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BY THE

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THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1888.

HISTORY OF THE TARIFF.

LET us reason together a little about this thing called the Tariff. Let us drop mere assertions and epithets, and consider a few indisputable facts.

It is too generally supposed that the Tariff—the "Protective" Tariff—that imposes a tax upon nearly all the necessities of life, is something ancient and venerable, and that any meddling with it, any repeal of it, would be an innovation. This is a mistake. When we speak of the "war tariff" and of "war taxation," we are literally correct.

The reason this system of taxation is spoken of in this way is that it is connected with the extraordinary financial measures necessitated by the Southern Rebellion which was in progress in this country twenty-five years ago. Before that there was practically no protective tariff. This will be a strange statement to many readers, but we shall prove that it is true. The "protective" features of the tariff is due to the war, and nothing else. Originally, the tariff was purely a war measure, designed to raise an immense and urgently necessary revenue for extraordinary purposes.

I propose in this and some subsequent articles to trace closely and carefully the history of the present tariff, and narrate its origin and growth into the "Octopus" of to-day. Any such a "protective tariff" was never thought of before the rebellion, and would never have been thought of till this day except for that event.

Such a history will show that the exigencies of the civil war were the extraordinary event which caused the duties on imports to be increased; that these duties, once thus imposed, were retained after the occasion for them had ceased, for private and selfish purposes, and not for the benefit of the country. A history of the existing tariff is simply a history of the way in which the war taxes were imposed, retained, even increased, and systematized; and of the so far unsuccessful attempts at reduction, reform, and a return to the former and proper system of taxation—that is, of taxing this people no more than necessary.

The present tariff is altogether of modern growth. As we shall show, it is wholly a war measure, maintained and fastened on a patient people for purely selfish and mercenary motives. Washington was not a protectionist, because there was no "protection" in the sense and to the extent that term is now used, in those days. There was no "protection" in this country till the war. This will be news to a great many readers, but it is the truth. If we were to advocate a return to any tariff whatever that was in existence before 1861 we would be classed as radical and pestilential "free traders."

Before the war we had in this country a system of tariff duties which, though not arranged completely on a "free trade" system, were very moderate indeed in comparison with the present system, and which would be considered rank free tradeism now. The duties imposed on imports, for fifteen years, before the outbreak of the civil war were those imposed by two acts—those in 1846 and 1857. The old Democratic party was a "free trade" party. In the old times it was not afraid nor ashamed to be known as such, either. It was openly and distinctively a free trade party—or at least its ideas and legislation would be denominated free-trade ideas and free-trade legislation now. The act of 1846 was passed by the Democratic party with the openly-avowed and the publicly-avowed intention of putting into operation, as far as possible, the principles of free trade. This intention was not entirely and infinitely carried out. Duties were imposed upon a number of articles; but those duties, in comparison with those imposed since the war, were few and small. Tea and coffee, which in former times had been

taxed, were under the act of 1846 admitted free of duty. Iron, and articles manufactured of iron, wool and woolen and cotton goods—and in fact most of the articles over which the tariff contention has been and is being maintained—were taxed about thirty per cent., perhaps half the present tax. Steel, copper, lead, and some other articles, were admitted with even a lower duty than thirty per cent., because up to that time there was not sufficient wealth and "influence" centered in those products to shape legislation otherwise. Thirty per cent. was then considered steep "protection." Now it is called treasonous and destructive free trade. What was thought even extreme protection forty years ago, is denounced as free trade now. Why this change of ideas? It was due to the war, and to legislation growing out of the war, as we shall show. The average of thirty per cent. up to 1860, in any civilized country would have been considered protective in the highest possible degree; yet a proposal now to return to the tariff of 1846 would be considered by those who favor "protection" as a destructive free trade measure, calculated to destroy the industries of the country. Things went along for eleven years without any great friction or trouble, but in 1857 Congress thought there was no reason or excuse for longer maintaining even a thirty per cent. duty, and accordingly reduced it, on the whole, to about twenty-four per cent. A host of raw materials were admitted free. The level of duties on the whole line of manufactured articles was brought down to the lowest point ever reached in the history of the country since 1815. Neither was there any great outcry or opposition against it. It seemed to be conceded that Congress was simply doing its duty in reducing the tax on the necessities of life to the lowest possible limit. From 1857 to the war-period, the tariff, while "protective" in a slight degree, as any tariff must be, would now be thought absolute free trade. The country never prospered more than it did then. The country was satisfied with the reduction of fifty per cent. The people demanded the lowest tax possible. The "infant industry" was practically laid aside. Agitation on the "tariff question" ceased almost entirely; and under this wise provision of low taxation—free trade, if you please—the country bounded forward on the path of progress as it has never done since. Manufactures flourished; and there was little complaint then, if history may be depended upon, from manufacturers, that they were not sufficiently "protected." In fact, the Democratic "free trade" tariff of 1857 had the approbation of the leading manufacturers, as well as of producers. They had not yet learned the art of public plundering. They had not yet been taught, by war legislation, that it is easy for a few to grow rich at the expense of the producer. In short, as we have said, there is no thought or idea of a "protective tariff," as that phrase is now construed, till the war. The tariff idea or rather the tariff legislation, as existing at present, is purely and wholly a product of the war. The war is over, but our war legislation still stains and mars, like great streaks of clotted blood, our statute books.

