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Address by Francis Mairs Huntington-Wilson, November 1, 1912

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On next Tuesday the voters of the United States will decide what shall be the fundamental policies of the Federal Government for four years. Seldom in the history of the country have more important issues been presented. Probably never in the history of the country has the mind of the voter been so disturbed and confused with side issues. There never was a time when it was more absolutely necessary that the responsible voters of the United States should lay aside their prejudices, should resist appeals to the emotions and should vote in the cold light of reason and conscience.

In attempting to bring home to you the broad questions which now confront the whole of the United States, it may be useful, if you will permit me, to take an illustration from the situation in Jasper County, in the rich state of Missouri.

I understand that zinc ore is the greatest interest of this district. A distinguished Republican represented this district in Congress at Washington when the Republican Party applied the principle of protection in levying a duty
upon competing zinc ores from foreign countries. This district forthwith entered upon a period of new and abounding prosperity. Some of your neighbors elected to Congress a Democratic representative. Doubtless through loyalty to the Democratic principle of tariff for revenue only, he refrained from voting to retain the measure of protection given your industry.

I have noticed that prosperity seems to have upon many of us a very peculiar effect. It makes us feel so well that we want to go out and smash things. This is like the old-fashioned Englishman of whom a Frenchman said that his ideal of happiness was to eat a good dinner and then go out and kill something. Let us avoid this vicious circle.

If prosperity makes us feel so well that we want to smash things, we should remember that if we smash the cause of our prosperity we shall soon have no more good dinners and shall have abundant leisure, on a low diet, to repent of our folly.

This kind of mid-summer madness which some voters seem to have showed here has occurred in many parts of the country. Next Tuesday's election will show whether or not we have recovered.

If the voters of this country vote against prosperity
they will not deserve much sympathy on the return of another Democratic era of hard times and soup kitchens. The total number of voters is only about 16% of the population of the United States. All the women and children, the old people and dependents, are included in the remaining 84%, the non-voting 75 millions of American people. What do they think of the issue between protection and prosperity and the revenue only principle and hard times? What are the 15 million voters going to do to discharge their sacred responsibility to protect that silent 75 million?

The foreign zinc ores in competition with those of this district are produced in Mexico, Prussia, and Belgium. The average wage in Mexico is about fifty cents a day.

Zinc, as you know, finds its uses in a diversity of industries. In all those industries the American wage scale is being maintained at two or three times the foreign wage scale. All those industries have been brought to
a wonderful prosperity under the Republican principle of protection. Their continued prosperity depends upon the continuance of the Republican principle of protection. The prosperity of the whole nation flourishes or languishes together. You should remember that your own prosperity depends not only upon the protection of your own industry, but much more upon the maintenance of all those other flourishing industries which, taken together, create the demand for your product and comprise the wonderful wealth and prosperity to which the United States has been brought by a series of Republican administrations faithful to the principle of protection.

The Democrats tell us that they want to make the tariff the only issue. For the sake of discussion, so be it. The Democratic platform actually declares that a protective tariff is illegal under the Constitution. It is curious that during the last fifty years or so some shrewd importer has not got the Supreme Court to decide this to be the case. The Democrats are sworn to the principle of tariff for revenue only. They condemn the principle of protection and accept the economic theory of free trade. The Third Term party predicts disaster to American prosperity if the Democratic Party should have an opportunity to apply its tariff theories, yet this same Third Term Party cares so little for the preservation of prosperity and for the wellfare of the American wage-earner that they have been willing to split the advocates of protection.
Now is the time for all Republicans and all citizens of every party who believe in prosperity and protection, to rally to President Taft and bring Republican victory at the polls. The secession of the Third Term Party should redouble our efforts. If we should fail we should be beaten not by the Democrats, but by the Democrats and their allies, the Third Termers.

In the present campaign the substantial contributions of the Third Term Party seem to be these: -- They have created a danger of turning our country's prosperity over to the tender mercies of a Democratic tariff for revenue only. Secondly, they have acted as a stimulus to the two old parties. This last service, although valuable, calls for just as many thanks as an epidemic or other disaster which might chasten the national conscience.

