Acheson, Dean: on Hull’s reciprocal trade agreement commitment, 422–23; multilateral trade agreement role of, 458–59, 462–63, 476, 478, 505; reciprocal trade agreement role of, 466, 468, 469, 470

Adams, John: on cessation of trade, 46; commercial negotiations of 1784–86 by, 51–54; reciprocal trade agreements stance of, 97, 98; on tariffs, 46; trade policy philosophy of, 68; treaty plan of 1776 by, 46


Adams-McLane compromise, 171–72

ad valorem duties: controversy over, 155; definition and description of, 5; Fordney-McCumber Tariff on, 352; Founding Fathers’ approach to, 73, 77, 80, 84, 99; post-World War II decline in, 485, 491; pre-Civil War replacement of, 206, 207, 210; reciprocal trade agreements affecting, 441; Underwood-Simmons Tariff changes to, 335–36, 338; Walker Tariff [1846] inclusion of, 187–88, 191, 199; Wilson-Gorman Tariff [1894] changes to, 291

Advanced Micro Devices, 608

AFL-CIO: Burke-Hartke bill backing by, 541; fast track opposition by, 657; NAFTA opposition by, 628, 633, 636, 640; 1950s trade policy stance of, 523, 540; 1960s trade policy stance of, 541, 549–50, 553; Trade Act [1974] opposition of, 549–50, 553; trade adjustment assistance stance of, 523, 553. See also American Federation of Labor (AFL); Congress of Industrial Organizations

