APPENDIX

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SOME AMERICAN CHAMPIONS OF TARIFFS FOR REVENUE OR FREE TRADE

President James A. Garfield

President Grover Cleveland

President Woodrow Wilson

Benjamin Franklin

Thomas Jefferson

Alexander Hamilton (after infant industries are well established)

Charles Francis Adams

William Lloyd Garrison

Henry Ward Beecher

Carl Schurz, Major-General, Diplomat, Senator

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Walt Whitman

John A. Andrew, Civil War Governor of Massachusetts

John Bigelow, Editor and Diplomat

Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard

Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard

William J. Bryan

Tom L. Johnson, Congressman

Henry George

Andrew Carnegie (in later years)

James J. Hill, builder of the Great Northern Railway

David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford, Jr. University

David A. Wells, Economist

W. Bourke Cockran, Congressman

Governor W. L. Douglas of Massachusetts

Governor Joseph W. Folk of Missouri

Professor William Graham Sumner of Yale

Professor John Bascom of Williams College

William Lloyd Garrison, Jr.

Franklin Pierce (author of *The Tariff and the Trusts*)

Congressman William L. Wilson of West Virginia, author of the Wilson Tariff Law

DISTINGUISHED ENGLISH UPHOLDERS OF FREE TRADE

John Bright

Richard Cobden

William E. Gladstone

Sir Robert Peel

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

Sir William Harcourt

Herbert Spencer

Herbert H. Asquith

Lord Bryce

Winston Churchill

John Stuart Mill

John Morley

SOME OUTSTANDING COMMENTS ON FREE TRADE

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN:

"It were to be wished that commerce were as free between all nations of the world as it is between the several counties of England; so would all by mutual communication obtain more enjoyment. These counties do not ruin one another by trade; and neither would the nations."

THOMAS JEFFERSON:

"Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved of all its shackles in all parts of the world, could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surpluses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness, the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered."

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS:

"I am a Tariff Thief; and, as such, I have a License to Steal. It bears the broad seal of the United States, and is what is known as the 'Dingley Tariff.' I stole under it yesterday; I am stealing under it today; I propose to steal under it tomorrow. . . . . So far as I am concerned, the Government has forced me into my present position and I both do and shall take full advantage of it . . . .

But, on the other hand, I am also a radical tariff reformer. I should like to see every protective schedule swept out of existence; my own included . . . . let me add, without any doubt in my own mind as to the accuracy and, I may say, the moderation of the statement, that in the heyday of its strength and arrogance, the old Slave Power of the South was never so strongly entrenched in its position, so defiant in its attitude, so corrupting in its influence, so difficult to be overthrown, or so utterly insatiable in its demands and so unscrupulous in its methods of satisfying those demands, as are today the combined tariff-protected interests of this country."

HENRY WARD BEECHER:

"I take my stand on liberty of commerce as just as essential and just as sound as liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, liberty of the press and liberty of the person. I believe that liberty is just as safe and just as necessary in commerce as in anything else. . . . . I reject the doctrine of 'Protection,' as opposed not only to the principles of liberty but to the essential principles of Christianity. I regard it as in its very essence, antichristian and immoral. And the fact that such theories as have been advanced by the high protectionists have found so much favor in this country is not creditable to its Christian character."

RALPH WALDO EMERSON:

"The genius of the country has marked out our true policy—opportunity. Opportunity of civil rights, of education, of personal power and not less of wealth; doors wide open. If I could have it, free trade with all the world without toll or custom houses, invitation as we now make to every nation, to every race and skin, white men, red men, yellow men, black men; hospitality of fair field and equal laws to all. Let them compete, and success to the strongest, the wisest and the best. The law is wide enough, the soil has bread for all."

JOHN A. ANDREW:

"The first thing New England needs is to take the lead in free trade and unrestricted commerce all over the continent of America. We need the Canadas and we need Mexico as new hunting grounds for the active enterprise and thrift of our American mechanics."

JOHN BIGELOW:

"I have read the circular of the Tariff Reform Committee. But I have no faith in a revision of the tariff, downwards or in any other direction, but regard it as vicious altogether, morally and economically 'evil and for evil only good.' Your hope of a revision downwards is an idle dream, as idle as baying the moon for rain. To expect a reduction of the tariff in this country is to expect a dipsomaniac to clamor for water instead of whiskey. The protectionist always wants more protection. . . . When your Reform Committee is prepared to take a firm stand against any tariff upon imports, to make every harbor on our six thousand miles of sea coast as free to the commerce of the world as those of New York are to those of New Jersey, or those of Pennsylvania are to those of Virginia, I shall be happy to join you and do what I can to promote the success of your labors. In such a work I should have the satisfaction of knowing that I was not even indirectly countenancing a vicious system of taxation, also that I was helping to put our statesmen upon an inquiry for sources of revenue that were not tainted with every crime, save murder, of which highwaymen have ever been condemned by the laws of God or man."

HENRY GEORGE:

"What is free trade? Free trade is no more than natural trade. Free trade consists in simply permitting men to trade

as they want to trade! And is not the freedom to trade the first of natural rights? Freedom to trade not merely involves the sacred right of property: it is essential and vital to it. If a thing is mine, it is mine to hold, it is mine to give, it is mine to bequeath or it is mine to sell; and my right in my property is infringed and denied when any man or body of men attempt to interfere with that right, and fix for me to whom I shall sell or from whom I shall buy. . . . A tariff for revenue involves the interference with natural rights that characterizes all tariffs—searchers and seizers and spies. It involves the blocking up of our harbors. It involves custom-house oaths and all the perjuries that attend them. It involves scheming and lobbying and bribing; for, as I said before, you cannot possibly in this country, really have a tariff for revenue only. The moment you admit that there must be a tariff for revenue, then comes the idea of imposing that tariff so that it will discriminate in favor of American producers."