It seems to me the tariff issue alone should be quite enough to convince the voters of this district as of every other district that has any prosperity to lose, that their votes should go for the Republican Party of protection and prosperity.

The Republican Party stands for scientific tariff revision, schedule by schedule, basing the measure of protection upon the relative cost of production in this and in foreign countries. It insists that tariff legislation shall be founded upon expert technical information, obtained by a non-partisan tariff board or commission. It insists upon this scientific method as opposed to the old policy of a haggling of special interests, to which
to which the Democratic Party still adheres as they showed at the last session of Congress. Standing for this great principle of scientific tariff policy, the President could not but veto the so-called "popgun" tariff bills which were passed by a Democratic House in contempt of the findings of the Tariff Board.

The Republican tariff policy is broader than this. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill gave us the maximum and minimum clause with the ability to retaliate with a 25% increase upon the duty on products of any country which discriminated against the United States. President Taft's administration was able, after months of negotiation through the Department of State, to get for the first time in our history "most favored nation" treatment for American products. That is to say, our exports to foreign countries were for the first time given just as good tariff treatment as were those of any other country. The maximum tariff was not applicable to the free list.

Also minor discriminations arose from time to time in the treatment of American industries, enterprises or exports. The injustice was not grave enough to warrant the huge retaliation of the maximum clause. Hence President Taft's administration urged upon Congress the passage of a law which should arm the Executive with weapons of different sizes for different occasions. The result was the Curtis Bill. It was to enable us to say to any foreign country "If you don't cease your discrimination and give justice
and equity to such and such an American interest, we shall impose such and such an additional duty on certain classes of your products," - (whether on the free list or not). Anybody can see the logic of this. Simple tariffs are out of date.

Countries do not give something for nothing. They do not treat their commercial friends and their commercial enemies alike. This policy would give us something to defend ourselves with and something with which to purchase favors for our export and other interests in foreign countries. This whole tariff policy which I have outlined, from the scientific application of the principle of protection down to the flexibility which would give us the means of negotiation and retaliation, is scientific and is symmetrical. It brings the United States for the first time abreast of the times in its tariff policy. This is the general tariff policy of Germany, the most thoroughly scientific nation in the world. Under such a policy the German Empire has grown with amazing rapidity to a commanding position in the world's industry and commerce. Such is the general policy of every very progressive modern nation and of every great commercial nation excepting only Great Britain. The relative increase of British trade and British prosperity has been at a lower rate since all the competitors of Great Britain adopted the policy of protection. A great party in Great Britain have advocated a change to protection as a remedy for this situation and a remedy even for the evil for the unemployment, from time to time, of large numbers of British workmen.

The Democrats tell us that the high cost of living is due to the tariff. If so, why is it that free trade England is suffering from the world wide problem of the high cost of living just as severely as any other
country?

Now, just as the United States is embarking upon an era of unprecedented prosperity, this moment is chosen to ask the American voter to elect a Democratic president who is pledged to withdraw the United States from the front rank of industrial greatness under the modern principle of protection, asking us to retire to the rear rank under the theory of free trade, which has been exploded and abandoned in every progressive industrial and commercial country.

The export trade of the United States has just reached the figure of not far short of two and a quarter billions of dollars ($2,250,000,000). Of this total, over half represents manufactured goods. These vast world trade interests affect the prosperity of the mine, the factory and the farm right here at home. From now on we shall grow ever more dependent upon foreign markets for our goods. If we are to remain one of the foremost commercial powers we must play the game of international competition with due regard to international rules. The Democratic candidate claims that the protective tariff throttles our export trade. It is curious then that the countries whose exports are increasing at the most rapid rate are protectionist countries. Our own export trade is being throttled by protection to the tune of an increase of about three hundred million dollars.
dollars per year! Under President Taft's administration all previous foreign trade records have been broken. Our exports exceed our imports by over $500,000,000. In the last three years our exports to Japan have increased 30%, our exports to Canada over 30% and our exports to Germany nearly 30%. In less than three years our exports to China have increased 50%.

