

Go on, gentlemen! Modify your shipping laws, remove burdens, extend privileges, copy the British code! We will aid you in the experiment as far as you go and would bid you go further, to fare better. Compensate for mail service; make ship-supplies free; adapt your rules to the new class of seamen; make a new and inexpensive consular code for their discharge and return home; prohibit the advance wages and "blood money;" allow a Norwegian or Italian to be an American mate; limit the liability of ship-owners; reduce the hospital tax; modify the tonnage tax, or repeal it altogether; erase from every State statute the local taxation on shipping; ay, even erect a bureau like the British Board of Trade as the special cherub to keep watch over poor Jack; do all these as your committee suggests. Do more! Out of your treasury or out of the tonnage fund, mostly collected from foreign shipping, make a sort of allowance for the use of certain American materials in building ships; and yet like the young man in Scripture, one thing ye will lack. You may copy the English statutes as liberalized in 1849 in allowing Englishmen to buy ships where they pleased, and in 1854, when they opened their coasting trade to all the world. "Begin," as your majority say Great Britain did, "begin a complete revision of the merchant-shipping statutes, so as to remove every obstacle and give every facility," and then you may have some dim hope of the resurrection of our wrecked marine!

We now pay our own steamships the same rates we pay to foreigners. The British line to China receives the same and no more than the Pacific Mail Company; and the British steamers, three lines of them running from New York to Rio de Janeiro, take letters at two cents. Of the vast number of British steamships in the trans-Atlantic trade but one

in twenty has a special mail contract, and none of the German ships have any. Nevertheless, both the majority and minority agree that the compensation for mail-carrying ought to be a *quantum meruit*, not a subsidy; and we are ready to indorse an amendment based on fair postage paid for similar service on established routes upon the inland.

The following is a summary of burdens to which an American ship of 1,000 tons is subjected beyond such a ship under a foreign flag in a year: From three months' extra pay, \$100; from transportation of disabled sailors, \$100; from hospital tax, \$32; from consular fees, \$40; from duty on stores, \$100; a total of \$372.

A first-class iron sailing ship of 1,000 tons would cost in Scotland \$62,000. Such a ship built here would cost \$80,000; a difference of \$18,000. On this sum, interest at 6 per cent.; insurance, 7 per cent.; wear and tear, 7 per cent.; in all 20 per cent., entailing a yearly loss in sailing of \$3,600, which is vastly more against us than the paltry \$372 of infinitesimal "burdens."

In a steamship the difference is greater still. When we had to compete with England in wooden ships of a less cost than hers, we could beat her, as she beats us now that her ships cost less than ours. That is the whole story as to the cost of running our ships and the relief we obtain by this bill on these smaller items, counting it in dollars and cents. . . .

I pause here, Mr. Speaker, to ask first what are our navigation laws? Wherein do they obstruct the revival of our shipping?

Briefly they are: That a vessel of the United States engaged in the foreign trade must be registered to entitle it to the rights and privileges of a vessel of the United States;

and to be so registered must be built within the United States and belong wholly to citizens of the United States or be captured in war and condemned as a prize, or be adjudged forfeited for breach of the laws of the United States, being wholly owned by citizens of the United States. No vessel can be registered, or if registered, entitled to the benefits and privileges of a vessel of the United States, if owned in whole or in part by any citizen of the United States who usually resides in a foreign country, during the continuance of such residence, unless he be a consul of the United States or agent for a partner in some house of trade consisting of citizens of the United States, actually carrying on trade within the United States, or if owned in whole or in part by any naturalized citizen of the United States who resides more than one year in the country from which he came, or for more than two years in any foreign country, unless he be a consul or agent of the United States. No vessel registered as a vessel of the United States licensed or authorized to sail under a foreign flag and to have the protection of any foreign government during the existence of the rebellion can be deemed or registered as a vessel of the United States, or to have the rights and privileges of such vessels, except under provisions of law especially authorizing such register. A register may be issued to a vessel built in a foreign country when such vessel shall be wrecked in the United States and be purchased and repaired by a citizen of the United States, if the repairs equal three fourths of the cost of such vessel when repaired.

