

To Chairman

MR. CHAIRMAN: The national government is about to enter upon a new tariff policy. The people of Oklahoma are deeply interested in knowing what will be the effect of this new tariff policy upon the growth and development of the State.

I believe that the abandonment of the policy of protection, and the substitution therefor of a tariff-for-revenue-only policy will be an impediment to the material growth of Oklahoma, an obstruction to its industrial development, a hindrance to its commercial and business expansion, and an incubus, ~~that will~~, ^{which will} ~~weigh heavily upon the~~ productive forces of the State, repress the prosperity of the people, and retard their social, intellectual and moral development.

SPIRIT OF OKLAHOMA PEOPLE.

I have lived in Oklahoma since its birth. I know the people of this New State. I am sure I do not mis-interpret the spirit which animates them. I am certain I do not mis-judge their aspirations for the future. The people of Oklahoma are energetic, intelligent, progressive, and ambitious. They are full of hope and expectation. They are desirous that their villages, towns and cities shall grow. They are desirous that agricultural development shall keep pace with the growth of the towns and cities.

They would like to see a health flow of immigration into the State. They know there is room for millions of additional people in Oklahoma. With 1,665,155 inhabitants in 1909, we had 23.9 persons to every square mile of territory. If the State were as densely populated as Indiana, it would have 5,000,000 inhabitants; if it were as densely populated as Ohio, it would have a population of 8,000,000,000; and if it had as many inhabitants per square mile as Rhode Island its population would be 30,000,000.

The people of Oklahoma would like to see capital from every State in the Union coming to Oklahoma for investment. Men with means and men with muscle will be welcomed to aid in the development of the material resources of the State, and to participate in the up-building, the enlargement, and perfection of our institutions.

But people will not come to Oklahoma unless there is something for them to do. Capital will not flow into Oklahoma unless there is opportunity for safe and profitable investment.

The basis for all our growth must be in the enlargement of our industrial forces. The enlargement of our industrial forces must come mainly through the extension and expansion of agriculture and manufacturing. All other industries are largely incidental and supplemental to these two great producing industries. Agriculture and Manufacturing are the mighty engines of production that pull the great industrial train of this country.

Scan & pace up the steep, rugged and difficult reekline of progress.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

The opportunity for the expansion of agriculture in Oklahoma is almost beyond conception. The State has 44,424,960 acres of land ares. Only 17,551,337 acres of this land are improved. 28,873,623 acres are unimproved, uncultivated and unproductive. The area of our productive land might be doubled, and we would still have left 10,000,000 acres of unproductive land. To double the area in cultivation would mean to double the number of persons employed on our farms. This would add a million to our population and \$250,000,000 to the annual wealth produced by the State.

But by far the greatest expansion of our agriculture is possible through the improvement in our methods and system of farming.

The Daily Oklahoman, published at Oklahoma City, in a recent article declared that there were farmers in Oklahoma with "Five irrigated acres and a Silo" that were producing annual crops worth \$4000, and declared that the pumping machinery and necessary equipment was not beyond the reach of the average Oklahoma farmer. The Editor further asserts that if all the 190,000 farmers of Oklahoma were producing at this rate, the value of the annual agricultural products of Oklahoma would be \$760,000,000. Both European and Asiatic countries furnish us example of the amount of food products one acre of land will produce.

Belgium produces food for 490 persons for every square mile of her territory. At this rate Oklahoma could produce food

for 35,000,000 people, or for one-third of all the people of the United States. Japan has but 10,000 square miles of cultivated lands. From these lands she produces food for her 45,000,000 people. With her 70,000 square miles of land area, producing at the same rate, Oklahoma could produce food for \$166,000,000.

GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECT OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma will be affected by general conditions throughout the country. We share in the prosperity of the whole country, and we partake of its adversity. Conditions generally will largely control conditions in Oklahoma. Capital will not flow to Oklahoma for investment in manufacturing industries, when the business is depressed elsewhere. A protective tariff policy gives security to investments in manufacturing industries, encourages men to engage in such enterprises, inspires confidence in the business, safeguards profits, stimulates individual effort, and in a large measure contributes to the success of every new manufacturing establishment. The general effect of the new tariff policy must be unfavorable to the manufacturing business in the United States. These prevailing conditions will extend their paralyzing influence to Oklahoma, and the people thereof must drink from the bitter cup that the present administration has put to the lips of the people generally throughout the United States.
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EFFECT OF NEW TARIFF

What will be the natural, logical, and inevitable effect the provisions of this bill will have upon the agricultural interests of the country?

1. Through importations from abroad, there will be a large increase in the supply of farm products in the United States.
2. There will be no material increase in the demand for such products.
3. The markets for the agricultural products of the United States will be contracted, diminished, lessened, limited, and restricted.
4. There will be a decline in the prices of our agricultural products.

5. agricultural development will be arrested.
6. An inspector will be given to agriculture
in many foreign countries.

INCREASED SUPPLY OF FARM PRODUCTS
FROM IMPORTATIONS.

First, The first effect of this bill will be to increase the supply of farm products in the United States. The very object of reducing the tariff on agricultural products is to largely increase importations. These importations will come from Canada, Australia, Mexico, Cuba, South American countries, and in some cases from Europe, and Asiatic countries. ~~Agricultural products from foreign~~
~~These product~~
~~countries, will be on sale in all the great markets of the United~~
~~States. The Supply of farm products in the United States will be~~
~~greatly augmented. There will be no corresponding increase in the~~
~~These imported products will~~
~~demand. The farm products of Oklahoma must sell in competition with~~
~~our home~~
~~the imported product. In most of the countries that will import~~
~~These importations will come from countries where~~
~~farm products to this country, land is cheaper than in Oklahoma,~~
~~and in ~~most~~ American States, the farmers live on a lower standard,~~
~~When the cost of production is ~~less~~ and when~~
~~they pay less for their farm labor, and occupy a much inferior social~~
~~position. Under the policy the tendency will be to reduce~~
~~the price of land, place farm labor upon~~

The effect must be first, to reduce the price of land in Oklahoma, and elsewhere in the United States, to an average level of the prices of land in those countries from which importations of foreign products come.

Second, to bring the level of the prices of farm products in this country down to a level with farm products in the other countries.

Third, to bring the wages of the poor man working on the farm to a level with farm labor in other countries.

Fourth, to reduce the standard of living of the American farmer.

Fifth, to reduce the social standard of our farmers and their families.

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Decline of Prices.

LOSS FROM REDUCTION OF PRICES.

The increased supply of farm products in the markets of the United States through transportation from abroad must reduce the prices of products in these markets.

A reduction in the prices of farm products can not

benefit the farmers of Oklahoma, nor the citizens of Oklahoma generally. Four-fifths of the annual wealth produced in the States comes from the soil. The people in our towns and cities well know that their profits come from a percentage on what the farmers produce. Seventy-two per cent. of the population of Oklahoma are farmers. Their prosperity is vital to the well being of all classes of people. No one can with absolute accuracy state just what reduction there will be in the prices of farm products as a result of the free-trade policy in such products.

The value of the annual products of Oklahoma farms at present prices is about \$250,000,000. One per cent. average reduction in prices would be an annual loss to Oklahoma farmers of \$2,500,000; five per cent. reduction in prices would entail an annual loss of \$12,500,000; and ten per cent. reduction would mean an annual loss to our farmers of \$25,000,000. Our farmers are now bearing a heavy burden of taxation, but losses from reduction in the prices of farm products from free-trade policy to be inaugurated will be many times the taxes paid to support State and local government. Think what a loss this will mean to all the farmers of the United States. To lower the prices of farm products ten per cent. would mean an annual loss to the farmers of the United States of \$900,-000,000. I can not approve such a policy. I can not vote for such a measure. I know what the farmers of Oklahoma have gone through. I know the burdens they have borne. I know what sacrifices they and their families have made. I can not support a policy that places THEIR WELFARE IN JEOPARDY.

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Farmers are powerless to arbitrate increase
this year.

TWO ELEMENTS CONTROL PROFITS OF FARMERS.

The farmers are powerless to arbitrate increase their
prices.

