

TILLMAN, TEA AND TARIFF DIVERT DEMOCRATIC DOGMA

Special Correspondence.

Washington, D. C., July 1.—The inclination of many democratic senators from the south to waive their conscientious scruples regarding a protective tariff being "a robbery" when the interests of their own immediate section is concerned, has not been better illustrated than it was during the tariff debate last week when Senator Tillman proposed an amendment for a tariff duty of 10 cents per pound on tea "to protect that industry in South Carolina," where 12,000 pounds of tea is now produced on one farm.

Senator Dixon took a prominent part in the debate which ensued, the following extracts from the proceedings being of particular interest to Montanans:

Mr. Dixon—I have been very much interested in the senator's exposition of the possibility of growing tea in the United States, and I am convinced that if some practical, sensible plan can be devised South Carolina, Florida, and other southern states will produce all our tea without any question. The sample which the senator kindly gave me a few days ago I gave to my wife and she says it is equal to the best English breakfast tea.

While I am a pretty good protectionist, I want to say this would be going pretty far. Why does not the senator accept the suggestion and take a 10 cent per pound bounty for 10 years? I think it would accomplish the same result as putting us in the attitude of protecting only a 10,000-pound industry. I think 10 cents a pound paid as a bounty from the federal treasury for 10 years would develop your tea industry to an extent that would practically supply the United States. As a practical man asking for practical results, why should not the senator change his amendment to a bounty? I believe the senate would vote it, and I believe he would render a great service to his state and to his country.

Mr. Tillman—Mr. President, the idea of taxing the people to get money into the treasury for the purpose of paying it out to some person as a bounty to encourage that person to engage in a certain calling or industry is obnoxious to every principle of democracy or genuine republicanism that I have ever heard of. It is infamous to levy a tariff duty or any other duty to get money to pay as a bounty to some one.

Mr. Dixon—And if the senator will pardon me, he does not object to congress levying this tariff duty?

Mr. Tillman—Not at all; I plead for it. You gentlemen on the other side who clamor in season and out of season for the protection of American industries should help to give me this duty.

Mr. Dixon—The senator will take a little of the infamous conduct—

Mr. Tillman—There is no indefinability about it, because it is a tariff that is going to bring \$5,000,000 revenue with \$1,200 protection. If it shall grow to be a great industry, it will flourish in South Carolina, Louisiana and Texas, I believe, because it seems to be the fact that wherever cotton will grow there tea will grow; the only difference being that the farther edge of the cotton belt, where it is too dry to make tea, will still make very good cotton. It will not make tea, because tea is the product of the leaves of the plant which are plucked and dried, and you must have rain to get leaves. You can get a crop of cotton even with the leaves all shriveled up and, apparently, the plant half dead, but you can not get tea that way.

I do not want the senator to endeavor to tempt me to depart from the straight path of rectitude and inveigle me into the republican program or scheme under the plea of bounty. If you were to offer me a dollar a pound bonus on this business, I would not vote for it. I am not here seeking for any selfish interest of South Carolina. I hardly know this man Shepard, but I know that all along the coast of South Carolina, where this tea farm exists and where successful cultivation has been demonstrated beyond all possibility of dispute, there is a very large area of the same land adapted to tea culture, and it only awaits the hand of capital to use the labor already there, because the negroes out-number us—they are practically six and eight and ten to one. It will give employment to these people and bring into the south a new industry which will aid us to recover our fortunes, which were so nearly completely destroyed by the war. I say if this tea would grow as well in Montana as it does in South Carolina, you would have a tariff on tea, and you would have one as soon as you found that you could grow it there.

Mr. Dixon—Mr. President, I am as sincere as any one to taking up any more time about this amendment on tea; but as the senator from South Carolina (Mr. Tillman) has said, his infant has become utterly neglected during the last hour of this debate, I think we at least ought to understand what we are voting upon. I think I am a pretty consistent protectionist. I sincerely and honestly would in some way like to vote to help develop what I believe would be a great tea industry in this country. I am willing to go to almost any extreme for the sake of developing a new industry in this country. I am willing at this time, and, as I said to the senator from South Carolina this morning, I would gladly vote for a bounty of 10 cents a pound for 10 years upon every pound of tea that could be produced in the south. I think that in itself would greatly tend to develop that great industry here; but there are some extremes to which, as a protectionist, I can not consistently go. In this case we are asked to vote an amendment carrying a duty of at least 50 per cent in nearly every class of tea imported, and in the cheaper grades of tea a duty of 75 or 80 per cent, for the purpose of protecting 12,000 pounds of tea produced at this time.