The navigation laws are practically dead for the purpose of their being. Let us—

"Rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things."

Is it not, Mr. Speaker, marvellous that in this majority report the confession is naively made that our merchant shipping laws remain the same as they were originally framed more than fourscore years ago, and that they were all that were needed so long as the English laws were the same? And yet the majority stop short of the one prominent and majestic feature of the newly constituted English system: Liberty to build and buy! The majority say that "our error was in not imitating England in so modifying our laws as to give the American marine the same advantages in this respect that English shipping was given under English laws;" and yet it would perpetuate the error by a blindly selfish persistence in the very laws which England repealed! Well, sir, if England is to be our exemplar, if her maritime success is a sign that her laws worked beneficently, then let the obstructions which she removed be removed by us. This the minority propose in the amendments for free materials and free ships.

Without, therefore, arguing at length any of the lesser propositions in the majority report, it is enough to say that the acquiescence in most of the measures proposed was hearty and earnest by the whole committee; while the reluctance as to one proposition, the "drawback," so called, was somewhat mitigated by the belief that the amendment for free materials might prove more acceptable. And if, as the minority hope, both should be adopted little harm could result as the nullification of the bad consequences of the one would be nearly perfect by the adoption of the other. Or if there should be an option allowed the builder to choose either the "drawback" or free materials under my amendment, the adoption of the drawback thus coupled would not be without some utility. But if no compromise be tendered

in the interest of freedom of materials or ships, I want no allowance fixed on the treasury, no leech to draw its blood such as this drawback will then be. . . .

Adroitly recognizing "the stimulus given by the tariff to all protected domestic industries, and especially to American labor," California reminds us that "her shipping business has been thereby ruined, sacrificed to the general good; her property rendered worthless without compensation for the benefit of the public at large." The irony of this appeal is so very elusive and delicate that one must quote it for full appreciation:

"For while the protected domestic market recoups the high cost and guarantees a profit on all protected articles of American manufacture, the cost of building our vessels is raised by the same means, but our market is not likewise protected. On the contrary, our shipping in the foreign trade must compete without any possible protection from our government in the free, open market of the world, which of course hires vessels where it can hire cheapest. If high interest on high cost, high wages, taxes, fees, repairs, etc., make \$1,000 per month the cost of running an American ship, while low interest on low cost, low wages, and the absence of taxes, fees, or repairs bring down the cost of running an English ship to \$500 per month, who does not perceive that the English vessel will make money where the American owner must soon become bankrupt? Yet this is the actual condition of the shipping business now, and such it has been since the enactment of our present high tariff.

"That under these circumstances common justice to our injured class, regard for the national honor abroad, as well as for the national economy which requires the retention in our own country of the enormous freights paid on American exports to other nations, and the national safety in case of foreign war—all these motives justify us in the demand that we should be placed as far as possible in such a position as if there were no tariff; and that such legislation should be

promptly enacted as will place American ship-owners on an equality with those of England. Unloose the fetters; remove the weights imposed on us by our ill-fitting and outgrown laws; leave us free, as are the English, to utilize our abundant materials, our energy and skill, and doubt not American mechanics and sailors will soon again overtake their rivals on the seas.

"The foreign carrying trade has been struck with a deadly mildew."

Exclaims a leading journal of Portland, Maine:

"The decadence of her shipping interests is the sacrifice Maine pays to give 15 to 20 per cent. dividends to other branches of industry. She has paid it that Maine's shipping interests shall receive the protection which the wolf gives to the lamb."

The saddest part of this plaint is that Maine by her own members here mildewed her own interests; and while not confessing the blighting policy of protection, still joins California in begging for federal aid.

