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Bates College

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Debating Number.

The
Bates Student



Volume XXXIII

No. 5

May, 1904

Published by the Class of 1905

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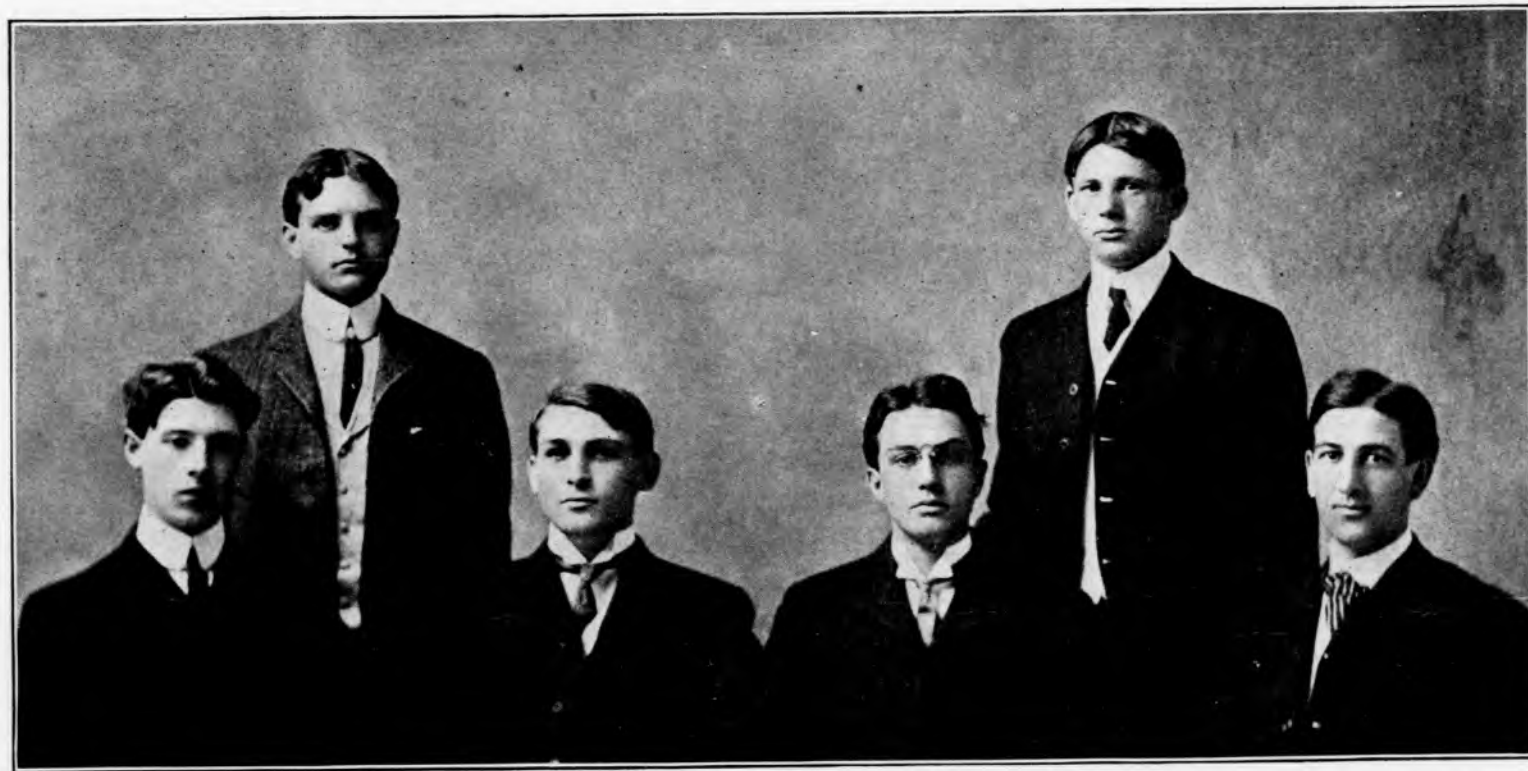
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William Lewis Parsons. Judson Carrie Briggs. Guy Linwood Weymouth. Albion Keith Spofford.

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THE
BATES STUDENT.
DEBATING NUMBER.

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No. 5.

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The STUDENT is for sale at Smith's Drug Store, cor. Main and Bates Streets, Lewiston.

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DEBATING AT BATES.

BATES held her first intercollegiate debate in 1896. In that year, owing largely to her interest in debating and her efforts to secure a debate with some sister college, the New England Intercollegiate Debating League was formed, consisting at first of Bates, Boston University, Colby, Tufts and Wesleyan University. Tufts withdrew before the first debate, leaving the other four to arrange two preliminary debates. In these preliminaries Bates was pitted against Colby, Boston against Wesleyan. Bates and Boston, the winners, later in the year held a debate in Faneuil Hall, Boston. Bates was again victorious, winning the silver laurel wreath, as a trophy. The league was not continued, and Bates and Colby arranged for future debates. Since that time Bates has participated in ten other debates (twelve in all) and has been defeated but once, by Colby in 1898. This is a record probably unparalleled.

Following are the dates and questions of Bates' twelve intercollegiate debates, the opposing college and Bates representatives:

FEBRUARY 27, 1896—OPPONENTS, COLBY.

Resolved, That the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 should be the financial policy of our government. Bates representatives:—A. B. Howard, '96; C. E. Milliken, '97; J. Stanley Durkee, '97. Bates won on the negative.

APRIL 23, 1896—OPPONENTS, BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

Resolved, That immigration should be further restricted. Bates representatives:—O. F. Cutts, '96; A. B. Howard, '96; J. Stanley Durkee, '97. Bates won on the negative.

MAY 21, 1897—OPPONENTS, COLBY.

Resolved, That true republicanism is stronger in the United States to-day than at any previous time in our history. Bates representatives:—Everett Skillings, '97; J. Stanley Durkee, '97; William F. Bassett, '99. Bates won on the negative.

MARCH 4, 1898—OPPONENTS, COLBY.

Resolved, That municipalities in the United States of 25,000 or more inhabitants should own and operate plants for supplying water, light and surface transportation. Bates representatives:—Louis P. Costello, '98; Frank P. Wagg, '99; Fred N. Landman, '98. Colby won on the affirmative.

APRIL 21, 1899—OPPONENTS, COLBY.

Resolved, That the concentration of population into the cities of the United States during the last forty years has been

too great for the best interests of the country. Bates representatives:—A. G. Catheron, 1900; Oscar C. Merrill, '99; W. A. Robbins, '99. Bates won on the negative.

APRIL 27, 1900—OPPONENTS, COLBY.

Resolved, That the present tendency toward the combination of producing agencies into organizations known as trusts is subversive of the public welfare and that such organization should be prevented by legislation. Bates representatives:—Leo C. Demack, '01; A. G. Catheron, 1900; Lester P. Powell, 1900. Bates won on the negative.

MAY 8, 1901—OPPONENTS, COLBY.

Resolved, That the permanent retention of the Philippines by the United States is desirable. Bates representatives:—Leo C. Demack, '01; Frank P. Wagg, '01; Carrol L. Beedy, '03. Bates won on the negative.

FEBRUARY 14, 1902—OPPONENTS, HARVARD SENIORS.

Resolved, That the United States should adopt a system of ship subsidies. Bates representatives:—Earl A. Childs, '02; John A. Hunnewell, '02; Carrol L. Beedy, '03. Bates won on the affirmative.

APRIL 17, 1903—OPPONENTS, TRINITY.

Resolved, That industrial combinations commonly known as trusts are likely to promote the welfare of society. Bates representatives:—Norris S. Lord, '03; Judson C. Briggs, '04; Carrol L. Beedy, '03. Bates won on the negative.

MAY 4, 1903—OPPONENTS, BOSTON UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL.

Resolved, That State Boards of Arbitration with compulsory powers should be established to settle industrial disputes between employers and employees. Bates representatives: Albion K. Spofford, '04; Frederick M. Swan, '04; Guy L. Weymouth, '04. Bates won on the affirmative.

MARCH 18, 1904.—OPPONENTS, TRINITY.

Resolved, That under present conditions it would be to England's advantage to adopt a policy of protection. Bates representatives: Albion K. Spofford, '04; Frederick M. Swan, '04; Guy L. Weymouth, '04. Bates won on the negative.