Mr. Tillman—Not protecting at all, but just getting \$5,000,000 of revenue,

Mr. Dixon—Getting \$5,000,000 of revenue, it is true; but if you put the amendment on a tariff for revenue basis, we cannot support a tariff for revenue based on a 50 to 75 per cent duty. I do not think we can consistently do that.

Mr. Tillman—We put a 128 per cent increase on pineapples only two or three days ago.

Mr. Taliaferro—Mr. President, that is a very important industry.

The Presiding Officer (Mr. Carter in the chair).—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Florida?

Mr. Dixon—Yes.

Mr. Taliaferro—That was only 30 to 32 per cent.

Mr. Tillman—It is pretty hard to be consistent here. Anybody who undertakes to hunt consistency in this chamber will have a very difficult job.

Mr. Taliaferro—Mr. President—

Mr. Tillman—I am not complaining of the duty on pineapples. I am only talking to my friend from Montana here, who is discussing the question of what we are proposing to do as to tea.

Mr. Taliaferro—We ought to be able to get at the facts. There certainly is no duty of 128 per cent on pineapples.

Mr. Tillman—Well, an increase of 128 per cent over the previous duty.

Mr. Taliaferro—The case would have been more fairly stated if the senator from South Carolina had said that the duty was from 30 to 32 per cent.

Mr. Tillman—I had not figured out what the duty on the value of the article was, because I did not know.

Mr. Dixon—Mr. President, I am glad the senator from South Carolina brought up the question of pineapples. I voted for the pineapple duty of, as I understand it, about 25 to 30 per cent, because at this time we do produce about one-third of the pineapples consumed in this country; but I think it is exasperating protection to the furthest extreme for the people of this country to deliberately add \$10,000,000 a year to the cost of tea for the sake of protecting 12,000 pounds grown in one state.

Mr. Tillman—Has not the senator from Montana heard the statements made here, and repeated time and again, coming from the best sources of information possible, that the duty when we put a duty of 10 cents a pound on tea during the Spanish war the price did not go up to the consumer, and when we took it off it did not go down, and that this is one case in which the duty will be paid by the producing countries and by a reduction of the profits of the retailer?

Mr. Dixon—I have heard that argument advanced on this side of the chamber.

Mr. Tillman—It is not only an argument, but it is a fact, based on all the prices quoted in the newspapers and in the other instrumentalities which merchants use to send their prices out.

Mr. Dixon—But this is the first time I have heard that thing demonstrated on the other side of the chamber.

Mr. Tillman—Yes; and it is the first time, I believe, when it could be demonstrated. I am a believer in the doctrine that the consumer pays the duty, but this seems to be the exception which proves the rule.

Mr. Dixon—Except in the case of tea.

Mr. Tillman—Tea is the one thing where the consumer does not pay the duty.

Mr. Dixon—It has been my experience, Mr. President, that at various stages in this debate there have been exceptions to rules drawn in different parts of the chamber, and this is one. I wish to say to the senator from South Carolina that I want to help the tea industry. I would gladly vote for a bounty of 10 cents a pound for 10 years, which, I think, would demonstrate the fact whether or not we raise tea in the United States successfully. I believe we can; but to deliberately add \$10,000,000 to the cost of tea drinking in the country for the sake of 12,000 pounds produced at this time, I think, is protection gone mad.

Mr. Jones—Mr. President, I want to suggest, in that connection, that, as I understand it, those 12,000 pounds of tea are produced by one individual, and he is making money out of the business.

Mr. Dixon—That is important.

Mr. Tillman—That is simply because he is the only producer and has a special class of consumers, who find that they can get the best tea in the world in South Carolina, and so they send down there and pay him fancy prices; but if it becomes an industry in to which thousands of people will enter, they will have to go into the markets and compete with the Japanese, the Chinese, the people of Ceylon and other oriental countries.

Mr. Bailey—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Texas?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Bailey—Mr. President, nothing better illustrates the difference between a democrat, who is a revenue advocate, and a republican, who is a protectionist, than the statement which the senator from Montana (Mr. Dixon) has just made. He declares that this duty would add \$10,000,000 to the expense of the tea drinkers of the country, and he leaves us to suppose that it disappears in the clouds; but he must remember that the \$10,000,000, which the tea drinkers pay, goes into the treasury of the government to lighten the burdens of somebody else.

Mr. Dixon—There is no question about that.

Mr. Scott—Will the senator from Montana allow me to interrupt him?