In urging this measure the San Francisco traders evidently felt the orphanage of navigation and the hopelessness of asking for a repeal of the navigation laws. Which way soever they looked they saw the image of protection, like Pluto's countenance—iron and inexorable. Piteously they pleaded that their plan was "not a subsidy levied on many industries to benefit a few, but simply the payment of a debt due by the many enterprises which are prospering by means of the tariff to the one which has been ruined by it." They pleaded as those who owned the cargo which was jettisoned to save the vessel, and that they should be made good by a general average contribution.

In this rhetorical masquerade they meant to say: "Behold us, the victims of your robbery! True, you may have robbed

us under pleasing disguises; your self-seeking may have made your larcenies unwitting; still as pirates of the land you have destroyed our fair and free trade upon the water. And as you have thriven upon this piracy, be generous to your despoiled victims, as you have in your coffers the loot you stole from us. Be patriotic and devoted in this paramount matter and in our death agony! No longer continue to help Great Britain at our expense after rifling us for the general welfare!"

It is upon such reasoning as this that we are asked to allow this drawback; and if there be, as Bastiat held, a reciprocity in brigandage, let us steal back from those who stole from us, that we may have some compensation for our losses by the restoration of something of our own. Let us cultivate a mutuality in rascality! . . .

If it be said again that the repeal of the navigation laws will destroy our ship-yards, we reply that there is nothing on our stocks of much general consequence in iron ship-building; and since the business will not remunerate without subsidies or bounties or general taxes on all the people for one interest let us try the experiment which other nations have tried successfully, namely: buy abroad, since we cannot build at home.

It is argued that because a great many poor ships are built in England, those are the ships that we would buy if we could! Undoubtedly there are many poor carriages built in England. We are at liberty to import land vehicles, while we cannot import vehicles to be used on the water. When we do import carriages we import the best. The Americans are not fools. Let the buyer of a horse or a ship beware. Why should not trade and labor be left a little to natural laws? Are there not regulations more powerful than Con-

gress can make? Repeal burdens and restraints; stop the talk about stimulation; practise non-intervention—these are maxims only less radical and wholesome than the natural pre-cripts which ordain them.

Could we have seen ten or twenty years ago to-day what others saw we might have had to-day a splendid fleet of screw steamers under our flag. The earnings might have been saved to us. We relied on our own ship-yards, and in 1881 but eight of the 44,463 tons of steamers built on our seaboard were for the ocean, or only one per cent. of the British tonnage built the same year. Our citizens, had they been allowed, would have bought the ships of iron and steel we could not build. One of the oldest ship-builders and owners of the United States, formerly a member here, writes me that had we had the privilege of buying iron ships there would to-day have been two hundred of them under our flag; and he says:

"I do not believe there would have been many more ships in the world than at present, only we should have had our share; our sons would have had employment and our country would have been so much richer. I have three sons, masters of ships. I shall never build another wooden ship; but I would if I could go into the iron ships; they last longer. There have been great improvements in them the past five years, and we would have received the benefit of them."

Why not allow the merchant, if he thinks he can do it, to get his ship abroad and try at least to run it? He will not charge the treasury for his failure and loss.

In time, as in Germany, the ownership leads to repair, and repair to building. The number of ship-yards and workshops increases and the tonnage leaps up under this impulse. That which seemed a mustard-seed becomes a mighty tree. Every nation has tried the free-ship experiment but the

United States, and we are lowest to-day in our proportionate share of the navigation of the world. No one can say it is a failure until it is tried. All other schemes—and especially its opposite, protection—have been tried and failed. The commercial eminence of Great Britain, not to speak of Germany, France, Italy, and Norway, is supreme logic for the trial of the experiment. Germany is the best illustration; she has not as good coal and iron as we have, but she began to buy her ships on the Clyde, as we might have done a score of years ago. She is now building her own iron steamships. She builds now more than she buys. She has never subsidized. Her tonnage in 1856-57, when ours began to decline, was but 166,000 tons; last year she had 950,000; ours in eleven years dropped from 4,400,000 to 600,000, and all its vast income was lost.