MAY 5, 1904—OPPONENTS, UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

Resolved, That it would be to the advantage of Great Britain to make a substantial departure from her practice of free trade with respect to imports. Bates representatives: S. Fillmore Peavey, '06; W. Lewis Parsons, '05; Judson C. Briggs, '04. Bates won on the affirmative.

DEBATE AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

May 5th, 1904.

RESOLVED, *That it would be to the Advantage of Great Britain to Make a Substantial Departure from her Practice of Free Trade with Respect to Imports.*

AFFIRMATIVE.

FIRST SPEAKER . . . SIMON FILLMORE PEAVEY, JR.

WHAT is a substantial departure? Evidently to accept the principle of protection as applicable to herself, and to apply it, even to a few industries, would be for England a substantial departure.

We believe, with many of England's leading statesmen and economists, that the substantial departure, which would be to Britain's greatest advantage, is a protective tariff on manufactured goods.

We propose to admit free, foods and raw materials, first, because England's prosperity depends on abundant and cheap food and raw material; second, because, through limited natural resources, she cannot produce these in sufficient quantities; and, third, because, owing to her system of land ownership whatever advantage might come from protection would go to the landlord in rent.

We propose to admit free crude metals, pitch, tar, petroleum and wood pulp: in short, commodities which constitute practically raw material, which enter largely into industrial operation. To tax these non-competitive goods which England does not produce would not be protection. These amount to \$160,000,000 annually.

We propose to reduce the duty on tea, coffee, tobacco, chicory, dried fruits, and sugar, thereby relieving the consumer of a part of the exorbitant taxes on his food.

We propose to place a protective tariff on manufactured or partly manufactured necessities like: Cotton and woolen goods, boots and shoes, glass, and hardware. This classification made by the noted British free trader, Chioza Money, on page 16 of his book, "Elements of the Fiscal Problem," comprises imports amounting in 1902 to \$296,000,000.

We propose to place a protective tariff on manufactured and partly manufactured goods amounting to \$240,000,000, classed by Chioza Money as luxuries, or goods consumed principally by the rich, such as silks, gloves, beads, fine linens, laces, skins, and furs.

We propose, then, to levy a protective tariff on manufactured and partly manufactured goods amounting to \$536,000,000, so, as the Blue Book, the official trade table of the British government, gives the entire importation of manufactured and partly

manufactured goods, including some few goods that are reshipped, at \$745,000,000, our system will leave free of a protective tariff \$208,000,000, beside raw materials and foods, with a reduced duty on tea, coffee, tobacco, etc. Such is our proposition.

I shall prove to you, first, that the growth of England's industrial supremacy was natural and inevitable, not dependent on free trade, but fostered by protection.

Second, a decline from this supremacy already apparent is imperilling British industry.

Third, that this decline makes it imperative for England to strengthen her industrial power to the utmost to secure, if possible, all the advantages of free trade and protection which our system will insure.

Fourth, that the system we propose will prove an important source of revenue for the depleted British exchequer, and

Finally, that it will provide a means of securing reciprocity and its benefits.

The growth of England's industrial supremacy was natural and inevitable. Her island position, her adventurous people, her early development of a merchant marine, her consequent access to foreign markets, her supplies of coal and iron in close proximity, the invention of Hargrave's spinning jenny, and Cartwright's power loom, the consequent rise of factories, concentration of capital and labor, and the resulting cheapening of the product, all these together with the Napoleonic wars which paralyzed industries on the continent made England a mighty workshop and made her supreme in the markets of the world.

All this without free trade, for not only was England's growth natural, but statesmen protected her with a tariff wall from 1337 until 1860.

Second, a decline from this supremacy is now apparent and imperils British industry. The figures I use are taken from the Blue Book. I exclude coal from her exports because coal represents British capital not British manufactures. I take no exceptional years, but the average of decades making the figures unimpeachable. From 1880 to 1889, Britain exported on an average \$1,950,000,000 worth of goods, from 1882 to 1891, only \$1,110,000,000. From 1891 to 1900 the average export was \$1,085,000,000, and from 1893 to 1902 the average was again \$1,110,000,000. This indubitably shows absolute stagnation. Furthermore, while her trade is stagnant her population has increased 33 per cent. Shown in any manner British export trade is in a state of absolute stagnation and relative decline. Meanwhile protected countries have increased their exports by leaps and bounds.

Again, British imports of raw materials for textile manufacture have decreased from 1890 to 1900, \$85,000,000, while the importation of manufactured goods has increased on an average of \$50,000,000 for the last 15 years. If this increase consisted of raw cotton, wood pulp, or gold, economists could say, "England is

prospering," but since it is an increase of manufactures, the very things England should produce, economists say, "she is declining."

Third, this decline now so apparent makes it imperative for England to strengthen her industrial power to the utmost. She is no longer supreme, she can no longer drift, and must if possible secure the benefits of free trade combined with those of protection by adopting such a system as we propose. This decline is seen in government expenses and taxation, for to secure new markets England's expenditure is fabulous. South Africa cost her \$1,500,000,000 and as Mr. Chamberlain says, "With her credit lost, her national debt is \$4,000,000,000."

The common people, as Lincoln liked to call them, bear the burden of this debt. They pay 9.3 per cent. of their wages, and annually \$89,000,000 on tobacco and tea, while the oppressed capitalists' silks and cut glass are free.

Neither are these crushing taxes met by prosperity, for, says our consul, Boyle, "Fewer men are employed and wages are lower."

Want and misery naturally follow: Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, a free trade leader, admits that over 12,000,000 make up the poverty classes, and are on the verge of hunger. Moreover, while in 1860, when the last vestige of protective duty was removed, 3.7 per cent. of the labor unionists were unemployed, to-day 7.9 per cent. are unemployed. The income of the people, too, is decreasing as the income tax for the last ten years has decreased \$278,000 per million of population. Finally, the local government board's report shows that paupers, men, women, and vagrants, have increased in the last ten years by 498,000. To remedy these conditions it is imperative for Britain to secure all possible advantages of free trade and protection, by adopting a system such as we propose.

I shall prove, fourth, that the system we propose will provide an important source of revenue for the depleted British exchequer. The necessity for this is evident from the fact that for 1902 the exchequer deficit was \$238,000,000, and in 1903 the revenue from all sources decreased \$49,000,000.

Now, tariffs on manufactured imports, as the great Bismarck pointed out, will provide revenue in the most desirable way, for before our tariff causes the manufacture of luxuries to spring up as great industries the revenue must be large. The rich will still demand imported gowns, and motor cars.

Even when the manufacture of luxuries becomes prevalent still the revenue will be remunerative, for since large classes of goods like jewelry, bric-a-brac, gloves, and laces, are demanded by taste and fashion they will still be imported.

This, says Bismarck, in fact say all great economists, is the easiest revenue to collect, and the most acceptable to the people because the burden is not felt.

It is by this means that all great countries reap an enormous

revenue from the consumers of luxury. In fact, of the nine great countries of the world except England alone, the revenue from tariff increased 21 per cent. from 1880 to 1890. Here in our country we raise \$480,000,000 annually from our customs duties, and since in England three per cent. of the people hold two-thirds of the wealth, it is evident that a tariff on luxuries will be not only a desirable and remunerative, but a just form of revenue.

Finally, our system of protection will be a valuable means of reciprocity by which trade treaties may be negotiated. Great Britain may offer a reduction in duty on particular imports, which she cannot make to advantage, for a like reduction on her own goods. Germany is now forming new reciprocity treaties with Russia and Italy.

When England was protected, says Professor Fawcette, M. P., professor of political economy at Cambridge, "The reciprocal treaties with France in 1858 increased the French silk trade \$37,500,000 and the English steel and wool trades \$83,000,000."

England to-day, could profitably offer France a reduction on silks for an equal reduction on Sheffield cutlery, and a like reduction on Belgian fire arms for an equal reduction on British cords and twine.

As Cecil Rhodes explained such reciprocal relations would stimulate the British export trade and lower the cost of articles for consumption.

I have shown that England's industrial supremacy was natural and inevitable, that a decline is apparent and is imperilling British industry, that this decline makes it imperative for Great Britain to strengthen her industrial powers. I have proved that our system will be an important source of revenue for the depleted British exchequer, and finally that it will provide Great Britain with a means for reciprocity.

Our second speaker will prove that goods are now imported under conditions unjust and ruinous and that our system will steady, assure and enlarge the British home market, and that such a home market is better than a foreign market; and our third speaker, that it will not curtail but rather increase the British export trade, and raise the standard of living.