The farmers of Oklahoma know that there are two important elements which determine their profits, viz: the quantity of the crop produced, and the price received for it. The farmers to a man should stand against any policy that tends to lower the level of prices for their products. When prices are low the farmers have no means within their power to arbitrarily advance them. This is not true in other lines of business. When railway rates are too low, the great railway companies on proper showing, by the consent of the State or National Railway Commission, can raise their rates, to insure a profit. The great manufacturing companies, having large monopolistic power may at their will increase their prices to enable them to declare proper dividends. The bankers who have in custody the money of the people, are ~~xxx~~ in a position to adjust their interest rates, so as to make their business profitable. The merchant may mark his prices up or down to meet varying conditions of trade and business. Organized labor, when wages are too low, may demand an increase of wages, and if the demand is not complied with a strike is ordered, and the employers must grant the increase in wages, or close their establishments, and perhaps suffer even greater loss. How different with the farmers when the prices of his products are too low to yield him a profit on his investment, and a reasonable compensation for the services rendered by himself and his wife and children, he has no alternative. He must sell at the prices offered or let his crop rot upon the farm. Do the farmers realize the peril, the great peril they are in - when the National Government deliberately enters upon a policy that must

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inevitably reduce the prices of farm products? Oh, some say there is no danger! But there is danger, and for myself, I shall take no changes. I believe the farmers are safest under a policy that tends to higher prices for farm products, and I believe that the people engaged in all other occupations get their full share of the wealth produced by the farmers. I prefer to pursue a policy that is absolutely safe to the farmer, and I shall let others take the responsibility of abandoning the policy of protection to American farmers.

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DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURIES.

The second inquiry is what effect will the new tariff policy have upon the growth of manufacturing establishments in Oklahoma. Oklahoma has the natural advantages to become a great ^{Oklahoma} manufacturing State.

There is an abundance of coal, oil, and natural gas, which will furnish cheap fuel and cheap power to turn the wheels of factories and manufacturing establishments. In some parts of the State immense water-power is available. There are vast deposits of lead, zinc, asphalt, glass sand, gypsum, granite, limestone, clays and shales, and other minerals. With all these natural advantages manufacturing lags far behind agriculture. In 1909 our manufacturing establishments gave employment to 18,034 persons, 13,143 of whom were wage-earners. Less than 100,000 of our population are supported by manufacturing. 1,00,000 are supported by our farms. The total product of our manufacturing plants in 1909 was valued at \$53,682,000. The material used cost \$34,153,000. The value added by our manufacturing plants, or the wealth produced by these plants, amounted to \$19,529,000. The same year our farms produced more than \$200,000,000 in wealth. In the United States as a whole the annual wealth produced by manufacturing practically equals the annual wealth produced by agriculture. The gross value of the manufactured products in the United States in 1910 was \$20,672,000,000. The material used cost \$12,141,790,000. The value added to this material or the wealth created by our manufacturing establishments in that year amounted to \$8,530,000. The same year our agricultural products were valued at \$8,694,000,000. The total wealth produced by these two industries was \$17,224,350,000, of which 50.5 per cent was produced by agriculture and 49.5 per cent was produced by manufacturing. With all our natural advantages there should be almost an exact balance between agricul-

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ture and manufacturing. The attainment of this equilibrium, between these two great fundamental industries - without any extension of our agricultural interests - would bring the annual wealth produced in the State to \$500,000,000 - double our population, ~~and~~ triple the inhabitants in every village, town and city, add to the value of every farm, and every lot in our towns and cities, extend our trade, expand our commerce, enlarge our business, and contribute largely to the prosperity, and happiness of all our people.

COTTON FACTORIES.

Oklahoma is losing from \$25,000,000 to \$50,000,000 every year because we do not manufacture our cotton. Look at Massachusetts she has 182 cotton mills, which employ 108,914 wage-earners, supporting a population of 500,000 persons. Her mills turn out annually cotton goods worth \$186,462,000. The material used cost \$105,157,000 leaving \$81,305,000 annually of net wealth added to the State. Massachusetts' natural advantages for manufacturing cotton are far inferior to those possessed by Oklahoma. She sends thousands of miles for her raw cotton, has no coal, oil, or natural gas, but transports her fuel from Pennsylvania or Canada. Compare Oklahoma and North Carolina. The two States produce about an equal amount of cotton. In 1911 Oklahoma produced 1,022,092 bales and North Carolina produced 1,075,820. Oklahoma sold her cotton crop in the markets of the world and received what it was worth as raw cotton. North Carolina's 281 cotton mills, employing 47,231 wage-earners, consumed ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ \$48,688,000 worth of her own cotton, and turned out cotton goods worth \$72,680,000 - thereby adding \$23,-992,000 to the annual wealth produced by the State. Through the absence of cotton mills equal in productive power to the mills of North Carolina, Oklahoma is losing directly every year \$25,000,000, and the indirect loss is far greater than this.

reduced the tariff on asphaltum from \$1.50 to \$3.00 per ton to 50 cents per ton. The bill as amended in the Senate places Asphaltum on the free list. In 1911, there were 117,869 tons of asphaltum imported into the United States. But with asphaltum on the free list many of the streets and public highways of this country will be paved with foreign asphaltum, and again wealth that should come to Oklahoma will be transferred to a foreign country.

This is the age of cement. Oklahoma has the limestone, the clays and shales, and the cheap fuel that promises to open up a great, profitable industry in the manufacture of Portland and other hydraulic cements. The House bill made sweeping reductions in the duty on cement, and the Senate amendments places Roman, Portland and other hydraulic cements on the free list.

So another stream of wealth that should flow into Oklahoma will be diverted to a foreign land.

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DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING.

I turn from agriculture to manufacturing

What will be the effect of the new tariff policy upon the development of manufacturing ~~in Oklahoma~~ ^{our} interests?

Oklahoma possesses all the natural advantages to become a great manufacturing ~~center~~ ^{state}. She has 10,000 square miles of coal land, which are said to cover 79,000,000,000 tons of coal. She has 24,000 producing oil wells, adding every week more than a million of dollars to the wealth of the State. She has a natural gas supply not equaled in any other State in the Union. She has ~~minimally cost power may be developed~~ the cheap fuel to furnish power to turn countless wheels of thousands of mills, factories and manufacturing establishments. ~~The~~ supplement all of this, in some places immense water-power is available.

Hidden beneath the surface of the soils are
Vast deposits of lead, zinc, asphaltum, glass-sand, cement-rock, gypsum, granite, limestone, clays, shales, and other minerals, await the coming of men with means and men with intelligence, energy and industry, to transform this great storehouse of mineral wealth into golden dollars to bless and help our people.
 With ~~all~~ these natural advantages, Manufacturing should be in equilibrium in wealth producing power with agriculture. But manufacturing lags far behind. We have 200,000 farmers, with only

18,034 persons employed in manufacturing. We have 1,100,000 people supported by agriculture, with less than 100,000 supported by manufacturing. In 1910 our farms produced over \$200,000,000 in wealth while our manufacturing establishments added but \$19,529,000 to the wealth of the state.

the wealth of the State. In 1910 North Carolina's 281 cotton mills added to the wealth of the State \$23,992,000. We produce as much cotton as North Carolina and have cheaper fuel. In 1910 Massachusetts' 182 cotton mills added to the wealth of the State \$81,305,000. Massachusetts sends thousands of miles for her cotton and transports her fuel from Pennsylvania and Canada. In not having cotton mills to manufacture her own cotton, Oklahoma is losing approximately \$40,000,000 annually. To defer for five years the building of sufficient cotton mills in Oklahoma to manufacture our own cotton would mean a loss to the State of \$200,000,000.

This House has already passed a tariff bill that makes sweeping reductions in the duties levied upon manufacturers of cotton. Should this bill become a law, as it no doubt will, the markets of the United States will be flooded with cotton goods manufactured abroad. Upon a much larger scale, the people of the United States will become patrons, customers and supporters of foreign cotton mills. Cotton mills in the United States will be confronted with increased competition. Under such conditions it will be far more difficult to induce capital to invest in new cotton mills in Oklahoma or elsewhere in the United States. In the mean time the establishment of cotton mills in Oklahoma has been postponed. The people of the United States are sending millions of dollars abroad that should have been sent to Oklahoma to pay for cotton goods manufactured in Oklahoma cotton mills.

Hundreds of millions of dollars might be added to the annual wealth produced in the State in the mining and manufacturing of lead, zinc, asphalt, glass, gypsum, portland cement, granite, limestone, and other minerals existing in abundance in the State. But under the low rates of duty provided in this tariff bill, there will be a large increase in the importations of these products from abroad. As a result there must be so much less demand for the out-put of the mines and manufacturing establishments of Oklahoma. So our natural wealth lies dormant, while an ever increasing stream of money flows abroad to develop the resources of other countries.