Last week I read that a new steel steamship, the *Rugia*, of 6,500 tons, was turned out for our trade from the Vulcan Works at Stettin, warranted for the safety of 1,200 passengers, with steel life-boats and steam steering-gear and a refinement in the reversal of her engines in seven seconds. German growth has been in iron screw-steamers, which she began to buy abroad. They could not afford to wait, this phlegmatic people, for their own ship-yards to arise, but began to repair in the blacksmith shops and little foundries of their "free towns," and now where the little furnace glowed mighty engines are made to mate the ocean in its wildest tempest!

Even Japan has a fleet of fifty-seven iron steamers, and China leaves us laggard and unprogressive. Fifty years of Cathay—nay, twenty years—is worth more than a century of our experience.

Twenty years ago Norway and Sweden traded with us and

had but 20,000 tons in the trade; now they have 850,000. The *Viking* is abroad and we are stupidly looking on. Everybody is making money out of our carrying and commerce but ourselves. What avails it that ours is the largest carrying trade of any nation since we do not do the work? It adds to the humiliation.

It makes the humiliation worse to consider the losses in money as well as the prestige at sea.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall] has called upon the treasury for the amount of ocean freights on exports and imports during the year ending June 30, 1882. Much loose understatement will be set at rest by the report. It may be reached by the average percentage on the values. . . .

Looking at the wall of adamant which shuts us in from all the world and shuts the world out from us in this once famous enterprise of ours, can we draw hope from the prospect? The gigantic results of an hundred years of national existence and energy are not discouraging. Over mountains and through valleys, upon rivers, across continents and under oceans, our enterprises by rail and telegraph have developed our resources. They astound by their marvels. And yet halting on the shores of two vast oceans we have said to the land, or rather the voice of either ocean has said to these enterprises and products of the mine and field: "Thus far, but by our help no farther. The illimitable ocean is beyond and its trident is in another's grasp." Upon the west we face the Orient, rich in the elements of commerce. We had hoped once that the Pacific would have been an American lake. That hope is dead. On the east we almost touch Europe, with its teeming industries, peoples, and civilizations; but they come to us in their own vessels and bear away

our produce. In this we have no pay, part, nor lot. On the south we were reaching across gulf and sea to the tropics at our doors and to the republics of our continent. Once we had mutual relations with the Dominion on our north; but this and all such visions of material supremacy and splendor have faded. The ocean coast still gives us its thunderous line of breakers, its seven thousand miles and more indented with harbors of safety and bays of wondrous beauty. The net-work of our hundred thousand miles of railway still trembles with its immense freight, the garnered opulence of our sky, sun, soil, and mine. Cotton, corn, and petroleum—the triumvirate of our common weal—head the stately procession in which a thousand forms of labor and graces of art move and chant their praises to our smiling and copious land.

The time was when amid the glory and pride of our country our models of ships and adventure at sea were the theme of lyre and the praise of eloquence. It was comfort and wealth in peace, hope and safety in war.

It was the horn of plenty and the nursery of seamen for the maintenance of our independence and rights. Why should America not have her part in these glories of the sea? Was she not discovered by the genius, daring, and devotion of Columbus? Were not our colonies created into commonwealths by the men who braved the dangers of the sea to found here new empires? Our country is born of the sea! Its freedom is of the wind and wave.

Shall these praises be forever an echo of the past? Are we to take no part in the enlightenment and progress in science and art, of which commerce is the procreant cause and infallible gauge? Has the sea rolled back and away from us at the command of the insolent monarchs of capital?

To one born inland the sea has a weird and wondrous mystery. I have studied its moods as a lover those of his mistress. Through the generosity of my fellow legislators here we have been able to mitigate somewhat of its terrors. Its enchantment has led me over liquid leagues on leagues to remotest realms. Not alone does it enchant because of its majestic expanse, its resistless force, its depth and unity, its cliffs, bays, and fiords, its chemical qualities, its monstrous forms, its riches and rocks, its tributes, its graves, its requiem, its murmur of repose and mirror of placid beauty, but for its wrath, peril, and sublimity. These have led adventurous worthies of every age, by sun, star, and compass over its trackless wastes, and returned them for their daring untold wealth and the eulogy of history.

