

The Yamhill County Reporter.

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NO. 17.

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COUNTY TREASURER'S NOTICE.

THERE is money on hand to pay all warrants endorsed upon to Jan. 1st, 1894. Interest will cease after this date.

J. C. PENNINGTON, County Treasurer.
April 12, 1894.

SENATOR LODGE'S SPEECH.

Why Protection is Needed for the Prosperity of the United States.

"Two questions are involved in this bill. One is the effect upon our business prosperity, the wages of our workingmen, and the welfare of our people, of a given set of tariff schedules and duties on imports. The other is a much wider and deeper question, and involves nothing less than a conflict between two opposing theories of government, upon the outcome of which is staked the social and political fabric which embodies our modern civilization. The first question is domestic and of the gravest and most immediate importance. But it neither belittles nor undercuts it to say that it falls far short of the second in its scope and in its influence upon the fortunes of civilization."

"In what I shall say I propose to discuss the second and larger question first, for on that I think the cause in which I believe most surely rests. At the outset, in treating of protection and free trade, it is well to clear our minds of cant. A tariff policy in its largest sense, as a part of a general theory and system of government, and its farthest results may affect a nation socially, economically, and politically; it may so modify the distribution of wealth as to give it a wider and better scope, and may in this way influence the whole arrangement and growth of society. On the other hand, a tariff policy in its usual and narrow sense, and especially from the standpoint of the free trader, is purely an economic matter, a question of the pocket, of dollars and cents, and of the narrowness of the margin of doing business. In this latter aspect there is nothing sacred or moral about a tariff system."

"The free trader, in the busy, eager days of the nineteenth century, pulls out his little memorandum and says: 'You cannot become rich by taxing yourself any more than you can lift yourself by your boot straps, and so on, and so on. It is very interesting to know that the complex affairs of humanity can be disposed of by a collection of epigrammatic half truths and watch pocket memoranda, and I firmly believe that they can regulate the mechanism of modern society with a latekey, because that simple instrument suffices to open their own front doors. They are interesting also in another way, for to use the expressive language of the day, 'they know it all.' The curious thing about it is that they really do know it all, if by 'it' you mean free trade. It is possible for anyone to know everything about free trade, because its doctrines reached maturity fifty years ago and have stood still ever since, untaught by history and unchanged by facts."

"To the average free trader nothing has happened since. His mind is as tightly shut to new ideas and new facts as that of the average Englishman on the currency question, or as a rock barnacle at low tide. He still believes that his doctrine is as scientifically true as the law of gravitation, but that it is absolutely new, although it is wrinkled with age and bent by the failures of fifty years."

"FREE TRADE IN ENGLAND."
"England took up free trade, not because she was suddenly enlightened by its scientific truth and believed that it ought, therefore, to prevail, even if the heavens fell. She adopted it as nations generally adopt an economic policy, because she was satisfied after much discussion, that it would pay. It is important to us to know under what conditions they adopted it, whether our conditions are like hers, whether in the long run free trade has proved a benefit to England as to make it obvious that it must be beneficial to every other nation."

"First, as to the conditions. England is a small country with a limited agricultural area and no great variety of natural resources. The United States is very large with an enormous agricultural area and an almost unequalled variety of natural resources. The population of England fifty years ago was dense. It is still more so today. The population of the United States at large, tried by European standards, is sparse. This we see at the outset, that the natural conditions and those of population also in England and the United States are wholly different."

"At the time of the free trade movement, England had been living on her own resources, and her merchant marine under a system of high protection, which had endured for centuries. All the industries practically which she could hope for were firmly established, and the skilled labor necessary to carry them on had been developed. We on the other hand had protection of a varying kind and with some long intervals of low tariff for less than a century. Many of our industries are not yet firmly established, nor the necessary labor for them fully developed, and many others to the flourishing existence of which there are no natural obstacles do not exist at all. England invented the steam engine, and in 1840 had carried the application of steam power to industrial production far beyond the point reached at that time by any other nation. This led in the application of steam power gave her an enormous advantage in cheapness of production, and put her far beyond the reach of competition. We today have no such advantage, for the application of steam power to industrial production is at the equal command of all the great civilized nations."

of free trade began in the attack on the corn laws, and the repeal of the corn laws was regarded as the leading feature of the free trade movement. In reality that repeal was demanded and would be demanded today as part of the policy of protectionist theory."

