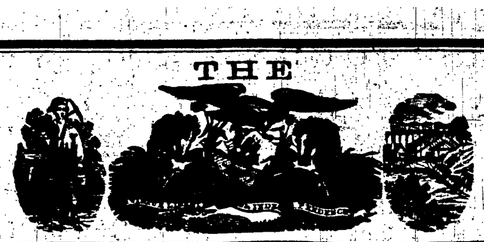

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Within the last five years the subscription list was doubled, and it continues to increase rapidly. As an Advertising medium it is one of the best in the State.

LEGAL NOTICES.

DISTRICT COURT United States. Eastern District Pennsylvania.—PETER BOWMAN, of Mahanoy City, Schuylkill County, Pa., having petitioned for his discharge, a meeting of creditors will be held on the 3d day of August, 1868, at 11 o'clock A. M., before Register JOHN P. HOBART, at No. 184, Centre street, in the Borough of Pottsville, that the examination of the Bankrupt may be finished. The Register will certify whether the Bankrupt has conformed to his duty. A hearing will also be had on Wednesday the 19th day of August, 1868, before the Court at Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock A. M., when parties interested may show cause against the discharge.

Witness, Honorable JOHN CADWALADER, Judge, and the seal of the Court at Philadelphia, this 14th day of July, A. D. 1868. G. R. FOX, Clerk.

Attest: JOHN P. HOBART, Register.

July 18, '68 29-3t

U. S. MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
E. D. OF PENNSYLVANIA.
PHILADELPHIA, July 16, 1868.

This is to give notice: That on the 15th day of July, A. D. 1868, an alias warrant in Bankruptcy was issued against the estate of HIRAM B. FREAS, of Shenandoah City, in the County of Schuylkill, and State of Pennsylvania, who has been adjudged a Bankrupt on his own petition; that the payment of any debts and delivery of any property belonging to such Bankrupt, to him or for his use, and the transfer of any property by him are forbidden by law; that a meeting of the creditors of the said Bankrupt, to prove their debts, and to choose one or more assignees of his estate, will be held at a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at the Office of JOHN P. HOBART, Pottsville, Pennsylvania, before JOHN P. HOBART, Register, on the 4th day of August, A. D. 1868, at 10 o'clock, A. M. P. C. ELLMAKER, U. S. Marshal as Messenger.

July 18, '68 29-3t

DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED States, Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

HENRY BAST, of the Borough of Ashland, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, Bankrupt, having petitioned for his discharge, a meeting of creditors will be held Monday, the 3d day of August, 1868, at 9 o'clock, A. M., before Register, JOHN P. HOBART, at his office, Centre Street, Pottsville, Pa.; that the examination of the Bankrupt may be finished.

The Register will certify whether the Bankrupt has conformed to his duty. A hearing will also be had on Wednesday, August 19th, A. D. 1868, before the Court at Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock, when parties interested may show cause against the discharge.

L. S. Witness Hon. John Cadwallader, Judge, and the seal at the Court of Philadelphia, July 10, 1868. G. R. FOX, Clerk.

Attest—John P. Hobart, Register.

July 18 '68 29-3t

This is to give Notice: That on the 30th day of June, A. D. 1868, a Warrant in Bankruptcy was issued against the estate of JOHN H. BRACKEN, of New York City, in the County of New York and State of New York, formerly a member of the firm of J. H. Bracken & Co., who has been adjudged a Bankrupt, on his own petition; that the payment of any debts and delivery of any property, belonging to such Bankrupt, to him, or for his use, and the transfer of any property by him are forbidden by law; that a meeting of the Creditors of the said Bankrupt to prove their debts, and to choose one or more Assignees of his estate, will be held at a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at No. 7 Beekman Street, corner of Nassau Street, Rooms 3 and 4, in the City of New York, before Mr. JAMES F. DWIGHT, Register, on the 29th day of July, A. D. 1868, at 12 o'clock, M.

R. MURRAY,
U. S. Marshal, as Messenger Southern District of New York.
July 18 '68—29-2t

DISTRICT COURT of United States, EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.—DAVID BOWMAN of Mahanoy City, Bankrupt, having petitioned for his discharge, a meeting of creditors will be held on Wednesday, the 29th day of July, 1868, at 9 o'clock, A. M., before Register JOHN P. HOBART at his office, Pottsville, Pa., that the examination of said Bankrupt may be finished, and any business of meetings required by sections 27 or 28 of the Act of Congress transacted. The Register will certify whether the Bankrupt has conformed to his duty. A hearing will be held on Wednesday, August 12th, A. D. 1868, before the Court at Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock A. M., when parties may show cause against the discharge.

L.S. Witness the Hon. John Cadwalader, Judge of the said District Court and the seal thereof at Philadelphia the 9th day of July, A. D. 1868. G. R. FOX, Clerk.

Attest—JOHN P. HOBART, Register.

July 11, 1868. 28-3t

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

JAMES O RICHARDSON of Pottsville, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, Bankrupt, having petitioned for his discharge, a meeting of creditors will be held on WEDNESDAY, the 29th day of July, 1868, at 11 o'clock A. M., before Register JOHN P. HOBART, Esq., at No. 184 Centre Street, in Pottsville, Penna., that the examination of the Bankrupt may be finished, and any business of meetings required by sections 27 or 28 of the Act of Congress, transacted.

The Register will certify, whether the Bankrupt has conformed to his duty. A hearing will also be had on WEDNESDAY, the 19th day of August, 1868, before the Court at Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock, A. M., where parties interested may show cause against the discharge.

L.S. Witness Honorable JUDGE CADWALADER, Judge, and seal of the Court at Philadelphia. July 10, A. D. 1868. G. R. FOX, Clerk.

Attest—JOHN P. HOBART, Register.

July 11th, 1868. 28-3t

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

DANIEL E. KAUFFMAN of Wiconisco, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, Bankrupt, having petitioned for his discharge, a meeting of creditors will be held on THURSDAY, the 30th day of July, 1868, at 10 o'clock, A. M., before Register, JOHN P. HOBART, Esq., at No. 184 Centre Street, in Pottsville, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, that the examination of the Bankrupt may be finished, and any business of meetings required by sections 27 or 28 of the Act of Congress, transacted.

The Register will certify whether the Bankrupt has conformed to his duty. A hearing will also be had on Wednesday, the 19th day of August, 1868, before the Court at Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock, A. M., where parties interested may show cause against the discharge.

L.S. Witness Hon. JOHN CADWALADER, Judge, and seal of the Court at Philadelphia. July 10th, 1868. G. R. FOX, Clerk.

Attest—JOHN P. HOBART, Register.

June 11, '68 28-3t

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

JAMES CARTER, of Tamaqua, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, Bankrupt, having petitioned for his discharge, a meeting of creditors will be held on WEDNESDAY, the 29th day of July, 1868, at 2 o'clock P. M., before JOHN P. HOBART, Esq., at No. 184 Centre Street, in the Borough of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, that the examination of the Bankrupt may be finished, and any business of meetings required by sections 27 or 28 of the Act of Congress, transacted.

The Register will certify whether the Bankrupt has conformed to his duty. A hearing will also be had on WEDNESDAY, the 19th day of August, 1868, at 10 o'clock, A. M., before the Court at Philadelphia, where parties interested may show cause against the discharge.

L. S. Witness Hon. JOHN CADWALADER, Judge, and seal of the Court at Philadelphia. July 10th, 1868. G. R. FOX, Clerk.

Attest JOHN P. HOBART, Register.

July 11, 1868. 28-3t

U. S. MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
E. D. OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, July 6th, 1868.

This is to give Notice: That on the 2d day of July, A. D. 1868, a Warrant in Bankruptcy was issued against the Estate of PETER S. MARTZ, of Philadelphia, in the County of Philadelphia, and State of Pennsylvania, who has been adjudged a Bankrupt, on his own petition; that the payment of any debts and delivery of any property, belonging to such Bankrupt, to him, or for his use, and the transfer of any property by him are forbidden by law; that a meeting of the Creditors of the said Bankrupt to prove their debts, and to choose one or more Assignees of his Estate, will be held at a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at 615 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, before J. HUBLEY ASHTON, Esq., Register, on the 12th day of August, A. D., 1868, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

P. C. ELLMAKER, U. S. Marshal as Messenger.
July 11, '68 28-3t

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. IN BANKRUPTCY.

In the matter of WILLIAM STINE, a Bankrupt.

To whom it may concern:—The undersigned, Jno. W. Mish and Henry Shenk, of Lebanon, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, hereby give notice of their appointment as assignees of the estate of William Stine, of Bethel Tp., in the county of Lebanon, in said District; and who was, to wit, on the 29th day of April, A. D. 1868, adjudged bankrupt, upon the petition of himself by the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Penna.

Dated at Lebanon, the 1st day of July, A. D. 1868.

JOHN W. MISH
HENRY SHENK,
Assignees.
July 11, '68—28-3t

NOTICE.—In the Court of Common Pleas of Schuylkill County.

MARY HARRIS, by her next friend Jos. E. Jackson, vs. BENJAMIN HARRIS. } 551 June Term, 1868. *Alias Subpœna for a Divorce.*

To the respondent above named:—You are hereby required to appear at a Court of Common Pleas, to be held at Pottsville, for the County of Schuylkill, on the first Monday of September next, to answer the complaint of the libellant in the above stated case.

GEORGE C. WYNKOOP, Sheriff.
Sheriff's Office, July, 11th, 1868. 28-4t

ESTATE OF DANL. SPENCER, Deceased.—Whereas, Letters of administration on the estate of DANIEL SPENCER, late of Mahanoy City, Schuylkill County, deceased, have been granted to the undersigned—All persons indebted to said estate are requested to make immediate payment and those having claims against the same to present them without delay to

ELLEN SPENCER,
1906 Green St., Philada.
July 2, '68—27-6t*

NOTICE is hereby given that by a certain deed of trust, executed the 30th day of October, 1867, the undersigned was made the Assignee of the Great Eastern Detective Horse and Live Stock Insurance Company. All claims against said Company, must be presented to him for settlement, at 188 Centre Street, Pottsville, Pa.