WALT WHITMAN:

"My God, are men always to go on clawing each other—always to go on taxing, stealing, warring, having a class to exclude and a class excluded—always to go on having favorite races, favorite castes—a few people with money here and there—all the rest without money everywhere? That is what the tariff—the spirit of the tariff—means. Chatto & Windus printed 'Leaves of Grass' in England—pirated it—never even sent me a copy of the book until Rossetti suggested they should do so. The book came—the books—and I was taxed for duties. Yes, three dollars and a half. One day I received a mail package on which sixty cents was levied by the tariff. Some fellow in England had sent me a copy of his useless 'Introduction to the Study of Browning.' So it goes. It is a robber age: the maxim of the law is, rob or be robbed. Of all robbers I think the tariff is the meanest robber. It has such sneaky, sneaking ways: it hits you in the back—hits you when you ain't looking, gives you no sort of chance to protect yourself."

CHARLES W. ELIOT:

"The tariff establishes a tax paid by the great body of consumers, not to the government for its support, but to the capitalists who have invested their money in those plants which produce protected articles. The protection has two conspicuous effects—first, it enables some capital to earn at home a larger profit; secondly, it exempts the manufacturer from studying and adopting improvements of organization or method. He is relieved of foreign competition and has no adequate motive to seize on every opportunity to improve his organization and his machinery and increase his skill. Monopolies are always unprogressive because they are relieved of competition."

W. BOURKE COCKRAN:

"I am opposed bitterly to any policy that allows even one dollar to be acquired by favor of the Government. For favoritism in legislation means plunder of some for the benefit of others, and can mean nothing else. There can be no object in seeking favor at the hand of government except to perpetrate robbery of some one. . . . . But . . . . whatever may be the intentions of its supporters, whatever may be the disposition of its advocates, this system of protection can result in nothing except the perpetration of robbery. Since government has nothing of its own which it can bestow on any one, there is but one path of efficiency open to it, and that is the path of absolute impartiality. When it attempts to become beneficient, it can succeed only in becoming predatory. . . . ."

ANDREW CARNEGIE:

"Were there free trade in iron and steel between America and Europe, a few orders might go abroad at times when American mills were fully occupied and high prices prevailed, and this would be advantageous to our country; but if these shipments amounted to much, prices would rise in Europe, and

prevent further exports to our market. . . . . The day has passed when any foreign country can seriously affect our steel manufactures, tariff or no tariff. The Republic has become the home of steel, and this is the age of steel. . . . . In the writer's opinion, the revision of the tariff could today safely and advantageously be made a radical one upon the lines suggested. . . . ."

TOM L. JOHNSON:

"Of all the nonsense talked against the reduction of tariff taxes, the claim that they benefit the working man is most transparent. The effect of these taxes is to increase the price of everything that the working man sells his labor for, since the money he gets is only the medium with which he obtains what is the real object of his labor. Granted, which is only true in a comparatively few cases, that such taxes increase the profits of his employer. Do employers pay larger wages when they get larger profits? I do not and even philanthropists do not. . . . . Now, which is best for labor, plenty of charity soup-houses or plenty of employment? There is the question between protection and free trade."

RICHARD COBDEN:

"It has often struck me that it would be well to try to engraft our Free Trade agitation upon the Peace movement. They are one and the same cause. It has often been to me a matter of surprise that the Friends have not taken up the question of Free Trade as the means—and I believe the only human means—of effecting universal and permanent peace. The efforts of the Peace Societies, however laudable, can never be successful so long as the nations maintain their present system of isolation."

JOHN BRIGHT:

"War and Tariffs—these are the two great enemies of mankind."

HERBERT SPENCER:

"In putting a veto upon the commercial intercourse of two nations, or in putting obstacles in the way of that intercourse, a government trenches upon men's liberties of action; and by so doing directly reverses its function. To secure for each man the fullest freedom to exercise his faculties, compatible with the like freedom of all others, we find to be the state's duty. Now trade prohibitions and trade restrictions not only do not secure this freedom, but they take it away. So that in enforcing them the state is transformed from a maintainer of rights into a violator of rights. If it be criminal in a civil power commissioned to shield us from murder to turn murderer itself; if it be criminal in it to play the thief, though set to keep off thieves; then must it be criminal in it to deprive men, in any way, of liberty to pursue the objects of desire, when it was appointed to insure them that liberty."

LORD BRYCE:

"The truth is that in protectionist countries the intellect and knowledge of those who have studied this question is mainly on the free trade side. In the United States it is almost entirely on the free trade side, the same in France, and very largely the same thing in Germany."

WINSTON CHURCHILL:

"It is a theory of Protection that every country should make everything possible itself, and that foreign goods which compete with existing or potential home industries should be shut out or penalized. . . . . And it is believed that if the importation of goods that we now get from the foreigner were to be stopped, we should make those goods ourselves, and, in addition, all the goods that we are making now, including what we send to the foreigner in exchange for what he now sends to us. The doctrines that by keeping out foreign goods more wealth and, consequently, more employment would be created

at home are either true or they are not true. I contend that they are not true. I contend that for a nation to try to tax itself into prosperity is like a man standing in a bucket and trying to lift himself up by the handle.

Why should the world's shipping labor in the chops of the Bristol Channel or crowd up the dreary reaches of the Mersey? It is because the perverted ingenuity of man has not been occupied in obstructing our harbors with fiscal stake-nets and tariff mud-bars. That is why they come. That is our one great advantage; and when we have thrown it away what shall we have to put in its place?

The differences of Free-Trader and Protectionist strike down to the roots of thought. Their controversy is abiding and, while the question is alive, they must fight. The dividing line is not one of intellect only, but of sentiment and aspiration."

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