African Growth and Opportunity Act [2000], 662

Agricultural Adjustment Act, 418, 419–20, 511

agricultural products: American System impacts on, 143; antebellum period importance of, 193; “chicken war” over, 525; China trade relations and, 665; colonial era trade of, 32–34, 35–37, 43, 44–45; cotton as [see cotton]; deflation affecting prices of, 350; domestic price supports for, 368–69, 511, 516, 583–85, 650; drought affecting, 399; economic geography of, 3, 10–17, 18–20, 23, 238; election of 1928 addressing, 372–73; embargoes affecting prices of, 104–6; European Economic Community policy on, 525, 528–29, 530, 550, 557, 583–84, 585, 610, 646, 650, 653–54, 661; export debenture program for, 376, 380, 384, 401, 732n4; export of surplus, 368–69; farm debt and foreclosures affecting, 367; Founding Fathers’ stance on, 72, 92; Great Depression-era decline of, 399; independence and trade in, 50; industrial era changes in, 280, 281–82, 283, 284; McNary-Haugen bill addressing, 368–69; multilateral trade agreements addressing, 479, 480–81, 483, 516, 556–57,
agricultural products (continued)
Airbus, 655
Allison, William, 229, 261
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 493
American Apparel Manufacturers Association, 621
American Bankers Association, 493
American Bar Association, 504
“American Commercial Invasion,” 299
American Cotton Manufacturers Institute [ACMI], 525
American Cotton Shippers Association, 445
American Export Association, 302
American Express, 639, 652
American Farm Bureau Federation, 369, 467, 493, 504, 524, 582
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 243, 342, 493, 518. See also AFL-CIO
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees [AFSCME], 633
American Free Trade League, 246, 248
American Iron and Steel Association, 239, 246
American Mining Congress, 445
American Molasses Co., 415
American Protective Tariff League, 342
American Selling Price, 528, 530–31, 532
Americans for Democratic Action, 633
American Sugar Refining Company, 314
American System: Compromise of 1833 to protect, 178–81; controversy over, 140–47, 158–60, 163–64, 170–71; definition and description of, 25, 141–43; election of 1828 debate over, 148; election of 1844 debate over, 186; internal improvement projects and, 158–59, 711n74; Tariff of 1828 impact on, 153
American Tariff League, 443, 504
American Tobacco, 314, 315
American valuation provision, 352, 354
Anderson, Clinton, 481
Annapolis Convention, 61
antebellum period: cost-benefit analysis of tariffs in, 194–98; elasticity of substitution in, 198–200; industrialization in, 196–98; protection and, 193–202
antitrust laws, 315, 724n85
Apple, 671
Appleton, Nathan, 134
Argentina: agricultural industry in, 646; foreign exchange controls in, 405; reciprocal trade agreements with, 307–8, 438, 440, 449
Armour, 302
Arrears of Pension Act [1879], 243
Arthur, Chester, 233, 235, 236, 237
Articles of Confederation: amendment of, 56–57, 58, 60, 61; Annapolis Convention on, 61; Constitution of 1787 replac-
ing, 61–67; floundering under, 54–61; legislative powers under, 52 [see also Confederation Congress]
Ashurst, Henry, 384
Asian financial crisis [1997–98], 661, 684
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation [APEC], 662, 684–85
Atkinson, George, 237
Atlantic Charter, 459
Audacity of Hope, The [Obama], 681
Audubon Society, 633
Australia: agricultural industry in, 646; British trade agreements with, 407; multilateral trade agreements with, 474, 480–81; reciprocal trade agreements with, 438, 676, 677, 678
Austria: banking crisis (1931) in, 404; European Free Trade Association involvement of, 520; foreign exchange controls in, 405
automobile industry: China trade relations and, 684; NAFTA application to, 630; 1980s trade policy on, 570, 573, 574–77, 592, 593, 594, 600, 619–20, 757n23, 759n53
Automobile Manufacturers Association, 445
Autor, David H., 667
average tariff: China trade relations effects on, 667; Civil War era changes to, 211, 213; deflation affecting, 390–91; Dingley Tariff [1897] increase in, 296; Fordney-McCumber Tariff increase in, 356, 390; Founding Fathers’ changes to, 80; Hawley-Smoot Tariff affecting, 375, 389–91, 394, 398; highest level of, 125, 154, 734n6; historical fluctuations in, 5–8, 190–91; on manufactured vs. agricultural products, 368; McKinley Tariff changes to, 265, 268, 390; multilateral trade agreements affecting, 485, 486–88, 529–30, 555, 652–53, 745nn85–86; objectives of setting, 4, 5–9; Payne-Aldrich Tariff effects on, 326; post-Civil War changes in, 222, 229, 249, 253, 255, 260; post-War of 1812 increase in, 125, 126; post-World War II decline of, 484–88, 491; pre-Civil War changes to, 205, 210, 211; reciprocal trade agreements affecting, 439, 441, 485; reduction of, 176; Tariff of 1824 increase in, 145; Tariff of 1842 increase in, 184; 2016 levels of, 691; Underwood-Simmons Tariff changes to, 336, 338, 347; as useful measure, 699–700n9; Walker Tariff [1846] reduction to, 189; Wilson-Gorman Tariff [1894] effects on, 293; World War I-era, 347
Bacon, Ezekiel, 113, 114
Bahrain, reciprocal trade agreements with, 676, 678, 679
Bailey, Joseph, 325
Bailey, Michael A., 519
Baker, James, 605–6, 611, 617–18, 627
Baldrige, Malcolm, 576
Baldwin, Henry/Baldwin tariff bill, 138, 139, 142
Baldwin, Robert, 594
Ball, George, 523, 525, 524–25
Ball, Joseph, 452
Bank of the United States, 84, 136
banks: Crisis of 1819 failure of, 399; industrial era growth of, 279–80; National Banking Acts [1863, 1864] on, 279; Panic of 1819 affecting, 136; Panic of 1873 role of, 231; Panic of 1893 affecting, 288, 289; Panic of 1930 affecting, 397; post-War of 1812 status of, 136; savings in, 279–80; tariff stance of, 386
Barbour, Philip, 141
Baring Brothers, 288
Barkley, Alben, 428
Barney, John, 149–50
Barrows, Geoffrey, 653
Barshefsky, Charlene, 664
Baucus, Max, 623
Bayard, Thomas O., 610, 624
Beale, Howard K., 222, 237
Beck, James, 243
Becker, William H., 302
Belgium: European Economic Community involvement of, 520; foreign exchange controls in, 405; multilateral trade agreements with, 482–83; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440
Belohlavek, John, 4
Bensel, Richard F., 244
Benton, Thomas, 167, 178, 179
Bentsen, Lloyd, 600, 617, 637, 639
Berglund, Abraham, 271, 272, 355
Bergsten, C. Fred, 690
Berthoff, Rowland T., 286
Bilaterial trade agreements. See reciprocal trade agreements