We have met in an extraordinary session of congress. We have been called together by the chief Executive of this nation. The chief work before us is the revision of the tariff. We have under consideration H. R. #321. This bill was prepared by the Dem^o, cratic majority of the Ways and Means committee. It come sto us with the endorsement of the caucus of the democratic members of this House. The title of the bill indicates its purpose. The title is as follows: A bill to reduce the tariff, # duties, to provide revenue for the government , and for other purposes."

This bill has been prepared by those who believe that congress has no authority to levy a tariff except for the purpose of raising revenue to support the government. The majority of the Ways and Means committee in their report on this bill quote from the National platform of 1912 which declares " it to be a fundamental principle of the democratic party that the Federal government under the constitution has no right or power to impose or collect ~~Tariff to be used except for the purpose of the revenue of our~~
~~Federal Constitution~~"

tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue."

I do not believe in this construction of our Federal constitution. The first act passed by congress, after the organization of the government was entitled " An act to encourage manufactures." The power of congress to levy tariff duties to encourage and protect American industries is supported by the precedents and practices of our entire history as a nation. The fact that this bill has been prepared by those who do not believe in the constitutionality of a protective tariff is in itself sufficient to put all protectionists on their guard . But we do not need to rest our case upon mere suspicion .

In their report on this bill the majority of the Ways and Means

committee declare that thie bill has been prepared , " without thought of protection".

I believe in protection to mome industry and to American labor.

I believe that M through the imposition of tariff duties we may give to our farmers and manufactures anvantages in our home markets .I can not support a bill that has been prepared " without thought of protectioib " to our farmers, manufacture s and ~~wage-earners~~ wage-earners.

This is not a bill to reduce rates ,but a bill to revolution a policy. The object of this bill is not the reduction of the eates tariff , but intruduction of a new tariff system. I have no objection to the reasonable reduction of trarif. I believe that from time to time tariff duties may be lowered, schedules may be re-adjusted, and rates may be changed. But I believe that the pro- posed chan ge in the economical policy of this nation is dan- gerous to our industrial independence , inimical to the well be- ing of the great majority of our citizens,~~and~~"will" and if persiste in will check our porsperty , entail great natioen loss and in- flict upon the country a great national calamity.

The supporters of this bill have misinterpeted the voice of the American people. They gave you an inch ; you have taken a mile. Through constitutional methods you have been placed in power, but the people did not autoruze you to revolution the tariff pol- icy of this nation. The great majority of the American peple believe in the doctrine of protection to American industry and Amerrican labor. The American people have not asked that the American markets shall be throwen open to the producers of all

the world. They have not asked that the men who toil on our farms and in our shops and factories shall be placed in competition with cheap labor of European and Asiatic countries. They have not asked that foreign producers shall be given free access to our markets. They have not asked that changes shall be made in our tariff that will put in peril many of our important industries. They have not asked that They have not asked for legislation that may reduce wages, close industries, restrict the demand for labor, disturb business, retard enterprise, and bring stagnation in our national development. You are proceeding without authority of the people and at the first opportunity they will show their disapproval.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. In reachin a conclusion as to how I should vote on this measure, I shall be guided largely by what I think is best for the people whom I represent.

This bill proposes a radical change in our national tariff policy. I can not feel that this change in our tariff policy will benefit the people of the State of Oklahoma. To change from the policy of a protective tariff to a tariff for revenue only will not in my judgment contribute in the least to the material development of the State of Oklahoma. This proposed change in our tariff policy will not put an additional dollar in the pockets of any man in Oklahoma. It will not give an additional day's employment to our people, or increase the wage or salary of a single person within our State. This change in our tariff policy will not create a single new industry, or contribute to the enlargement or expansion of any existing idnustry, business or enterprise. This proposed change in our tariff policy will not contribute to the more rapid development of our natural resources - it will not aid in the development of agriculture, mining, manufacturing, commerce, trade or transportation - it will not help our farmers, miners, manufacturers, merchants, business men in general, or the men employed in the various industries of the State. I desire to support these assertions by proof and argument.

The 1910 Census gave Oklahoma a population of 1,657,155. The land area of the State is 69,414 square miles. In 1910 the average number of persons to the square mile was 23.9. We had 105 cities - the largest was Oklahoma City, the capital of the State, with 64,205 population. Then followed Muskogee with

25,278, and Tulsa with 18,182. Other cities with over 10,000 population were Enid, McAlester, Shawnee, Guthrie and Chickasha.

320,155 of our population were in towns and cities of 2,500 or more population. 1,337,000 were on the farms and in towns with less than 2,500 inhabitants. 550,742 of our population were in our towns and cities and 1,106,413 were residing on our farms. 27.3 per cent. of our people were in our towns and cities, and 72.7 per cent. resided upon our farms. In round numbers about three-fourths of our population reside upon our farms and about one-fourth in the towns and cities.

Now, I think all our people will agree that the prosperity of our State demands that there shall be a growth in our population. Certainly the people who reside in our towns and cities, who have business therein, who own property and have employment therein, that an increase in population of our towns and cities will contribute to their growth and development, aid in extending and expanding every enterprise, industry and business therein, add to the value and improvement of real estate, and contribute to the wealth and general welfare of the community and the people. The people in the towns and cities also recognize the importance of increasing the population residing upon the farms. Because this means more wealth produced in every county, larger trade for the towns and cities and a general improvement in both city and country.

On the other hand our farmers can readily see how they are interested, not only in the growth, population and business of towns and cities now in existence, but in building new and additional towns and cities. The growth and multiplicity of towns

and cities, the increase in business and wealth therein, increases the farmers' customers at home, makes a better local demand for his products, gives him better markets, better trading points, adds value to his lands, and brings within his reach superior social, educational and religious advantages. These suggestions are sufficient to make it plain that our people generally - without regard to residence or occupation - are all interested in increasing the population of our State.

INCREASE OF WEALTH

There is another proposition upon which we will all agree and that is that all our people are interested in increasing the wealth of the State. The people residing in our towns and cities are interested in the farmers increasing their wealth, and the farmers are interested in the increase of wealth among the people residing in the towns and cities. We all know that wealth is a factor in the well being of any community or people. The wealth any people possess controls in a large measure the way people live - the kind of houses in which they reside, the kind of furniture in their houses, the kind of clothes they wear, the amount and character of the food they eat, the means, facilities and opportunities they have for education, recreation, self-culture, intellectual, moral and religious improvement and development. And all these things in turn are controlling factors in determining character of our citizenship.

We have two great things, an increase in our population by immigration to the State, and the increase of wealth by attracting new capital to the State, and by the development of our natural resources, and the expansion, enlargement of agriculture, mining, manufacturing, trade, commerce, transportation, and every other useful and profitable business and employment. We want to bring ~~xx~~ people to the State, we want to attract capital for investment and in all profitable enterprises, and we want to develop the great natural resources of our Commonwealth, and along with this material, industrial and commercial growth - we will attain the best there is in intellectual, moral and religious life.

AGRICULTURE

We have now a definite thing to ascertain. We want to know how the abandonment of the policy of protection, and the substitution therefor of a tariff for revenue only is to effect the growth and development of Oklahoma in wealth, population, and commerce, trade, transportation, and all other business interests. Agriculture is our fundamental industry. Two-thirds of our population are on our farms. And we want to know if the proposed changes in our tariff will add to the wealth of our farmers. The Census of 1910 showed that we had in Oklahoma 190,192 farms. The land area in the State was 44,424,960 acres. Land area in farms was 28,859,353. Improved land in farms 17,551,337 acres. 11,308,016 acres of land included in our farms were not improved. Just about one-third of our land was not included in our farms and is, of course, practically wholly unproductive. Considerably over one-third of the land included within our farms was not improved - which means not in cultivation or in pasture. In other words, in 1910 we had 17,551,337 acres of improved land, and 26,873,623 acres of unimproved land. Nearly two-third of our land area is unimproved, uncultivated, and unproductive. Much of this land is no doubt mountains, and practically worthless. But making allowance for worthless land, it is certain that in some form of agriculture - we may double the number of acres of our productive lands. We may then double the acres of productive land in the State, and in this way double the wealth produced on our farms. But this is not all. There is another way we can add to the wealth produced by our farms. We can improve our methods in farming. Scientific farming will add largely to the amount of wealth our

farms produce. Improvement in methods, systems, and cultivation - and in wiser selection of crops adapted to our climate and soils, will add largely to the wealth produced by our farms. There is room for large expansion in our agriculture. We must enlarge the area of productive lands, and we must increase the yield per acre. More farming and better farming opens an avenue through which we may easily triple the accrued wealth produced from the lands of Oklahoma.

