at tide-water market.

That shows the purchasing power of the agricultural products, and yet you gentlemen on that side of the House say our protective system has been oppressive to the farmer. In addition to what I have shown you about the purchasing power of wheat, corn, oats, &c., the farmers and gardeners to-day find ready market for their non-exportable articles, such as fruits, berries, and vegetables, amounting in the aggregate to many millions of money.

TARIFF BENEFITS THE LABORER.

And now, what has been the effect of the protective system upon the laboring classes in this country? There are now employed in the various manufacturing and mining industries about 4,000,000 of people,

with their families, amounting to at least 12,000,000 more dependent upon them, or nearly one-third of our entire population depending upon the employment of the 4,000,000 of laboring men among us.

What I have said about the reduced cost of manufactured goods has been equally beneficial to the laboring classes; and while they have been compelled to pay a little more for provisions now than they did before the war, the enhanced price of their labor, together with the reduced cost of manufactures, is over 60 per cent. in their favor. Need I say that labor is 25 per cent. higher in this country to-day than it was before the war, and at least 50 per cent. higher than it is in England, the highest labor-paying country in the world, except the United States? So that when you add to this the reduced cost of manufactures and deduct the increased cost of provisions, you will see the laboring classes of this country are in much better condition than they were before the war, to say nothing of their superior condition over English labor. Do you want to reduce the price of labor to the European standard? If so, adopt free-trade, and in that event let us see what our laboring classes would receive; and first let us take the iron interests:

Edward Young, former Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, having gone abroad under the auspices of the Government to gather statistics of this character, made the following report:

Wages in rolling-mills.

Occupations.	Middlebrough, Eng-land.	Pennsylvania.
Puddlers.....	\$10 50	\$21 15
Top and bottom rollers.....	16 05	27 50
Rail-mill rollers.....	21 05	40 00
Merchant-mill rollers.....	12 10	36 83
Machinists.....	8 59	15 56
Engineers.....	8 47	15 24
Laborers.....	4 65	8 58
Iron molders.....	6 77	11 00
Pattern-makers.....	7 01	14 69

The report of the Tariff Commission gives the following comparative table of wages in the iron trade in England and in Pittsburgh, Pa.:

Occupation.	England.	Pittsburgh.
Puddling, per ton.....	\$1 94	\$5 50
Shingling, per ton.....	29	77
Rolling in puddling mills, per ton.....	29	68
Rolling and heating, per ton.....	1 80	4 80
Common labor.....	\$0 56 to 72	\$1 30 to 1 50

And here are prices paid for labor about two years ago, and which is substantially the same as now.

Schedule of wages paid per week in the United States and in Scotland, furnished by Messrs. J. and P. Coats, thread manufacturers.

Occupations.	In United States.	In Scot-land.	Differences in favor of the United States.
Cop spoolers.....	\$6 59	\$3 40	\$3.19, or 94 per cent.
Twister-tenders.....	5 69	2 25	\$3.44, or 123 per cent.
Doffers.....	4 37	1 94	\$2.43, or 125 per cent.
Cleaners.....	2 63	1 52	\$1.11, or 73 per cent.
Reelers.....	7 88	3 52	\$4.36, or 124 per cent.
Winders.....	7 25	2 80	\$4.45, or 159 per cent.
Wrappers and boxers.....	7 96	3 04	\$4.92, or 162 per cent.
Dyers.....	9 84	6 32	\$3.52, or 56 per cent.
Bleachers—men.....	11 81	5 10	\$6.71, or 132 per cent.
Bleachers—women.....	5 25	2 43	\$2.82, or 116 per cent.
Mechanics.....	13 13	7 94	\$5.19, or 65 per cent.
Firemen.....	10 66	5 83	\$4.83, or 83 per cent.

The same condition of things exists in our woolen-mills and paper-mills, while the cost of living in this country is less than it is in any country in Europe. I will now give you the cost of living in the various countries of Europe and in the United States:

Comparative retail prices of the necessities of life in Europe and the United States in 1878.