A. J. SNOW, Assignee,
120 N. 5th St., Philada.
April 11, '68—15-3m*

POTTSVILLE SCHOOL DISTRICT.—Annual Statement of Receipts.

Receipts and expenditures for School Year ending the first Monday of June, (1st,) 1868.

Tax-rate for 1867-68, 15 mills on a dollar—9 for school and 6 for building purposes.

RECEIPTS.

Bal. from previous year, '66-67,			$4,068 73
Gross Amt, tax dup'cate, '67-68,		26,417 52	
Less errors, returns, exonerations, &c.,	625 15		
Less Collector's Commission,	773 77		
		1,398 92	
			25,018 60
State appropriation for '66-67 &c.,			897 92
			$29,985 25

EXPENDITURES.

Paid 32 Teachers,		$12,671 50	
" Janitors and sweepers,		1,298 53	
" for fuel,		702 83	
" Secretary's salary,		200 00	
" for incidentals, (all unclassified expenses,)		680 72	
		15,543 93	
" Bond & Int. acct.,	2,499 00		
" for lots purchased,	1,275 00		
" for re-build. Norweg'n sch'l ho'se,	4,839 95		
" furnishing do	799 00		
" rents, repairs and insurance,	1,273 05		
" for pav'g, walling, fencing & gene'l imp. to real est'e,	2,219 84		
		12,628 84	
" Treas'rer's com'ion 1 pr ct.		281 73	
			28,454 50
Balance in Treasury, June 1st, 1868,			$1,530 75

MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

Whole No. of schools, (including 1 colored,)	24
Taught by 31 teachers, (3 male and 28 female), and 1 male General Superintendent. School term, from Sept. 1st to July 1st, 10 months.	
Whole No. of pupils during year (1223 males, 1206 females,)	2429
Average attendance, (715 male, 658 female),	1373
" monthly sal. of male teachers, for term,	$88 54
" " " female " "	33 40

Average cost of tuition for each of whole number of pupils, for the term, based upon the actual school expenses, including cost of rents, repairs and insurance, but exclusive of expenditures on building account, not quite $7, or 70 cents a month.

Present building fund indebtedness,	$6,700 00
Library fund owing by school fund,	1,379 53

Tax-rate for current year, 1868-9, fifteen mills on a dollar; 10 for school purposes and five for building.

Attest:
W. E. BOYER, *President.*
CHRISTOPHER LITTLE, *Sec'y.*
July 11, '68. 28-3t

THE MINERS' JOURNAL,

AND POTTSVILLE GENERAL ADVERTISER.

I will teach you to pierce the Bowels of the Earth, and bring out from the Caverns of Mountains Metals which will give strength to our hands and subject all Nature to our use and pleasure.—DR. JOHNSON.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY MORNING BY BANNAN & RAMSEY, POTTSVILLE, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

Vol. XLIV.—No. 30. SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 25, 1868.

The Tariff—The Warehousing System—Protection to American Industry.

SPEECH OF

HON. HENRY L. CAKE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

In the House of Representatives, July 7, 1868.

MR. SPEAKER: As a temporary measure the recommendation of the Committee on Manufactures in relation to the warehousing system is just and proper; but in the interest of the manufacturers and producers of this country the practice of finding free storage room for importations that may or may not remain in the country and pay the duty ought to be discontinued. Until this can be done, in addition to interest upon the unpaid duty, the foreign article should be made to pay the same warehouse charges that American production encounters while awaiting transportation or a market.

As a partial measure of justice to the labor of this country the proposition should encounter no opposition; all the more promptly should this suggestion be acted upon because the tariff and the tax bills are probably to go over to December.

The importer, whether foreign or American, can complain of no injustice in this provision; for as American manufacturers cannot go into these national warehouses for free storage the system is a direct discrimination against them. A further and a more injurious discrimination against the American manufacturer is found in the fact that it requires more capital to carry the American than the foreign competing article. The foreign article is produced by the half-paid, or, if you please, the pauper labor of Europe. Our goods, costing the same in hours and days to produce, cost double, in most cases, in money, for the reason that our labor is comparatively well paid. On the continent wages are much lower than in Great Britain. Hon. John W. Forney, in his "Letters from Europe," gives the figures running through all the trades. I make free use of the valuable information he furnishes. A carefully prepared newspaper article contrasts the wages paid in Belgium and New York:

"The present pay of mechanics in Belgium will be found compared with that of New York artisans in the following table:

	Belgium.	*New York.*
Bakers..............	27@54 cents per day.	$2 00
Tailors.............	54@80 cents per day.	3 00
Masons.............	27@67 cents per day.	4 50
Bookbinders........	54@80 cents per day.	2 50
Coppersmiths......$1	00 per day.	3 50
Coopers.............	40@67 cents per day.	4 50

"The difference in the cost of living in the two countries is not so great as is commonly represented. The luxuries of life are much higher here, but for actual necessaries the prices are about the same."

In Germany farm laborers are paid thirty-two cents a day for men and sixteen cents for women during the harvest season. They work twelve hours, with one hour rest at midday. Their dress and food are of the coarsest description. Two pounds of black rye bread, one quarter of a pound of cheese, and half a pint of potato whisky, or its equivalent in wine or beer, form their diet. Three times a week they are allowed half a pound of meat. Mechanics receive from forty-eight to fifty-four cents per day. Meat costs from ten to fourteen cents a pound; flour, eleven cents a pound; and potatoes seventy cents for two hundred pounds. The price of labor has only risen two per cent. in ten years.—The greatest burden, however, is the heavy taxes laid upon every class. These taxes fall heaviest upon the working classes and lightest upon the rich. Ministers, teachers, and Government officers pay nothing, and labor and industry bear the whole burden. In Prussia the laws are more equitable, but all persons are taxed at least three per cent. on their incomes, while a workingman without property pays annually thirty-four cents or about one day's wages.

The condition of Irish laborers hardly needs description. Labor is a mere drug throughout Ireland, and is usually of the poorest kind. Wages are fearfully low—for men, on the average, one shilling a day; for women sixpence; for children fourpence, or nothing. Skilled workmen receive less than ten shillings a week, about three dollars of our money. The houses, dress, and food of the majority are of the most wretched description.

By this is seen at a glance the difference in the cost of production, and how generous we are to the foreign manufacturer when we put up for him a fire-proof warehouse in which to store his goods produced at starvation wages, while we exclude our own manufacturers from such benefits, although they are produced at rates of wages always at the highest point warranted by the market.

The difference in the cost of production is never made up by the tariff. The tariff is intended to, but rarely ever represents the full difference paid to mechanics and laborers in America and Europe. The whole cost of the American article is borne at once, while the foreign competitor is enabled to put his goods into competition at the mere foreign cost of production, the duty only being required to be paid at the moment of sale and removal from the bonded warehouse. The question involves the free discussion of the tariff and the tax bills.

Not only as a simple duty, but because it accords with my own conviction of right and justice to the laboring classes do I most earnestly protest against the postponement of the subject of protection as involved in that of the tariff. There is now no more important subject before the American people; and, whether my remarks be considered in season or out of season, I have no apology to offer for obtruding them upon the House at this time. My own position was taken upon this question at a very early period, and as I study it in all its bearings and inform myself more completely in regard to its importance, as my means and opportunities are from year to year enlarged, my early convictions are strengthened, and I am confirmed in the opinion that in no other way can Congress so well save the mechanic and laborer and at the same time contribute so much to the wealth and greatness of our country as by vouchsafing complete protection to our skill, our land, and our labor.

The postponement of the tax bill, from which something of relief had been hoped, leaves the question in all its bearing to the future.

Sir, so full of anxiety am I upon this subject that I am willing to unite my political fortunes with any party honestly making the advocacy of American labor its leading principle. This is not said in any demagogical spirit. The business of my district depends so much upon what is done here, and upon the activity of the business of my district depends so much of my own comfort, that I may be open to the charge of pleading under the spur of private interest, though God knows I would willingly sacrifice myself if I could set this matter right for many suffering, breaking hearts at home.

The shifting policy of this Government upon the subject of the tariff produces all the fluctuations that disturb our domestic industries. A state of affairs that stimulates the production of our staples is followed by legislation tending to cripple our manufacturers, and the vigorous arm of the mechanic and laborer is paralyzed. If the tariff of 1842 had been let alone, this nation instead of numbering less than forty, would have numbered over fifty million souls to-day; and the district I represent, instead of less than two hundred thousand could have boasted over half a million. Its latent wealth is equal to the employment of over a million of men. In behalf of the thousands who are there now, and idle half the time, I propose to speak this day; and if what I have to say is to have no effect, my efforts shall not therefore be spared hereafter. But I shall continue to caution the friends of protection in Congress to work together, and to withhold their aid from other projects whose friends, favoring peacemeal legislation, are always ready to take a little off here and a little off there until we shall have our tariff cut and carved down to the destructive law of 1846, not the least objectionable feature of which was the warehousing system now under discussion.