MONEY VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS

There is another all important factor. The wealth our farms produce is not measured in pounds, bushels and tons. The value of farm products, and the surplus wealth which our farms produce depends upon the prices paid for the products of the farm. In 1909 all the farm crops ~~xxx~~ grown on Oklahoma farms were valued at \$133,454,405. All our domestic animals in 1909 were valued at \$160,338,000. The total value of domestic animals sold and slaughtered on the farms in 1909 was \$61,100,000. Our eggs and poultry sold brought us a total of \$12,932,000. The products of our ~~xxxxxx~~ orchards brought us \$943,000.

These figures which I have taken from our Census reports show that our farms in 1909 produced wealth to the amount of \$208,429,405. But ten or twelve years ago, these same products would not have brought our farmers and our State ~~ext~~ but only half the amount of money they sold for in 1909. So that we must not only extend the area of our improved and productive land, and increase the yield per acre, but we must pursue a policy that will insure ~~xxxxxx~~ a fair and reasonable price for all the products that come from the farm. It is not the farmer alone who is interested in good prices. With ~~xxxx~~ three-fourths of our people on the farms we can have no general prosperity in Oklahoma unless the farmers and producers. - A very large per cent. of our non-farming population, for their profit and income depend entirely upon securing a per cent of the surplus wealth of the farmers. Then we have reached the conclusion that in building up the wealth of Oklahoma it is necessary that the products of our farms must bring good prices.

But what controls, regulates and determines the prices of farm products? Every body is familiar with the great law of supply and demand. When there is free competition - when prices are not influenced by monopolistic power - the supply and demand is the great controlling factor in regulating and fixing prices. If the farmers of the United States by extending the area in production and by increasing the yield per acre, largely increases the quantity of their products, the prices will go down, unless there is an increased demand for such products. If we increase the supply there must be increased consumption to correspond or the surplus of our products will cause large reductions in the price.

The provisions of this tariff bill now under consideration will largely increase the supply of staple farm products in the markets of the United States. This is bound to come. The rates of duty on agricultural products under the present law are sufficient to largely prevent the importation of farm products from other countries into the United States. The present law prevents the farmers of other countries from increasing the supply of farm products in America's market, and thereby reducing the price. I present here a comparison between the tariff rates on important ~~farm~~ farm products under the present law and under the proposed law.

They are as follows:

Now I submit to any candid mind the importation of farm products from foreign lands into the United States, will tend to prevent the enlargement of the area in cultivation in this country, and also tend to reduce the price. And the opening of American markets to the farm products of other countries, will have the opposite effect in these foreign countries. They will have an increased demand for their products, /they ~~will~~ export to this country will decrease the supply at home, and the result will be an enlargement of the area in cultivation, and increased prices. Our new tariff policy, therefore, does for the foreign farmer what we ought to do for our own farmers. Encourage him to increase his product and help him to get better prices. Do the gentleman who support this bill, and who will vote for it, think they can convince the farmers of Oklahoma who produce wheat, that the importation of wheat from Canada into the United States will increase the price of wheat in the United States. Do you think the farmers of Oklahoma can be made to believe that the importation to the United States of cattle and hogs and sheep, and beef and pork and mutton, and eggs and butter from Austria, Mexico, South American states, and other countries will raise the prices of these products in the United States. Do they think that they can make the farmers who produce Broom corn believe that the placing of broom corn on the free list - and the ~~import~~ importation of broom corn into the United States from 15 foreign countries - will add to the price of broom corn in the United States. Certainly not.

IMPORTATIONS INCREASED.

This new tariff policy

The reduction of the duty on many farm products below the point of protection, and the placing of all other farm products on the free list, will largely increase the importation of such products ^{farm into the United States.} These importations will come from Canada, Australia, Cuba, Mexico, South American republics and in some cases from European and Asiatic countries. The supply of farm products in the United States will be greatly augmented. These imported farm products will be on sale in all the great markets of the United States in competition with the farm products of Oklahoma, and of all other States of the Union. These imported ~~farm~~ products will come in the main from countries where land is cheaper than it is generally in the United States, where the cost of production is less, where farmers receive less compensation for their services, where farmers and their families live on a low standard, and occupy an inferior social position. All this must have a tendency to lower the price of lands in Oklahoma, and elsewhere in the United States, to reduce the compensation which our farmers receive for labor upon the farm, and to place our farmers, and their families, in their manner of living in the social position occupied upon a level with the poorest and most ignorant farmers of the world.

MANUFACTURING IN ITS INFANCY IN OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma's manufacturing establishments are in the main not "infant industries" for the most of them have not yet been born. There is danger that under the new tariff policy many of them never will be born. It is unfortunate for our people that this change in our tariff policy should come just when Oklahoma is starting on its career of development. The old industrial concerns of this country have an established trade, they have an extensive business, they have large capital already invested, they have ample credit, they have able, experienced and successful managers, and they have an intelligent, well organized force of skillful employees. When these old establishments are "Whetting their wits" for a life and death struggle with foreign competitors, there will be precious little inducement for capital to invest in new concerns in Oklahoma.

If the States with their manufacturing industries already established expect great loss through foreign competition, how can we expect, under the new tariff policy, to found new establishments and run them successfully. In brief, it appears to me that Oklahoma being a new State with great manufacturing possibilities - with wonderful undeveloped natural resources - ~~should~~ above all other States of the Union stand for a tariff policy that would give the greatest encouragement to the development of new manufacturing establishments, that will aid us in obtaining capital, that will give confidence in new undertakings, and that will give life, vitality, ~~stimulus~~, and momentum to our industrial development, and give to all classes of our people, who must participate in the up-building of Oklahoma, faith, hope, assurance, and optimism.

Since we have ascertained that the growth of Oklahoma depends mainly upon the development of our agricultural and manufacturing interests, I will first consider what will be the effect of the new tariff policy upon agricultural development in Oklahoma, and second, what will be the effect of this new tariff policy upon the development of the manufacturing interests.

The effect of this new tariff policy upon the agricultural development of Oklahoma may be described in four principal propositions:

First, through foreign importations there will be an increase in the supply of agricultural products in the United States.

Second, there will be no increased demand for such products.

Third, there will be a division, restriction and limitation in the market of the United States for agricultural products.

Fourth, there will be a decline in the price of agricultural products.

But men who believe in free trade in farm products, point the farmers of the United States to the world's market, as an ideal place in which to sell his products. To sell in the world's market simply means more cost of transportation, more profits for middle-men, more dividends for corporations, more percentage for agents, distributors, and dealers, but always less money for the farmer. It occurs to me that if I were a farmer and my Congressman would tell me that Liverpool was good enough market in which to sell my wheat, I would say to him "then Liverpool is good enough place in which for you to get votes."

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have under consideration H. R. 3321, entitled "A bill to reduce the tariff, and to provide revenue for the government and for other purposes."

The bill proposes a complete change in the tariff policy of the Government. The policy of Protection, so long pursued by the National Government is to be abandoned, and a tariff-for-revenue only system is to be substituted therefor. In reaching a conclusion as to how I shall vote upon this measure I must be controlled largely by what I think will be the effect of this measure upon my own constituents. I must be guided by the interests of my own people and the welfare of my own State.

On the 22nd day of next April Oklahoma will celebrate the 25th anniversary of its birth. In these twenty-five years we have founded and built a great commonwealth. Our material growth has been without a parallel in American history. The total value of our property exceeds a ~~km~~ thousand millions of dollars. There is opportunity for almost unlimited development in the future. The outlook for the State is propitious. Our greatest expectations will be more than realized if the changes in the economical policy of the National Government do not block our progress. Before the

Mr. CHAIRMAN: We have met in an extraordinary session of Congress. We come at the call of our Chief Magistrate. The revision of the tariff is the great work before us. H. R. 3321 is now under consideration. According to its title, this is "A bill to reduce tariff duties, to provide a revenue ~~xxx~~ for the government, and for other purposes."