Billion Dollar Congress, 269, 287, 288

Bipartisan Trade Promotion Authority Act [2001], 675

“birdcage” phenomenon, 494

Blaine, James: on Democratic tariff position, 203; on Internal Revenue Act, 212; on protectionism, 232; reciprocity movement spearheaded by, 303-5, 306-7; on Republican tariff position, 205, 209, 269

Blair House agreement, 650

Blumenthal, Michael, 529

Boeing, 652, 655

Bolivia, foreign exchange controls in, 405

Bonior, David, 637, 640, 641, 657, 665

Bonker, Don, 601

Borah, William: agricultural tariff stance of, 373, 378-79, 380, 381; progressive movement leadership of, 311, 312, 323; reciprocal trade agreement stance of, 428

Boston Manufacturing Company, 134

Boston Tea Party, 43-44

bounties. See subsidies

boycotts, 31, 40-41, 42-43, 59

Bradley, Bill, 618

Brazil: agricultural industry in, 646; antidumping duties on imports from, 588; countervailing duties petitions against, 610; foreign unfair trade practices claims against, 607, 623; multilateral trade agreements with, 474, 655; reciprocal trade agreements with, 434, 440; steel industry exports of, 578

Breese, Sidney, 192

Briggs, George, 181

Bristow, Joseph, 323

Broadberry, Stephen N., 281, 282-83

Brock, William, 576, 603, 615

Brougham, Henry, 126, 709n3

Brown, Roger H., 55

Brown, Winthrop, 478

Bryan, William Jennings, 294-95, 321

Bryant, William Cullen, 210

Buchanan, James, 205, 206-7, 209

Buchanan, Pat, 631, 641

Buel, Richard, 50

Bureau of Labor Statistics, 540-41

Burgess, William, 359

Burke, James, 540

Burke-Hartke bill, 540-42, 547

Burns, Arthur, 544

Burrows, Julius, 265


Bush, George W.: China trade relations under, 670; in election of 2000, 672; multilateral trade agreements under, 674-76; reciprocal and free trade agreements under, 672-81, 684-85; trade-promotion authority for, 674-75, 680

Butler, Hugh, 475, 477

Butler, Michael A., 422

Butler, Pierce, 76

Buy America Act, 528

Byrd amendment, 768-69n86

Byrnes, James, 474

Cairns group, 646

Calhoun, John: Compromise of 1833 support by, 179-80; doctrine of nullification by, 166; “Exposition and Protest” by, 159, 166; on South's resistance to tariffs, 162-63; tariff stance of, 130, 134, 147, 152-53, 154, 159-60, 165-66, 172, 184-85; as “War Hawk,” 117, 118, 120