Sir, I am not unmindful of the efforts of the advocates of labor here. When I study their speeches I am amazed that all are not convinced and that any difference of opinion should exist as to the true policy of the Government. My colleague, [Mr. Kelly,] Representative of the fourth Congressional district of Pennsylvania, and by virtue of the variety and value of his services here, representative and advocate of the whole Commonwealth, has on many occasions presented to the House the wants and claims of American labor and enterprise in a manner and with an effect that might well dispense with any service which I can hope to render to those interests. My other colleague, [Mr. Morrell,] to whose courtesy I am indebted for the floor, has also found opportunities for giving us the results of an unusually large experience in departments of productive industry, which involve a practical acquaintance with the whole range of industries that interlock in that central one which he has long and successfully conducted. Nor have there ever been lacking other educated representatives of Pennsylvania; gentlemen qualified both by study and practice in all the varieties of business interests which give to the State a representative character among the sister States of the Union, who, each in his own speciality, and all together, might well be trusted to fill up the representative duty here and suffer no incompleteness by the lack of any contribution from me. Indeed, I would gladly escape the unequal trial of this general service, but there are reasons why my mite should be thrown in with their abundance—considerations which constrain me and amply justify my attempt to reinforce them, even by pressing to the front, though I may not claim equal rank among my peers in the performance of a duty charged alike by our respective constituencies upon us all.

The attention of Congress has been so long and so closely held to the consideration of questions either purely political or so remotely connected with the economic exigencies of the times that it will require some effort to secure the tone of mind and direction of thought demanded by the subjects involved in the great labor question pressing upon us now for a wise and happy solution.

We have a tariff of import duties to arrange in conformity with the sound principles and policy of international trade, the details of which, difficult enough in themselves, are besides greatly complicated by a necessary adjustment to the onerous system of internal duties which our national debt and current expenditure imposes upon our productive industry. In no circumstances, indeed, can a sound system of foreign trade be established without regard to domestic industry, for the prosperity of a country, even if entirely free from national debt, and the resulting burdens upon its industries, needs some protection, some guardianship, some general policy; aye, some favoring and fostering care; for, if every mechanic and every merchant must consider his business relations and rivalries, or the demand and supply of his neighborhood, much more must a nation shape its industrial policy to the state and requirements of its home demand and supplies, and to the foreign interferences with its own capabilities and opportunities.

It is conceded that labor is the primary source of all wealth; wealth being nothing less in its broadest and deepest meaning than "the measure of man's power over nature;" power over nature; for man finds the earth and all its agencies in resistance to his dominion, and hence the significance of the original command given to the representative of the race, "to subdue the earth." This is the mission and commission appointed and enjoined; and labor, in its widest meaning, labor of muscle and mind, labor natural and artificial, the work of human hands, and the help of natural forces subdued to human service; labor of every kind which man commands is the agent by which the dominion of the earth is achieved, and this dominion is wealth. The wealth, or, in other words, the welfare of a nation, arising thus out of its labor, that labor must be the primary and principal care of human societies if they would not abandon their fortunes to chance or to the control of adverse interests and warring policies; and if there be any such opposition of interests among nations as exists everywhere among individuals, Governments, like private men, must consider and provide against them. Out of this dependence upon the prosperity of labor and its national competitions arise the necessity and the justification of defense, protection, and earnest guardianship. Householders lock their doors against intruders, and if they admit a stranger to the business of their domestic concerns it is under the restraint of their own authority. Farmers build fences to protect their fields from stray cattle, and Governments construct forts and navies for the defense of their territories against invasion, and all men record their title papers for the security of their rights of property. Thus defensive means and measures are so far from being uncommon or unwarrantable that they are universal in the concerns of individual life; and that aggregate of individuals which we call a nation has a clear authority for taking a like care of its general interests; and this is all the stronger that the interests of the individual are all at risk in those of the community.

But let me not tire you with the generalities of the principle on which the policy of protection to home industry safely rests.—The argument is usually carried into specialities, and these are both complex and numerous. Principles are much modified in their operation by circumstances and contingencies, and for practical uses they must be met where they eventuate in facts and effects. Indeed, I would rather carry the discussion into details, into history and experience, than rest it where our antagonists usually confine it, in logical and abstract propositions, however sound I hold it to be in philosophy as well as in practice.

Let us for a moment look at the doctrine of protection in the aspect usually presented by the enemy. Experience is against them, if the experience of all prosperous nations be admitted to the sound and true. The facts which confront them are that no nation which to-day holds a high and respectable rank in wealth and power on the earth has, during its stage of growth, followed the policy of free trade either in form or effect. European, especially British, literature and speculative philosophy are loaded down to the water's edge with argumentation against the doctrine of protection; but the policy of the British islands had no such freight aboard while they rode the tide of successful experiment. I need not enter into the proof of this assertion, for no one disputes it. But the utility as well as the principles of protection are denied by those who would confute its theory. English free-traders have the boldness to say now that the maritime supremacy of Great Britain was achieved not by aid of her navigation laws, but in spite of them; and that England made herself "the workshop of the world" in like manner, in spite of the protection of domestic industry, which she maintained for five centuries, from the time when Flanders was Europe's workshop and England was selling her raw materials and buying back the skilled labor of the Continent until the time when she became an importer of raw materials and a vender of the labor and skill and of the power and products of natural forces to all the world. Now, somehow English manufactures did grow to overtopping proportions under her system of protection, prohibition, and bounties, not only absolutely, but relatively, to the early supremacy of India and the southwestern half of Europe. And the only ground for affirming that the policy under which this wonderful success was secured was not the cause and the means is simply that it was—no, that it is—unphilosophical; a conclusion that would be just as valid if one were to affirm that the adhesive inflammation which accompanies the restoration of a broken bone is unhealthy, and the splints and bandages only so much impediment and incumbrance, because they are not necessary in the sound condition of a limb. But free-traders are not only poetical in respect to principles; they are habitually and utterly untrue as to facts.

They point to the abridged schedules and the diminished rates of duty of the British tariff as a demonstration of their theory.—They say in so many words that the English system is now what they are pleased to call free trade. Our answer is that it is not now and never has been free trade in principle or purpose, in any sense opposed to protection, rightly understood.

Protection is only and simply defense.—The Esquimaux need no defense for their production of walrus beef, their reindeer or seal-skin trade. New York needs no defense for its daily newspapers, nor Massachusetts for its ice. Neither the principle of free trade nor of protection touches these commodities in these circumstances. Nor do they any more apply to any product of skill in England of which she has the natural or acquired monopoly in her home market.—Free trade as opposed to protection—that is, free trade as a distinctive economical principle—never had an inch of foothold in England, nor, though constantly so claimed, has it kept company with liberalism and progressiveness in the reforms of the last quarter of a century. Free trade has nothing in its spirit or aims which entitle it to fellowship with the movement in modern societies looking to and laboring for the amelioration of human conditions. The landed aristocracy of England resisted the repeal of the corn laws, indeed; and in this case English conservatism was arrayed against the form which free trade took there; but in our own country the planting interest, the slaveholding feudalists of this nineteenth century and of this progressive Republic were not protectionists, but out and out free-traders. This opposition of the conservatisms in the United States and in Great Britain means something else than the assumed natural sympathy of free trade for progressiveness.

I have said that free trade, as an economic principle, has never existed in England. I go further, and say that free trade has never taken the shape and action of a principle anywhere, that an advocate dare quote its results, or supposed results, in the experience of the nation adopting it. Something of it exists as a sentiment in portions of our agricultural population where manufactures have as yet scarcely taken existence, and even there it is an opinion imported from that region of this country and from that foreign nation with which it is a mere matter of policy. Among us it has one way or other worked itself into some consideration through the agency of debating societies, off-hand editorials, and foreign treatises on political economy got up in the infected districts. The Democratic party, too, not sincerely nor advisedly, but through its unnatural alliance with the slave party of the South for twenty years before the rebellion, leaned away from the leadings of Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson toward this heresy along with its other apostacies, which together have plunged it into ruin. The building of a furnace, mill, or factory in a purely agricultural community, where the free-trade sentiment had obtained a foothold, by enhancing the value of property in the locality, stimulating the agricultural as well as all other pursuits, creating a market for the surplus labor, and by raising the value of that labor, speedily explodes the doctrine, and adds to the ranks sturdy advocates of protection.

I know that England is constantly, and it may be in many cases innocently, quoted as showing a great revolution in doctrine and practice in this matter. She is quoted as an instance of the triumph of the doctrine and of the benefit of its practical adoption. But her policy has not to this day entitled itself to the use or application of the term. It may be loosely taken to describe her present practice in reference to her foreign trade far, but so far only, as that practice really extends; but this policy in no degree discloses the spirit or aim of her commercial system, even to the extent of its seeming application. It is not free trade that she wants, but cheap raw material and cheap provisions. Until within the last five and twenty years her system stood firmly upon protection, effected through fines, penalties, prohibitions, and import duties, high enough always to secure for her the monopoly of her home market and those of all her colonial dependencies.

This system of protection embraced food as well as fabrics, and until the towns mastered the country and the millocracy overtopped the landed aristocracy, the concession had to be made by the manufacturers and traders to the land owners. The revolution in policy, when it was effected, was really made to secure free, that is cheap, raw material, of which food is greatly more important than even any or all the subtances which she works into her manufactures.

The articles which may be called food and drink imported into the United Kingdom in 1864, amounted to four hundred and thirty-nine million dollars, being thirty-three per cent. of the total value of all the British imports of that year. But when the exports of foreign goods are subtracted the food retained rises to thirty-six and a half per cent. of all commodities imported and consumed.

To show how far British free trade aims at cheap raw material for consumption and reproduction we have the striking fact that of her total imports in 1864, which amounted to two hundred and seventy-five millions pounds sterling, the manufactures amounted to no more than seventeen million pounds, or but six and three quarter per cent. of the total foreign imports.

The edifice of her industrial prosperity having been built up under protection to a height that overtopped all the nations which at first surpassed her in her own and in foreign markets, her supremacy (which certainly was attained long before she relaxed a hair-breadth of her protective system of duties) secured, and all its powers exhausted in its complete victory, the next advance step to be taken in order to preserve and extend her dominion in foreign trade was to obtain food and raw material at the cheapest possible rates that wages might be low as well as the price of the foreign materials to be employed.