This bill has been prepared by those who contend that there is no authority in the Constitution to levy a tariff except to raise revenue for the support of the government. The majority of the Ways and Means Committee in their report on this bill declare that it has been prepared "without thought of protection."

Here is my first objection to the measure. I believe in protection to American industry, to American labor, and through tariff duties to give the American farmers and manufacturers the advantage in our home markets. Consequently I can not support a measure that has been prepared "without thought of protection" to our farmers, our manufacturers, and our wage-earners.

I believe from time to time duties may be lowered, schedule many be re-adjusted, rates may be changed. But this bill is a revolution in policy, not a reduction in rates. Here I think is the fatal mistake of the authoris of this bill. They have misinterpreted the voice of the American people. The great majority of the American people believe in the doctrine of protection. They have not asked for a change in policy. They have not asked that the men who toil on our farms and labor in our shops shall be compelled to compete with the cheap labor abroad. They have not

MR. SPEAKER: The National Government, under the guidance and direction of a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress, is about to enter upon a new tariff policy. The people of Oklahoma are deeply interested in knowing what will be the effect of this new tariff policy upon the growth and development of the State.

I believe that the abandonment of the policy of Protection, and the substitution therefor of a tariff-for-revenue-only policy will be an impediment to the material growth of Oklahoma, an obstruction to its industrial progress, a hindrance to its commercial and business expansion, and a mighty incubus that will hold back the advancement of the State, limit the prosperity of the people, and retard their social, intellectual and moral development.

On the 22nd day of next April Oklahoma will celebrate its 25th Birthday. In these twenty-five years of history we have founded and built a great commonwealth, Under a protective policy. Our material growth has been without a parallel in American history. Our mines, forests, factories and farms are producing annually approximately \$300,000,000 in wealth. We have added to our possessions until the property of the State is worth more than a thousand millions of dollars. There is almost unlimited opportunity for development in the future. The prospect for future growth is exceedingly favorable. The outlook for the State is exceedingly encouraging and propitious. There is but one ominous cloud visible above the industrial horizon of Oklahoma. There is but one thing that threatens to arrest progress of Oklahoma, and blight the hopes, and anticipations of our people of Oklahoma, and that is the change which the present administration proposes to make in the tariff policy of the National Government.

SPIRIT OF OKLAHOMA PEOPLE.

I have lived in Oklahoma since its birth. I know the people of this New State. I am sure I do not mis-interpret the spirit which animates these people. I am certain I do not mis-judge their aspirations for the future. The people of Oklahoma are energetic, intelligent, progressive, and ambitious. They are full of hope and expectation. They want to see their villages, towns and cities grow, and they want to see agricultural development keep pace with the growth of the towns and cities.

The people of Oklahoma would like to see a healthy flow of immigration into the State, to insure a substantial increase in the population of our towns and cities.

There is room for millions of more people in Oklahoma. In 1909 Oklahoma had 1,655,155 inhabitants - 23.9 persons to every square mile of territory. But if the State were as densely populated as Indiana, it would have 5,000,000 inhabitants; if it were as densely populated as Ohio, it would have a population of 8,000,-000; and if it had as many inhabitants per square mile as Rhode Island its population would be 30,000,000.

The people of Oklahoma would like to see capital from every State in the Union coming to Oklahoma for investment. From everywhere in this broad land men with means will be welcomed in Oklahoma, to aid in the development of the material resources of the State, and to participate in the up-building of the State and in the enlargement and perfection of our institutions.

But people will not come to Oklahoma unless there is something for them to do. Capital will not flow into Oklahoma unless there is opportunity for safe and profitable investment. Men

and money from other States will not come to Oklahoma, unless there is renumerative employment and profitable business.

Then, the growth of Oklahoma in population and wealth is simply a question of the enlargement and multiplication of industrial forces of the State. For industrial growth Oklahoma must rely mainly upon the extension and expansion of agriculture and manufacturing. Because all other industries are largely incidental and supplemental to the two great primary producing industries: Agriculture and Manufacturing. These two industries are the engines that pull and lead the industrial train of this country.

The new tariff policy will not be the means of adding an acre to the cultivated area of Oklahoma; it will not be the cause of the erection of a single new mill, factory or manufacturing establishment within the State; ~~and~~ will not furnish employment, within the State, for one additional man; and will not furnish a new market for, or add to the price of, a single product in the State.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

The opportunity for the expansion of agriculture in Oklahoma is almost inconceivable. To expand our agriculture we must extend the area in cultivation, improve our methods of farming and multiply the number of our farmers. All this may be done in Oklahoma. The State has 44,424,960 acres of land area. Only 17,551,337 acres of this land are improved. 28,873,623 acres are unimproved, uncultivated and unproductive. The area of our productive land might be doubled, and we would still have left 10,000,000 acres of unproductive land. To double the area in cultivation would mean to double the number of persons employed on our farms. This would add a million to our population and \$250,000,000 to the annual wealth produced by the State.

But by far the greatest expansion of our agriculture is possible through the improvement in our methods and system of farming. Belgium produces food for 490 persons for every square mile of her territory. At this rate Oklahoma could produce food for 35,000,000 people, or for one-third of all the people of the United States. Japan has but 19,000 square miles of cultivated lands. From these lands she produces food for her 45,000,000 people. At this rate, Oklahoma with 70,000 square miles of land area could produce food for 166,000,000 people.

In a recent issue of the Daily Oklahoman, published at Oklahoma City, there was an editorial entitled, "Five Irrigated Acres And A Silo." In part, the article reads as follows:

"The owner of a quarter section of land who owns a silo and has five acres irrigated for a garden can raise products each year that have a value of \$4,000. If each of the 190,000 farms of Oklahoma were similarly equipped, then the annual value of livestock and agricultural pro-

ducts would reach the stupendous sum of \$760,000,000!

On paper, this might look overenthusiastic. But some men in Oklahoma, by using the combination of the silo and five irrigated acres, are obtaining this result."

GOOD MARKETS ESSENTIAL.

One thing Members of Congress ought not to forget, and one thing the farmers of Oklahoma, and elsewhere, will not forget, and that is that in any plan for the expansion of agriculture it is essential that we provide markets wherein farm products will sell at renumerative prices. There have been times in this country when corn has been used as fuel, and when staple farm products rotted in the field. The problem of prices is fully as important as the problem of production. The policy of protection preserves the markets of the United States for the farmers of the United States. In principle, the provisions of this bill by solemn legislative~~x~~ grant, conveys to the farmers in every section, clime, and country of the world, a right, title, and interest in the markets of the United States equal to that possessed by the farmers of Oklahoma, and the farmers of other States in the Union. The markets of the United States which belong to our own farmers you are ~~giving~~ giving to the farmers of other countries. What consideration are you giving to our farmers? In what way are you compensating them for the loss of their markets? The men who believe in free trade in farm products, point the farmers of the United States to the world's market, as an ideal place in which to sell his products. Few farmers are foolish enough to prefer the world markets to his home markets. The world's market simply means more cost of transportation, more profits of middle men, more dividends for corporations, more rake-off for agents, distributors, and dealers, but always less

money for the farmer. It occurs to me that if I were a farmer and my Congressman would tell me that Liverpool was good enough market in which to sell my wheat, I would say to him he should go to Liverpool to get his votes.

ica, will not serve an an impetus to our farmers to raise more cattle and produce more beef. In face of foreign competition they will naturally be cautious about enlarging their production of livestock.

The editor of the Daily Ardmoreite, published at Ardmore, Oklahoma, in a recent article, declared that, "One million dollars is going to waste in Carter County every year" because there were practically no sheep in that county, to feed off of the post-oak sprouts, rag weeds and iron-weeds, which were merely a nuisance to the farmers.

We have millions and millions of acres of non-productive land in Oklahoma - upon which flocks of sheep might feed and thereby add probably \$25,000,000 annually to the wealth produced by our farmers. But the provisions of this bill place wool and mutton on the free list, and this means that the farmers and the ranchmen of Australia will supply the markets of the United States large with wool and mutton. And nearly a million of farmers in the United States producing sheep and mutton, must largely go out of the business. Under such conditions there will be no inducement to the farmers of Oklahoma to secure a flock of sheep or goats to make their waste lands productive and profitable.