SECOND SPEAKER . . . WILLIAM LEWIS PARSONS.

Our first speaker has proved that protection on manufactured goods will furnish England with a desirable form of revenue and provide a means of procuring reciprocity. I shall prove:

I. That goods are now imported under conditions unjust and ruinous to British industry;

II. That protection on manufactured goods will steady, assure and enlarge the home market;

III. That a home market is superior to a foreign market.

The imports of goods we propose to protect can be classed as:

First, those imported under legitimate competition, consisting chiefly of what our first speaker classified as luxuries—legitimate because England manufactures only an insignificant fraction of what she requires.

Second, those imported under unfair competition, commonly known as dumping, which is the throwing of goods upon England at cut prices by nations wishing to dispose of a surplus stock or destroy English competitors. These goods are chiefly those classified as necessities, which if imported must be dumped because in these no foreigner can fairly compete on English soil since England herself excels in their manufacture and competes in the markets of the world.

I shall prove first, that legitimate imports or luxuries are entering England under conditions unjust and ruinous.

First, unjust: Luxuries or goods consumed chiefly by the better classes, as jewelry, silks, laces and works of art are produced in comparatively small quantities, largely by hand labor, require great skill and are costly, while necessities such as textiles and household utensils are plain, produced in large quantities by machinery, require little skill and afford relatively small remuneration to workmen. Hence any country that imports its luxuries condemns its labor to the production of the cheaper forms of goods, thus closing the higher avenue of employment, which is manifestly unjust. Now England's imports of luxuries under free trade have increased rapidly until in 1902 she imported \$244,000,000 worth, her own production meanwhile becoming insignificant. The reason is evident. The cost of these goods lies mostly in the labor. Under free trade England with her comparative high wages has invited the competition of the cheap labor of the continent and the 17-cent-per-day labor of Japan. The British laborer has been unable to compete. It would be unjust were any workmen thus condemned to lower forms of production, but in England's case it is doubly unjust because workmen thus displaced, in the face of protection in rival countries, which shut out other British goods, have been unable to secure employment, as the remarkable increase in unemployed shown by the first speaker proves.

Again this legitimate importation of goods is ruinous. Despite increase in population, since 1890 the number of persons

employed in linen making has fallen off 50 per cent.; silk makers, 25 per cent.; and since 1860 lace workers have decreased 38 per cent.—four thousand linen makers, 14,000 silk makers and 27,000 lace workers driven from employment. Nothing could show more forcibly that the present importation of luxuries or legitimate competition is decidedly ruinous as well as emphatically unjust.

Let us next examine the importation of goods unfairly competing, or generally speaking those consumed by the common classes. I shall prove that this importation, too, is unjust and ruinous.

First unjust: Understand that these cut price goods are imported not because England is producing similar goods at a disadvantage, but because they are naturally attracted to her enormous unprotected markets. In Vol. I. of the Industrial Report, page 95, Guthrie, Rogers, Havemeyer and Schwab admit that rather than allow a surplus to disturb their own market they ship it to England at cut prices, even below cost, and the Blue Book for 1903 on page 298 explicitly states that dumping on England is the avowed policy of German trusts.

These dumped goods naturally paralyze the market, and the producer of the commodity dumped is crippled or ruined. In the consular report for January, 1904, Consul Evans writes that whereas in 1900, 760,000 tons of unfairly competing steel came into England, in 1903 the figures leaped to 1,250,000 and later speaks of the many consequently driven from employment. Mark that this million tons of steel, if produced at home would have given British labor at least \$3,900,000. It is undeniably unjust that the British laborer should be so unprotected, so at the mercy of the foreign laborer that he is thus cruelly thrust from that employment even in which he excels, while he in turn has absolutely no advantage over the foreigner.

Furthermore, the importation of this class of goods is ruinous. Writing of the effects of this unfair competition in steel Consul Evans states: "All steel producers have the same tale to tell of unfair competition from abroad. The British producer is being driven out of the market, works are stopped, men are out of employment." Similar reports speak of the utter destruction of the Prescott Watch Works caused by throwing 20,000 American watches upon the market, and the ruin of the glass industry at Warrington, a victim to German dump. Unfair competition is likewise proving ruinous to other British industries. The Blue Book mentions as the seven leading industries, cotton, boot and shoe, woolen, steel, furniture, earthenware and glass. By the same authority while imports have rapidly increased, exports of cotton goods in the past 20 years have decreased \$195,000,000; in the past ten years, boots and shoes \$4,000,000; woolen goods, \$190,000,000; steel products, \$75,000,000 and others in the same way. On the shop door of every one of these industries which in strength and thrift was once the emulation of the world we now see written the prophetic word—"Decay."

If this unfair competition continues every indication points to the final ruin of all industries just as in the case of the Prescott Watch Works and Warrington glass manufactures. Then, home competition destroyed, the British market will be at the mercy of the American and German producer. So much for injustice and ruin.

I shall now show that protection will remedy these evils by steadying, assuring and enlarging the home market.

First, it will steady the home market, and this I shall prove by showing that it will practically exclude unfair competition with its ruinous fluctuations. This is proved by three reasons:

1. Dumped goods enter England usually below cost. When a duty is imposed the person dumping must pay the duty, thus the loss is greater, consequently dumping is curtailed and the market steadied.

2. Dumping is now attracted to England's markets in preference to other free trade countries because of their size. Under protection surplus products will be as likely to be dumped on other protected countries and much more likely to go to free trade Holland or South America. So much for theory.

3. Protection in actual practice keeps out dumping. Mr. Schwab in Vol. 13 of the Industrial Report, page 455, says: "Without protection our steel industry would be menaced by foreign competition," showing that in America protection is effectual in excluding unfair competition. Again on page 456 he says: "The tariffs of Germany, Austria and France stand in the way of unfair competition from America." Now why will not an English tariff as well stand in the way—hence steady the market?

Furthermore our system will assure to the British producer the home market for:

First, many luxuries: Some of these enter England to-day on fiercely competitive ground. Suppose a tariff of 30 per cent. be placed upon German linen now selling for 90 cents a yard in competition with English linen at \$1, making the German product cost say \$1.12, then the trade is turned to the British producer. Other luxuries such as silks and laces are only slightly competitive. A tariff on these will so enhance the price of the foreign article that there is bound to be a demand for home manufactured silks and laces, just as the German tariff of 1879 made a demand for German silks and laces. It is certain that after protection millions of dollars of trade in luxuries will be turned to the home market and assured to the home producer.

Our system will assure to the British producer the home market for:

Second, common goods. I have shown that these goods come in chiefly as dumped or unfair imports. I have proved that dumping will be practically excluded, hence that the bulk of this \$295,000,000 worth will be assured to the British producer.

Protection, too, will enlarge the home market, for with this

steady assured market before him, the manufacturer will again employ those 4,000 displaced linen-makers, 14,000 silk-makers and 27,000 lace-workers. He will call back the laborers driven from the woolen, cotton and steel industries by ruinous competition and place them once more at their accustomed looms and forges. So much for a steady, assured and enlarged home market. What do these mean to England?

A steady in place of a fluctuating market, means steady in place of disturbed production, continued instead of intermittent employment, constant returns to capital and cheapened production.

An assured home market means to the producer known demands, ability to calculate prices and amounts ahead, the lowest basis of profits, highest of wages and lowest cost.

An enlarged home market means enlarged manufacture. Yes, it is doubly valuable. It means an enlargement of the very best market, for a home market is superior to a foreign market as I shall next prove.

A foreign market is subject to world-wide and local fluctuations, tastes and requirements of an unknown people where amount of goods needed cannot be calculated and where various fiscal policies must be met. Thus is entailed constant uncertainty and enormous loss. At home, as I have shown, quite the reverse conditions are true. The great Adam Smith repeatedly asserted that home trade did the most to enrich a nation.

To conclude: I have shown that goods now enter England under conditions unjust and ruinous; unjust, because imports are expelling from employment England's skilled labor and driving other labor from leading industries; ruinous because imports are weakening, crippling and destroying British industries. I have proved that protection will remedy existing evil by steadying, assuring and enlarging the home market, through a curtailment of legitimate competition and exclusion of dumping. I have shown that to steady, assure and enlarge the home market is doubly important by proving a home market superior to foreign markets. In short, I have proved that protection will impart new life and vigor to British industries, which means new life and vigor to Great Britain as a nation.

Our next speaker will prove that protection will increase English exports and raise the standard of living of the masses.