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

	Belgium.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Switzer-land.	Great Britain.	United States.	
							New York.	Chicago.
Beef:								
Roast, per pound.....	\$0 20	\$0 22	\$0 22	\$0 20	\$0 30	\$0 22	\$0 12 to \$0 16	\$0 08 to \$0 12½
Corned, per pound.....	16	16	13	12	18	\$0 18 to 20	08 to 12	04 to 07
Beans, per quart.....			10	13		09	07 to 10	05 to 09
Bread, per pound.....	\$0 04 to 05	03	\$0 03 to 07	06	04	03½ to 04½	04 to 04½	04 to 04½
Butter, per pound.....	20 to 50	25	22	28	36	29 to 38	25 to 32	16 to 40
Coal, per ton.....			4 25	11 00		2 65 to 4 10	3 00 to 5 25	3 00 to 6 75
Codfish, per pound.....				09		06 to 08	06 to 07	05 to 09
Coffee, per pound.....		30	35	32	30	28 to 50	20 to 30	16 to 40
Eggs, per dozen.....	30 to 45	18	20	18	20	14 to 30	25 to 30	10 to 24
Flour, per pound.....	04	05½	05½	10	07	03½ to 04½	03 to 04	02½ to 04½
Lard, per pound.....	20	21	22	22		12 to 18	10 to 12	06 to 10
Milk, per quart.....		04	07	05	05	05 to 09	08 to 10	03 to 06
Mutton, fore-quarter, per pound.....	16	16	14½	15	18	16 to 17	09 to 10	05 to 12½
Oatmeal, per pound.....			08			03½ to 04½	04 to 05	04 to 05
Pork:								
Fresh, per pound.....	16	14	17	13	18	10 to 16	08 to 10	04 to 05
Salted, per pound.....	16	14	17	18	20	10 to 16	08 to 10	06 to 12
Bacon, per pound.....	18	20	20	22		12 to 16	08 to 10	07 to 12
Sausage, per pound.....	20	16	19	20		18	08 to 10	06 to 10
Potatoes, per bushel.....	56	50	50	1 15	60	68 to 2 00	1 40 to 1 60	60 to 80
Rice, per pound.....			09	06		03½ to 08	08 to 10	05 to 10
Soap, per pound.....			10	04		05½ to 09	06 to 07	03 to 08
Sugar, per pound.....	15 to 20		11	08½		05½ to 10	08 to 10	07 to 10
Tea, per pound.....			75		50	43 to 88	50 to 60	25 to 1 00

Many articles there named are cheaper in this country to-day than they were in 1878, as you who purchase them know.

Our consul stationed at Cologne, Germany, reports: Masons, per day, 70 cents; carpenters, per day, 50 to 72 cents; engine-fitters, per day, 71 to 77 cents; blacksmiths, per day, 67 to 71 cents. In this country the same mechanics get from \$2.25 to \$2.75 per day for the same kind of labor.

So that in every phase of the question the people of the United States are better off under our protective system than they were under the Walker revenue tariff, and infinitely better off than the people in any country in Europe. Then why disturb the tariff law enacted on the 3d of March, 1883. That law reduced the duties on imports many millions of dollars, and sufficient time has not yet elapsed since that law went into force for the country to be advised of its defects, and besides many of our industries are now suffering. But you propose to reduce the duties on every article alike 20 per cent. unless that rate of reduction goes below the duties imposed by the Morrill tariff of 1861, in which event the rates imposed by the act of 1861 are to govern, provided the rate does not exceed 50 per cent. The gentleman from Ohio

[Mr. McKINLEY] pointed out the difficulties in adjusting the duties under the two acts because of the different classifications and the specific and ad valorem rates, differing in the two acts, if this bill should become a law.

My objection to the bill is that it is in the direction of free trade, as announced by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. MILLS] and by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HURD], both being free-traders and members of the Committee on Ways and Means, while the chairman of that committee [Mr. MORRISON] speaks of the bill as only partial relief.

The revenue can be materially reduced by reducing the duty on sugar one-half what it is now, and by placing on the free-list such articles of raw material as are not produced in this country and which enter into manufactures.

But it has been said that, abstractly considered, free trade is right. What is meant by that? Why, if the conditions are the same, if the proximity to raw material is the same, if the price of labor is the same, if the cost of living is the same, and all countries adopt it, then I grant you free trade is right; but in a nation of free people where the highest good to the greatest number is the desideratum, I can not consent to the

doctrine of free trade. I believe that this country should legislate for itself with reference to its own internal affairs, and that where it can benefit its people by its legislation, independent of considerations abroad, we ought to do it.

PEOPLE OPPOSED TO FREE TRADE.

Who are the men that are clamoring for free trade? Is it the manufacturers, who employ more than 4,000,000 men, skilled and unskilled, representing with their families, as I have said, nearly one-third of our entire population? Is it the wool-growers of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and the great West and Northwest? Is it the 7,000,000 men engaged in agriculture? Is it the 4,000,000 laboring men who depend upon the manufacturing industries for their support? None of these were before the Committee of Ways and Means asking this reduction; but many were there opposing any reduction. The importers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia are anxious for this reduction; the theorists are anxious for it; but none are so anxious for it as England, and to my mind that is why the people of the United States who are engaged in manufacturing and agricultural pursuits should not want it. It is known by all the world that England wants the policy of free trade adopted in the United States. And why? Because it would result to her benefit; and if that be true it would necessarily be to the detriment of the people of this country, and for one I am opposed to building up England at the expense of this country.

Let the issue come. The Republican party is in favor of protection to our home industries. You are not, and we will meet you before the people on that issue and abide the decision at the ballot-box next November.

Mr. HATCH, of Michigan, addressed the House. [See Appendix.]

Mr. MORRISON. I move that the committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and Mr. TALBOTT having taken the chair as Speaker *pro tempore*, Mr. BAGLEY reported that the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, having had under consideration the tariff bill, had come to no conclusion thereon.

And then, on motion of Mr. MORRISON (at 8 o'clock and 55 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned.