In Northwestern Oklahoma where sugar beets may be grown profitably, and I have hoped to see some day great sugar factories in that section of the State - adding largely to the value of the land, increasing the profits of the farmers, and contributing many

millions of dollars annually to the wealth of the State. But all these bright anticipations vanish in view of the free-sugar policy promulgated in this tariff bill. The farmers now producing sugar cane in the South, and sugar beats in the North and West, must prepare to go out of the business. Oklahoma has taken the lead in the production of broom corn. Eighty-five per cent of all the broom corn in the United States in 1909 was grown in Oklahoma. Three-fourths of all the Oklahoma crop was produced in the Second Congressional District, which I have the honor to represent. The production of broom corn in Oklahoma might be enlarged. This tariff bill takes off the \$3.00 per ton duty on broom corn and invites the farmers of foreign countries to compete with the farmers of Oklahoma in ~~producing~~ duction of broom corn. Putting broom corn on the free list will unquestionably encourage the importation of broom corn, and so the farmers of Northwest Oklahoma - struggling under great natural drawbacks - will have an additional burden placed upon them.

LOWER PRICES FOR FARM PRODUCTS.

The general effect of the provisions of this bill must be to lower the prices of farm products. Every farmer knows that supply and demand are the greatest factors in fixing the prices of his products. To increase the supply of our farm products without any corresponding increase in the demand for such products must necessarily decrease the price the farmer receives. The very object of reducing the tariff on agricultural products is to largely increase importations. These importations will come from Canada, Australia, Mexico, Cuba, South American countries, and in some cases from Europe, and Asiatic countries. Agricultural products from foreign countries will be on sale in all the great markets of the United States. The supply of farm products in the United States will be greatly augmented. There will be no corresponding increase in the demand. As a result prices must inevitably decline. Indeed, the very object of reducing the tariff on farm products is to lower the prices of such products and thereby reduce the cost of living.

LOSS FROM REDUCTION OF PRICES.

A reduction in the prices of farm products can not benefit the farmers of Oklahoma, nor the citizens of Oklahoma generally. Four-fifths of the annual wealth produced in the States comes from the soil. The people in our towns and cities well know that their profits come from a percentage on what the farmers produce. Seventy-two per cent. of the population of Oklahoma are farmers. Their prosperity is vital to the well being of all classes of people. No one can with absolute accuracy state just what reduction there will be in the prices of farm products as a result of the free-trade policy in such products. The value of the annual products of Oklahoma farms at present prices is about \$250,000,000. One per cent. average reduction in prices would be an annual loss to Oklahoma farmers of \$2,500,000; five per cent. reduction in prices would entail an annual loss of \$12,500,000; and ten per cent. reduction would mean an annual loss to our farmers of \$25,000,000. Our farmers are now bearing a heavy burden of taxation, but losses from reduction in the prices of farm products from free-trade policy to be inaugurated will be many times the taxes paid to support State and local government. Think what a loss this will mean to all the farmers of the United States. To lower the prices of farm products ten per cent. would mean an annual loss to the farmers of the United States of \$900,-000,000. I can not approve such a policy. I can not vote for such a measure. I know what the farmers of Oklahoma have gone through. I know the burdens they have borne. I know what sacrifices they and their families have made. I can not support a policy that places THEIR WELFARE IN JEOPARDY.

in Western Oklahoma.

Oklahoma might greatly increase its annual wealth by enlarging the production of poultry and eggs, but a large increase in the importation of poultry and eggs will not serve to stimulate the poultry and egg production in Oklahoma.

founding of new manufacturing establishments in Oklahoma.

The pending tariff bill makes sweeping reductions in the duty upon all manufacturers of cotton. The object of this reduction is to largely increase the importations of all kinds of cotton goods from abroad. Foreign mills will flood our markets with their cotton goods. In face of this foreign competition, who will risk their money in building new cotton mills in Oklahoma, or elsewhere in the United States?

Under this bill the duty on lead ore is reduced from one and a half to one half cent per pound, and a corresponding reduction is made in the rate on zinc. The importation of lead and zinc can not give encouragement to the enlargement of the lead and zinc industry of Oklahoma. The glass industry has been rapidly developing in the State. More than a dozen glass factories are now in operation or in process of construction. In 1911 the imports of glass into the United States were valued at \$2,078,781. This bill reduces the tariff on glass 25 per cent. Large additional importations must be the result. Naturally the expansion of our glass industry will be checked, and in the mean time the people of the United States are sending to foreign countries millions of dollars for glass that might have come to Oklahoma. ~~This~~

The reduction in the duty upon gypsum and its products will open our markets to Canadian gypsum, and thus the wealth derived from our gypsum ~~deposits~~ deposits will be curtailed, limited, and restricted. As the new tariff bill passed the House, it

CONCLUSION.

The new tariff policy will not add an acre to the cultivated area of Oklahoma; it will not cause the erection of a single new mill, factory, or manufacturing establishment within the State; it will not build a single new railway, open a new mine or quarry, or establish a single important industry; it will not furnish a new market for or add to the price of a single product produced within the State; it will not give employment to a single additional man, or in any way contribute to the material development of the State, or the well-being of its citizens.

Mr. CHAIRMAN:

We have met in extraordinary session of Congress. We come together at the call of the President of the United States. The chief work for which we have met is the revision of our tariff duties. In pursuance of this work, the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee have presented for our consideration H. R. 3321. Before this bill was introduced, it received the endorsement of the Democratic Caucus. The ~~xxx~~ decree went forth from this caucus that the bill shall pass this House without any material amendment.

By the action of the Democratic Caucus in a large measure, Republicans have been excluded from effective participation in the preparation, perfection, and enactment of the proposed new tariff law. We may offer amendments but they will be promptly voted down. We may speak against the measure, but nothing we ~~mx~~ say will change a vote. We may suggest, criticise, protest and warn, but nothing we may say or do, will vary, modify, change or amend this bill as it comes to the House with the stamp of approval from the Democratic Caucus.

With all this, it is plainly the duty of Republicans to point out the imperfections of this bill, to offer appropriate amendments, and do every thing in their power to perfect the measure so that it will conserve the welfare of the country, and promote the general prosperity of ~~xxx~~ all our people.

FOREIGN GOODS DEFER OKLAHOMA DEVELOPMENT.

The change in our tariff policy will not encourage the establishment of new manufacturing plants anywhere in the United States. This general condition will defer the establishment of new factories in Oklahoma. The manufacturing establishments of the United States in 1912, supplied all home demands and exported manufactured articles ready for consumption, valued at \$672,268,163. Few of our establishments run at full capacity. Most of them could greatly enlarge their out-put. The sale of surplus products is the chief problem confronting them to-day. That problem will be more difficult to solve with foreign factories competing with them in every market of the United States. Ships will be landing in our ports to unload great cargoes of foreign-made goods. These goods will be distributed throughout the entire country. They will be displayed in every shop window, and will be sold over every counter. Foreign manufacturers will have ~~agencies~~ agents, representatives, solicitors, salesmen scouring this country, seeking new business. Under such conditions there will be no encouragement for the construction of new mills, new plants, and new factories in Oklahoma. Capital will seek other lines of investment. Oklahoma's industrial progress will be stayed. Our natural resources will remain undeveloped. Our natural gas will continue to be wasted, our coal will be unmined, our gypsum, cement rock, limestone, glass sand, granite, asphalt, zinc, lead and salt will be unused. Our manufacturing industries will remain comparatively insignificant. Scarcely one-half of the wealth-producing power of the State will be unutilized.

Our industrial growth will be one-sided. Our material development will be dwarfed, stunted, restricted, and circumscribed. In the long years of waiting, waiting, waiting that must follow, our real estate does not advance in value, our business does not expand, and the natural, normal, and legitimate opportunities of our people are not realized.

Mr. CHAIRMAN:

I have great respect for the wisdom, intelligence and patriotism of the men who prepared this bill and for the men whose votes will pass it through this House. At the same time I believe the measure is fraught with great harm to this country, and will bring to millions of people distress, disaster, and ruin.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr.) who has just spoken, and who is one of the Democratic majority in this House, had much to say about the tariff and the trusts. I have heard that cry before. It has resounded through this country in every political campaign for twenty-five years. The fact is the protective tariff has not produced the trusts and a tariff for revenue only will not destroy them. Protection has not created the trust evil, and free-trade will not cure it. Here is where the party in power is making its great mistake. You are mistaken about what has caused the trust and naturally you fail to suggest or propose a proper remedy. You are honest in your opposition to monopoly, you are sincere in your views as to the cause of monopoly and you are patriotic in your desire to eradicate the ~~xxxxxx~~ evil; but you are nevertheless mistaken, and are doomed to failure, and the ~~xxxx~~ people will be disappointed, for the trust, the big corporation, the monopolistic concern will last longer than Democratic supremacy. That the protective policy is not responsible for the trusts is demonstrated by three undisputed propositions. First, in free-trade countries - like England, trusts exist and

OUR MARKETS A VALUABLE ASSET

The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee in their report on this bill declare that in the preparation of H. R. 3321, the attempt has been made "to introduce in every line of industry a competitive tariff basis providing for a substantial amount of ~~importations~~, to the end that no concern shall be able to feel that it has a monopoly of the home market gained other than through the fact that it is able to furnish better goods at lower prices than others."