This aim and object, this endeavor, pushed to its utmost capability, with no other intent than the maintenance of her enormous foreign trade against the rivalry of the Continent, which has been long her terror as well as her danger, is glazed over with the fancy name of a principle which she and her disciples elsewhere so fondly call free trade, in order that her prosperity, falsely credited to it, may be used to break down the barriers of self-defense against her commercial encroachments upon the welfare of the nations whom she seeks to reduce to, and hold in, industrial vassalage.

That this is the spirit of her so-called free-trade policy is made further evident by her constant and ever-growing policy of shifting taxation from consumption to accumulation, or the clear savings of production. This is the true secret of a continuous resort to the income tax to cover deficits of revenue, and especially to meet all extraordinary demands upon the national exchequer.

Whoever looks along the progressive reductions and remissions of impost and excise duties which mark the history of English legislation, especially since the free trade era and corn law repeal of 1846, will find that the burden of these reductions was invariably shifted upon the income tax when that would answer, and upon it and spirits and malt when the demand was unusually large. Sir Stafford Northcote, now a member of the Cabinet, in his work on the "Financial Policy of England," says, expressly, concerning the imposition of this tax in the year 1845, that "the Parliament deliberately adopted it, and that at the time when the tax was not proposed as a measure of urgency, as in 1798, or even in 1842, but it was calmly weighed in the balance against cheap sugar, cheap glass, cheap cotton, and the rest, and found to be a price worth paying for these countervailing benefits." This tax, always odious, and rightly described by Lord John Russel as "a tax in which in equality, vexation and fraud are inherent," and always *proposed* by the Government as a *temporary* measure, to tide the exchequer over the shallows of revenue, is nevertheless persistently maintained. Not only to meet such exigencies as the Irish famine year, the Crimean war, and revolts in India, but even when so small an item as the expense of the Abyssinian expedition somewhat increased the national expenditure we find the Minister of Finance proposing to add to the present levy twopence in the pound, rather than put three millions unprovided for upon any other objects of taxation, for upon any of these it would ultimately, if not directly, burden consumption, enhance wages, and increase the cost of production, all of which is forbidden by the necessity of providing cheap living for labor, and cheap materials and wages for manufacturing. This policy of putting all extraordinary and much of the ordinary expenses of Government upon the income tax for the purpose of exonerating the productive industry of the realm has every whit as good a claim to be called a free-trade principle as the successive reductions and remissions of impost charges have in the practice of England. Not only has the income tax been permanently maintained since 1842, but it has been made to yield an average of about forty million dollars per year, since 1846, or much more than the average annual amount of all the duties upon foreign goods remitted since the cheap labor and cheap raw material movement was introduced into English policy. To the same end and with the same purpose the duties upon legacies and successions are charged up continually higher and higher, that manufacturers might be still further and further relieved as continental rivalry pressed harder and harder upon England's foregn trade.

Here we see, and it seems to me worth the trouble of looking after, that that system of protection which by the imposition of import duties had been fairly strained to its last stretch of efficacy, and to the last moment and limit of its need, was repealed by statute only after it had been virtually repealed by its own complete success. And then that form of protection, which consists in shifting taxation from industry to accumulated wealth, was substituted as necessary to the struggle with the commodities of rival nations for the monopoly of the labor market of all such semi-barbarous nations as can be induced, first to accept a false theory of industry and trade, and afterward the goods manufactured for their defenseless markets.

But I go further, and assert here, not only that England has never adopted free trade as a principle, but she has to this day never abandoned protection, even in form, much less in fact. The free lists in her tariff schedules cover not an item or an article that in the slightest degree can compete with her domestic productions; articles of food and raw materials for her manufactures, so far as England produces any of these, excepted, the motives for which exceptions we have already shown, and shown, too, that they are so far from the principle of free trade that they are in essence and object protective of the manufacturing supremacy and foreign trade monopoly of the United Kingdom.

England now, and during the whole period since the formal installation of her pretended free trade in the statutes of the realm, has collected an average of twenty-two million pounds from customs. The estimate of the Chancellor of the Exchequer puts this item at one hundred and ten and a half million dollars for the coming year. I admit that this charge is in the main a tax upon consumption or an excise duty collected at the custom house, and not protective in effect. About six of these twenty-two millions customs duties, however, are raised from manufactures levied as protective duties.—But the amount collected from foreign imports which directly or indirectly compete with British protection is by no means the measure of the positive protection afforded to domestic industry. To the extent that duty rates prohibit or abridge importation they operate effectively. Indeed, it is in this way that they are most effective, and the only unequivocal operation which they ever have, for a mere increase of price upon imports charged with duties, when it does not diminish or prevent their introduction, may fall more or less to afford encouragement to home labor and capital. The duty often does fall wholly upon the foreign producer in diminution of his profits without hindering him entirely from entering the market for domestic labor. The value or force of protective or defensive duties leveled at though they fail to be levied upon imports is the true measure of their protective power.

Taking the average production of the manufactures of tobacco, sugar, and spirits in the United Kingdom, and the difference between the customs charged against such goods and of the excise duties charged upon the home-made articles, we find that the aggregate of these surcharges upon the foreign commodity amounts to ten million pounds sterling in round numbers; and if we add to these the duties made to stand guard over the home market against foreign beer, paper, cards, dice, vinegar, plate, hats, books, mill-boards, embroidery, musical instruments, linens, and a number of other articles which compete with similar articles of British manufacture, it is safe to say that the British Government, while it actually collects something over six millions sterling upon foreign manufactures, and manages besides to defend her home productions in her home markets by a scale of customs duties which prevent or diminish foreign importation by the threatened imposition, or, the barrier of preventive charges equivalent in protective force to more than twenty millions sterling, or one hundred million dollars per annum.

Is this free trade?

The pretense is an imposture.

The demonstration that protection, formal and actual, is thus maintained by the model free trade nation under many disguises of names and methods of exaction with which I have ventured to detain the House, might seem, after being plainly produced, unnecessary. Unnecessary simply because it is obvious upon a moment's reflection that free trade, in the meaning claimed for her system, is in itself simply impossible. How in the name of common sense can it be supposed that any people whose dependence is so largely as that of Great Britain upon the full employment of her capital and labor could possibly give up to a phantom of theory the very substance of their industrial existence, to allow their labor and capital to be displaced at home, and all the work and profit of their necessary supplies to be transferred to any and every people who from local and special advantages should be able to underwork and undersell them? Can it be supposed that with a debt of four thousand million dollars resting upon the nation, and the necessity for ordinary expenditure of three hundred and fifty million dollars per annum, to say nothing of the extraordinary, which, if not as constant are quite as certain to occur, Great Britain could possibly allow France and Germany to seize her home markets and close her workshops? The defense to which they are compelled to resort is prettily phrased or styled countervailing duties.—Countervailing; what does that mean? Usually it is applied to the duty imposed upon such articles as spirits, manufactured sugar, manufactured tobacco, malt liquor, and such other articles as are selected to bear the great burden of the domestic excise. The home market for these articles thus relied upon for the greater part of the necessary revenue must be guarded against the like articles of foreign countries by countervailing duties; that is, the competing imports must be charged up to the mark of excluding them altogether, reducing them to comparative insignificance, or, at the least, throwing the whole weight of such duties upon the foreign producer. And what does this mean when pushed to its central idea? Why only this, that England can bear anything in the way of prices of commodities better than she can bear turning her labor idle or reducing its amount and at the same time striking her active capital and her foreign commerce with the resulting paralysis.

Countervailing simply means "opposing with equal strength, balancing, obviating in effect." If import duties on this ground have the highest free-trade authority for their application where inland taxes raise prices upon the domestic producers of commodities, may they not also, and upon the very same ground, be applied where wages, or capital, or both are higher than among rival foreign producers? The intention and the necessity are exactly the same; that is, the reserving and securing to home labor and capital its opportunity of productive and profitable employment. Whoever says "no" to this proposition says that labor must everywhere be leveled to the lowest remuneration that is given to it anywhere; that it must be driven in the New World by the beggary of the Old World to the low scale of wages which drives the millions of toilers of that Old World from their homes forever; or else it means that they shall be excluded from those departments of production which call into play all their higher powers, and exclude them from all those kinds of labor which an advanced civilization offers to the workingmen of modern times.

I have occupied the attention of the House with this theme so long and so earnestly for the purpose of overthrowing the force of the pattern, the model free-trade nation, and for the reason that it is so often and so confidently pressed upon us as an authority in theory and a demonstration in practice, and for the further reason that if the claims, pretenses, and example of Great Britain are fairly silenced we have not another instance in the world's history to meet. I mean another instance where any apparent prosperity has attended an approach to free trade in foreign commerce.

Turkey bound herself by treaty with England to free trade three hundred years ago, when she feared no rivalry either in her own or in foreign commerce. A hundred and sixty years ago Portugal opened her ports and markets to the invasion of British products, under the temptation of a difference of duty in favor of her wines as against France; and India, now something more than fifty years subject to Great Britain, has had free trade forced upon her. And where do these people stand in the scale of nations now, and what is the state of their domestic affairs? Before their own folly or foreign force stripped them of self-protection they ranked as either first-rate Powers in Europe, or what is better, as self supporting, independent, and prosperous. Now they are the wretched relics of decayed nationalities, having fallen under the disabilities of defenceless industry, blighted and blasted, and have become nuisances upon the face of the earth.

But, on the other hand, what peoples do we see rising into the front rank of European powers? Those, and those only, who have steadily, persistently, and wisely pursued the policy of fostering that home labor which is the only source of assured wealth. North Germany, Russia, and France are Europe to-day. Austria, that never entered the Zollverein or customs union of Germany, was defeated utterly and hopelessly in a campaign of a fortnight by her neighbor nations, who since 1825 have been doing their own work, just as our own southern States were conquered by the wealth and vigor of the trained industrials of the North.

