

can party, desires the re-establishment of the protective policy, yet I shall call the attention of the gentleman to the fact that I adverted to the other day, that nowhere can he find a published resolution of his party in avowal of any such subject.

Mr. HALE. I do not wish to misinterpret the gentleman from Virginia. I am perfectly willing to insert in my speech any portion of his that he may desire. What I read I think clearly embraced his idea, that he did not fear what the Republican party would do so far as slavery is concerned, but that the real object of the party, and what was in the main the ground of objection to it, was that it aimed to restore the protective system. I do believe Mr. Chairman, that the Republican party is fully committed to the great doctrine of protection to American industry. I am sure that I would not belong to any party that was not. No party in the State could exist, did it not at least profess to hold that doctrine. The Democratic party there claims to do so, with how much good faith I leave the gentleman from Virginia to answer.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia is greatly mistaken if he supposes that the protective system is sustained upon the popularity of anti-slavery notions. There is no doubt a deep feeling in the northern States against the extension of slavery; but, so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, the feeling in favor of the protection of American industry is quite as strong, and it would be firmly implanted in the public mind there if the other question had no existence. We believe both doctrines to be just and true. If one receives aid from the other, has the gentleman any right to complain? Certainly not. Every member of the Republican party in this House, save one, has voted to sustain that measure; and it may, therefore, be fairly claimed, I think, that protection to American industry is one of the principles of that party.

The condition of the country at this time demands the earnest and thoughtful consideration of all those interested with the management of its affairs; and it seems to me that we should at least occasionally turn our thoughts to the actual results and inevitable tendency of the present practical free-trade policy which now, and for some time past, has ruled this country, even if we thereby, for the time, suffered the "Dred Scott" decision and its kindred topics to be passed over. Our Democratic friends seem to think there are no other interests worthy of our attention, and scarcely deserving a passing notice, but the single one of slavery. It ignores the legislation of the country, to the exclusion of almost everything else. All other questions, all other interests have to give way before its imperious demands and exacting and aggressive spirit.

But, I desire to make no further remarks upon this subject at present. My purpose is to call attention to the present disordered state of our financial affairs; and, if possible, to devise a remedy. We now owe a foreign debt of over five hundred million dollars, and that debt is steadily increasing more than fifty millions annually, while our ability to pay is constantly decreasing. Our imports are every year growing larger; and our exports except from accidental and extraordinary causes, are falling off. Our manufactures are, one by one, going down under the destructive effects of foreign competition; our country drained of its precious metals to make up the balance of trade always against us; the industry and enterprise of the country everywhere, to a great extent, prostrate and paralyzed under the depressing effect which this state of things is sure, sooner or later, to bring in its train. Nothing can be more certain; cause and effect are not more sure, and no axiom in political economy can be truer, than that a nation that constantly buys more than it sells will, in time, become bankrupt. A variety of causes may postpone the evil day; temporary relief may occasionally be found; but the certain tendency of this course is, and must be, to this end.—This state of affairs existed prior to the passage of the tariff of 1842, when, in the progress of the free trade system, for some years previous to that time, we were brought to the verge of bankruptcy; and a bankrupt law, which at one stroke wiped out our indebtedness of untold millions, became as was supposed, a necessity. The tariff of 1842 gradually brought the country out of the depression into which it had been thrown by the previous system, and restored it to unimpeded prosperity; and it may safely be asserted, that every branch of industry and enterprise in this country never was more prosperous than between the years of 1843 and 1847—the time when the beneficial effects of the tariff of 1842 had their legitimate influences.

We seek, by the passage of the present tariff bill, to arrest this downward progress of the country, and restore it to that state of prosperity and real independence, which our great natural wealth and resources and the industry, skill, and enterprise of our people justly entitle us to. To do this, we must in laying our revenue laws, so protect and encourage our own industries, that we shall be able to carry the productions of this country to the point of actual use. This would increase the capacity of the consumer of agricultural products. Our farmers would have a market at their doors for their surplus productions, and the consumers would, from their increased ability and numbers, buy more of the quantities and kinds of all farming productions, and nothing would tend to stimulate the agricultural interests of the country so much as a ready market near his own door of every agricultural production which the farm could raise.

How much is lost now for the want of a home market for many of the bulky articles of the farm which will not bear a long transportation; how much is lost in transporting the more valuable products to a distant and expensive market, it is easy to imagine. We have facilities for manufacturing, in all natural resources, quite equal, if not superior, to any other country in the world; in water power, soil, climate and mineral wealth; in intelligence, skill, and industry of our workmen, and in that active spirit of enterprise which characterizes the American people above all others. Then, why is it that, with these superior advantages, our own manufactures so languish? Why is it that we send our raw material to a foreign country, there to be manufactured, and returned to us in its finished state, and also send our bread-stuffs to the same distant market, to feed those engaged in the same manufacture, and paying the large amount required for the transportation of the raw materials and agricultural products to a foreign land, and then paying for the same returned to us in the shape of the finished article?

