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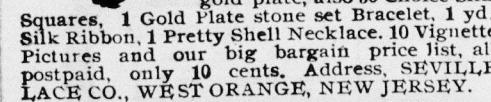
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Tariff Catechism.

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Q. What is a tariff?
A. A duty collected on imports.
Q. What is a protective tariff?
A. A duty imposed upon imports for the aid of home factories producing competing articles.

Q. What is a revenue tariff?
A. A revenue tariff is a tariff levied for the purpose of raising a revenue.

Q. What is the difference between the two kinds of tariff?
A. A revenue tariff is collected for the benefit of the whole public, and the government stops when it gets enough. A protective tariff is imposed for private benefit, may be so levied as to impose a heavy burden without raising much revenue and there is no limit to its exactions except the greed of the protected interests and the patience of the people.

Q. Who pays the tariff?
A. The consumer.
Q. How can this be established?
A. By reason, by observation and by experience. If a tariff were paid by the foreigner it would be no protection to the home industry. Only when the consumer must pay more than the foreign price for an imported article can the home producer charge more than the foreign price for the domestic article. A tariff paid by the foreigner would give no protection to an American manufacturer. Then, too, the government gives a rebate on raw material when the finished product is exported. Why does the government pay the rebate to the domestic manufacturer if the foreigner pays the tariff? But experience is the best test. Go abroad, buy in the open market, and when you return you will pay the duty and you can not find any foreigner to reimburse you.

Q. Is such a tariff constitutional?
A. It violates the spirit of the constitution for it collects from the many and gives to the few, but as the protective features are concealed in a revenue law it is difficult to get a decision on the principle involved.

Q. Can the wisdom of such a tax be defended?
A. No; a policy of favoritism is never wise in a republic. A government of the people, by the people and for the people should be administered according to the maxim: Equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

Q. Is the present protective tariff necessary?
A. No; it is about twice as high as it would be necessary to cover the entire labor cost of protected manufactures. The fact that we are exporting an increasing amount of manufactures is proof that our industries do not need the present protection. And it must be remembered that our manufactures have the benefit of the freight when the foreigner brings his goods here, while the foreign competitor has the benefit of the freight when we export. And it must also be remembered that the tariff on all kinds of material, on machinery and on food and clothing increases the cost of articles manufactured here. If we can now export in spite of these burdens we could export more if the tariff were reduced.

Q. Does a high tariff make good wages?
A. No. It is said that we pay higher wages than they do in England—a stock argument with protectionists—it is a complete answer to say that England with no protective tariff pays better wages than Germany under protection. Our best wages are paid in our unprotected industries and the fact that we export goods made with our high priced labor is positive proof that good wages do not depend on protection. The labor organizations have done far more to increase wages than all the tariff laws.

Q. What about the home market argument?
A. The friends of protection

claim that the farmer can afford to pay more when he buys because the manufacturers furnish him a home market, but this is a fallacy. The staples of the farm are exported and the price received for the surplus exported fixes the price received for the part sold at home. As the farmer sells in the unprotected markets he is constantly drained of his earnings for the benefit of the manufacturer and the manufacturer now shows his ingratitude by selling abroad cheaper than at home.

Q. How has the tariff been maintained so long when it is wrong in principle, unwise in policy and unnecessary?

A. The protected interests have contributed liberally to support literary bureaus and to campaign funds and have coerced their employees by the threat of shutting down. Advocates of protection have been able to organize, distribute literature and get out the vote, while advocates of tariff reform, as they could promise no special pecuniary benefits, have had to make their campaigns without funds. The advocates of protection have done much to corrupt public opinion by boldly teaching that the voter should vote the ballot to advance his pecuniary interests. The manufacturer has been invited to vote dividends into his pocket, the wool grower has been solicited to vote himself a higher price for wool and the laboring man has been warned that a vote against protection would lower his wages.

Q. Is it true, as often asserted by advocates of a high tariff, that a high tariff always brings good times and that tariff reform always brings a panic?

A. No. Prosperity followed the low tariff of 1846 and the panic of 1873 occurred under a high tariff. The panic of 1873 not only occurred under a high tariff, but twelve years after the republican party came into power and eleven years before Mr. Cleveland's first election. The panic of 1893 occurred while the McKinley law was in force—a year before the Wilson bill was passed, and really began while the republican party was in power.

Q. Is there any evidence of growth in tariff reform sentiment?

A. Yes. The farmers are no longer deceived by the home market argument, the employees no longer regard their wages as dependent upon the tariff and the manufacturers find the tariff more of an embarrassment than a benefit. Our exporters, too, are discovering that our tariff discriminations excite retaliation in other countries.

Q. When will the beneficiaries of protection consent to tariff reduction?

A. Never. A child gets so old that it is ashamed to nurse; a calf gets so big that it will wean itself, but no beneficiary of protection ever voluntarily lets go of the public teat.