"PROTECTIONIST THEORY."
"The protectionist theory is to discriminate by duties in favor of every article which can be grown or manufactured in the protected country in sufficient quantities for the use of the people, and everything which cannot be grown or manufactured in sufficient quantities, according to the protectionist, should be placed upon the free list. Corn could not be raised in England in sufficient quantities to feed her people. There was no ground for giving a bounty, as has been done so largely by European nations, to stimulate the production of sugar, but it was a physical impossibility to raise corn and wheat beyond certain well defined limits. A certain proportion of food products had to be imported, there was no possibility of lowering the prices by the risk of revolution, and the duties imposed for this reason became a direct tax, which no one could escape."

"Therefore, according to the protectionist theory, better understood today than it was then, the English corn laws ought to have been swept away long before it was actually done. There is no defense for their existence in protection. If it is possible to defend a tax upon food products, which cannot be raised in the country in sufficient quantities for its needs, that defense is not to be found in protection, but in free trade, which in England today taxes coffee and tea. Hence it follows that the repeal of the corn laws, which established free trade in England, has absolutely no bearing on the question now before us, except as an example of the soundness of the protectionist theory. Moreover, it must be remembered that we are in no way dependent, as England was, on outside supplies of food products. We are not dependent on wheat and all we ever shall be likely to need, but we are large exporters."

"This is still another side to this matter, which must not be passed over, as it has an important bearing on the question of protection. The English manufacturer had reached the point where the miseries of the industrial population were such that it was necessary to raise wages or run the risk of revolution, which was foreshadowed in the Chartist movement. The English manufacturer raised wages by repealing the corn laws, and thus cheapening the food supply. The manufacturer raised his wages at the expense of the English landowner."

"Thus it was that the manufacturers of England, with practical unanimity, petitioned parliament for the repeal of the corn laws. The English manufacturer did not take these steps because they thought that a scientific truth ought to prevail, but because they were driven to it by their own best interests in the direction of free trade. Their opinion deserved to be and was regarded by parliament. Contrast their attitude with that of our own manufacturers today. Our manufacturers petition for protection, favor protection and are opposed to free trade, and their opinion ought to be regarded by us as of great importance in the wisest business question we cannot stop here. The reply to this always, that our manufacturers sustain protection because they are selfish and make money by it. It is undoubtedly true that the manufacturer sustains protection because he hopes to make money."

"LABOR DEPENDENT ON CAPITAL."
"That is the object of business, and the number of persons who are in business with any other purpose in mind, is a matter of indifference. The American manufacturer does not make money in quite certain that he will not employ labor, and therefore, the workmen will not make money either. Our manufacturers believe that under free trade they must either go out of business or reduce labor costs. They naturally do not care to do the former, for that is ruin, and they are very unwilling to try the latter, because reducing labor costs means lowering wages, which means in turn vast industrial disturbances, and that is ruin, too, or something very near it. How widely a merey our situation today from that of England fifty years ago, so far as the manufacturers are concerned. Most striking of all these differences, moreover, is the fact that while the English manufacturer listens to English manufacturers a majority of the American congress not only turns a deaf ear to American manufacturers, but treats them as if they were enemies of their country."

"We find that England does not hesitate to apply protection where she thinks it profitable. She gives vast subsidies, which are protective bounties, to her shipping. She has just imposed import duties in India, but she has exempted cotton goods and yarns, nearly half the imports, thus giving a protective discrimination in those vast possessions in favor of the Lancashire mills, proving in this way that her eagerness to have other nations adopt free trade is simply that she may have markets that are now closed to her. We may find our own situation today, for free trade during a period of twenty years. By the tables of exports we learn that exports increase faster under British free trade than under British free trade."

"We see from other statistics that she has 28 paupers to every 1,000 against 14 in the United States. We know that the stream of emigration flows from England to the United States; we know in one word that wages are better here, the standard of living higher and the opportunities of life larger than in England. All this we are asked to abandon in order to try the free trade system, which the British colonies have thrown aside, and about the merit of which England herself is hesitating today."

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"Such in outline have been the results of free trade in the only country which has adopted it. Let us see now what it promises and what rewards it offers when it asks for adoption in the United States. No one who is under protection, and especially during the last thirty years, this country has enjoyed a great prosperity, and that its progress and material development have been little short of marvelous. In other words, our nation has been successful in the inducement ought to be very great and the reward very sure. In coming to a decision so momentous and a change so far-reaching, we ought to understand well what we are to gain by it. Free trade as its name implies, makes trade of the first importance as a condition of natural wealth, and prosperity. It starts, therefore, with a misconception."

"The true and lasting source of wealth is production, and trade, even though it enhances the value of the product, is at the same time a tax upon production on account of the cost of transportation. A nation without trade may be permanently rich and prosperous, but a nation without production and dependent on the world for its necessities and prosperity by a frail tenure."