Another Republican policy of the Taft administration which has received precious little support in Democratic quarters is the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy". On the material side, you can tell whether or not dollar diplomacy is a practical, business-like policy, for a practical business nation, when I give you just a few examples of foreign Government business brought to the United States in valuable contracts during President Taft's administration.

In China: The contract for the construction of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Peaking $681,000.
A cruiser for the Chinese Navy 1,000,000.

In Cuba: Naval vessels 1,000,000.

From the Argentine Republic:
Two battleships 22,000,000.
Railway supplies 1,670,000.
Ordnance for torpedoes 1,000,000.
Other items 52,000.

From another Latin-American country:
Railway supplies 850,000.

From another Latin-American country:
Coast artillery 1,786,000.
Submarines 500,000.

From another Latin-American country:
Torpedoes and other items 362,000.
In the Far East:
An order for locomotives amounting to $1,050,000.

From a certain European country:
Armor plate and ordnance for battleships 2,765,000.
Guns for torpedo boats 65,000.
Ammunition and miscellaneous 650,000.

This makes a total of $38,431,000. Other contracts which I have in mind, but which are still confidential, have been obtained by American manufacturers through the support of Dollar Diplomacy. Those contracts bring the grand total up to $50,000,000 so far in this Administration.

These are only the direct gains through government contracts placed in this country. It is the axiom of the Department of State under President Taft's administration to give energetic support to all legitimate and beneficial American enterprises in foreign countries. These vast and unprecedented rates of recent increase in the export trade of the United States are no casual happenings. They are the result of a scientific and broad foreign tariff policy and an efficient diplomacy. They are also the result of a wise policy toward American industry.

Next in importance to a wise tariff policy, as a fundamental to the continuance of prosperity and good business conditions, is a wise and scientific policy toward the
the question of competition and combination in industries.

Here again the Republican party under President Taft's administration has outlined a symmetrical and scientific policy. The Republican policy is this: If a combination is monopolistic or in restraint of trade, it is broken up under the Sherman law. The Taft administration has been the first to put life into the Sherman law of 1890 which had lain dormant on the statute books through administrations of both parties until it had almost become a dead letter, and the trusts virtually assumed a prescriptive right to violate the law. Under the Taft administration we have not heard of the formation of a single new trust. More trusts have been prosecuted than during the preceding seven years. So much for the necessity of trust busting, the necessity of performing the sworn duty to enforce the laws of the land. The Republican party recognizes the advantages of fair competition. It also recognizes that honest combination not in restraint of trade but in promotion of trade is a feature of modern industrialism. It is not only tolerated but encouraged in Germany and others of the foremost industrial and commercial countries. Here again, our vast export trade is affected. There are already signs of a disposition on the part of foreign governments to attack the foreign trade of certain great American
American concerns on the plea that a party in this country wishes to turn back the clock and to prohibit every form of combination, however legitimate. I think if we are going to do any trust busting we can do it without foreign assistance. The Democratic Party evidently proposes to disregard the recognized economic fact that combination often makes for economy in production and to insist at any price upon universal competition. The Third Term Party goes to extreme lengths of socialistic paternalism and apparently proposes to regulate business with the greatest particularity. Between these extremes stands the Republican policy. The Republican Party recognizes the advantages of competition as holding open the door of opportunity. It recognizes competition also as evidence of the absence of monopoly. It does not claim, however, that excessive competition is an unmixed good. It recognizes that ruinous competition is sometimes almost as harmful to the public as vicious combination. President Taft's proposal of the Federal Incorporation Law points the way to obtain the necessary publicity and control whereby the Government shall have the means to see to it that the economies of production are fairly shared with the wage earner in higher wages and with the consumer in lower prices and that capital be not permitted to pocket the economies of combination in the form of exorbitant profits.

Such are the definite policies which the Republican Party offers
offers to the voters of the United States on these two great sub-
jects, the tariff and the trusts, in contrast to the revenue only
pledge and the entirely vague proposals of the Democrats.