THIRD SPEAKER . . . JUDSON CARRIE BRIGGS.

Our second speaker has shown: 1st. That goods are now imported under conditions unjust and ruinous. 2d. That protection will remedy this injustice and furnish a steady, assured, and enlarged home market. 3d. That a home market is superior to a foreign market.

I shall show: 1st. That protection will enlarge the export trade. 2d. Raise the standard of living of the English masses.

1st. It will enlarge the export trade. Now please notice that our case does not require an increased export trade. It is sufficient to show that it will not decrease more than the increase in the home market. Remember, under free trade England's exports have languished for 30 years. Admit for the sake of argument further relative decrease. Would this prove ruinous? Under free trade, yes, certainly. Under protection? No. For under protection the increase of home market would more than offset any possible decrease in exports. England annually sends abroad \$1,135,000,000 worth of manufactures. But when practical protection gains the home market for \$536,000,000 of goods on which we place a protective duty now supplied by foreigners, she need export only \$600,000,000 to maintain the present output. In other words, exports might fall off one-half and England still be benefited by protection.

But why a shrinkage of exports? Clearly only through a diverting of industry from the foreign trade to home trade; or an increase in cost of manufacturing exports.

The first is fallacious since there is spare capital and labor enough in England to build up the home market without disturbing the foreign.

Let us examine the second supposition. Since a \$600,000,000 market is all we need; I shall first show you such a market, in which price is not the chief determining factor, and which would be held in spite of a considerable increase in prices. There are six large markets of this class.

1st. Markets for goods dependent for their sale on reputation; as Wedgewood ware, Sheffield cutlery, English porcelains, broadcloths and tweeds.

2d. Market for goods of fashion. English styles are the standard for men the world over.

3d. Markets for bankrupt and other goods, sold below cost, to relieve congested home markets.

3d. Markets for goods whose freightage is a large item, as steel, metal products, and furniture. On account of shipping facilities and enormous merchant marine, England can carry cheaper to most ports, than any other country. Shown by the rapid increase of English freight carriers.

4th. Scattered markets in minor countries held by British steamship lines, where rivals cannot afford to establish lines, as Mauritius, Falkland Islands, and Brazil, Chili, and Peru, where

England sold \$45,000,000 of goods in 1902 despite the United States being much nearer.

5th. Markets for goods, sold because of political influence, as the \$40,000,000 sold Turkey and the \$30,000,000 sold Egypt in 1902.

6th. Markets for the \$545,000,000 England annually sells the colonies, largely because of blood relation, and political patriotism so great that Canada, the largest, gives England a tariff preference.

Take these six great markets, not dependent on price, one of which nearly equals the required \$600,000,000, add to them: 1st. Markets for those goods in which England is paramount and can safely raise prices. 2d. Markets for those goods on which England can afford a reduction in profits. 3d. Markets for those goods which under any conceivable conditions England can manufacture as cheaply as any country in the world.

It is evident, that should the cost of manufacture be materially enhanced, she would continue to export, at least much more than the \$600,000,000 necessary. But this supposed enormous decrease is beyond all possibility. And I defy the negative to show where any country, because of protection, has lost one-half or even one-quarter of her export trade. On the contrary, under protection, the increase in exports during the last decade over the preceding, according to British Board of Trade returns, has been:

United States,	\$2,760,000,000
Germany,	985,000,000
Belgium,	530,000,000
Austria-Hungary,	355,000,000
Russia,	345,000,000
France,	275,000,000
Spain,	225,000,000
Italy,	140,000,000

This is what protection has done for the export trade of other countries. This is what practical protection will do for England. For there can be no material increase in the cost of goods England now exports, since nothing which enters into their cost will be materially affected. The price of raw material will not be affected in any way; for in the whole world the demand for raw material will remain practically the same.

The price of capital will not be enhanced, for the plants used in producing export goods are already established, and if added amounts are needed England can furnish it from her enormous stores without financial disturbance.

The price of labor will not be unduly forced up; for the cost of living of the lower classes, the laborers, will not increase. Let us examine this proposition: Says Gide, the French economist: "Workmen receiving between \$300 and \$400 per year (the wage of the English workman) spend, for food 46 per cent., rent 15 per cent., clothing 14 per cent., fuel 6 per cent., lighting 1 per cent., all other purposes 18 per cent."

Of this 46 per cent. for food in no way affected by a tariff on manufactures. 15 per cent. for rent in no way affected. 14 per cent. for clothing, this cost would not increase; for England surpasses the world now in these goods, shown by the Blue Book figures for 1902. \$35,000,000, clothing and slops exported, none imported. 6 per cent. for coal unaffected, no tariff. 1 per cent. for lighting, so far as comes from coal or gas in no way affected, from kerosene, petroleum being non-competitive we exempt it from our tariff schedule. Now from the remaining 18 per cent. deduct railroad fares, professional attendance, taxes of all kinds, drinks and tobacco, pleasures as theater and education; take from the remainder goods of common consumption, in which England can compete with the world; as lines of woollens, cottons, linens, tinware, and earthenware. Grant on the rest, mostly articles of luxury, a temporary rise in price before English manufacturers receive the benefits of increased production. Remember that many millions annually will be saved the English masses by the reduction of the present tariff on tea, coffee, sugar, dried fruits, and tobacco. And it is evident that a practical protective tariff on manufactures will not raise the cost of living of the British lower classes one iota.

If, then, there is no increased cost of living for the workmen, to enhance cost of producing exports, to tear down English foreign markets, they must be built up. First, because of the cheapened cost of production, due to large scale production with all its savings, due in turn to large home markets. Says Andrew Carnegie: "One of the essentials for cheap production is magnitude." Which is possible only with a steady, easily estimated home demand free from the perils of dumping.

Second, because of exports of goods produced in new industries built up; for it must be that in some of these, as soon as they are firmly established, England can export as cheaply as other countries.

Third, because of reciprocity treaties as shown by the first speaker. Then, since eight other countries have definitely increased their export trade under protection; since England will hold her present export market because of no increase in the cost of producing. Since she will enlarge her foreign market: 1st. By cheapened prices in old markets. 2d. By export of goods not now exported. 3d. By reciprocity treaties; it is evident that England's exports, under practical protection, will greatly increase.

I shall now show that protection will raise the standard of living of the British masses.

We propose to protect \$536,000,000 of the manufactured goods England annually imports. According to the Blue Book, between 50 per cent. and 60 per cent. is labor. It is reasonable to suppose that under a practical tariff, England would save three-fifths or \$320,000,000 of this market for the home producer. Of this about \$70,000,000 spent for raw material, if it could not be

produced at home, would still continue to go abroad. About \$80,000,000 for the landlord, capitalist, and *entrepreneur* would be kept at home. And the \$175,000,000 for labor, together with the added sum, coming from the enhanced export trade, would be put in the pockets of the English workmen.

This would furnish wages for the able-bodied of the million which, according to Mr. Sidney Webb, a noted English economist, "Are dependent on poor law relief and another million which is in actual want of the necessities of life."

Second, it would employ the six per cent. of idle workmen in the trade unions.

Finally, it would employ full time the remainder of that 12,000,000 admitted to be on the verge of starvation, lifting them from the wallow of vice and poverty and limited productive capacity, to a high standard of industrial efficiency.

This \$175,000,000 and over of wages, will lift from the union man the support of his idle brothers, lighten the annual \$60,000,000 burden of poor relief; lessen the amount of crime of which idleness is the fruitful cause, and minimize the tax for the support of jails and poorhouses; besides rendering unnecessary the uncounted millions furnished by individuals and charitable organizations for private charity.

Again; the manufacturer receiving from the \$536,000,000 increase of home market and the enhanced export trade, the benefits of large scale production, can raise wages without increasing the labor cost per article produced. As in Belgium, which has a tariff much the same as we advocate. Says our Consul Winslow at Liege, house document vol. 93, page 119: "Wages in Belgium have been on the increase since 1896 and at the close of 1900 were the highest ever known." Yet prices of manufactures have not gone up in Belgium for her export trade has doubled in the last decade, as in the United States where says Edward Atkinson: "Wages have steadily risen while prices have steadily fallen during the last decade."

It is evident then:

1. To fully employ labor now partly employed.
2. To employ workmen now idle.
3. To lighten the burden of supporting the idle and partly idle.
4. To raise general wages; all without raising the cost of living; will raise the standard of living of the English masses.