Here is an announcement of the new policy to be inaugurated by this law. The aim is to reduce the tariff to a competitive basis so that in every line of industry there shall be a "substantial amount of importation." The purpose of the bill is to place every producer in the United States in competition with the foreign producers. The home producer and the foreign producer are to be placed upon an equal footing in the markets of the United States. The products of foreign factories and of foreign farms are to sell in our home markets on equal terms with the products of our own farms and factories. I can not approve such a policy. I do not believe the foreign producer should share equally our home markets with home producers. Our markets are the best in the world. They are a valuable asset to our country. They are the product of our own people. They are not accidental. Our own people have created our home markets. They have paid for them. Their labor, their enterprise, their industry, their sacrifices, their money, paid in taxes, produced these markets.

Our home market is an institution of this country - as much so as our schools and colleges, and churches and asylums. Our home market is a part of our stock in trade - a portion of the capital on which we do business ~~xxxxxx~~ - an essential element of our great industrial fabric - one of the pillars of our business and commerce - our home market has as much to do with our industrial and business life as our climate, our soil, mineral wealth or any other natural ~~wx~~ resource. We might as well make foreign nations a free gift of our capital, our labor, or any part of our natural resources as to enact a tariff law that opens our markets to foreign producers without price, compensation, or any equivalent advantage to our producers.

Those who believe in protection as a National Policy
have a grave duty to perform. In the great arena of America
should prepare themselves for warfare that will be waged before the
~~politics the hosts of protection went down to defeat.~~
bar of public opinion. ~~The American people will give us a hearing.~~

The importance of the issue cannot be over-estimated. We should
put on the whole armor, and fight manfully for a cause which we deem
just and right.

The anti-protectionists have made great headway with
their propoganda. They have acquired control of the National Govern-
ment. They are proceedings to tear down the walls of protection, and
open our markets to foreign producers. They are inviting competition
from abroad. They are encouraging the importation of foreign merchan-

dise. Protection is to ^{be} abolished, and a competitive tariff is to be
substituted therefore. We are to have a tariff for revenue only, ad-
justed so as to insure competition from abroad. The advocates of a
competitive tariff system have utilized every conceivable weap-
assaulting the policy of protection.

GYPSUM MILLS.

Oklahoma has an unlimited and an inexhaustible supply of gypsum. We have already made some progress in the development of the gypsum industry. But the present condition of the industry is insignificant compared with the possibilities of the future - if a market can be had for the product of our mills. Under the present law there is a duty of thirty cents a ton on crude gypsum, \$1.75 per ton on ground or calcined gypsum, and a duty of from 20 to 35 per cent ad valorem on certain manufactured products from gypsum. Even under this duty there is considerable amount of gypsum and its products imported into the United States. The new tariff bill reduces the tariff on crude gypsum from thirty cents per ton, which is very small, to ten cents per ton. There is a corresponding reduction on manufactured products of gypsum. Under this law there will be a large increase in the amount of gypsum imported from Canada into the United States. The sale of foreign gypsum and its products in the United States means so much less of our own gypsum consumed. All this must circumscribe, limit and restrict the mining, manufacturing, and sale of Oklahoma gypsum. So one great source of wealth to Oklahoma lies dormant in the hills of Western Oklahoma - all because the policy of protection has been abandoned.

MANUFACTURING IN ITS INFANCY IN OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma's manufacturing establishments are in the main not "infant industries" for the most of them have not yet been born. There is danger that under the new tariff policy many of them never will be born. It is unfortunate for our people that this change in our tariff policy should come just when Oklahoma is starting on its career of development. The old industrial concerns of this country have an established trade, they have an extensive business, they have large capital already invested, they have ample credit, they have able, experienced and successful managers, and they have an intelligent, well organized force of skillful employees. When these old establishments are "Whetting their wits" for a life and death struggle with foreign competitors, there will be precious little inducement for capital to invest in new concerns in Oklahoma.

GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECT OKLAHOMA.

Oklahoma will be affected by general conditions throughout the country. We share in the prosperity of the whole country, and we partake of its adversity. Conditions generally will largely control conditions in Oklahoma. Capital will not flow to Oklahoma for investment in manufacturing industries, when the business is depressed elsewhere. A protective tariff policy gives security to investments in manufacturing industries, encourages men to engage in such enterprises, inspires confidence in the business, safeguards profits, stimulates individual effort, and in a large measure contributes to the success of every new manufacturing establishment. The general effect of the new tariff policy must be unfavorable to the manufacturing business in the United States. These prevailing conditions will extend their paralyzing influence to Oklahoma, and the people thereof must drink from the bitter cup that the present administration has put to the lips of the people generally throughout the United States.
" "

Market Restricted

~~oet
wifis~~ The second effect of this new tariff policy is a restriction, ~~limitation, and denial~~ ^{GOOD MARKETS ESSENTIAL.} of the markets of the United States. The market of the United States is one of the chief assets of American agriculture.

One thing Members of Congress ought not to forget,

and one thing the farmers of Oklahoma, and elsewhere, will not
~~In a practical plan for~~
forget, and that is that in any plan for the expansion of agri-

culture it is essential that we provide markets wherein farm products will sell at renumerative prices. There have been times in this country when corn has been used as fuel, and when staple farm products rotted in the field. The problem of prices is fully as important as the problem of production. The policy of protection preserves the markets of the United States for the farmers of the United States. In principle, the provisions of

~~without price or compensation~~ ^{and favorable to an equal}
~~this bill by sole legislation~~ ^X grant, conveys to the farmers

in every section, clime, and country of the world, ~~a right, title,~~

~~and interest in the markets of the United States equal to that~~

~~possessed by the farmers of Oklahoma, and the farmers of other~~

~~States in the Union.~~ The markets of the United States which be-

long to our own farmers you are ~~giving~~ giving to the farmers

of other countries. ~~What consideration are you giving to our~~

~~farmers?~~ In what way are you compensating them for the loss of

~~their markets?~~ The men who believe in free trade in farm pro-

ducts, point the farmers of the United States to the world's mar-

ket, as an ideal place in which to sell his products. Few farmers

are foolish enough to prefer the world markets to his home mar-

kets. The world's market simply means more cost of transportation,

more profits of middle men, more dividends for corporations, more

rake-off for agents, distributors, and dealers, but always less

right to the markets and

money for the farmer. It occurs to me that if I were a farmer and my Congressman would tell me that Liverpool was good enough market in which to sell my wheat, I would say to him ~~he~~ ^{were good enough place for him} ~~get~~ Liverpool to get ~~his~~ votes.

FARMERS HELPLESS.

(4) When prices are low the farmers have no means within their power to arbitrarily advance them. It is different in many other lines of business. When transportation rates are low, the great interstate railway companies may secure an advance of rates to insure profits. When the prices of manufactured products are low the great industrial corporations, having large monopolistic power, may at their will increase prices to enable them to declare proper dividends. When business is dull the bankers who have in custody the money of the people may at their pleasure adjust interest rates to make their business profitable. When trade is slack, the merchants may mark their prices up or down to meet the conditions of business. When wages are low, hours of labor long, and conditions of labor unsatisfactory, organized labor may through mediation, conciliation and arbitration, or finally by a strike, secure redress of grievances. How different with the farmer! When farm products are low, hours of labor long, or when labor conditions are unfavorable to health and comfort, they have no alternative, except to sell at the market price, toil on ~~sixteen~~ hours per day, contending with the elements, facing storm and drouth, patiently bearing their burdens, until a better day shall come. Mr. Speaker, the cry of "Back to the farm" will make little impression as long as the farmer, under unfavorable conditions is bending his "back" to the farm.