It is principally to the difference in the price of labor between this country and Europe that we are to look for the difficulty in our manufactures competing with foreign countries, especially in those articles such as iron, where manual labor enters largely into their production. An article that can be made principally by machinery needs but lit-

tle if any protection; but it is not so with those that require a large amount of labor; and it then becomes a question of vital importance, one that must be fairly met, whether it is the true policy of this Government to adopt that system which tends to depress labor down to the level of the European standard, or that other and better one, which shall increase its value, and elevate its importance to its just rank as the great element of our national wealth and prosperity.

The argument in favor of protection, based upon the advantages it confers and the benefits it affords to the free labor of the country, is, in my opinion, amply sufficient, if no other existed. A just division of labor must be admitted. I think, an essential requisite, in order to advance the wealth and prosperity of a nation to its highest attainable point. It will not do to have all, or an undue proportion, engaged in agriculture, lest there be found no market for the farming surplus; nor will it do for all to be engaged in manufactures, lest there should be no agricultural products for their subsistence. The true condition of a State, and the most prosperous, is when there is a constant and profitable employment for the artisan, and a convenient and reliable market for the farmer. Every intelligent community would soon adjust its business so as to bring about this result, if there were no disturbing causes outside which rendered it impracticable. The lower price of labor in foreign lands than in our own is the great disturbing cause which prevents this from being effected here; and to remove this difficulty is one principal object of the protective system.

Suppose we are required to pay a larger price for a manufactured article made at home than for the same made in Europe. This may be considered for the sake of argument; although I am confident that where an article can be produced and manufactured in this country, all experience proves that when sufficiently protected, for a reasonable time, the superior skill of our workmen, and the active spirit of competition among our people, have almost invariably reduced the price below what it was when the manufacture of it was first commenced.

But suppose, as I said, the article costs more here than we would import it for: in the first place, we must have the money which we raise by duties on foreign goods for the support of the Government—and, by general consent, this is the easiest and best mode of raising revenue; so that in reality so long as a tariff raises only sufficient for the wants of the Government, nothing whatever is paid as a bounty to the manufacturer. We only ask that when the money required by the Government is to be raised a discrimination shall be made, so as to afford a reasonable protection to the great interests of the country. Nothing can be more unreasonable and unjust than to refuse this. To do so would seem to be a policy dictated by the narrowest spirit of partisanship, far removed from true patriotism and a wise statesmanship.—If, while raising the necessary money for the support of the Government, we can at the same time so impose the duty as to foster the manufactures of the country, develop the mineral wealth, encourage and protect labor, give a good home market to the farmer, and thereby give an active and steady impulse to the whole business of the country, why shall we not do so? Can any good reason be shown for pursuing the opposite policy? Surely, if gentlemen would divest themselves of prejudice and party feeling, and come to the examination of the question with an impartial spirit, there could be no doubt of the result.

We do not desire a tariff so high as to be prohibitory, for then no revenue could be raised under it. Nor should it be indiscriminate, for then it would afford no sufficient protection. The present tariff bill is believed to be adjusted, as nearly as possible, upon the principle of raising sufficient revenue for the just wants of the Government, and at the same time so discriminating as to afford a reasonable amount of protection to American industry.

This policy, so eminently wise and just, has so commended itself to the people of the State in part represent, that all parties there claim to be its friends and supporters. Especially does the so-called Democratic party claim to be its peculiar champion just before an important election, when it is necessary to secure the votes of its friends. It will sound strange to honorable gentlemen on the other side of this house to be told that they belong to the protective tariff party of the country, and that they are so represented in the tariff States, when it is well known here that, with scarcely an exception, you and the party to which you belong are opposed to the whole system.