"Trade is really valuable only as a means of giving a wider circulation to products. In this capacity it is of very great importance, but in no other. The cost of transportation is a tax which production pays for this wider circulation. It is of the utmost importance that a nation should pay this tax to itself and not to others. We suffer from the fact that we pay the cost of transportation of our imports and exports largely to other nations, and we shall continue to do so until we give our foreign commerce the same protection which we give to our own. We have protected the shipping, but not the shipowner, and an incomplete system can do no otherwise than fail. We have refused protection to our commerce at the precise point where England has bested it in the purchase of power. Now we are asked to give up the system under which our industries and commerce have flourished, and replace it by that under which our foreign carrying trade has been ruined."

"MARKETS OF THE WORLD."
"When a free trader is asked what our immediate advantage is to be derived from the adoption of free trade, he replies, 'The markets of the world,' and feels, after the manner of his school, that the whole matter is settled by a well sounding phrase. Unfortunately we cannot stop here. We must go further and have something more satisfying than a glittering generality, the favorite hiding place of delusions. The 'markets of the world' sound delightful, but what markets? At this point the free trader gives out, and yet it is the very essence of the whole question."

"Let us run over briefly these markets of the world and see just what they are. To Europe we now sell cotton and wheat and a few great staples. England takes what she must and no more, and the same is true of the continent. No change of tariff policy would enlarge our European market for breadstuffs or food products. Our great and familiar exports, or staples, are in reality declining sales, owing to the competition of India, Egypt, and the Slavonic countries in the markets of Europe, which in the past we have practically controlled. This situation cannot be affected by free trade protection, because the markets from which we are being driven are not our own. Barter does not enter into it, for we do not take breadstuffs from any one. We are simply the market for foreign manufactures for breadstuffs by the competition of a labor so cheap that we cannot meet it."

"It is apparent that we cannot even hold our foreign market for breadstuffs, much less enlarge it, and it is also true that, with the exception of pork and other meat products, there is practically no market in Europe or in England, so far as we are concerned, for anything else. They are all industrial or manufacturing countries with large surplus production, and all except Great Britain have protective tariffs. Australia is protected and so is Canada. There really, then, the countries of the east and of South America, valuable markets, I have no doubt, but of limited purchasing power, and, as Mr. Reed said in the house, 'with three generations of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, cramped in possession of every avenue of trade.' The markets of the world, therefore, come down to this, that under free trade we are to have an opportunity, according to the free trader, of a better opportunity than at present, for struggling with England, France and Germany for entrance into the eastern and South American markets, that is, of competing with certain limited foreign markets against nations whose labor costs and standards of living are lower than our own. This does not seem a very magnificent opportunity, even as I have stated it, and yet I have made no reference to the price which free trade proposes to make us pay for this privilege, although the price must be considered before the case is complete."

"THE FREE TRADER'S ARGUMENT."
"The proposition of the free trader that, by the removal of duties, we shall be enabled to buy cheaper, involves necessarily increased importations and a corresponding decrease either in the amount or the prices of the home product. If we increase importations, just so far do we replace American products with those of foreigners and just so far do we proportionately narrow the opportunities for American labor. Here, of course, the free trader is ready with an answer. 'You forget,' he says, 'the great principle of barter. If we buy foreign goods, where we formerly bought American goods, we pay for them with other products, and so, of course, the sum of production remains the same.' Having thus completed his phrase, he stops just as he does with 'the markets of the world.' But we cannot stop there."

"the American products with which we shall pay for these increased importations from Europe? Obviously not the great staples for we now sell all that Europe can take. Obviously, again, not manufactured goods, for Europe has a large surplus production of those already. Nothing practically remains, then, but money; that is, our coin reserves, and the product of our mines, to pay for increased importations which have replaced American goods."

"But let us go still further into this matter. By replacing American products with foreign products we throw the labor normally employed in making those American products out of employment. That labor must go somewhere. One concession has that it will find its way into those employments where we have a natural superiority and where it is most profitable. As usual, he stops short at a half truth, for this is not all. This labor, by going into fields already occupied, increases the supply of labor in that field and reduces wages. The more you concentrate labor in a few fields of employment and the more you narrow its opportunities and diminish the diversification of industry, the greater will be the reduction of wages."

"But there is still another side to this. Instead of narrowing the opportunities of labor, if we have increased importations by making them unprofitable. But, unfortunately, the only way we can make them unprofitable is by making our foreign markets, with nations less advanced than ours, pay for our goods, and there is no way to lower costs except by lowering wages. Thus we come back at every turn of the free trade policy to the reduction of wages, and every free trader who knows anything of the subject and is not talking for political effect will admit this to be true."