The trouble with this campaign has been that there has been
so much loud talking upon matters which are not issues in the
presidential election, that the mind of the voter has been led
away from calm consideration of the main questions. Let us not
get lost in a maze of words and vague promises. Let us reflect a
little upon the actual progressive achievements of President Taft's
administration. Here are a few of them:

Postal Savings Banks have been established.
The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission have been
enlarged completely and satisfactorily to deal with the
Railway Rate question.
The Safety Appliance Statutes have been perfected and completed.
Conservation, including conservation of Water Power Sites, has
been secured.
Corporations have been forbidden to make campaign contributions.
The publicity of campaign contributions had been prescribed by
law.
Irrigation in the West has been promoted.
Common carriers have been compelled to make detailed reports
of accidents.
The white slave traffic has been driven from interstate commerce.
The Income Tax Amendment has been submitted to the States.
An international conference has been called to consider the
high cost of living, which is equally menacing all countries.
The Governors of all the States have been invited to come to-
gether to co-operate for the establishment of Agricultural
banks, to give the farmer the same credit facilities that
are enjoyed by the municipality or the corporation.
The corporation excise tax has been enacted, and at once brought in $30,000,000. revenue.

Through the exhaustive report of a Monetary Commission, great progress has been made toward legislation which shall give our currency system that greater flexibility which will relieve periodical stringency of the money market and the consequent business failures.

The Department of State and the whole foreign service establishment have been reorganized and maintained on the high plain of efficiency and civil service principles.

In the sphere of diplomacy, President Taft's administration negotiated the great arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France which won the applause of the whole world only to be defeated by the Democrats and their allies the present Third Termers.

Three or four wars have been prevented or ended in the last four years by American diplomacy.

Pan-Americanism has been made a working reality instead of a dream.

The open-door policy in China has been translated from the creation of theory to that of practical business interest.

On the 20th of last February, President Taft sent to Congress a most important message transmitting the report of the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Commission.

Here again we see in action the President's characteristic scientific statesmanship, his thorough, effective and noiseless work.

The concrete legislation which the President urges has for its object, to use the language of the message, "to secure justice to the weaker party under existing modern conditions." The proposed law will create a separate tribunal and so enable the injured working man or his family to get damages without delay. It fixes the compensation beyond controversy. It compels the payment by the employer of compensation for injury to the employee
in every case, except where the employee was intoxicated or deliberately brought the injury upon himself. What is vitally important it limits the fees of the lawyers so that the damages shall not be eaten up in litigation. The President truly says in his message that the proposed bill is "one of the greatest steps of progress toward a satisfactory solution of an important phase of the controversy between employer and employee that has been proposed within the last two or three decades." The President's recommendation is for legislation overriding some of the most time-honored principles of the old law. It shows true progressiveness responsive to the changed conditions of our intricate modern industrial life.

The reports of the Railroad Securities Commission and Efficiency Commission, and other activities might be cited. All reveal the same quiet constructive work, the same scientific statesmanship of the true and sound progressive.

These are a few examples. Any one who will fairly compare the work of President Taft's administration with that of any two or three preceding administrations will be unable to escape the conclusion that for scientific statesmanship and truly progressive action this administration will have in history a place of the highest. How strange and deplorable it then is that certain leaders devoted to the Third Term Candidacy should be able to
induce any Republicans to desert the Republican party of progress for the party of the third term. How regrettable it is that the sincere men of the Third Term Party would not first fairly consider the facts and put principles before personalities and continue to work with their fellow Republicans for the real welfare of our country.

I venture to think this is a passing phase. I cannot doubt that a majority of the American people will vote for definite policies of proved success. I look to see the triumph of Republican principles. I go farther, I expect in the not distant future to see the prosperous South breaking away from Democratic tradition and the Republican Party stronger than ever before, to carry on without interruption its great constructive, progressive work.

If Democratic Free Trade and hard times come back to this country, the responsibility will rest absolutely upon the leaders of the Third Term Party who cared more for a personality than for the principle of protection which they themselves declared essential to the National welfare. Remember that a vote for the Third Term Party will count as a vote for the Democratic Candidate and a vote against the Republican Party of sane progress, protection and prosperity.
No American President has showed so keen and practical an interest as President Taft in the deep waterways project and in the problem of flood prevention in the Mississippi valley. The Republican Party stands for federal cooperation in these works based on scientific investigation.