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from West Virginia?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Scott—I believe that the majority, speaking of this tea question, if they are protectionists, have made

a mistake. My theory as a protectionist is, and always has been, that the protection of the home industry always lowers the price of the article. I have no apology to make, though the senator from South Carolina (Mr. Tillman) said a while ago that the majority would have to apologize for some of their votes. I shall not, for I have voted consistently on this tariff bill from the standpoint of a protectionist. If we can produce tea in this country, it will only be a short time before this production will bring the price down. This has been proved in the case of every article protected, manufactured by agricultural, in the history of protective tariffs. That is the kind of a protectionist I am.

Mr. Dixon—And that is the kind of a protectionist I am; but when you start with only 12,000 pounds to supply an importation of 30,000,000 pounds, when we know it will take years to grow the tea plant, it is a different proposition. If it takes five years, the people will pay \$50,000,000 for the sake of establishing the industry; and if it takes 10 years, they will pay over \$100,000,000.

Mr. Scott—If this proposed duty be imposed, the people will not pay a cent more for tea than they are paying today. The senator from South Carolina stated the case very properly when he said that the history of the price of tea substantiated the assertion that when the duty went on or went off it did not change the price of tea to the consumer.

Mr. Dixon—I want to confess that the senator from South Carolina has almost demonstrated to me that the consumer does not pay the tariff duty.

Mr. Tillman—On this thing.

Mr. Dixon—But there is another feature of it that I think the friends of the inheritance tax, the income tax, and the corporation tax do not take into consideration. There is no question of the widespread feeling here that some senators would like to get some kind of revenue that would make it impossible to add an inheritance tax or a corporation tax or an income tax provision to this bill. Here you are adding \$10,000,000 a year lump sum, and every time you add \$10,000,000 to the revenues under the bill it is one more vehement argument why neither the income nor inheritance nor corporation tax should be adopted. I think the vote on this tea proposition is surrounded with a lot of difficulties, and I would beg the senator from South Carolina to let us avoid the dangers which come with it and take 10 cents a pound bounty on tea. I assure him that from what I have heard in the chamber I think it will receive almost a unanimous vote on the republican side.

Mr. Perkins—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from California?

Mr. Dixon—Gladly.

Mr. Perkins—I want to give my friend from Montana an object lesson which will enable him to ease his conscience and vote for the proposed amendment of the senator from South Carolina. Twelve years ago layer raisins and raisin currants, but raisins in particular, were worth from 10 to 15 cents a pound. We succeeded in getting a duty of 8 cents a pound placed upon them under what is known as the "Dingley law." We were then producing no raisins, comparatively speaking, in the United States. Today raisins are selling for 3 to 3 1/2 cents a pound in California, and we are producing enough layer raisins of the best quality to supply every person in the United States with them.

Mr. Scott—That is good republican doctrine.

Mr. Dixon—The senator from California has undoubtedly convinced my friend from West Virginia of the potency of his argument.

Mr. Perkins—It is unanswerable, it seems to me.

Mr. Dixon—I will ask the senator from California to what extent raisins were raised in California at the time the duty was imposed?

Mr. Perkins—Comparatively speaking, there were none raised. We demonstrated the fact that it was impracticable to raise them, but they had not been raised to any extent until this duty was placed upon them.

Mr. Dixon—What were raisins selling for when we put on 2 cents a pound duty?

Mr. Perkins—From 10 to 15 cents a pound for layer raisins. Today they are sold at retail in California at 3 cents a pound in any quantity, and we are selling them by the carload for 2 cents a pound.

Mr. Dixon—In that case the duty was 2 cents per pound?

Mr. Perkins—Two cents per pound.

Mr. Dixon—Which is about 20 per cent, or less than 20 per cent. In this case we are asked to vote for a duty of not less than 50 per cent on the higher grades of imported tea; and in the case of tea which is imported at 15 cents per pound, it would be a matter of 66 2/3 per cent.

Mr. Perkins—The report of the agricultural department shows that it costs to raise tea in Ceylon and Formosa from 10 to 12 cents a pound.

Mr. Dixon—Then we would be putting on a 100 per cent duty under the amendment of the senator from South Carolina. I want to help the senator.

Mr. Tillman—How much duty did you put on Montana wool?

Mr. Dixon—About 7 cents a pound.

Mr. Tillman—How much is wool worth without it?

Mr. Dixon—Wool is worth about 22 or 24 cents in the market.

Mr. Tillman—What was it worth without a duty?

Mr. Dixon—When we had no duty, the woolgrower went bankrupt and wool was worth nothing.

Mr. Tillman—Very well; then the duty on wool, when wool sold for 10 cents per pound, was about 50 or 60 per cent. You hug it and how sweet it is, and you wrap yourself in it and keep it. (Laughter.)

