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EPPS'S COCOA
MADE WITH BOILING MILK.

THE TARIFF AND THE FARMERS.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH IN CONGRESS BY HON. R. Q. MILLS, OF TEXAS.

I have here a table that I have made out from the figures of the values of farm products given by the statistician of the Agricultural Department. I take the year 1881, when we had the largest exportation of farm products we have ever had. We exported that year \$730,000,000 worth of agricultural products. We made enormous exportations of breadstuffs and provisions, and the prices went to the highest point. There was a small crop that year. We did not have so large a crop as we had had for several years before.

Those two causes conspired to increase prices; because when you decrease the supply and increase the demand, the force is doubled that expends itself on the increase of prices. The farm price of corn in 1881 was 63.6 cents; this year it is 28.3. The farm price of wheat that year was 119.3; this year, 69.8. The farm price of oats was 46.4; this year, 23 cents. The farm price of barley was 93.3; this year it is 45.7. The farm price of buckwheat was 86.5 this year it is 51.8. The farm price of hay was \$11.42 a ton; this year it is \$7.88. The farm price of cotton was 10 cents per pound; this year it is 8.3. The farm price of tobacco was 9.6 per pound; this year it is 7.1 per pound.

The total value at present of all these crops is \$1,940,969,687, according to the reckoning of the Agricultural Department. Let us see, now, what they would have been worth if we had had this year the exportation of 1881, and, consequently, the prices of 1881.

Our corn would have been worth \$1,343,000,000 instead of \$597,000,000; our wheat would have been worth \$585,000,000 instead of \$342,000,000; our oats would have been worth \$348,000,000 instead of \$71,000,000; our barley would have been worth \$246,000,000 instead of \$12,000,000; our buckwheat would have been worth \$52,000,000 instead of \$27,000,000; our cotton would have been worth \$10,000,000 instead of \$6,000,000; our potatoes would have been worth \$182,000,000 instead of \$81,000,000; our hay would have been worth \$551,000,000 instead of \$367,000,000; our tobacco would have been worth \$354,000,000 instead of \$293,000,000; and our tobacco would have been worth \$54,000,000 instead of \$49,000,000.

The losses on these several crops, leaving out provisions, amount to \$1,570,629,118, as before stated.

Mr. Turner, of Georgia. Within what period?

Mr. Mills. Within one year, the loss of this year. If the crop of 1889, the largest crop that we ever produced, had brought the prices of the crop of 1881, the total value to the farmers of the United States would have been \$1,570,000,000 more than it is with our checked importation.

Now, my friend on the other side [Mr. McKinley], speaking awhile ago about the home market, said that it consumed about 95 per cent. of our product. Of our agricultural products the home consumption is about 85 per cent. We depend upon a foreign market for the consumption of 15 per cent. We depend upon the home market for 98 per cent, and the foreign market for about 2 per cent. of our manufactures.

We depend upon the foreign market for the consumption of about 10 per cent. of the products of our mines and about the same proportion of our forestry. So that the home market is the main dependence for the consumption of all the products of American labor. What, then, should we do? We ought to make that home market just as efficient as possible, so as to consume as much as possible of the productions of American labor.

Suppose we should send a tax-collector around among the people and take out of the pockets of every man in the country all the money he has, what would our home market be worth? Suppose that the 66,000,000 of people that we have in this country to-day had every dollar they possessed taken out of their pockets, how many yards of calico would we sell? How many yards of woolen goods would we sell? How many agricultural implements would you sell? How much of the seven billions of manufactured products that are now sold and consumed in the United States would we sell? None, of course.

We sell to the American home market just precisely in proportion to the ability of the home market, to buy, do we not? Every one knows that is true. Now, on the other hand, if some one was to go around this

evening and give to every one of our 66,000,000 of people \$100, that \$100 would be there to represent \$100 worth of wants, and it would create them just as soon as the people were put in possession of it. Just as soon as people have the ability to satisfy their wants the wants spring up and are felt.

Every one would want more clothes for himself or his family, or he would want to improve his house or to do something else that would require the expenditure of the money, and that money would be expended in the home market for the employment of domestic labor. Therefore our policy should be to do everything we can to increase the value of all the products in the United States, to put just as many dollars in the pockets of the people as we can.

If our ports were closed by blockade it would only shut out about \$350,000,000 of foreign manufactures. If they were thrown wide open they would only permit the entry of about 5 per cent of our home consumption. If the ports are closed they could only supply the \$350,000,000 now supplied by the foreigner. If they are open and the foreigner brings in \$600,000,000 and takes his market to that extent he will bring with him such increased prices of agricultural products as will distribute \$1,500,000,000 among the farmers, 35 per cent of which will be spent for domestic goods, and that will start prosperity in every branch of industry, and that is the policy which Democrats advocate.

Sometimes, as was the case after our war, importation exceeded exportation. From 1863 to 1873 our imports exceeded the exports every year, and for the ten years the excess was over a thousand millions. Then from 1876 to 1887 the exports exceeded the imports every year, and the aggregate for the period exceeded fifteen hundred millions. But from the beginning of the Government down to the present time they have been dependent on each other, and last year one was \$745,000,000 and the other \$742,000,000. Exports pay for imports and imports for exports, and when one is checked the other is checked.