That this is true, that the fact has not been misstated or overstated, I shall show in subsequent articles on this question.

J. P. W.

GEORGE FRANCIS Train announces that the devil is dead. George will try and get things from getting too good, however.—San Francisco Alta.

The devil may be dead, but Geo. Francis and the "trusts" are still alive, and that is just as bad.

PRESIDENT Cleveland has failed, it is said, to get a \$50,000 risk on his life.—Portland Telegram. This is about the first thing that the President has failed in accomplishing.

ONE of our dispatches this morning says that "travel is at a stand-still." That is about the most curious phenomenon of this curious world that we ever heard of.

CHARLES DICKENS, son of the famous novelist, will be in Portland on the 21st inst. He is on a tour of the country, and may lecture in the Webfoot metropolis.

TUE Democratic primaries are to be held Saturday. Let us vote for good, sensible, business men. No cranks or crooks need apply.

E. G. HUSH will soon commence publication, at Baker City, of the Oregon Blade, which will be Republican in politics.

Notary and Corporation Seals, In Pendleton, FOR ONLY FIVE DOLLARS EACH.

The usual price for seals made by other parties, in Portland or the East, is from \$6.00 to \$7.00, with express charges added. If you need a seal, send your order to us, and save from \$2.00 to \$3.00 thereby.

Smith WALKING Gang Look at them, try one, and you will have no other. Every Plow Warranted to do Good Work or no Sale.

FOR SALE BY LATIMER & FIFIeld, PENDLETON, OREGON.

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NEW TO-DAY.

Eastern Oregon Agricultural Ass'n

PROPERTY!

Two Hundred and Forty Town Lots!

Choice Building Sites!

Rich Garden Soil!

Fine Springs of Pure Water!

Valuable Rock Quarries!

Commencing on

APRIL 4th, 1888,

And continuing from day to day until all lots are disposed of,

THE

Eastern Oregon Agricultural Association

Will Sell at

PUBLIC AUCTION!

At the Court House,

Two Hundred and Forty Choice Lots!

In the town of Pendleton, Oregon. Also

Buildings, Stables, Fences and other Improvements.

TERMS: One-half cash on day of sale, and one-half payable in one year, secured by note bearing interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum.

For Description of Lots and Other Particulars, See Posters.

Surprise Sale at Cost!

FOR THIRTY DAY'S ONLY!

\$8,000 Worth of Boots and Shoes;

\$2,000 worth of Men's and Boys' Furnishing Goods;

\$8,000 worth of Saddlery Goods;

\$500 worth of Oregon City Blankets.

A large lot of

TRUNKS AND VALISES.

COME EARLY AND GET BARGAINS, at

James Wheelan's,

Court Street, Pendleton.

Orders by mail solicited.

AGENTS—

W. J. VAN SCHUYVER & CO., WINE AND SPIRIT MERCHANTS,

63 FRONT STREET, - - - PORTLAND, OREGON.

CYRUS NOBLE BOURBON AND RYE WHISKIES: JOS. SCHLITZ BREWING CO. (Milwaukee, Wis.) EXPORT PILSNER BOTTLED BEER. ARCA- DIAN SPRING MINERAL WATER. (Waukesha, Wis.) VEURE CLIQUOT PONSARDIN CHAMPAGNE. (Yellow Label.)

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