Mr. Dixon—It is a fine duty. Mr. President, but the senator forgets

that we were raising 50,000,000 pounds of wool at the time the duty was put on. Suppose we had only been raising 1,200 or 12,000 pounds of wool in this country.

Mr. Tillman—Mr. President, the senator may be unfortunate, but I have demonstrated beyond all possibility of reasonable dispute, that this is a protective duty, which will develop the tea industry in the south.

Mr. Dixon—I confess the senator from Rhode Island has been a little more reasonable in his demand for protective duties than is the senator from South Carolina in this case.

Mr. Brandegee—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Connecticut?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Brandegee—I should like to ask the senator from South Carolina how long it takes a tea plantation to get started and to become a producing plantation?

Mr. Tillman—I think you can begin to gather the leaves the third year; and as the plant grows in size and in strength, with the double root system, the foliage will increase and the yield increase. It will take 10 or 12 years for a bush to get to its full productive capacity.

Mr. Brandegee—Has the senator any idea what it costs per acre to plant a tea plantation?

Mr. Tillman—I have not; but I would not think it would be very expensive when lands are so cheap. The main trouble is preparing the land for the plants, underdraining, cutting the roots, putting on lime, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. Dixon—The senator from South Carolina frankly says that he wants 10 cents a pound, as a matter of protection, to develop the tea industry in the south.

Mr. Tillman—I say "protection" on the other side, but I want \$5,000,000 for revenue on this side. (Laughter.) This is the only proposition that has come in here that catches you all; and it is only by all sorts of quibbling and inconsequential reasoning that you can vote against this proposition. I ought to get the vote of every solitary republican protectionist in this chamber, and I ought to get the vote of every solitary democrat for revenge in this chamber.

Mr. Dixon—The senator stoops with a double-barreled gun.

Mr. Tillman—Surely; it is the only double-barreled gun that has been in here too. (Laughter.)

Mr. Dixon—But when he asks the democratic senators to vote for a 66 per cent duty upon a tariff for revenue, and the senator asks us to vote \$5,000,000.

Mr. Tillman—Do not multiply it so. It is only eight or nine million dollars to begin with, though I do not know what it might grow to, as the quality of tea improves and people begin to like it better.

Mr. Dixon—The senator says it will take three years before they can begin to pick tea leaves from the plants. If everybody in the south started tea farms the minute this bill passed—

Mr. Tillman—But I am not afraid about them all starting. I am afraid the number who will be benefited by this will be very limited.

Mr. Dixon—Now, cold-bloodedly, the senator wants this duty for the purpose of developing a new industry. I am wholly in sympathy with that, but the price we have to pay for it is too big.

Mr. Tillman—I tell you do not have to pay anything—there is where the good part of it comes in—because the consumer will not have to pay any more for his tea than he does now.

Mr. Dixon—I want the senator from Rhode Island to take note of the new democratic doctrine enunciated this morning by the senator from South Carolina.

Mr. Tillman—If it be that this is new democratic doctrine, which gets \$5,000,000 of revenue and \$1,200 protection, I will stand the responsibility for it at any time and anywhere.

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The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Washington?

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Mr. Jones—As I understand, the senator from South Carolina is urging the republicans to vote for his amendment on the ground of protection. I wonder whether or not the senator endorsed the democratic platform of a few years ago, which denounced protection as robbery, and whether the senator is trying to have the republicans here commit robbery.

Mr. Tillman—No; you will not rob anybody if we only get \$1,200 from it.

Mr. Jones—Twelve hundred dollars is as much robbery as a larger sum.

Mr. Dixon—I observe the senator from Washington and the senator from South Carolina are firing the other barrel now.

Mr. Stone—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Missouri?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Stone—I should like permission of the senator from Montana to ask the senator from South Carolina whether any part of the forty-three thousand dollars appropriated in the last agricultural appropriation bill experiments in tea culture, among other things, has been expended in South Carolina.

Mr. Tillman—I can not pretend to tell you sir. I think they have been trying to experiment in the different states, from Texas all the way east.

Mr. Dixon—Would it hurt the feelings of the senator from South Carolina, in spite of his protest against the doctrine of paying a bounty, if, notwithstanding his own position in the matter, the senate deliberately ran over the senator, figuratively speaking, and put 10 cents a pound bounty on tea?

Mr. Tillman—I am not here to complain of what the senate does. If the senate does not give me anything, I shall not worry. I believe I have presented a case here which is entitled to support in two particulars. It demands that every protectionist in this chamber shall support this duty, and it demands that every tariff-for-revenue democrat in this chamber shall vote for this duty.