To review, we have proved to you:

1. That the growth of England's industrial supremacy was natural; not dependent on free trade but fostered by protection.
2. That a decline from this supremacy is already apparent, and imperilling English industry.
3. That this decline makes it imperative for England to strengthen her industrial powers to the utmost, to secure if possible, all the advantages of free trade and protection, by adopting such a system as we propose.

4. That the system we propose will prove an important source of revenue for the depleted British exchequer.

5. That it will provide a means of securing reciprocity and its benefits.

6. That goods are now imported under conditions unjust and ruinous.

7. That our system will remedy the injustice, and provide a steady, assured and enlarged home market. By limiting legitimate competition and curtailing dumping.

8. That such a market is superior to a foreign market.

9. That the export trade will not be curtailed but rather enlarged.

10. That the standard of living of the masses will be raised through the steadier and fuller employment of workmen now employed and the employment of workmen now idle.

For these ten reasons the affirmative maintain, that it would be for the benefit of England to make a substantial departure from her practice of free trade in respect to imports.

DEBATE AGAINST TRINITY.

February 18th, 1904.

RESOLVED, *That under Present Conditions it would be to the Advantage of England to Adopt a Policy of Protection.*

NEGATIVE.

FIRST SPEAKER . . . GUY LINWOOD WEYMOUTH.

THERE are few terms here requiring any explanation. I will, however, state our interpretation of the term policy.

By a policy we mean the established method of a government for levying its protective tariff. We hold that a government to have a policy of protection must aim to protect at least certain complete lines of industry and that to protect a few articles of a line of industry is inadequate for the term, policy.

It would be just as illogical to say that Free Trade England by placing potatoes, chairs, and wool on the tariff list had adopted a policy of Protection as it would to say that Protective America by placing potatoes, chairs, and wool on the free list had adopted a policy of free trade.

The burden of proof rests on the affirmative. It is sufficient for us to stand on the defensive. However, we shall not avail ourselves of this privilege, but shall prove by a positive, constructive argument that no matter in what form or under what guise it may come, no matter whether argued by the affirmative or by Mr. Chamberlain, it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of protection. In doing this we shall not necessarily follow the arguments of our opponents consecutively but shall show their whole position to be untenable.

Now it devolves upon me to show:

1st. That the present conditions of England are such as to cause no anxiety.

2d. That the growth of England's commercial supremacy was natural and inevitable.

3d. That its decline, comparative or real, is just as natural and inevitable.

4th. That, nevertheless, to maintain this commercial supremacy is a matter of life and death, not only to her economic growth, but to her very economic existence.

5th. That to maintain this supremacy England must have,

1st. Cheap manufactures. Hence,

a. Cheap foods. b. Cheap raw materials.

6th. That it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of protection, for,

1st. Foods. 2d. Raw materials.

Our second speaker will show that it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of protection for manufactures; the third speaker, that it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a preferential tariff.

"Under present conditions." What are these present condi-

tions of England; is she in less favorable circumstances than other countries? Politically, there is certainly no cause for alarm. She has no internal troubles. Her colonies are perfectly loyal; and she is at peace with all the world. Economically, conditions are equally favorable. To be sure, foreign countries are gradually rising to her economic level, but that is only to be expected, as I shall show later. Her domestic conditions certainly have never been more satisfactory. There has been a constant increase in her trade, and statistics from the Blue Book show that the years 1902 and 1903 far exceed all previous records. Her merchant marine has doubled in the last thirty years. She is the great creditor nation, having more capital invested abroad than any other country in the world. And finally, the condition of the British masses as regards wages, savings and cost of living is superior to that of any other European people. So much, then, for the present conditions.

Now, then, we maintain as our next point that the growth of England's commercial supremacy was natural and inevitable. It was determined by nature. England is an island centrally located for foreign commerce; possessed of an abundance of harbors and rivers which make easy, intercourse with all parts of the country. This island was settled by a race characterized by indomitable energy, love of adventure and exploration, and above all by an irresistible instinct for the sea. This native character intensified by their insular home led naturally to colonization which in time opened to British trade the magnificent markets of India, America and the West Indies.

Determined by nature this supremacy was established by the industrial revolution which originated in England in certain great English inventions, the various spinning machines, power looms, and, most important of all, the steam engine. With the application of steam power to manufactories came the factory system, the consequent concentration of labor and capital, the resulting education of her workmen, enhanced skill of labor, enlarged production and cheapening of product. While other countries were toiling at the hand loom, England was using the new machinery and turning out goods at a fraction of their former cost.

To advance this revolution were immense fields of coal and iron lying close to the surface, side by side, and within easy distance of the rivers.

Finally, determined by nature and established by the industrial revolution, this supremacy was confirmed by the Napoleonic Wars which for a quarter of a century turned the resources and men of Continental Europe from industry to war; for ten years England with her great navy blockaded the western coast, and cut off the countries, subject or allied to Napoleon, from commerce with the rest of the world, and when the war was ended English goods had penetrated to every quarter of the globe. England was supreme; a supremacy not due to free trade, not due to protection.

This supremacy so naturally established must as naturally decline. Let not the affirmative frighten you with percentages of decline. As England gradually approaches her maximum commercial development it is but natural that this supremacy suffer a relative decline. We cannot expect that in her present highly perfected industrial condition she can continue to increase her production by such enormous leaps and bounds. Nor have we any right to compare her present commercial advancement with that of younger rivals, rich in undeveloped resources. In either case it is like comparing the all but perfected development of a man to the rapid growth of a child.

Again this relative decline as shown by percentages may easily become real. We must remember that in those very resources in which she once excelled, these younger countries have now become her equals. In commercial position, in enterprise, in ingenuity and skill of workmen, in concentration of labor and capital, in adaptability to trade requirements, in all these the United States and Germany are now her peers. Not only are they her peers in these respects, but they are pre-eminently her superiors in foods and raw materials; while the United States far surpasses her in inventiveness. It is therefore evident that not only is England bound to suffer a relative decline but that she is seriously menaced by one that is absolute. This makes it impossible for her to carry any weight in the race, even if much lighter than a protective tariff.

Now we maintain that, in view of her peculiar conditions, to maintain her commercial supremacy is a matter of life and death to her continued prosperity and economic growth. England is peculiarly situated. She has so abnormally developed her manufacturing industries that she has become a veritable workshop; all other industries are subordinate. No other country in the world is so dependent upon its manufactories. In Germany 35 per cent. of the laborers are engaged in agriculture; 39 per cent. in manufacturing. In the United States 35 per cent. are in agriculture; 24 per cent. in manufacturing. In England 7 per cent. are in agriculture; 64 per cent. in manufacturing and commerce. Germany and the United States could if necessary readjust themselves to other economic conditions; become self-centered, and self-contained; England must maintain her pre-eminence in manufacturing.

This appears also from her limited area, which makes a large population impossible except under present conditions. It appears again in the consequent density of her population. Germany has 269.9 to the square mile; United States 21.4; England 436.7. These people thus densely packed together, whose ancestors for generations have worked in shop or factory, could never readjust themselves to altered conditions. England's only hope of continued prosperity lies in her factories and ships.

Now to retain this supremacy England must have cheap manufactures. Hence, cheap foods and cheap raw materials.

She must have cheap manufactures in order to retain her

foreign markets and dispose of her excess of products. This is her only salvation. Nearly 70 per cent. of her products must be disposed of in foreign markets; they are the very life blood of her factories; they must be retained or her output will greatly diminish. In order to produce these cheap manufactures she must have cheap food, for cheap food means a lower cost of labor; lower cost of labor a lower cost of production. Again, she must have cheap raw materials, for cheap raw materials also mean lower cost of production.

In view of these conditions the conclusion is irresistible that it would be to the disadvantage of Great Britain to adopt a policy of protection for either foods or raw materials.

If you protect foods it means dearer foods, for the avowed purpose of a protective tariff is to raise the price of imports so that the home producer can compete, and in the case of England, limited area and the law of diminishing returns precludes the possibility of removing the tax by future development.

This increase in the cost of food means increased poverty, for foods form a large part of the cost of living in any class, and among the poor it is approximately 50 per cent., so that to them an increase of, say, 20 per cent. in the cost of food means an increase of at least 10 per cent. in their total cost of living.

The increase also means an increased wage, with no consequent gain to the workman, because of the increased cost of living.

This increased wage means increased cost of production. Increased cost of production means an increase in selling price. An increased selling price means loss of markets, for so close is competition that a difference of a few cents will turn the trade to a rival.