California gold rush [1849], 202, 203

Canada: agricultural industry in, 585, 646; antidumping duties on imports from, 588; automobile industry in, 575; British trade agreements with, 401, 402, 407; countervailing duties petitions against, 610; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 400, 401-3, 407, 423; McKinley Tariff [1890] affecting, 269; multilateral trade agreements with, 471-72, 483; North American Free Trade Agreement with, 8, 21, 626-44, 676, 686, 763n6, 766n48; oil imports from, 517, 631; reciprocal trade agreements with, 8, 20, 21, 306, 328-29, 438, 440, 465, 615-18, 635-44, 676, 678, 686, 714n46, 761-62nn106-13, 763n6, 766n48; steel industry exports of, 578; US-Canada Free Trade Agreement with, 20, 615-18, 630, 676, 761-62nn106-13; War of 1812 and expansion into, 118, 120
Cannon, Joseph: income tax stance of, 325; tariff stance of, 287, 315, 318, 319, 322, 326

capital owner interests: economic and political geography divisiveness of, 16–17; foreign investment of, 566–67, 630–31, 647; tariff elimination benefiting, 195

Capper, Arthur, 429

Caraway, Thaddeus, 391

Carey, Henry: free trade opposition by, 202, 206; Harmony of Interests by, 248; Lincoln opposition by, 210, 214; Principles of Social Science by, 248; tariff stance of, 202, 206, 210, 214, 224, 225, 227, 247–48; Wells’s relationship with, 224, 225, 227

Carey, Mathew, 136–37, 153, 171

Caribbean Basin Initiative (1983), 585

Carlisle, John, 258

Carnegie, Andrew, 285, 317

Carter, Jimmy: China relations under, 663–64; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade under, 557–58; orderly marketing arrangements under, 561–62, 563; Trade Act (1974) under, 560; trigger-price mechanism under, 563–64, 573

Castlereagh, Lord (Robert Stewart), 119

Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), 676, 677–79, 681–82, 772n127

Central Intelligence Agency, 495

Ceylon, multilateral trade agreements with, 474

Chamberlain, Neville, 438

Chamber of Commerce, 342, 445, 467, 493, 503, 634

Chase, Salmon, 210, 211

Cheney, Richard, 672

“chicken war,” 525

Chile: multilateral trade agreements with, 474; reciprocal trade agreements with, 449, 676, 677, 678, 685

China: antidumping duties on imports from, 588, 671; foreign exchange rates with, 669–70, 770nn105–6; global trade expansion in, 663–72; import surge from, 666–72; most-favored-nation status of, 663–66, 667; multilateral trade agreements with, 474, 664; Open Door notes on trade with, 306, 723n32; Permanent Normal Trade Relations with, 664–66, 667; sugar exports to, 585–86; textile exports from, 653, 667–68, 770n108; TPP noninvolvement of, 685; trade deficits with, 669; 2000s US trade policy toward, 666–72, 686–87, 769–70nn93–97, 770nn105–6, 770n108; WTO involvement of, 662, 664, 666

Choate, Rufus, 180

Chrysler, 574, 575, 630

Churchill, Winston, 459

Civil War, US: cost of, 211; national debt from, 213, 221; North-South trade war during, 215–18; slavery as central issue of, 211; tariff policy changes due to, 7, 210–18; tariff policy preceding, 203–10; tariff policy reform struggles following, 221–31; trade policy realignment due to, 2, 7, 8, 176

Clarfield, Gerard, 85, 86

Clark, Champ, 327


Clayton, Will: on European economic recovery, 497; multilateral trade agreement role of, 473, 474, 475–76, 478, 480–82, 497, 501, 744n74; Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act support from, 464, 466–67; retirement of, 504

Cleveland, Grover: Democratic Party alienated by, 292–93; in election of 1884, 257; in election of 1888, 262–63; in election of 1892, 287–88; income tax stance of, 290; Panic of 1893 under, 288–89; silver act repeal under, 289; tariff vs. free trade stance of, 257–60, 262, 263, 288–90, 292–93; veteran pension benefit reform under, 244, 257, 718n74