Yes, sir, it is the treasure-chest quite as much as the camp that, in these times expresses the force of embattled armies, and determines the result; determines it in favor of the muscles and mind educated together in the pursuits of a prosperous industry, whatever be the spirit or enthusiasm which it meets on the battle-field.

The argument for protection found in the example of England gains greatly increased force in its application to the condition and the necessities of the United States. The situation of the two countries at corresponding stages of their respective careers have such resemblance as fully warrants us in taking the economical history of the British islands, with its results for our example, and in so far as it has been successful for our guide under similar circumstances. The people of this country, in the main, are of the same race or races, and are of like generic type for we mingle in our diversified nationalities only a larger portion of the best blood that has mixed its stray currents in theirs. No naturalist would pretend that in mental and physical constitution, or in capabilities for the highest destiny, we are in any wise their inferior. They may claim an earlier descent from the best races of continental Europe, but we have these in their most recent and highest state of advancement, and our history since our severance from the mother country, by every test that tries the quality of men, proves at least such equality with them as logically includes us under the same law, and points us to a substantially similar directory for the conduct of our national interests.

The period of England's history which bears the closest analogy to our present condition may be taken at the year 1816, when she had just emerged from a long war, which left her with a depreciated currency, a burden of debt, believed then to be more than she could bear, and an annual expenditure that taxed and strained all her productive energies to their utmost. Her estimated wealth was but a little more than the half of ours. The proportion of their national debt to the property of the realm was fully forty per cent., while its annual interest was one hundred and sixty millions, or fully ten per cent. of the annual product of the United Kingdom.

How stands her wealth now? The best authorities put it above thirty-six thousand millions, and her present national debt, at first near twice the amount of ours, and still but little reduced, has fallen in relative burden from forty to less than twelve per cent., and its interest from ten to three and a half per cent. of the annual product of the capital and industry of the country.

Now, the burden of our debt, State, national, and municipal, is, perhaps, more than three thousand millions, or equal to three-fourths of that of Great Britain in 1816, and its interest is a charge relatively as heavy upon our annual products, though, perhaps, but little more than five per cent. We are struggling as she struggled after her great trial under a burden equally great upon our present means. For while the current demand is not less, our greater capital wealth lies largely in estimation, in possibility, depending for its availability upon the enterprise and industry that shall evoke its answering product.

There may or may not be a considerable difference in the figures which express the stock and the liabilities of the two countries at the dates compared; but there is a substantial difference in our condition now and theirs then. Her territory is measured in square miles, ours in degrees of latitude and longitude. The map of our domain would cover her nearly twenty-five times over. Our mines of the precious and useful metals are practically unlimited, and we have every variety of the climates found in the temperate zone, with an equal diversity and richness of fertility and spontaneous products of the soil. Of these things we boast, which is well; but on these things, also, we are accustomed to count when we are brought to face the demands which they must meet.—But what are they worth as a reliance, and what are the conditions of their availability? Not one of all these immense potentialities will adequately answer our need unless wisely managed and administered. A nation cannot live upon its capital. Its capital is only the base of its resources, but its actual support comes only from its constant productiveness. An idler may live upon his fortune as long as others are working for him upon it, and no longer; a nation of idlers cannot sell its [illegible] estate, and must starve as

soon as its money and surplus movables are exhausted. More immediately and directly than any individual does an entire community depend upon its every-day industry; and to secure, encourage, protect, and foster the work that yields current support and wealth is therefore the first and chief business of its legislature.

But to our parallel: did England, circumstanced so nearly as we are now, after her war upon the Continent, lasting a quarter of a century, and with the United States during full three years of the same period, abandon the industries of her people to an open competition under the doctrine of free trade? I need not answer this question to any one having but the most ordinary acquaintance with the history of her commercial policy; but it is worth while to note the extent of the protection given to her manufacturers, to her metals, coal, wool, flax, and to the labor and capital employed in their conversion. The scale is fairly indicated by the rates charged upon foreign imports generally under her tariff act of 1819. Foreign woolens were charged fifty per cent. of their value; cottons fifty to sixty-seven per cent.; glass an average of eighty per cent.; and iron six pounds ten shillings or thirty-one dollars and fifty-two cents per ton; and the cottons of the East Indies, where labor and the raw material were at extremely low rates, were prohibited. These are samples of rates which in the main are far higher than any ever levied by our Government under tariffs that the enemy abroad and at home denounce as monstrous; nor were these rates ever abated or this protection ever relaxed until they had raised the whole range of industries up to a strength which defied all competition in her own and in the markets of the world. Is there anything doubtful in this history, or anything unwarranted in claiming it as a guiding experience for own conduct in difficulties as great and toward an issue equally fortunate, especially as England herself, in all her strength of means, and all her acknowledged supremacy of art, is now full armed in the field against us; a competition far stronger than any that she herself ever encountered in the days of her great trials?

It will be perceived that I have confined myself to a simple, straightforward line of argument, and adhered closely to practical considerations, to a thoroughly verified and fully justified experience, running through a period long enough to meet all sorts of contingencies, and sustained by a people every way competent to give a system of policy its fullest and fairest trial. Have I not gone safely by the clear light of an analogy that makes the general question as plain as though the pattern policy selected had been a parable made on purpose to reflect all the features, facts, and results of the principles for which I have been arguing? And are we not, having reached this standpoint, authorized to turn upon the propagandists of free trade in Great Britain and their echoes at home, and say we accept the authority of your example, and refuse to adopt the theory which you have manufactured to deprive us of its advantages? Let me add to these generalities that the assumed prevalence of the free trade theory, and its growth among the nations, is simply untrue in point of fact. The commercial treaties made by England with several of the continental Governments, beginning with France in 1860, all stipulate that the duties charged upon British goods shall not exceed, but may reach, thirty per cent. in some cases, in others twenty-five per cent. ad valorem, and that the rates shall all be converted into specific levies whenever the subjects are capable of assessment by number, weight, or measure. Thirty per cent., or twenty-five, or twenty, is surely sufficiently defensive for these manufactures and products of France and Germany, where food, raw material and capital are at least as cheap, and wages generally even lower, of which we have the proof in the fact that France has now a market in England for locomotives, and Germany has taken contracts for the supply of railroad iron to Russia at rates which undersell England herself. These continental countries, all of them, have so long protected their domestic industries that they are able now to meet the old time workshop of the world in foreign markets, and ask no odds in the strife for their own.

The propagandists of the free trade theory are constantly proclaiming the progress of their pet policy as witnessed by these commercial treaties, of which the Anglo-French of 1860 is the type. My answer to this boast is—and I am prepared to sustain it—that the tariff rates fixed by the convention between England and France are as high in figures, and greatly more effectual in operation, than our own tariff of 1861, commonly called the "Morrill tariff."

For the present I content myself with the assertion that the boast of progress made by free trade in modern opinion and action is simply a false pretense, of which I might cite the further evidence that the colonies of mother England, wherever they enjoy the right of governing their own industrial interests, are all in open revolt against the policy which she is endeavoring to impose upon them. The case is put plumply by the Westminister Review for April, 1868, in which the writer, after inveighing, in the true British spirit, against universal suffrage and Government affairs controlled by the people for their immediate interest, says that "the colony of Victoria, the most liberal and important in Australia, in pursuit of the popular fallacy that it is possible to turn taxation into a source of national wealth, or, at least, into a means of creating local manufactures; that is, of raising wages, the government of Victoria, representing the democratic majority, has, during the last two years, revolutionized its whole fiscal scheme in favor of a protective system, putting on new taxes, not for revenue, but for protection to native industry."—Again, the reviewer says:

> "Protection was taken to mean increased employment and higher wages; and protection thenceforth became, and still is the cardinal article of the Australian democratic creed."

This is not so much a concession as a charge by the indignant critic, but it is the best sort of proof of the fact, and all the more reliable that it is extorted evidence from an unwilling witness. He ascribes the detested triumph of protection there, in plain words, to that "habit of governing by means of a democratic majority, which is very damaging to political virtue."

Agreeing entirely with the high free-trade authority as to the facts of the case, and happy that he confesses and exposes the grounds of his disgust, I merely cite him as the briefest and clearest authority against the brag of his party, "that liberalism, progress, and popular or democratic government tend toward free trade in international commerce." I am entirely safe in saying that this pretense, by whomsoever made, is either a mistake or a falsehood; and, in either case, equally untrue and the very reverse of the truth.

But protection is exposed to assaults that take the form of practical objections to its operation upon the interests of the Government, and of certain classes of the people adopting it. As against the general interests of the community, I trust that I have shown it not true. The foreign commerce and the maritime interests of Great Britain grew under a protective system of unequaled strictness into the supremacy in the markets of the world and to the domination of the seas. Nor is it true, either, that the alleged restriction of trade diminishes revenue from foreign imports. In our experience we have the proof that high, very high, duties do not diminish either foreign trade or revenue to the Treasury.

In the year 1857, the largest amount of duty-paying goods ever till then imported, under whatever tariff, rose to the value of two hundred and eighty-three and a half millions, under an average rate of twenty-two and four tenths per cent.; while in 1867 the dutiable imports rose to the value of three hundred and seventy-two and three-quarter millions, under the average tariff rates of forty-seven and one-third per cent. Here we have nearly one third more goods imported under a more than doubled average duty, and one hundred and seventy-six and one half million of revenue derived, against forty-nine and a half millions, or an almost fourfold yield to the Treasury.

It may be noticed here that when the tariff of 1867 reduced the average rate upon dutiable imports to nineteen and a half per cent., the largest imports of dutiable goods, at these rates, which happened in 1860, amounted to only two hundred and sixty-eight millions. This was the year of our largest exports of breadstuffs, provisions, cotton, and other staples. Every possible circumstance was favorable to the trade of the year, yet it yielded one hundred and twenty-eight and eight-tenths millions less to the Treasury, and brought one hundred and five millions less of foreign goods to our shores than was afforded by the forty-seven and one-third per cent. tariff in operation in the fiscal year 1867.