It is, however, very possible that a candidate may be nominated by that party who will be represented to the people of Pennsylvania as a good tariff man, hoping thereby, as in times past, to secure the support of the confiding people of my State. The great swindle of 1844, I trust, however, has not been forgotten by them. It may be the same game will succeed again. That it will be tried there is not much doubt. We shall see whether our people will consent to be again deceived and betrayed. We may safely say, from all past history, that the extent of the friendship of our Democratic leaders for a tariff amounts to resolutions in town meetings and conventions, and perhaps stump speeches occasionally before an election; and no more. So it will always be. The policy of that party is controlled, and in all future time is likely to be controlled, by that portion of it living in the cotton States of the South, who are foolishly hostile to the free labor of the North—erroneously, I think—believing their interest is to send their raw material to Europe, and bring back from there the manufactured article, instead of encouraging those of our own country. From the nature of the labor in that region, it must be confined to its rudest and simplest form; being ignorant and unpaid, it has no motive, even if it had the capacity, to rise above the lowest level. The North, on the contrary, by the just respect everywhere paid to honest toil, and the skill, enterprise, and intelligence of its laboring citizens, who constitute the great bulk of its population, has attained the highest point of excellence in all its industrial pursuits, and stands this day at the head of the civilized world in its triumphs of labor directed by skill and science. How is our country to become permanently prosperous when subjected to the constant drain upon it, arising from the large excess of our imports over our exports? What nation or individual could hope to succeed, in the long run, who constantly bought more than his income justified, and was consequently every year going more and more in debt? As an example of the increasing progress of our foreign debt, already immense, take the imports and exports at the port of New York alone for the month of March last viz:

| Imports, \$22,188,150; exports, (exclusive of specie,) \$8,123,759; difference, \$14,064,391. |              |              |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| IMPORTS AT NEW YORK FOR MARCH.  |              |              |
| 1858.   | 1859.        | 1860.        |
| Durable merchandise, \$7,545,226  | \$15,314,023 | \$16,106,098 |
| Free merchandise, 3,354,753   | 2,629,254    | 3,739,241    |
| Specie and bullion, 277,265   | 11,266       | 85,995       |
| Withdrawn from warehouses, 4,444,435  | 1,718,257    | 2,290,117    |
| Total, \$14,201,687   | \$19,730,800 | \$22,188,150 |
| Warehoused, 1,512,229   | 2,908,413    | 3,582,993    |
| Cash duties, 3,164,011  | 3,164,011    | 3,477,545    |
| EXPORTS AT NEW YORK FOR MARCH.  |              |              |
| 1858.   | 1859.        | 1860.        |
| Domestic merchandise, \$4,503,371   | \$5,377,840  | \$6,908,687  |
| Foreign merchandise, 677,489  | 408,161      | 1,130,067    |
| Specie and bullion, 826,194   | 3,343,677    | 2,981,662    |
| Total, \$6,007,054  | \$9,129,678  | \$10,510,416 |

This, for the single month of March, will show the tendency of our present system to keep us constantly in debt and transfer our manufacturing establishments to Great Britain, France, and Germany. In the article of iron, in which the country at large is so deeply interested as an article of prime necessity both in peace and war, and which we could produce in any quantity sufficient to supply the world, the policy of the Democratic free trade party is to permit the iron to remain undisturbed in its native beds in our own country, and to import it from England by millions annually; depriving us thereby not only of the large amount of cash which is withdrawn to pay for it abroad, but the great advantages that would accrue from its manufacture here to the farmer and laborer, as well as every branch of industry.

| Imports and custom house value of Iron and manufactures of Iron & Steel under the tariff of 1856, for ten years and nine months. |                  |              |                |
|--|------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Description of Iron Imported.  | Total this year. | Total value. | Average price. |
| Cast iron, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$100,000        | \$100,000    | \$1.00         |
| Wrought iron, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$200,000        | \$200,000    | \$2.00         |
| Sheet iron, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$150,000        | \$150,000    | \$1.50         |
| Iron pipes, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$120,000        | \$120,000    | \$1.20         |
| Iron nails, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$50,000         | \$50,000     | \$0.50         |
| Iron wire, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$80,000         | \$80,000     | \$0.80         |
| Iron forgings, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$180,000        | \$180,000    | \$1.80         |
| Iron castings, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$100,000        | \$100,000    | \$1.00         |
| Iron tools, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$60,000         | \$60,000     | \$0.60         |
| Iron machinery, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$200,000        | \$200,000    | \$2.00         |
| Iron hardware, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$40,000         | \$40,000     | \$0.40         |
| Iron articles, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$30,000         | \$30,000     | \$0.30         |
| Iron waste, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$20,000         | \$20,000     | \$0.20         |
| Iron scrap, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$10,000         | \$10,000     | \$0.10         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$5,000          | \$5,000      | \$0.05         |
| Iron dross, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$3,000          | \$3,000      | \$0.03         |
| Iron slag, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$2,000          | \$2,000      | \$0.02         |
| Iron scale, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron ash, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron waste, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron scrap, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron dross, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron slag, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron scale, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron ash, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron waste, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron scrap, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron dross, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron slag, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
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| Iron ash, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron waste, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron scrap, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
| Iron dross, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
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| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
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| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
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| Iron scrap, 1,000,000 lbs.   | \$1,000          | \$1,000      | \$0.01         |
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| Iron refuse, 1,000,000 lbs.  | \$1,000          |              |                |