I ask my friends, if we are not paid for our exports by imports, in what are we paid? It can not be money. It must be something. We have been exporting gold and silver for forty years, just as we have been wheat and cotton, and our exports of the precious metals have been many hundred millions in excess of our imports of the same. Then, I repeat the question, if we refuse to take the products of other countries for our exports, in what are we to be paid? There is nothing with which we can be paid, and the export must stop when the import does, and when this bill passes, Kansas farmers must pile more corn on their fires or more Democratic votes in their ballot-boxes.

The course which our friends on the other side are pursuing is calculated to intensify the sufferings of the country, to concentrate the wealth made by the sweat and toil of the laboring people into the hands of a comparatively few persons—a process which has been going on for the last twenty years. Nowhere else in the world has there been such an instance of the concentration of the wealth made by the sweat and toil of a people into the hands of twenty-five or thirty thousand persons. The startling figures were given some time ago by a distinguished citizen of New York to show that more than one-half of the wealth of this whole country is owned by less than twenty-five thousand of its sixty-six million people.

Such a thing could never have occurred except as one of the pernicious consequences of this tariff that compels the consumer to pay to protected producers two or three times the cost of the necessities of life—two or three times as much as he would have been required to pay for the manufactured articles if it had not been for the tariff.

Why can we not raise the blockade, open our ports, and engage in foreign commerce? Our friends tell us about the great growth of our domestic commerce, and that is true. It has grown. But why not have a prosperous growth in both foreign and domestic commerce?

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McKinley] asked was the foreign market better than the home market? Who was ever fool enough to answer that it was? The answer that the Democrats give is that the home and the foreign market is better than the home market. [Applause on the Democratic side.] We want them both. What have you done for the farmers who are paying tribute to your high tariff today? In 1820, about the time that we

started out on this tariff crusade, we were promised that we were going to have manufactures right by the side of every farmer in the country; that we were going to bring the consumer and the producer together, and that we were going to annihilate the middlemen, and going to furnish a home market at the very door of the farmer. We then exported our agricultural products 80 per cent. of the entire exports of the country.

In Alabama it is made for less than \$9 a ton, and in Tennessee also, I believe. Yet our people are paying from \$18 to \$20 a ton for pig-iron, although we can produce it as cheaply as it can be produced anywhere in the world. With our furnaces working day and night, and turning out an enormous product of pig-iron, we find when there is a large demand that they can not produce enough to satisfy that demand, and the deficit has to be made up by importation. That is one case.

*Sugar is another. You can raise some sugar in this country, but not enough to meet the demand. Now, look at your import statements and take cotton goods, for instance. You will find a certain class of hosiery to which I was criticised a good deal two years ago because I stated, and stated truly, that certain kinds of hosiery were not made and could not be made in the United States. A witness appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means, whose testimony is in print, and who stated that these goods were made in Germany by a secret machine.

Whether that is true or not I do not know, but he so stated. He said that he had sent a very bright, intelligent young fellow in his employ over there and he tried to see the machine, but they would not permit him to see it. But whether that be true or not, your import statements show from five to eight million dollars of that kind of stockings imported into this country every year. Why do we import them? We had a duty of 35 per cent. upon those stockings before 1833, but the manufacturers of hosiery in the United States came and said: "Give us a duty of 45 per cent. and that will enable us to bring that machine over here and naturalize the manufacture in this country." A duty of 40 per cent. was given instead of 45 per cent, but the importation still went on.

Our friends here have heard the same appeal and they have given them a duty of from 60 to 80 per cent.

They do not mind the percents. They are playing for the grand game of checking importation, and therefore they have put upon a class of cotton stockings which can not be made in this country a duty of 60 to 80 per cent., but it will be found that notwithstanding that duty those stockings will still come in and will not be made here. Again, take cotton embroideries, nobody makes them here. We can not afford to take the time to make them. Our workmen are better employed. The people who make those embroideries get the poorest wages.

The goods are made, I believe, in damp, dark cellars. However, I do not know whether that is true or not, because I have never been across the ocean.

Every year five or six million dollars' worth of these embroideries come to this country. With all the heavy duty which we impose upon them we can not make a yard of them in this country, because our people, who are earning a dollar or a dollar and a half a day, can not afford to work at embroidery at 50 cents a day. They find that they can buy their embroideries cheaper than they can make them. They find it cheaper to work at something else and earn the money required to buy their embroideries, and that is the true law of trade.

You may look over your import statements from one end to the other and you will find that the goods you are importing do not, as a rule, come in competition with goods that are produced here. We can keep out the foreign goods. We can compel our people to use something else. We could check the importation of coffee, prohibit it entirely, and compel the people to use what we had to do down in the Confederacy about twenty-five years ago to take corn and burn it, make a black water out of it, and sweeten that and call it coffee and drink it. But we did not like it, and could not "naturalize" it, and whenever we had the chance to shake a newspaper at our friends on the other side we always gave them some tobacco and got some "sure-enough" coffee. [Laughter.]