PETITIONS, ETC.

The following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk, under the rule, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BUCHANAN: Petition of citizens of Grantville, Ga., praying for the passage of the Senate educational bill—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. CALDWELL: Papers relating to the claim of James M. Hinton—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. COLLINS: Petition of James McDuffie & Stratton and all the other firms in Boston, Mass., dealing in earthenware, china, and glass, for a reduction of customs duties—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DIBBLE: Memorial of the mayor and aldermen and of leading citizens of the city of Charleston; also of leading citizens of Lexington County, South Carolina, in favor of national aid to education, &c.—to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. GEORGE: Petition from citizens of the State of Oregon, asking for the passage of the Senate educational bill, 398—to the same committee.

By Mr. HAMMOND: Petition of H. A. Brad Weldon and others, citizens of Newton County, Georgia, in favor of aid to education—to the same committee.

By Mr. HUTCHINS: Petition of Merwin N. Jones and others, for the passage of a bankrupt law—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MCKINLEY: Petition of wool-growers of Ashland County, Ohio; also another petition of citizens of the same place, for the restoration of the wool tariff of 1867—severally to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MAYBURY: Petition of James E. Grant, William H. Jahn, and many other citizens, of Detroit, Mich., relative to the Chinese restriction act—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MONEY: Memorial of the faculty and students of the University of Mississippi—to the Committee on Education.

Also, the petition of citizens of Mississippi, asking for national aid to education—to the same committee.

By Mr. PRYOR: Papers relating to the claim of Milton Williams—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. RANNEY: Petition of Samuel Y. Chase and others, for increase of the pay of jurors in United States courts—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SINGLETON: Petition of M. L. McRae and others, and of S. T. Taylor and others, in favor of the passage of the Senate educational bill—severally to the Committee on Education.

By Mr. STORM: Memorial of Jacob W. Parker praying to be allowed to purchase certain lots on Hot Springs reservation—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, May 2, 1884.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. E. D. HUNTLEY, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore* presented a telegraphic petition of F. N. Wicker, late collector of customs at Key West, Fla., praying for a thorough investigation of his alleged connection with Cuban filibusters; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. WILSON presented the petition of William M. Brooks, president of Tabor College, and 66 other citizens of Tabor, Iowa, praying for the passage of the bill now pending before the Senate providing for the return of so many of the Nez Percé Indians to their reservation in Idaho as in the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior may be safely returned; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. ALLISON presented a petition of 39 ex-Union soldiers, citizens of Iowa, and a petition of Knox Center Post, No. 189, Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, praying for the passage of an act granting one hundred and sixty acres of land to all honorably discharged soldiers of the United States; which were referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. ALLISON. I also present a petition of like character from members of Post No. 40, Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, expressly mentioning the Sioux reservation about to be opened, and praying that it may be devoted to soldiers. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. SEWELL presented a petition of General Howell Post, No. 31, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of New Jersey, of Woodbury, N. J., praying for the passage of certain legislation now pending in Congress in regard to pensions; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CONGER presented a petition of Pap Thomas Post, No. 121, Grand Army of the Republic, of Chesaning, Mich., and a petition of Wallace Browns Post, No. 190, Grand Army of the Republic, of Birch Run, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation embracing the recommendations of the general pensions committee of the Grand Army of the Republic; which were referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. FARLEY presented a memorial of the Grape-Growers' Association of California, remonstrating against any reduction of tariff on wines and brandies, and favoring the restoration of the tariff on raisins; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. McPHERSON presented the petition of Augusta Brown, widow of Ditmore Brown, late private Company A, Thirty-eighth New Jersey Volunteers, praying for a pension; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. BLAIR presented the petition of John W. Babbitt, John W. Sturtevant, and Joseph A. Leach, a committee representing John Sedgwick Post, No. 4, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of New Hampshire, Keene, N. H., praying for certain legislation embodying the recommendations of the pensions committee of the Grand Army of the Republic; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MORGAN presented a letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, addressed to him, concerning the destruction of the records of the office of the United States surveyor-general and the United States land office at Olympia, Wash., on the 12th of September, 1883; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. GARLAND, from the Committee on Territories, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4713) requiring the governors of certain Territories to be residents of said Territories at least two years preceding appointment, submitted an adverse report thereon, and moved its indefinite postponement.

Mr. DOLPH. I ask that the bill be placed on the Calendar.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be placed on the Calendar with the adverse report of the committee.

Mr. GEORGE, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, reported an amendment intended to be proposed to the bill (H. R. 5261) making an appropriation for the Agricultural Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, and for other purposes, the amendment proposing an appropriation for the encouragement and development of the raising of raw silk, and moved its reference to the Committee on Appropriations; which was agreed to.

Mr. CULLOM, from the Committee on Territories, to whom was referred a memorial and joint resolution of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming favoring additional compensation for the members thereof, reported adversely thereon, and asked to be discharged from its further consideration; which was agreed to.

He also, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1184) for the relief of William P. Reid, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. BAYARD. I am instructed by the Committee on Private Land