A duty on raw materials would also be of disadvantage to England because a protective tariff must raise the price. As England produces but a fraction of her raw material, an import duty means practically a duty on the total consumption. This increased cost of raw material means increased cost of production. Increased cost of production means either a reduction of wages or placing the goods upon the market at an enhanced price. Reduction of wages means discontent, poverty or ruin to 64 per cent. of the English workers. Placing the goods on the market at an enhanced price means that England, hard pressed as she is by her competitors, must lose that which is so indispensable to her prosperity,—the world's markets.

To review: I have shown that the present conditions of England are favorable; that her commercial supremacy was not due to a fiscal policy but to nature; that its decline is just as natural; that, however, her future prosperity demands the retention of this supremacy; that to retain this supremacy requires cheap manufactures, cheap foods, cheap raw materials; and that therefore it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of protection for foods and raw materials, because it would raise the cost of living and of manufacturing, and thus cripple England in the markets of the world.

SECOND SPEAKER . . . ALBION KEITH SPOFFORD.

My colleague has shown that it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of protection for food and raw materials.

I shall prove it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of protection for manufactures. In doing this I shall prove:

1st. That these goods which are now imported, for whose exclusion protection is desired, are imported because their production at home is attended with some economic disadvantage.

2d. That a protective duty on manufactures with consequent home production, will increase the cost of these protected goods.

3d. That this increased cost will be permanent.

4th. That this increase will be borne almost wholly by the home consumer, which burden is unequal and unjust.

5th. That this increased cost of protected, that is, non-competitive goods, will increase the cost of manufacturing non-protected, that is, competitive goods.

6th. That this final increase will impair or destroy English industrial, commercial, and financial supremacy.

First. Goods produced, if at all, under economic disadvantage.

The Blue Book gives the value of manufactured imports for 1902 as £99,000,000. They include partly manufactured goods which constitute practically raw materials, appliances used in industry and machinery, domestic articles, luxuries, and non-competitive manufactures, wood pulp, oils, cotton and woolen yarn, nails and screws, brooms, matches, lamps, books, laces, silks, and ice.

Now, wherein is the economic disadvantage? Why does England import these goods? Because many of these imports consist of patented machinery of superior design, copyrighted books, and other goods which can be procured only abroad. Again, because conditions of climate, availability of raw material or special kinds and grades, enormous production, peculiar adaptability, unusual skill, artistic temperament, some or all of these give the foreigner the mastery in certain lines and makes it advantageous for England to take these goods in exchange for those in whose manufacture she herself excels. Again, because the crude products from which some of these partly manufactured goods are made, contain great quantities of waste material which increase the cost of transportation. Take wood pulp; should England import great quantities of crude timber, with all its waste, for the sake of creating the wood pulp industry at home? Absurd.

To insist on making these goods at home is to refuse other nations to be for England "hewers of wood and drawers of water." It is like the brick layer insisting on making his own

mortar and carrying his own brick up the ladder "to create more work." "It is just as foolish to complain of the importation of an article on which human labor has been expended, as to complain because nature did not leave us to fabricate our own timber and coal. To be logical, our friends ought to resent the fact that wood grows in nature's factory, atom by atom and cell by cell, and employ themselves making artificial wood, thereby increasing employment and the remuneration of labor."

Second: A protective duty on manufactures, with consequent home production, will increase the cost of these protected goods.

This is done first, by the natural action of a protective tariff, which is to limit or destroy competition. Now to limit competition is—as all economists agree—to increase prices. If our tariff does not limit or destroy competition it is not protective. If it does not raise prices it is a failure, for this is its utility, and the avowed purpose of its adoption.

Second, by diverting capital and labor from remunerative employment in which they have economical advantage, and turning them into unnatural channels where they follow the lines of greatest instead of least resistance.

Lastly, by increasing the demand for raw materials and for labor itself not drawn, mind you, wholly or chiefly, from the ranks of the unemployed, the economic laws of demand and supply reinforce the presumption that prices will increase.

Third: This increased cost will be permanent. Why? Because, in the first place, there are no undeveloped natural resources; no mines of incalculable value, no extensive forests, no broad expanse of virgin soil. Mark here the fallacy of comparing England with United States. Lacking these undeveloped resources England has no infant industries (thank heaven the babies are all grown up) on whose growth and maturity she can rely to lower the cost of manufacture. England has to-day as in the past the most highly developed industrial organism.

Again, no material reduction is to be expected from an enlarged home market since the increased output in any one commodity would be comparatively small. Furthermore, there are no possibilities of decrease from extensive organization, with its consequent concentration, utilization of by-products and other savings, since these economies are already available for English industries and are not dependent upon a slight increase of total output. But even were extensive organization possible, the same processes are going on in other countries and in some to greater extent owing to greater natural resources and larger home markets, so that relatively nothing is to be gained which would effect the permanence of this increased cost.

Fourth: This increase will be borne almost wholly by the home consumer which burden is unequal and unjust.

Why by the home consumer? Because there are no foreign consumers, since there would be practically no export of the goods which really need protection, for the duty was levied because the home producer could not compete in his own home market with

the foreign producer. And obviously if he could not hold his home market when goods were cheap, he most certainly cannot compete in the foreign market when the cost of production is enhanced by a protective duty. So we see that practically all this increased cost will be borne by the home consumer. The nation as a whole, then, gains nothing. It merely robs Peter to pay Paul. It takes from one man's pocket to put into another's hand. It lays upon the public a burden unequal and unjust—unequal because it bears unduly upon the poor,—unjust because it means discrimination.

The benefits are received by a class, the manufacturers of the goods. Other classes, as perhaps farmers, receive nothing, for no matter how comprehensively you protect it is not possible to include all, or if possible not in human power to benefit all equally or justly. The burden on the other hand is borne by all consumers. But who are these home consumers? Why, the people who wear fabrics made from cotton and woolen yarn; the people with small homes to whom brooms, chinaware, matches, soap, linen and leather goods constitute necessities of life; the manufacturer who must have for further labor cheap imported, partly manufactured goods,—the most improved and economical machinery and appliances of industry if he is to compete in the world's markets and give employment to laborers at home. So we see that as these goods of common use increase in cost, the cost of living must inevitably follow.

It is obvious, then, that every person who buys the protected articles is giving the difference between the cost under free trade and the cost under protection. And for what? Simply to create an artificial demand for labor, and support somebody in an unprofitable industry. If labor now profitably employed in other industries be used, it is simply trigging the wheels of industry to make labor most costly.

Fifth. That this increased cost of protected, that is, non-competitive goods, will increase the cost of manufacturing non-protected, that is, competitive goods.

To meet the increased cost of living either wages must be raised or the standard of living lowered. Now if wages be raised the cost of manufacturing will correspondingly increase, since income and outgo increasing equally, there is no heightened standard of living, hence no increased efficiency. If the standard of living be lowered the efficiency of the operative must diminish, since he has now no margin above his actual needs. This, of course, amounts to an increased cost of manufacturing.

Furthermore, since a large part of the protected manufactures are virtually raw materials, or machinery, implements, utensils, and appliances used in the manufacture of other goods and absolutely essential to cheap home production, plainly any protective duty on these commodities would only further enhance the cost of manufacturing. With this natural and inevitable increase, what about the foreign market in which these non-protected goods compete?

Finally, I shall show that this increase will impair or destroy English industrial, commercial and financial supremacy.

My colleague has pointed out England's unique commercial position and thus has shown you that her ability to compete in the markets of the world is with her a matter of economic life and death.

Once indeed England was easily supreme. Now other countries, Germany, France and the United States are fiercely competing with her, so fiercely that the slightest advantage often turns the trade one way or another. What, then, does it mean to increase the cost of manufacturing English goods? What can it mean but exclusion from competition? I have proved that a protective tariff must inevitably and unavoidably increase the cost of manufacturing in England. Is it not logical therefore, is it not reasonable, is it not certain that the only sound conclusion is that England's great export trade must be impaired, crippled and perhaps eventually destroyed?

But it is by this great trade that she lives. Its increase means prosperity, its decrease adversity. Evidently, then, with exports diminished by a protective tariff, comes depression, stagnation, decrease of out-put, closed factories, unemployed labor, misery and want. Then the outflow of capital for foreign investment and the emigration of labor. And when free trade returns and labor again is demanded, foreigners of an inferior class will be imported to take the place of native born Englishmen driven away by this untoward protective tariff.