But it is for its refining, civilizing, elevating influences upon our kind that the ocean lifts its mighty minstrelsy. Unhappy that nation which has no part in the successes of the sea. Happy in history those realms like Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Norway, whose gathered glories are symbolized in the trident. Happy in the present are those nations who, under the favoring gales of commerce, the fostering economies of freedom, and the unwavering faith in the guidance of Providence, bear the blessings of varied industry to distant realms and bring back to their own the magnificent fruits of ceaseless interchange. Happy that nation whose poet can raise his voice to herald the hope and humanity of its institutions in the grandeur of the familiar symbol of Longfellow:

“Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!”

Amid this divided marine dominion, in which one power alone has half the rule of the ocean, shall America sit scepterless and forlorn—dethroned, ignoble, dispirited, and disgraced? The ensign of our nationality takes its stars from the vault of heaven. By them brave men sail. It is now an unknown emblem upon the sea. We welcome every race to our shores in the vessels of other nations. Our enormous surplus, which feeds the world, is for others to bear away. We gaze at the leviathans of commerce entering our harbors and darkening our sky with the pennons of smoke; but the thunder of the engines is under another flag and the shouting of the captains is in an alien tongue. Others distribute the produce, capitalize the moneys, gather the glories, and elevate their institutions by the amenities and benignities of commerce, and we, boasting of our invention, heroism, and freedom, allow the jailers of a hated and selfish policy to place gyves upon our energy, and when we ask for liberty to build and for liberty to buy imprison our genius in the sight of these splendid achievements.

Mr. Speaker, if you would that we should once more fly our ensign upon the sea, assist us to take off the burdens from our navigation and give to us the first, last, and best—the indispensable condition of civilization by commerce—liberty.

THOMAS STARR KING



THOMAS STARR KING, American Unitarian clergyman, orator, and author, the son of a Universalist clergyman, was born at New York city, Dec. 16, 1824, and died at San Francisco, March 4, 1864. After the death of his father he was, in 1840, appointed an assistant teacher in a school at Charlestown, Mass. In 1842, while principal of a school in West Medford, Mass., he studied for the Universalist ministry under Hosea Ballou, and after a few years spent in preaching at Boston and its neighborhood was ordained pastor of the Hollis Street Unitarian church in the latter city, where he remained eleven years. During this period his remarkable eloquence made him one of the most popular preachers in Boston, while on the lecture platform he was highly successful. Among his lectures those on "Substance and Show," "Socrates," and "Sight and Insight" were perhaps the most generally popular. In 1860, he accepted a call to a Unitarian church in San Francisco, where he met with much success. In the political canvass of 1860 he urged with great eloquence the paramount duty of supporting the Union cause, and to his patriotic efforts the preservation of California to the Union at that period may be said to be due. While the Civil War was in progress, he was active in behalf of the sanitary commission. He was an enthusiastic lover of nature and was one of the first to direct public attention to the beauties of the Yosemite Valley and of the White Mountains of New Hampshire. San Francisco preserves his memory by a statue erected in 1889 in the Golden Gate Park in that city. He was the author of "The White Hills: their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry" (1859); "Patriotism and Other Papers" (1865); "Christianity and Humanity" (1877); and "Substance and Show, and Other Lectures" (1877).

ON THE PRIVILEGE AND DUTIES OF PATRIOTISM

FROM AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE "SUMMER LIGHT GUARD"
NOVEMBER 18, 1862

LET us waste no words in introduction or preface. I am to speak to you of the privilege and duties of American patriotism.

First the privilege. Patriotism is love of country. It is a privilege that we are capable of such a sentiment. Self-love is the freezing point in the temperature of the world. As the heart is kindled and ennobled it pours out feeling and