Q. When will the tariff be reformed by its friends?

A. Just after the money lenders ask for a reduction in the legal rate of interest—that is, just before the millennium.

Q. To whom must we look for tariff reform?

A. To those who suffer—no abuse was ever preformed by those who profited by the abuse to be reformed.

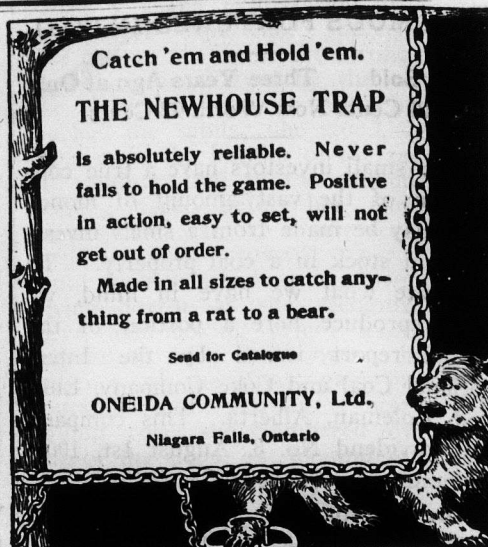
Q. When should reform begin?

A. At once.

Q. And how?

A. By putting on the free list those articles which compete with articles controlled by the trusts; second, by the reduction of the tariff on the necessities of life, and, third, by such other changes in the tariff schedules as will put "protection for protection's sake" in the process of ultimate extinction with a view to restoring the tariff to a revenue basis.

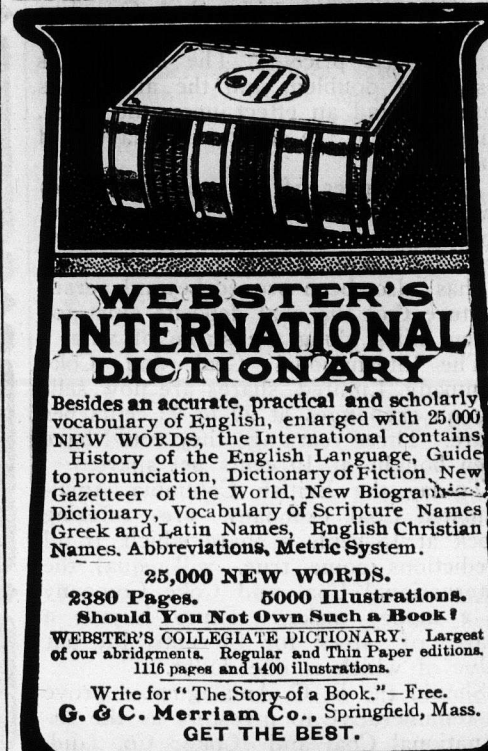
Note.—The above refers to the United States, but Canadians can find food for thought in it.



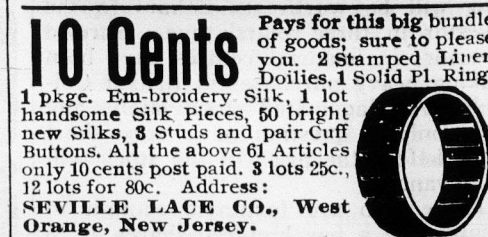
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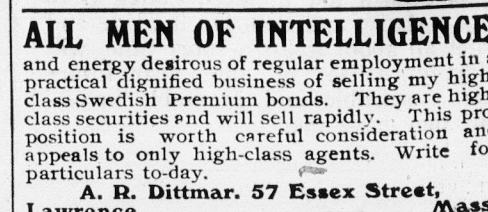
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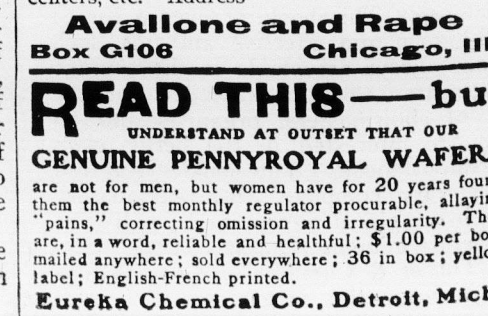
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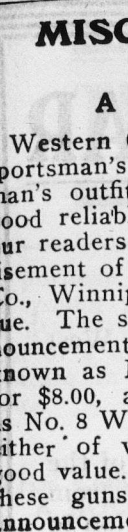
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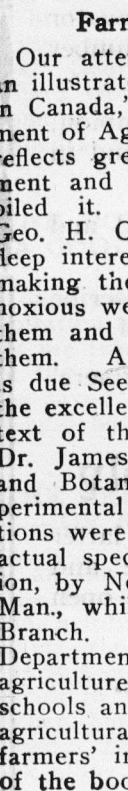
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