Moreover, however disastrous in itself, the crippling of this great export trade may be, there are other consequences entailed. Decreased exports means diminished imports, since in the long run exports and services must pay for imports. This decrease in exports and imports will be fraught with tremendous consequences to England's great carrying trade, which last year earned over £90,000,000, to pay for imports to be consumed by English artisans, mechanics, builders, weavers, merchants and laborers. This great carrying trade is one of the pillars of English prosperity, vitally essential to commercial supremacy, and deserves more than to be paralyzed by a protective tariff utterly unwarrantable.

Finally, England is the great creditor nation, the great international clearing house. The profits of exchange and insurance together with large investments and loans abroad turned into English hands for home circulation last year over £62,000,000. Can disruptions of industry such as are bound to follow a protective tariff on manufactured goods do otherwise than bring great embarrassments in the money market? If home capital be unproductive, it cannot invest or loan money. If England has no goods to exchange or buy she cannot be a great international clearing house and the accruing advantages are lost. The consequences are inevitable. The natural working of economic laws cannot be thwarted. Effect is bound to succeed cause. Gone is England's great export trade; gone is her great revenue as a carrying power; gone is her kingly prestige as the great creditor nation.

THIRD SPEAKER . . . FREDERICK MOTT SWAN, JR.

My colleagues have shown that it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of pure protection. I shall prove that there is nothing in a preferential tariff to offset these disadvantages and that therefore it would be to the disadvantage of England to adopt a policy of preferential protection. What, then, is a preferential tariff for England? Merely this: England is to adopt a protective tariff but modify it by admitting colonial products at a lower rate, that is to say, by giving preference to the colonies.

Its object is to secure greater community of interests between England and the colonies, to promote unity, to foster the spirit of imperialism, and thus maintain and increase the prosperity, the political and military power of the British Empire and assure its dominance as a world power.

The means to this end are to be wholly economic. To be effective, therefore, decided economic benefits must be conferred, preferably on both parties to the contract, on England and on the colonies; if not, then at least upon one without material injury to the other. Should England or the colonies be materially injured, separation would result, and the Empire would be weakened instead of strengthened.

What, then, must a preferential tariff accomplish in order to favor the colonies and draw them closer to England?

It is evident, first, that the benefit conferred must be decided, must be valuable. Otherwise no result would follow. No colony would lower her own tariff or discriminate in favor of England in return for advantages uncertain and inadequate.

Secondly, the results must be sufficiently inclusive and comprehensive to apply to all the colonies involved; otherwise, some colony will be favored; dissatisfaction will arise; jealousy will be created; hard feelings and recriminations will ensue; discriminations and retaliation will follow; and disunion instead of union will be the result.

Third, the results must be comprehensive enough to apply not only to all the colonies but also to the different classes or industries in the individual colonies, as for instance, in Canada. Otherwise the same conditions will be produced; the same results will follow, and the empire will be weakened.

In the light of these principles, then, it is evident:

First. That for England to protect manufactures and give a preference to the colonies would produce no results beneficial to the Empire. For the advantage to the colonies as a whole would be insignificant since their manufactures are few and of small relative importance. Thus the colonies receiving little benefit would not be drawn closer to England, and would have no incentive to respond to England's advances. On the other hand, the benefits, such as they were, would accrue chiefly to Canada, thus causing estrangement in the other colonies. In addition in Canada her-

self, one class of people, the industrial class, would derive the benefits, leaving the masses as before.

Second. That for England to protect food would be absolutely necessary. This would greatly benefit some colonies and some classes but to the exclusion of others, thus again causing the same dissatisfaction, the same jealousy.

Third. That to accomplish the desired results in the colonies England must protect manufactures, food and raw material, since the wool of Australia must share the advantage with the wheat of Canada; the lumber of Canada with the mutton of Australia, or, in the slang phrase, the fat is in the fire.

Having shown the necessity of taxing both raw material and food if England is to have a preferential tariff, I will now consider briefly the effects of preferential tariff on raw material, and please to notice here that even the advocates of preference do not deem it wise to tax this line of imports. For example, on May 28, 1903, Prime Minister Balfour in the House of Commons said, "I cannot imagine that it would be wise in any circumstances to put a tax on raw material on which our manufactures depend."

For England to protect raw material would increase the cost of that material with all its attendant results as shown by our first speaker. What of the benefits? Of England's supply of raw material, the colonies produce one-third; foreign countries, two-thirds. Hence, imperial preference would mean that England was penalizing all for the benefit of one-third of her supplies. This would seem to be folly, and shows that the injury to England would be greater than the benefit to the colonies. But again, in the case of more than three-fifths of the raw material in which there is any substantial competition between imperial and foreign supplies the former already rule their respective markets. Whence, then, the need of preference; why, I ask, should Australian wool be given a complete monopoly in a market where it is already supreme? In this case preference ministers to no need.

Once more, more than a fifth of the aforesaid imperial supplies comes from free trade dependencies like India, which are not likely to give England any preference in return.

British manufactures, that is to say, are to pay five or ten per cent. more for indispensable materials, amounting to £117,000,000, on the chance, and a mere chance, of these colonies and dependencies taking more manufactures from them. A wilder speculation with a more desperate stake could hardly be imagined.

Let us now consider the effects of a preferential tariff on food. In the year 1902 England imported £215,000,000 of food, four-fifths of which came from foreign countries. The preferential tariff on food would tax this four-fifths in order to benefit the producers of the remaining one-fifth in the hope that by favoring the colonies it would be better worth their while to grow food for England's markets. This again would seem to injure England more than it would benefit the colonies, and it must be so. Taking wheat as an example,

the first result of an import duty would be to diminish the profit to be made by sending foreign wheat to England. Consequently, other things being equal, there would be an immediate contraction in the quantity so sent, and this in turn would lead to a rise in the English price. Since wheat is an article of prime necessity, Englishmen would offer prices high enough to restore the foreign importation to its old level. This would necessitate practically the whole of the duty being paid by the consumer, or, in other words, a rise of price equal to the rate of duty above—not necessarily what it was before—but what it would otherwise have been then. This being the case we have the argument of our first speaker against a tax on food again in full force.

I have heretofore proceeded on the assumption that some duty must be laid on imports from the colonies. We believe that a proper interpretation of our question requires that. However, could colonial products be admitted free under any interpretation of our question still the arguments of the negative would apply with full force, both in regard to food and raw material. For it is a well known economic law that the price of an article is determined by the price of the last increment absolutely needed. England must have foreign food and raw material. The colonies can furnish but a small part of her supplies. Hence foreign supply will determine the cost, colonial producers will rise to it. Again, even should the colonies after decades succeed in producing most of it much of it would have to be produced at economic disadvantage with consequent rise in price. Meanwhile England is ruined while you wait.

The board of trade estimates that the classes of colonial imports from foreign countries, which England could conceivably supply amount to £26,000,000. Obviously, this amount is insignificant when compared with England's entire export trade, of which three-fourths is with foreign countries and one-fourth with the colonies. And we are asked to cripple the three-fourths in order to add this trifle to the one-fourth.

But it is equally obvious that no practical preference could transfer more than a small proportion of this trade to British hands. That is, British colonial markets will not be materially enlarged. For a part of these imports consist of food and raw material which England does not produce.

Again, the common boundary line between Canada and the United States will always cause Canada to import from the United States in spite of all preference.

Again, the industrial colonies will increasingly protect their own infant industries, thus limiting imports of manufactures.

Again, English manufactures, more costly, as we have seen by reason of protection, will meet fierce competition in colonial markets even when given a preference.

Finally, human nature teaches us that the colonies will not long maintain a preference if it makes English goods cost more than American and German goods would with the preference.

Thus we see that irreparable ruin will be brought directly upon the industries of England while no corresponding benefits come from enlarged markets. We have seen that the benefits if only to the colonies, will at best breed dissatisfaction, and tend to separation and consequent weakening of the Empire. This condition is already becoming apparent in Canada. The system is too complicated to fit colonies not contiguous like the states of our country but far removed, each feeling the potentiality of independence.

This system of preference is not new and untried. In the first half of the nineteenth century colonial preference was an established policy. But far from cementing the Empire together, it created in England a dislike for the colonies. A powerful party arose, demanding the abolition of these preferences and denouncing a connection which made such sacrifices necessary. When an experiment has already failed strong arguments are needed to induce its renewal.