Now, I say you might prohibit the importation of coffee by putting the duty high enough. So you may exclude these Zante currants, which are grown on an island in the Gulf of Corinth; you can not raise them here, but you can keep them

out and encourage people to eat blackberries instead. [Laughter.] You can foster the great blackberry home industry. Perhaps the committee thought by putting a protective duty on cabbages you can make people eat cabbages in place of these currants. [Laughter.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, here is the condition the American people are in. We have gone on and developed all branches of our industries until we can to-day produce in our manufactures, in nine months, all that our people can consume in a year; until we can produce millions more of agricultural products than our people can consume; until we can produce in our mines (gold and silver excepted) 15 per cent. more than our people can consume. Until we can produce in lumber and other forestry products 15 per cent. more than all our people can consume.

Now, the question is: What do you propose to do about that? You have got the home market? You have sold every dollar of your manufactures that you can sell, every dollar's worth of your agricultural and your mine products, every dollar of your forestry products, and yet you have got a surplus on hand and that surplus is increasing just in proportion to the increase of population. Now, what do you propose to do?

The Democratic way is to let down the bars and let these things go out to other people who want them, and to take from those other people in exchange things they do not want and that we do. We would take all the wool produced in the Argentine Confederation and Australia and everywhere else in the world, we would manufacture it, send it abroad, and sell it. We would take all the raw products from every part of the globe. We would give constant employment to all our people.

But friends on the other side propose an answer to this argument. They have discovered something new to tell to the manufacturers and to the working people. They say "We propose to give you a drawback on everything, except to the extent of 1 per cent., which will cover the cost to the Government; we will let you make your importations of materials, and when you send out your manufactured articles you can withdraw from the Treasury the duty that you advanced on the materials." That looks all right, but let us see whether it is so or not.

A few months ago, while in the State of Massachusetts, I went into one of the largest manufacturing mills, I suppose, in the old Commonwealth; it was located at Lawrence. I saw there a hall larger, I think, than this, containing a large number of mills which had been imported from England. I asked the gentleman in charge what those mills had cost. My recollection is that he said \$800 apiece. I asked him what was the life of one of those mills. I think he said eight or nine years. The duty was 45 per cent on every mill.

Now, I want somebody to tell me whether a manufacturer in Massachusetts, if he had everything else free, could import his mills from England, paying 45 per cent. duty, and then manufacturing goods in competition with anybody outside of the United States? Do not gentlemen know—of course they do—that in the markets of the world a difference of half a cent on the unit of quantity is sufficient to turn the scales? A man who can offer goods at half a cent less on a pound or a yard or a dozen of anything than his competitor takes the market and holds it. If we import coal, we must pay a tax upon it, while the Englishman, the Frenchman and the German gets his coal free. There can not be any rebate on the coal; the coal is consumed in generating the steam that drives the machinery, and like the tax on the machinery, can not be exported; and the cost must be charged up to the consumer in the product.

The case is the same with the oil that lubricates the machinery. And thousands of gallons are used in manufacture.

Mr. Chairman, there is but one way for this country to enter successfully into the great contest in the markets of the world, a contest that awaits us; and when she has the wisdom to enter into it properly she will take the prize; that is, to lay aside, in the language of Scripture, "Every weight that doth beset us." [Applause.]

I have here a statement showing, from the reports of our consuls, that Europe exports one thousand million dollars' worth of textiles every year. This illustrates the great trade they are being doing. While we have been doing a business of \$24 a head, they are doing a business of \$100 to \$190 a head.

SUB TREASURY FOR PRODUCE.

FURTHER ARGUMENT FOR THE MEASURE DEMANDED BY THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

WASHINGTON, May 15.—The hearing of the Farmers' Alliance representatives was continued before the Ways and Means Committee this morning. Mr. Livingston, the national lecturer of the organization, said that the farmer had been told that a proper adjustment of the tariff and of the silver question was all that was necessary for the farmers' relief. The tariff had nothing to do with the measure recommended by the Alliance. The tariff fixed the price of the farmers' purchases; the Sub-Treasury bill fixed the price at which he sold his goods. The Alliance representatives had talked plainly, straight from the shoulder. They asked—demanded (that Congress do what it could to pass the Sub Treasury bill.

"Fifty-eight homes—farmers"—had been sold at auction in Connecticut in one day this week. The farmers wanted relief; they knew not how to get it. They had about made up their minds to let partisan politics alone, for a while at least.

Mr. Livingston quoted President Lincoln's prophecy that corporations would be entrenched, and that the republic itself would be overthrown. Thank God, the last prediction had not been fulfilled. But the others had been. One twentieth of the people of this country owned three fifths of the property. He also quoted Garfield, Jefferson, and Calhoun, and said that what they had recommended was just what the Alliance asked. If Congress refused to approve the Sub Treasury bill, then let it remove the restrictions heading in the national banking system. The farmers would care nothing about any combinations and concentration of money if they could hold their crops in sub-treasuries, and were not compelled, as at present, to sell them at stated times, in the South. He could thus escape the speculator. Pass the Sub Treasury bill, then let it remove the restrictions heading in the national banking system. 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