I am dealing with facts, and I cannot so well in any other manner contradict or refute the specious doctrines of free-traders; such, for instance, as that which affirms that the lower the tariff rates the larger both the importation and the resulting revenue. A notion derived from the idea that protection means prohibition, or at least diminution of imports, to the extent of its degree, which is not true. Protection means nothing of the kind. It does not diminish foreign trade, but it selects it, and at the same time increases it by enabling the country to purchase the more in proportion to the freedom and security given to domestic industry. Why, Mr. Speaker, there is no country under the sun so well protected against rival industries as England. Her supremacy in production bars out all the manufactures of the world, except about six per cent. of her total imports, and those imports have risen under this security from seven hundred and thirty-nine million dollars in value in 1854, to one thousand three hundred and fifteen millions in 1865, thus increasing seventy-eight per cent. in ten years; and this for the reason that her exports came still nearer to doubling in the same time. Nor has her customs revenue fallen off. It amounted to twenty-two million pounds in 1846, and yielded twenty-two and a half million in 1865, having been as high as twenty-four millions in 1863.

So much for the answer of history and fact to the plausible notion that lower duties increase imports and revenue, which might be true if the ability to buy foreign goods, was not affected by paralysis of domestic industry; but it is seen to be false when we look to the prosperity produced by full work, large wages, and activity of capital, all secured by protection of each, and all alike.

There is also another fallacy of the let-alone school of economists, specious enough on the surface, but hollow at the core. It is the assumption that the price of all imported commodities to the consumer must be increased by the amount of duty imposed upon them. But is the producer's selling price such a fixed and constant quantity that it can be taken for the basis of such a calculation? Let us see. The export price of English merchant bar iron in Liverpool was at five pounds ten shillings in August, 1832, and at ten pounds ten shillings in January, 1836, and it hovered about the latter rate until 1840. The former price of five pounds ten shillings concurred with the operations of our tariff of 1828 and the increased price ruled during the reign of our compromise act. In April, 1843, our tariff of 1842 being in force, English merchant bar iron fell to five pounds. The tariff of 1842 being repealed it went up to nine pounds ten shillings in January, 1847.

These instances are enough for illustration. Now, who paid the duty on any such iron imported into the United States when our tariff rates were at the highest? The consumer? Manifestly no. The producer, capitalist, laborer, and trader, suffered it in abatement of their profits; sometimes even to the loss of all profits; and something of capital invested besides. Home production encouraged has the natural effect of holding the prices of foreign commodities in check, even when some considerable enhancement of price is the result. One thing is certain, that the foreign article never can go above the living price at which the domestic article can be afforded, for competition among home producers will fix the maximum for the market, and hold it there, or prevent it from fluctuation, to the injury of the consumer.

A country absolutely subjected to foreigners for their supplies in every article must allow the vendor to fix his own price upon it, and if it has but one such market for purchasing it must also be shut up to that market for the sale of the commodities with which it purchases, and the foreigner thus fixes the price of the exports as well as of the imports. This is the bondage of trade. A slave, sir, is one who can deal with but one man. A country which must deal only in one market is as much enslaved.

I have no doubt that an American consumer of tea or tropical spices must pay the whole duty imposed upon these articles at the custom house, unless by a general abstinence the price is forced down upon the producer, and so a part or the whole of the charge be taken out of his profits. But who pays the duty when competition is open and a choice is free? How much must either party pay of such duty under the varying circumstances of the case? Alexander Hamilton, in the Federalist, touches this subject incidentally, not exhaustively, as was his usage whenever engaged upon any point of economic doctrine as the main topic of discussion. He says:

> "When the demand is equal to the quantity of goods at market, the consumer generally pays the duty; but when the markets happen to be over-stocked a great proportion falls upon the merchant, and sometimes not only exhausts his profits, but breaks in upon his capital. I am apt to think, [he concludes] that a division of the duty between the seller and the buyer more often happens, than is commonly imagined, for it is not always possible to raise the price of a commodity in exact proportion to every additional imposition laid upon it."

These considerations are enough to dispose of the bold assumption that all taxes and duties are necessarily and certainly so much additional charge upon the commodities. Prices are determined by supply and demand; and it is plain, therefore, that domestic competition must have the effect of regulating the cost of foreign products when they are obliged to meet the rivalry of domestic goods in the markets which they invade. If there were no other reason of policy for maintaining such a check upon the foreign denomination of our home markets, this would be a sufficient one. But dependence for supplies from abroad, for anything that can be produced at home, even as a mere matter of mercantile policy, is liable to the objection that they are thus surrendered to the government of causes accidents caprices, and interests, over which we have no control. In the war of 1812, blankets previously costing but six dollars per pair went up to twenty, and opium rose to one hundred and sixty dollars per pound, and common pins, of which we made none at the time, became absolutely unattainable. It is even worse when arms and ammunition are to be had only from the nation with which we happen to be at war. But I need not press this point so well put by Gen. Jackson in his letter to Dr. Coleman, written during the pendency of legislation which resulted in the highly protective tariff act of 1824 and its amendmdnt in 1828. But the opponent returns to the charge after all his sophistries of theory are exploded with such objections as this: the protective duty must somehow increase the price of the commodity, else why impose it? I answer, it certainly increases the underselling price resorted to for the purpose of breaking up the domestic production, with the opportunity reserved of increasing it to more than indemnifying rates when dominion of the market is obtained, as we have seen always occurred in the matter of English iron.

Mr. Maddison, in his letter to Judge Cabell, October 30, 1828, puts this point thus:

> "Should it happen, as has been suspected to be an object, though not of a foreign Government itself, of its great manufacturing capitalists, to strangle in the cradle the infant manufactures of an extensive customer or an anticipated rival, it would surely, in such a case be incumbent on the suffering party so far to make an exception to the let-alone policy as to parry the evil by appropriate regulations of its foreign commerce."

Mr. Madison, forty years ago, spoke of the possibility of foreign combinations to break down American industries, threatening to dispute the home market with them; but the report of a parliamentary commission appointed to consider the pressing evil of strikes among British workmen, makes Mr. Madison's hypothesis a matter of history. I ask attention to a somewhat lengthy extract for the reason that it covers the ground of an argument which I would be but too happy if I could sufficiently impress upon the people of this country who are so largely concerned and yet so little impressed by its facts and forced. This parliamentary committee says:

> "The laboring classes (of England) generally, in the manufacturing districts of this country, and especially in the iron and coal districts, are very little aware of the extent to which they are often indebted for their being employed at all to the immense losses which their employers voluntarily incur in bad times *in order to destroy foreign competition and to gain and keep possession of foreign markets.* Authentic instances are well known of employers having in such times carried on their works at a loss amounting in the aggregate to three or four hundred thousand pounds in the course of three or four years. If the efforts of those who encourage the combinations to restrict the amount of labor, and to produce strikes were to be successful for any length of time, the great accumulation of capital could no longer be made *which enable a few of the most wealthy capitalists to overwhelm all foreign competition in times of great* depression, and thus to clear the way for the whole trade to step in when prices revive, and to carry on a great business before foreign capital can again accumulate to such an extent as to be able to establish a competition in prices with any chance of success. The large capitals of this country are the great instruments of warfare against the competing capital of foreign countries, and are the most essential instruments now remaining by which our manufacturing supremacy can be maintained; the other elements—cheap labor, abundance of raw material, means of communication, and skilled labor, being rapidly in process of being equalized."

This murderous policy Mr. Madison thought possible as a means of holding an extensive customer in commercial and industrial bondage. That phrase very truly describes the mercantile relation of the United States to Great Britain. Taking the year 1860 for an example, I find that the British exports to us that year, according to their own reports, stood at twenty-one million six hundred sixty-seven thousand and sixty-five pounds, while to all the world besides, others than her own provinces, the total of her exports were but seventy million five hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-seven pounds. Thus we are a fair one quarter of the world to her; an extensive customer, indeed, and well worth holding at any cost, by losses, bribery, or sophistry, or all together, as may be required.

But the real sacrifices of this cut-throat competition are next to nothing, for whenever by a wise policy we have enlarged our home products toward a self-supplying point a glut happens in the English market in lack of so large a customer, and then it is no matter at what price the surplus is thrown upon our market, for the balance left is worth as much as the whole, including the excess, and the sacrifice of price, which at any rate must be borne, is amply repaid by the effectual breaking down of what the parliamentary committee called "the competing capital of foreign countries." A single instance will suffice: English common bar iron is quoted at New York during 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, at an average of seventy-five dollars per ton. In 1849 three hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-five tons of English iron were thrown upon our markets at less than the cost of production, and the New York price fell from the average of seventy-five dollars in the preceding four years to forty-one dollars and twenty-five cents in July and to thirty-three dollars in September, 1851. Here was a glut let loose upon us, as the prices indicate, with the unfailing result, that so soon as its work was done the indemnifying process was begun, and accordingly we find British bar in New York as early as November, 1853, at sixty-six dollars and twenty-five cents, and in November, 1854, at seventy-one dollars and seventy-five cents. In all these cases I have given the average prices of the years and months mentioned. They may be found in the appendix to the finance report of the Treasury for the year 1863. Is there no necessity, no justice, in putting up some defense against "the large capital" that thus lies in wait to spring upon us in our time of exposure to these murderous assaults? Observe, according to the parliamentary committee, neither cheap labor, abundance of raw material, nor skilled labor are any defense, as they certainly would be in fair competition. The large and cheap capital which can afford to await its opportunity and is sure by its successes to repair all losses, is the advantage of the foe. It is not even-handed competition that we have to fear, but domination from the vantage ground of capital which we cannot match.

Free trade, if it had any principle of justice in it, would at least put itself in the previous condition of a free field's fair play and an even chance. But it has neither seal nor sense.