In conclusion it suffices to say that the slightest protection, even though it could be beneficial, would be dangerous for England. No one can tell the limits of sacrifice possibly demanded. Protection grows by what it feeds on, and when adopted is apt to develop within itself an expansive power which can neither be calculated beforehand nor resisted when it appears. It would be to England a cancer in the vitals. Her only safety is to exclude the germ.

We have now shown you:

That the growth of England's industrial supremacy was natural and inevitable. That its decline relative or real is just as natural and inevitable. That, owing to her peculiar conditions, to maintain this supremacy is a matter of economic life and death. That to maintain this supremacy England must have cheap manufactures in order to compete in the markets of the world.

That to have cheap manufactures she must have cheap food and cheap raw materials. That to protect food will increase the cost of living, thus producing poverty and increasing the cost of manufactures.

That to protect raw material will increase the cost of that material, hence increase the cost of manufactures. That goods supposed to need protection are now imported because their production at home is attended with some economic disadvantage. That to protect these goods is to raise the cost, through limiting competition, diverting industry from profitable to unprofitable channels and creating unnatural demand for labor and material.

That the increased cost will be permanent, through lack of infant industries, resulting in concentration or enlarged home market.

That the increased cost must be borne wholly by the home consumer, through lack of competitive power in foreign markets.

That the burden is unjust and unequal, raises the cost of living and increases the cost of non-protected or competitive goods.

That the increased cost diminishes export and import trade, brings business depression and stagnation, results in exportation of capital and emigration of laborers, ruins the carrying trade and threatens England's financial supremacy.

That to win the colonies a preferential tariff must be placed on manufactures, food and raw material. That preference on manufactures is useless or harmful. That preference on food or raw material works all the injuries to England cited above. That no sufficient corresponding benefits can come from enlarged colonial markets. That consequently a preferential tariff will greatly injure England and bring no corresponding benefits to the Empire. That even should the Empire be benefited England's share of the benefit would not compensate for her injuries.

In view of all this it is so evident that he who runs may read.

Alumni Round-Table.

ALUMNI NOTES.

'73.—On May 5th the daughter of the late Nathan W. Harris was united in marriage to Reuel W. Smith. C. C. Smith, '88, and G. E. Smith, '73, uncles of the bride, were among the guests.

'81.—George L. Record is corporation counsel of Jersey City, N. J., and has taken very prominent part in the consideration of matters brought before the New Jersey legislature, the present session.

'89.—G. H. Libby is principal of the Manchester, N. H., High School.

'90.—William F. Garcelon visited the college recently in the interests of athletics. He has presented to the library a book, which has been in circulation constantly since its arrival. The title is "Practical Track and Field Athletics," by Graham and Clark.

'92.—April 27th a son was born to Hon. Scott Wilson of Portland.

'93.—Ara Brooks Libby, M.D., has an extensive practice at his profession in South Gardiner.

'94.—Dr. A. H. Miller was in town recently.

'94.—Miss Ethel I. Cummings is assistant in the Manchester, N. H., High School.

'95.—Ralph E. Files is principal of the Haverhill, Mass., High School, a rare compliment to so young a man. He is very successful in his work there.

'99.—Ernest L. Palmer has recently resigned his position in Guilford to become Superintendent of Schools in Dexter and Sangerville.

'98.—Rev. Frank Pearson is pastor of the Free Baptist Church in Gray, Me.

'99.—Frederic S. Wadsworth has just returned home to Gardiner from a three years' service in the regular army. He will make Gardiner his home for the present.

'01.—H. S. Guptill has a position in Plymouth, N. H.

'01.—H. A. M. Trickey has returned from Denver, Col., where he has been spending several months, and has entered business at his home in Charleston, Me.

'02.—Erastus L. Wall is principal of the Dennysville High School.

'03.—Monmouth Academy has closed for the summer vacation and Miss Putnam is now at her home in Lewiston.

'03.—William E. Keyes has a position in the high school at Reading, Mass.

'03.—Philip R. Everett is teaching in the high school at Phillips, Me.

'03.—Clara Williams is teacher of sciences in the high school at Wayland, Mass.

'03.—Lucy Freeman was at college May 20-21.

'03.—Leon A. Wardwell is at college studying Spanish. He is soon to go to Central America as representative for a large corporation.

'03.—Misses Fisher, Putnam and Staples, also Messrs. Higgins and Witham attended the debate in City Hall, May 5.

Local Department.

THE DEBATE.

A GAIN the Bates record in debate has been changed and now another list of names stands with the victorious ones that have gone before. The opponents this time were from no small school, and were not without honor in debate. The record of the University of Vermont is declared one that is excellent, for they have defeated the colleges about their own place and have one victory recorded over the Syracuse University.

Bates was represented by Briggs, '04, who has had experience in one intercollegiate debate before this, Parsons, '05, who has had but little experience, and Peavey, '06, who was one of the alternates last year. The Vermont men were H. O. Wheeler, Ralph H. Perry, Daniel M. Walsh, each one of whom seemed much older and more experienced in speaking, than did the Bates representatives.

Enthusiasm was let loose, and the support given to speakers of both sides is commendable. Peavy, of Bates, opened and defined the question:

Resolved, That it will be to the advantage of Great Britain to make a substantial departure from her policy of free trade in respect to her imports. He also gave a clear description of England's condition at the present time, and showed several ways in which it could be improved by protection.

Wheeler, of Vermont, showed that the prosperity of Great Britain dates from the beginning of free trade, and quoted statistics to prove his point. He was followed by Parsons, who ably showed the effects of "dumping." Perry, of Vermont, showed that free trade is an aid to England in certain industries, and quoted more statistics. Briggs refuted the speaker's argument, and then showed the exact effect of protection on trade. Wheeler, of Vermont, denied much that had been said and claimed that Great Britain has outgrown her market.

Bates led in constructive argument and Vermont led in the rebuttal. Each man seemed to be on familiar ground, and here the team work of the Bates boys showed prominently. Parsons, alone, caused any applause while speaking; Peavey showed that the opponents were evading the question; Briggs gave a summary of the side in one minute that was excellent.

When the judges, Hon. Clarence Hale, Prof. Thomas Nixon Carver, and Prof. Frank H. Dixon, gave their decision, the enthusiasm was intense. A hearty cheer for the U. of V. was followed

by the march through the streets and the celebration. The victory seems the more overwhelming because it declares for the side of the question which Trinity lost to Bates in the winter. Special credit is due to Professor Hartshorn for the coaching and Professor Robinson for his training in delivery.

GLIMPSES OF COLLEGE LIFE.

The news of the new Bates song is very welcome to the students.

Among others who have visited the Bates campus recently are the dean of Colby, the president of Colby's Y. W. C. A. and the dean of U. of M.

The trees about Cheney House have been removed and the grounds nicely graded. The work makes a great change for the better in the appearance of the place.

A little spirit of enthusiasm was added to the track-work, during the training season, when Garcelon, '91, visited the college and spent a few hours with the boys.

The Juniors have received their class pins and are very much pleased with them. The pin is made in the form of a shield, and inside the edge is a raised shield, enamelled, on which is the word "Bates" and the class numerals.

As a special inducement to work, some of the alumni offered suits to those who made the trip to Waterville for the track meet. On the garnet jerseys were the regulation track B with a small A in each side. In addition to this offer, they made one of a sweater to each man who should win a point.

We were greatly pleased when Mr. Butterworth spoke in chapel, the morning following the close of his last lecture in the University course. His talk was for a few minutes on education as a factor in determining peace. He spoke of cases of serious troubles smoothed over by arbitration, and referred to the International Peace Congress to meet in Boston.

The Senior exhibition which should have been given at the close of the winter term, took place April 22. The programme was as follows:

	MUSIC.	
Literature and Life.		Bessie Lucile Russell.*
The Mission of Genius.		John Harold Gould.
The French Salon.		Alice Imogene Frost.
The Death of a Pantheist.		Bessie Leila Bray.
	MUSIC.	
Canada and the United States.		John Abbot Sinclair.
The Poetry of John Ruskin.		Alice Laura Sands.*
The Panama Canal.		Eugene Bernard Smith.
The College Woman in Life.		Elsie Mable Reynolds.
	MUSIC.	
Future of Russia.		Harry Lewis Bradford.
Genius of Greeks.		Egbert Atheling Case.*
The Spirit of Persecution.		Emma Adeline Bray.
Commerce and the Basis of National Duration.		
*Excused.		Frank Wendell Rounds.

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Fullerton Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Criticism.

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