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Mr. Tillman—I say "protection" on the other side, but I want \$5,000,000 for revenue on this side. (Laughter.) This is the only proposition that has come in here that catches you all; and it is only by all sorts of quibbling and inconsequential reasoning that you can vote against this proposition. I ought to get the vote of every solitary republican protectionist in this chamber, and I ought to get the vote of every solitary democrat for revenge in this chamber.

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Mr. Dixon—I confess the senator from Rhode Island has been a little more reasonable in his demand for protective duties than is the senator from South Carolina in this case.

Mr. Brandegee—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Connecticut?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Brandegee—I should like to ask the senator from South Carolina how long it takes a tea plantation to get started and to become a producing plantation?

Mr. Tillman—I think you can begin to gather the leaves the third year; and as the plant grows in size and in strength, with the double root system, the foliage will increase and the yield increase. It will take 10 or 12 years for a bush to get to its full productive capacity.

Mr. Brandegee—Has the senator any idea what it costs per acre to plant a tea plantation?

Mr. Tillman—I have not; but I would not think it would be very expensive when lands are so cheap. The main trouble is preparing the land for the plants, underdraining, cutting the roots, putting on lime, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. Dixon—The senator from South Carolina frankly says that he wants 10 cents a pound, as a matter of protection, to develop the tea industry in the south.

Mr. Tillman—I say "protection" on the other side, but I want \$5,000,000 for revenue on this side. (Laughter.) This is the only proposition that has come in here that catches you all; and it is only by all sorts of quibbling and inconsequential reasoning that you can vote against this proposition. I ought to get the vote of every solitary republican protectionist in this chamber, and I ought to get the vote of every solitary democrat for revenge in this chamber.

Mr. Dixon—The senator stoops with a double-barreled gun.

Mr. Tillman—Surely; it is the only double-barreled gun that has been in here too. (Laughter.)

Mr. Dixon—But when he asks the democratic senators to vote for a 66 per cent duty upon a tariff for revenue, and the senator asks us to vote \$5,000,000.

Mr. Tillman—Do not multiply it so. It is only eight or nine million dollars to begin with, though I do not know what it might grow to, as the quality of tea improves and people begin to like it better.

Mr. Dixon—The senator says it will take three years before they can begin to pick tea leaves from the plants. If everybody in the south started tea farms the minute this bill passed—

Mr. Tillman—But I am not afraid about them all starting. I am afraid the number who will be benefited by this will be very limited.

Mr. Dixon—Now, cold-bloodedly, the senator wants this duty for the purpose of developing a new industry. I am wholly in sympathy with that, but the price we have to pay for it is too big.

Mr. Tillman—I tell you do not have to pay anything—there is where the good part of it comes in—because the consumer will not have to pay any more for his tea than he does now.

Mr. Dixon—I want the senator from Rhode Island to take note of the new democratic doctrine enunciated this morning by the senator from South Carolina.

Mr. Tillman—If it be that this is new democratic doctrine, which gets \$5,000,000 of revenue and \$1,200 protection, I will stand the responsibility for it at any time and anywhere.

Mr. Jones—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Washington?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Jones—As I understand, the senator from South Carolina is urging the republicans to vote for his amendment on the ground of protection. I wonder whether or not the senator endorsed the democratic platform of a few years ago, which denounced protection as robbery, and whether the senator is trying to have the republicans here commit robbery.

Mr. Tillman—No; you will not rob anybody if we only get \$1,200 from it.

Mr. Jones—Twelve hundred dollars is as much robbery as a larger sum.

Mr. Dixon—I observe the senator from Washington and the senator from South Carolina are firing the other barrel now.

Mr. Stone—Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer—Does the senator from Montana yield to the senator from Missouri?

Mr. Dixon—I do.

Mr. Stone—I should like permission of the senator from Montana to ask the senator from South Carolina whether any part of the forty-three thousand dollars appropriated in the last agricultural appropriation bill experiments in tea culture, among other things, has been expended in South Carolina.

Mr. Tillman—I can not pretend to tell you sir. I think they have been trying to experiment in the different states, from Texas all the way east.

Mr. Dixon—Would it hurt the feelings of the senator from South Carolina, in spite of his protest against the doctrine of paying a bounty, if, notwithstanding his own position in the matter, the senate deliberately ran over the senator, figuratively speaking, and put 10 cents a pound bounty on tea?

Mr. Tillman—I am not here to complain of what the senate does. If the senate does not give me anything, I shall not worry. I believe I have presented a case here which is entitled to support in two particulars. It demands that every protectionist in this chamber shall support this duty, and it demands that every tariff-for-revenue democrat in this chamber shall vote for this duty.

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