A more plausible and harder pressed point than all others against protection in the form which it necessarily presents, is the cry of "class legislation," or the fostering care of manufactures, or the apparent overtopping and exclusion of mercantile and agricultural interests. This is one of the troubles of protection in popular apprehension. One of them, for its general troubl
is that it requires to be understood; while fre
trade, its antagonist, requires neither knowl
edge of affairs, the history of national exper

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ence, nor any accommodation of general principles to the conditions which should modify their application. It means just the same thing to school girls, old ladies, and dyspeptic professors of logic that it does to its most elaborate propagandists. Protection puts restraint upon the wild liberty of international trade, and all the instincts of rebellion, revolution, and lawlessness are instantly in arms against it. A fashionable lady feels outraged at the very notion of having her traveling trunk searched, and of course decides that smuggling is merely "*malum prohibitum*," whose only evil effect is in its detection; and all those progressives who are in general "for liberty and against the Government" take the restrictions upon commerce to be a part of their dear, distinguishing martyrdom. Oh, my dear sir, the principles of free trade can all be written upon a thumb-paper, and any fool may have them always at his finger ends. That is their advantage, with the further help of the immediate interest of large classes to recommend them. Those classes are no less in number and power than, first, all capitalists of the commercial nation whose gains are in proportion to the commercial nation whose gains are in proportion to the supremacy they can obtain and hold over the countries less advanced in manufacturing power. Second, all the salaried officials, annuitants, and money lords, who are of the unproductive class, and are rich exactly in proportion to the poverty of the industrials of their own country, men who would have all commodities which they consume cheap, and the money they hold proportionately dear; and, third, all the poets and prattlers and peddlers of political economy that can be fooled or suborned into the service of universal levelers of labor-wages to the grade of the lowest among the nations. Moreover, these preachers of fustian have the superficial *ad captandum* advantage of the catching phrase of freedom, progressiveness, liberalism, natural law, and the countersigning cries of every man's right to the enjoyment of his own productions; the right to sell and buy where he pleases, with the chance of selling dear and buying cheap in all the open market-places of the earth. All of which means only a free scramble for the monopoly of trade by those who pay the lowest wages to the artificers of all commodities; by those that have the largest capital at the cheapest rate; by those who, being earlier and better provided with the means and appliances of converting skill, claim the right, as they have the power, of excluding all poorer and later strivers from entering the field of competition with any chance of success; or, in one word, as all wealth is the product of labor, it means substantially that the wages of labor and the profits of capital shall everywhere be reduced to the lowest rates that can be compelled anywhere else.

Mr. Speaker, when this doctrine of free trade is leveled down to its solid substance, when all its bubbles are exploded, its froth skimmed off and its flutter quieted, it stands on its legs, just nothing but pauper wages, primogeniture of capital and skill, and industrial vassalage to every grade of advantages, below the highest, the oldest, and the most tyrannical.

But this objection of class legislation: first, it happens generally, and with us especially, that agriculture needs no defense against foreign rivalry. The abundance and cheapness of our provisions, and of the raw material of manufactures requires no defense against the like products of transatlantic countries, and from the laws of climate only, in a very few particulars, against the products of the contiguous countries north and south of us. Wherever these are exposed to the mischief of interference from abroad, however, the principle of protection embraces them, and they are thus left without any ground of complaint of partiality in legislative protection. The possession of fertile soil, and a universal variety of its products naturally protected by the bulk of the rival commodities and consequent cost of carriage through great distances, is the real reason why they scarcely appear among the products of industry claiming protection from foreign rivalry in the home market; for, as we have said, protection is nothing else, more or less, than simply defense against foreign invasion; and it is therefore apparent that the corn and pork of Illinois are as safe, and even more so, from foreign competition than the daily newspapers of New York and Philadelphia.

If protection seems to be mainly occupied with the products of manufacturing and mechanical skill, it is because that this, the principal, almost the entire field of the strife, is among the nations for mastery upon the part of the older and stronger, and defense upon the part of the younger and weaker. For this reason manufactures hold the front rank, and apparently the exclusive regards of the friends of industrial liberty and independence.

But this charge of class legislation exploded as a logical proposition, turns practical, and alleges that all increased cost of foreign commodities and of the domestic supply thus fostered is for the exclusive benefit of the manufacturing interest, a bonus or bounty to it, and an equal burden upon the consumer.

Here, in the first place, the free-trader forgets his fundamental proposition, that competition is the regulator of prices, and, of course, does not see that no domestic production, fairly secured can possibly be made to yield a larger profit to the men engaged in it, either as capitalists or workmen, than any other investment or occupation which offer themselves to the enterprise of the country; for on their showing, and better than by their concession, under a true and operative principle of business, capital and enterprise always seek the highest remuneration, and so bring all business down to the level of uniform profits. Where, then, is the bounty, the bonus, resulting from protective duties against foreign products, when domestic competition is thus sure to level profits in the most favored occupation to the common standard of all?

On the plainest principle of logic and the clearest experience of fact, the bonus or bounty charge is a feebly-false accusation; and being so, and necessarily so, the complaint of a temporary increase of prices as the result of protective duties must take another aspect and find a different responsibility than that of the "class" of the community charged with it, which class, by the by, embraces at least one half of the contributing numbers to the common stock of the nation's industrial welfare, and whose prosperity may therefore be a matter of much concern to the other half. A paralysis of one half the body politic can scarcely be less embarrassing to the whole community than a palsy of one whole side of the body to a single individual.

I am inclined to think, sir, that if this cowardly assault upon "the class" were explained to mean just what it must mean in the effect for which it is used, the croakers would find themselves directly confronted by the majority of the people. I do not admit that there is any such class, distinctive, hostile, or separate in object or interest. I look upon the entire productive community as an organism in which there are many functions, but all tributary to the well being of the whole or all uniting in one body, without even independence of each other, much less disagreement or real difference of interests. If the enemy will have a census of what they must mean by "the class" which protection favors, they will find it, in its varied ramifications, too large to be encountered with either justice or safety.

The charge of undue favoritism thus finds a broader and a much less unpopular pet than the numerically few mill-owners and boss manufacturers of the country; nay, it really falls further back than the whole body of its representatives; it falls upon the community *en masse* for the fault that it is young, weak, poor, and unskilled relatively to the antagonist against whom it claims protection.

If the "class" cannot produce as cheap commodities; if the laborers will not work at as low wages; if capital is worth higher rates of interest than in the older counties of Europe, then this favoring legislation is a question for the nation, not for its manufacturing capitalists, to meet and answer. And the question simply amounts to this: Will you, for a brief period, pay a premium upon your own industry or permit it to be subordinated to that of all the world abroad, whose barbarism and pauperism in labor and supremacy of wealth and discipline demand your perpetual dependency? Will you suffer yourselves to be remitted to a uniform condition of unskilled labor, with your whole population struggling against each other, or will you, at the required cost, favor that distribution of occupations which will make you among yourselves mutually assistant, and against all foreign rivalry, nationally and integrally independent?

But I will not any longer discuss these questions as matters of abstract principle. I will fall back upon the demonstration which my own State affords of a sound system of industrial economy, and leave the inferences from her history and condition to indicate their application to the conduct and policy of the entire Union, of whose varied interests she is an examplar and representative.

According to the census of 1860 Pennsylvania had nine and a quarter per cent. of the population of the Union, having increased twenty-five and seventy-one hundredths per cent. in the decade; while the six New England States had a minute fraction less than ten per cent. of the national population, having grown but fifteen per cent. in the decade. The wealth of Pennsylvania was just ten per cent. of that of the Union, having increased ninety-six and five-hundredths per cent. in the decade, while New England held thirteen and two hundredths per cent of the wealth, with an increase of only sixty-five and two hundredths per cent. in the decade. The manufactures of the last census year in Pennsylvania are reported at fifteen and three hundredths per cent. of the whole, while those of the New England States reached twenty-four and eight hundredths per cent of the total of the Union.

I quote these particulars for the purpose of remarking that while the aggregate personal and real property of Pennsylvania was about four hundred and forty-seven millions short of that of New England, in 1860, it had been growing faster in the decade as ninety-six is to sixty-five, or one half faster; and for the purpose of noticing some things in the condition and character of her varied industries which have not been generally considered or understood.

Iron and coal have been so conspicuous in her products, relatively to those of the other States, that they are commonly thought of as almost her sole reliance. Yet in the year 1860 (or rather 1859) the value of all her cast, forged, rolled, and wrought iron was but thirty per cent. of all the product of the Union; together they were valued at twenty-two and a quarter millions, or only seven and two-third hundredths of her manufactures. Now, recollecting that her wealth was but ten hundredths of that of the nation, it may be news to some of us that her woolen and cotton goods were twelve and one third per cent. of the product of the nation, and came within less than two millions of the value of her iron; that her boots, shoes, and clothing reached beyond her iron in value; that her leather and harness almost equaled it; her flour and meal greatly exceeded; her sawed lumber was worth half as much; and her steam engines, carriages, and agricultural implements were again nearly equal in value to her whole iron product. Here, then, we have five several branches of manufactures, each yielding as much value in products per annum as her distinguishing staple product, iron; and another, sawed lumber, worth nearly half as much.

How broad is the range, how wide the diversity that reaches from the rank of the highest styles of modern manufactures back to the rudest products of the forest, and all of them nearly equal in commercial value and importance.

In agriculture she produces wheat enough to feed her population at the liberal rate of five bushels per head per annum; her Indian corn suffices for her wants; in slaughtered animals she stood fourth in rank among the States most distinguished for their herds and flocks; and in value of farming implements and machinery, which may be taken to indicate her agricultural grade, she stood second only to New York, whose greater wealth and larger territory will account for her larger value in this kind. Another proof that proportion is well maintained between the agricultural and the manufacturing industries of the State is that just as her aggregate wealth is to that of the nation, so the cash value of her farms bore the ratio of ten per cent. to the whole, greatly exceeding the value in this respect of the

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States that are purely agricultural; a farming State, ranking with the highest of those of the sister States, and at the same time on a level with the oldest and wealthiest, who have made converting skill the absorbing object of their productive industry.