FOUR PROPOSITIONS.

I have now developed and emphasized four important propositions, which to my mind are self evident.

First. The new tariff policy will largely increase the importation of farm products.

Second. There will be a large increase in the supply of farm products, with no corresponding increase in the demand for such products.

Third. The farmers of the United States will be compelled to share their markets with the farmers of all other countries, without any compensation, consideration, or equivalent therefor.

Fourth. Conditions thus created must cause a decline in the prices of farm products in the United States.

With these four main propositions clearly in our minds, there can be no difficulty in determining what will be the effect of the new tariff policy upon the agricultural development of Oklahoma, the prosperity of our farmers, and the welfare of the 1,100,000 people residing on our farms.

Increased supply, diminished demand, ~~unrestricted~~ contracted market, declining prices for farm products in the United States, can not give an impetus to agricultural expansion in Oklahoma - can not serve as an inducement, encouragement or incentive to the farmers of Oklahoma to enlarge their farming operations.

DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING.

What will be the effect of the new tariff policy upon the development of manufacturing in Oklahoma.

The State possesses all the natural advantages to become a great manufacturing center. She has 10,000 square miles of coal land, which are said to cover 79,000,000,000 tons of coal. She has 24,000 producing oil wells, adding every week more than a million of dollars to the wealth of the State. She has a natural gas supply not equaled in any other State in the Union. She has the cheap fuel to furnish power to turn countless wheels of thousands of mills, factories and manufacturing establishments. To supplement all of this, in some places immense water-power is available.

Vast deposits of lead, zinc, asphaltum, glass-sand, cement rock, gypsum, granite, limestone, clays, shales, and other minerals await the coming of men with means and men with intelligence, energy and industry to transform this great storehouse of mineral wealth into golden dollars to bless and help our people. With all these natural advantages, Manufacturing should be in equilibrium in wealth producing power with agriculture. But manufacturing lags far behind. We have 200,000 farmers, with only 18,034 persons employed in manufacturing. We have 1,100,000 people supported by agriculture, with less than 100,000 supported by manufacturing. In 1910 our farms produced over \$200,000,000 in wealth, while our manufacturing establishments added but \$19,529,000 to

the wealth of the State. In 1910 North Carolina's 281 cotton mills added to the wealth of the State \$23,992,000. We produce as much cotton as North Carolina and have cheaper fuel. In 1910 Massachusetts' 182 cotton mills added to the wealth of the State \$81,305,000. Massachusetts sends thousands of miles for her cotton and transports her fuel from Pennsylvania and Canada. In not having cotton mills to manufacture her own cotton, Oklahoma is losing approximately \$40,000,000 annually. To defer for five years the building of sufficient cotton mills in Oklahoma to manufacture our own cotton would mean a loss to the State of \$200,000,000.

This House has already passed a tariff bill that makes sweeping reductions in the duties levied upon manufacturers of cotton. Should this bill become a law, as it no doubt will, the markets of the United States will be flooded with cotton goods manufactured abroad. Upon a much larger scale, the people of the United States will become patrons, customers and supporters of foreign cotton mills. Cotton mills in the United States will be confronted with increased competition. Under such conditions it will be far more difficult to induce capital to invest in new cotton mills in Oklahoma or elsewhere in the United States. In the meantime, the establishment of cotton mills in Oklahoma has been postponed, and the people of the United States are sending millions of dollars abroad that should have been sent to Oklahoma to pay for cotton goods manufactured in Oklahoma cotton mills.

Hundreds of millions of dollars might be added to the annual wealth produced in the State in the mining and manufacturing of lead, zinc, asphalt, glass, gypsum, portland cement, granite, limestone, and other minerals existing in abundance in the State. But under the low rates of duty provided in this tariff bill, there will be a large increase in the importations of these products from abroad. As a result there must be so much less demand for the out-put of the mines and manufacturing establishments of Oklahoma. So our natural wealth lies dormant, while an ever increasing stream of money flows abroad to develop the resources of other countries.

But during the next five years what
an encouragement will there be to invest
money in new Cotton mills in Oklahoma
or elsewhere in the United States.

The low rates of duty upon
~~Cotton manufactured~~^{the} products of
Cotton manufacture, intended
to place the Cotton mills of this
country in competition with

The low rates of duty upon Cotton fabrics
will encourage importations from abroad,
and our markets will be flooded with
Cotton goods manufactured by the
Cotton mills of Europe. Competition will
be intense. Our people will become patients
customers, ^{and supporters} of foreign cotton mills.
Conditions will be unfavorable for the
building of new Cotton mills in Oklahoma.

In the mean time, millions of dollars
annually are being sent abroad, which
might otherwise have been sent to
Oklahoma to pay for Cotton goods man-
ufactured by other own Cotton mills.

factories
 Batavia ~~manufacturing~~ is only one of many
 lines of manufacturing that should
 be developed in Oklahoma. The
 mining and the manufacturing of
 lead, zinc, asphaltum, glass-sand, ~~for~~
 cement-rock, ~~for~~ gypsum, granite,
 limestone, clays, shales and other
 minerals - all found in abundance
 in Oklahoma - offer vast pos-
 sibilities for the development, expan-
 sion and ~~expansion~~ ^{enlargement} of our manufacturing
 industries in Oklahoma.

But the new tariff bill makes sweeping
 reductions in the duty ^{of less than} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} lead, for
 zinc, asphaltum, ~~glass, cement,~~ gypsum,
 and all the products of these minerals.
 Large importations of these minerals
 from abroad ~~must~~ will make that

much less demand for the
products of ~~our own~~ our
Oklahoma mines, tend to -
the reduce the price thereof,
lessen the annual wealth ob-
tained therefrom, and ~~set~~
materially retard the development
of our mineral resources. As a
consequence, our mineral wealth
lies dormant, while an ever-
increasing stream of money flows
B abroad to develop
the mineral resources of
other countries, and to add to
the comfort and happiness
of their people.

I can not mention all the lines
along which manufacturing in
Oklahoma might be developed.
The field is wide. The natural ad-
vantages are great. Social con-
ditions are favorable. But in
whatever direction you look, we
are confronted with the new
tariff policy, which opens our
markets to the foreign manufac-
turers, ~~and invites them to supply~~
will there be any encouragement to invest
money in any ~~kind~~ manufacturing
industry in Oklahoma, when ships
are daily landing in our harbors,
to unload great cargoes of foreign-made
goods? Certainly not.

FOREIGN GOODS DEFER OKLAHOMA DEVELOPMENT.

The change in our tariff policy will not encourage the establishment of new manufacturing plants anywhere in the United States. This general condition will defer the establishment of new factories in Oklahoma. The manufacturing establishments of the United States in 1912, supplied all home demands and exported manufactured articles ready for consumption, valued at \$672,268,163. Few of our establishments run at full capacity. Most of them could greatly enlarge their out-put. The sale of surplus products is the chief problem confronting them to-day. That problem will be more difficult to solve with foreign factories competing with them in every market of the United States. Ships will be landing in our ports to unload great cargoes of foreign-made goods. These goods will be distributed throughout the entire country. They will be displayed in every shop window, and ~~will~~ be sold over every counter. Foreign manufacturers will have ~~agents~~ agents, representatives, solicitors, ^{and} salesmen scouring this country, seeking new business. Under such conditions there will be no encouragement for the construction of new mills, new plants, and new factories in Oklahoma. Capital will seek other lines of investment. Oklahoma's industrial progress will be ~~stayed~~. Our natural resources will remain undeveloped. Our natural gas will continue to be wasted, our coal will be unmined, our gypsum, cement rock, limestone, glass sand, granite, asphalt, zinc, lead and salt will be unused. Our manufacturing industries will remain comparatively insignificant. Scarcely one-half of the wealth-producing power of the State will be ~~utilized~~.

1922.

Our industrial growth will be one-sided. Our material development will be dwarfed, stunted, restricted, and circumscribed. In the long years of waiting, waiting, waiting that must follow, our real estate ~~does~~ ^{will} not advance in value, our business ~~does~~ ^{will} not expand, and the natural, normal, and legitimate opportunities of our people ~~are~~ ^A ^{will} not realized.
^{Our towns, villages and cities will not grow}

(6)
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ducts would reach the stupendous sum of \$760,000,000!
On paper, this might look overenthusiastic. But some men in Oklahoma, by using the combination of the silo and five irrigated acres, are obtaining this result."