"LABOR'S PERIL."
"There is in this connection another most important point to be considered. Whether under free trade goods would be cheaper and the purchasing power of a dollar increased, it is certain that the price of labor would be greatly reduced. Now, the labor cost is the chief and indeed nearly the whole cost in everything we have. All our railroads and factories, our mines developed at a certain labor cost. Reduce suddenly the value of labor by free trade and the whole of our vast industrial and transportation plant will be reduced in value. It must come down to the level of the new and lower labor costs at which future competitors would be constructed. We not only sacrifice our home market, but we sacrifice it for a system that increases exports less than protection."

"HOME MARKET CONSUMPTION."
"And what a vast sacrifice the home market would be. Our own market is the best in the world, because we are the richest people, with the largest purchasing power. If the statistics of Mulhall are correct, our 70,000,000 equal in consumption 700,000,000 or half the population of the world outside our boundaries. This great home market is now open to the world, and we are asked to abandon it and throw it open to other nations from whom he asks nothing in return, and merely promises that we shall have a chance to compete on equal terms for the markets which we are already getting under reciprocity in the West Indies and in South America. As a business proposition no madder scheme was ever proposed and no more insane policy has ever been suggested by any sane people. We are gravely asked to give up the American market, the most valuable material possession on the face of the earth, and we are not to be compensated for the loss by a promise of nothing but the vague result of a doubtful theory, and if English experience may be trusted, a consequent diminution of exports."

"This is literally all that free trade offers to the people of the United States in the direction of a wider circulation for our products. They have, however, on the domestic side nothing to promise. They tell us that we throw our market open to the world, we shall be able to buy cheaper, or, in other words, that our purchasing power will be increased. This assumes that rates of wages will remain unchanged, for we cannot on a large purchasing power by cheapening the thing purchased if you diminish the original purchasing power from other causes in an equal or greater ratio."

"To put it a little more plainly, if a man earns \$2 a day, and by cheapening what he buys you enable him to get for \$1 what now costs him \$1.50, you have increased his purchasing power, but what you have done in the article purchased you lower his wages from \$2 to \$1 a day, the net result is a diminution of his purchasing power, and consequent privation. It is too often forgotten that two things go to make up purchasing power. One is the amount earned; the other is the cost of the thing purchased. The first is the more important and is generally neglected by the free trader. Yet purchasing power really rests on the power to earn—that is, upon production. If we do not produce we do not earn, and if we do not earn it is of very little consequence whether the things we desire to purchase are cheap or dear."

"THE DISTRESS OF TO-DAY."
"Protection is one feature of a great policy of self-preservation which I believe to be essential to the future of this republic. To abandon it is to enter on changes which will go to the very bottom of our social and political fabric. Look at the country since the threat of free trade has hung closely over it. Look at the miseries and losses and wage reductions of the past year. If this is the result of the menace, what will the reality be?"

"The shock of changes which it would be difficult to portray. I have no fear of the ultimate result. I believe that the mighty forces that have brought the great races of man to their present position will not cease to operate. I feel sure in the end we shall not cast aside the policies which are to protect us from the lowering and deadly competition of races with lower standards of living than our own."

"But however confident I may feel of the ultimate result, I do not wish to see my country go through the wretchedness which even a temporary abandonment of these policies will cause. It is too great a risk to take, too high a price to pay. Any great industrial change, no matter how fair its promises, is a grave peril and sure to entail grievous losses."

"THE PRESENT BILL DENOUNCED."
"The democratic party has undertaken to make revolutionary change in our industrial system. Yet the democrats have lost heart as they have proceeded. One concession has followed another until it would be mockery to call this bill the expression of any economic doctrine, still more so to represent it as carrying out the principles declared by the democratic party at Chicago. A broad and equal policy of free trade might be defended. It would at least have meaning and could be understood. But a bill which wrecks a protective policy only to put in its place a set of schedules which slaughter some industries and give premiums to others is wholly indefensible. To replace a protective system with free trade is at least intelligible, but to destroy by threats of industrial revolution such a protective system as we enjoyed under the protective system in 1892 is as wanton as it is ignorant and cruel. If we are to have protection, let us have it for every interest, equal and fair to all. If we are to have free trade, let us have the real thing, and have it for everybody, for that at least will be fair. But an ignorant mixture of these two systems is as impossible as it is unjust."

"I turn from this printed demerit to the broad principle which the party to whom we owe this bill proposed to advocate, and which I have already discussed. That is the principle of let alone in the government, the refusal to use the power of the state wisely to benefit the community. Protection rests on the broad doctrine that the power of the community can be wisely used in certain cases for the benefit of the whole body politic. There is no magic in it. We leave to the free trader the privilege of claiming that the principle of let alone in the government, the refusal to use the power of the state wisely to benefit the community can be wisely used in certain cases for the benefit of the whole body politic. There is no magic in it. 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