In foreign commerce Pennsylvania makes no pretense to rank with New York or New England. Her wealth is otherwise, and every way betterwise, devoted and employed. In the commerce of home—of the vicinity—in the exchange that loyally yields all its benefits to the common country, she is behind none in the nation. In proof: of the railroads of the country, reported now at thirty-six thousand eight hundred and ninety-six miles, she has four thousand and thirty-seven miles, at a cost of over two hundred and ten million dollars, or nearly fourteen per cent. of the cost of the roads of the nation, and sixty millions more than New York, larger in territory, greatly excelling her in wealth, but behind her as greatly in the means and provisions of internal commerce.

May not a State thus balanced in the various departments of industry, thus reconciling the supposed antagonisms of trade, manufactures, and agriculture within her own limits, assume to speak for them all when they are all to be considered and provided for.

I have produced this great diversity of industrial interests and pursuits in the Keystone State to show that her policy must necessarily be impartial as between those branches of production which modern doctrines of political economy so industriously array as inimical to each other, and thus to fortify the authority of her policy and example in the legislative treatment of every one of them. And now I invite attention to a different analysis of those six or seven branches of production, and the system of internal transportation which they have called into existence in the joint service of all, from that which a mere statement of their relative market value presents. We have found at least five classes of manufactures equal to the iron product of the State in annual money value; we have found the agricultural product fairly up to the highest standard in the States most favorable to its prosperity; and we have found the machinery of trade and transportation at the very highest figure. Now, let us inquire the reason at once of this great relative and absolute development of the State's industry, and of the happy proportion between these comprehensively developed enterprises of capital and labor.

As I have in this inquiry constantly avoided the metaphysics of statistics, I shall not now indulge in speculation, though the point submitted strongly invites a logical scrutiny of the principles involved.* I will treat it by analogy, using a universally accepted pattern of industrial experience as an exemplar. In so doing I shall have the clear light of a well proved experience thrown upon the phenomena of Pennsylvania's condition, and shall make bold to assume for it the philosophy which has written itself out in the facts of a kindred case.

England is accustomed to credit her supremacy in manufactures of every kind to the possession and development of her iron and coal. Pennsylvania compares with her closely in this primary condition of industrial development. Curiously enough the exports of the United Kingdom in 1865, if they may be taken to indicate the rates of its productions, show a striking resemblance in the proportion of iron and steel and their manufactures to the total of the manufactures of both countries of the United Kingdom. This great staple and foundation product, which is believed to support and rule her other industries, amounted to no more than eight and one tenth per cent. of the total of British and Irish exports; while in Pennsylvania, as we have seen, the iron product was just seven and two thirds per cent. of the value of her total manufactures. The total British and Irish exports of 1865 were eight hundred and four million dollars; the iron and steel, &c., were sixty-five million two hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred and eight dollars and eight cents. Products of Pennsylvania in 1860 were two hundred and ninety million one hundred and twenty-one thousand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars; her iron, twenty-two million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.*

Opinion, however, both among experts in industrial statistics and all ordinarily intelligent observers, unites in carrying the mainspring of a generally diversified and prosperous system of production back of the supply and yield of native iron. English authorities are accustomed to say of the coal beds which underlie so a large a portion of the kingdom that they are vastly more precious than mines of the precious metals, like those of Peru and Mexico, would have been; that it is the possession of her coal mines which has rendered Britain in relation to the whole world what a city is to the rural district which surrounds it—the purchaser and dispenser of the various products of art and industry. Here, as in the proportion of the value of England's iron to her total manufactures, which we found to be eight per cent., very closely corresponds to that of Pennsylvania, which was seven and two thirds per cent, of manufactures in 1860, and probably bears that ratio under all subsequent increase. So in the production of coal. Great Britain in 1867 mined one hundred and one million tons of coal, worth fifty million pounds sterling, which is as near as may be to seven per cent. of the total value of her industrial production in the year, which her own statisticians put at about seven hundred and twenty million pounds. The value of the coal mined in Pennsylvania in 1867, amounting to eighteen and three quarters million tons, had a gold value according to the rate of prices in 1860, of twenty-three and a half million dollars, which is within a trifle of seven per cent. of the total industrial production of the State at the like rate of prices.

I do not think that the aggregate value of all the industries of either Great Britain or of any one or all the States of this Union is even approximately given by the exports of either country; but I believe it safe to say that the errors in each are so nearly equal that the ratio here taken may be relied upon. What there is in coal and iron which should thus be the exponent, and probably the cause, of the other industries of a nation favorably situated for their development need not be argued. It is enough that are found in the constant connection of which Great Britain and the State of Pennsylvania exhibit such striking examples of concurrence. There is one feature in them, however, that looks as if it might go far to account for the fact that they thus serve as bases of all manufactures. It is this: their products, from the rudest to the very highest powers which human skill can bestow upon them, have nearly their whole value made up of wages, of the earnings of those sorts of labor and skill which would be utterly wasted if not employed upon them; so that their great value in the market is created from nothing except the minds and muscles that were otherwise useless, or worse than useless, to the public weal. And, from this other consideration, that while the fabrics of the vegetable and animal world go forthwith into consumption: those of coal and iron are together the chief of those stupendous agencies which are concerned in reproduction of values, and that without them the other artificial labor in the workshops of the race, water, either liquid or in vapor, would scarcely suffice for the services even of savage life.

I may not detain the House upon a theme so much fitter, and so well fitted withal, for a philosophical essay, even in sufficient detail to impress its prominent features and captivating beauty,—I cannot venture upon the patience of an audience even for the purpose of arraying the points which I have made in their most effective order. I submit them for their suggestiveness to the minds of thoughtful men. To my mind, though they are but a few in the multitude of facts and principles from which they are selected, they yet sufficiently sustain the doctrine of protection to the industry, capital, and enterprise upon which our welfare now more than ever, at least more immediately and imperatively than ever, depends.

Permit me now to make a general application of my argument to its purpose by quoting the matured opinions of two of the most eminent living statesmen of France. Count de Morney, finance minister at the time the Anglo-French treaty of 1860 was under negotiation, said, "Protection is the route to free trade." This one sentence is a summary of all history in the matter of international commerce as it affects national welfare. Not a step has ever been gained by any nation toward true freedom of trade but by the system of protection which nurses productive industries into the maturity and independence which in due time dispenses with further guardianship. This maxim of the great practical statesman was uttered while the Cobden treaty was yet in debate. Eight years after its adoption, on the 13th of May, 1868, in the Legislative Assembly of France, M. Thiers, whose name alone is authority, as well as in history and theory as in practical affairs, in an exhaustive argument upon the condition and prospects of the industrial interests of France, calls upon its Legislature and its Emperor to "Reserve the national market for the national labor." The prospect is that civilized Europe and all the rising nationalities among the British dependencies will more and more, as they are able, exclude British goods from their markets. And it is all the more necessary that we shall defend our labor from the accumulating force and the accumulating necessity that England will feel for deluging us with her fabrics, cheapened by the desperation to which her capitalists are driven.

**Money value of some of the Productions of Pennsylvania for* 1869.*

Iron of all kinds	$22,600,000
Coal, anthracite and bituminous	24,000,000
Woolen and cotten goods	20,687,066
Boots, shoes, and clothing	22,839,742
Leather and harness	17,000,000
Flour and meal	29,925,578
Sawed lumber	10,743,752
Steam engines, carriages, wagons, and agricultural implements	19,404,403

The production of iron and coal has increased very rapidly since 1859. Over thirteen million tons of anthracite coal alone will be mined in 1868, at an average cost, including rent and lateral tolls, of two dollars per ton. It is now bringing the cost of production in a market that cannot do without it, and its gross value at the "head of navigation" may, therefore, be put at $25,000,000.

Much interesting and valuable statistical information compiled from the publications of that distinguished and most indefatigable journalist, Benjamin Bannan, Esq., of the Pottsville MINERS' JOURNAL, has been omitted, in order that it may be introduced in an argument relating to additional railway communications with the anthracite coal fields.

* * *

☞ A French paper, advertising for an editor, promises double pay while in prison.

☞ Why should a printer go hungry, when he can alwas concert his work into pie?

☞ Hon. J. B. Dodge, the "workingman" of the Agricultural Department at Washington, is star contributor to the *Ohio Farmer*.

☞ In a bookseller's catalogue lately appeared the following article: "Memoirs of Charles the First—with a *head capitally executed.*"

☞ Some wretch of an editor says that another twist to the present mode of "doing up" the ladies hair would take them off their feet.

☞ One of our exchanges praises an egg which it says "was laid on our table by the Rev. Mr. Smith." Mr. Smith seems to be a layman as well as a minister.

☞ The following is one of the two or three lines in the English language that read precisely the same backward as forward: "Snug & raw was I ere I saw war & guns."

☞ Omaha seems to be under a cloud. Disastrous failures have recently occurred there, and more are threatened. A correspondent writes: "Our streets look as if the place was being deserted. Omaha can never get up the same excitement as she did this spring. In my opinion she is dead for years to come, and if the truth was told by all they would coincide with me. Two months ago there was not a store to be rented in the place. To-day there are sixty-one stores for rent.

☞ The family of Gen. Grant consists of himself and Mrs. Grant; Frederick, a youth of 18, now a cadet at West Point; Ulysses, Jr., about 15 years old; Nellie, an only daughter, and Jesse, the baby, who is named after the General's father. Miss Nellie is described as "a sunny dispositioned and merry young lady, whom everybody loves," and Jesse as "a bright lad who sometimes appears in Highland costume, the garb of his Gaelic ancestors."