Cline, William R., 580

Clinton, Bill [continued]
764n15–16; post-NAFTA politics under, 655–62; results-oriented trade policy under, 624
Clinton, Hillary, 686
Clymer, George, 65
Coble, Howard, 670
Coca Cola, 585
Coercive Acts (1774), 44
Collier, James, 409
Colombia: antidumping duties on imports from, 588; foreign exchange controls in, 405; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 676, 678, 680, 681, 684
colonial era: Boston Tea Party in, 43–44; boycotts in, 31, 40–41, 42–43; Coercive Acts (1774) in, 44; Declaration of Rights and Grievances in, 44; Declaration of Rights in, 39–40; Declaratory Act in, 41; First Continental Congress in, 44; independence in, 37, 45, 46; Navigation Acts in, 35–38, 44; non-exportation movement in, 44–45; non-importation movement in, 40–43, 44–45; Prohibitory Act in, 46; Second Continental Congress in, 46–47; Seven Years War in, 38; Stamp Act (1765) in, 39–41; Stamp Act Congress in, 39–40; Sugar Act (1764) in, 39, 41; tax burden shift in, 38–45; Tea Act (1773) in, 43, 44; trade and, 31–34, 70
Commission on Foreign Economic Policy [Randall Commission], 513–14
Commodity Credit Corporation, 744n68, 744n70
Commons, John R., 383
communism: collapse of, 626, 665; 1950s trade policy in response to, 495, 497–98
Compromise of 1833, 7, 176–84, 211, 713n4
Compromise of 1850, 204
Compromise of 1877, 232
Confederation Congress: Annapolis Convention on, 61; Articles of Confederation authorizing, 52 [see also Articles of Confederation]; commercial negotiations of 1784–86 authorized by, 51–54; Constitution of 1787 changing authority of, 61–67 [see also Congress]; floundering by, 54–61; revenue raising attempts by, 54–57, 61; trade regulation restrictions on, 51, 52, 54–61
Act (1979) addressed in, 558; Trade and Tariff Act (1984) addressed in, 598–99; Trade Expansion Act (1962) addressed in, 521–27; trade policy role of, 2, 17–21, 67; trade-promotion authority addressed in, 674–75, 680, 685; “War Hawks” in, 117–19, 120; War of 1812 declaration by, 119–20; Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” address to, 344–45. See also Confederation Congress; First Continental Congress; House of Representatives; Second Continental Congress; Senate

Congressional Black Caucus, 633
Congressional Budget Office, 591–93
Congressional Steel Caucus, 579, 621
Congressional Textile Caucus, 583, 621
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 467, 493, 518. See also AFL-CIO

Connally, John, 539, 543, 544, 546, 605
Constitution, US: commerce clause in, 65–67; Constitution of 1787 revision to, 61–67, 68, 703–4179; embargo violation of, 112; export taxes prohibited in, 5, 63–64; income tax under, 294, 327, 338–39; power distribution in, 17–18, 235; prohibition under, 729n47; slavery/slave trade addressed in, 63, 64–66, 703–4179; tariff powers under, 161, 166

consumers: domestic producers conflicting interests with, 13, 20, 146–47; protection and income transfers of, 251–53

containerization, 534–35
Cook, Orchard, 112–13
Coolidge, Calvin, 359–60, 366, 369, 371
Cooper, Jere, 453
Cooper, Richard, 507
Cooper, Thomas, 161

corruption: special interest groups and, 239–40, 337; tariff system and perceived, 245, 246, 312, 337; veteran pension system and, 257

Costa Rica, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 677
Costigan, Edward, 360, 415
cost of living, tariff effects on, 312–13, 321, 323
cost-of-production equalization, 320, 326–27, 328, 336, 352, 356–58, 361, 389, 570, 730n75
cotton: agricultural price supports for, 369; American System impacts on, 143, 144; antebellum period of, 194–95; Civil War and, 216–17; cotton gin processing, 131–32; economic geography of, 3, 11–14, 18–20, 238; embargoes affecting prices of, 104–6; export taxes on, 194–95, 216–17; post-Civil War market power of, 253; post-War of 1812 exports of, 125, 131–32; recession lowering prices of, 136, 160; subsidies for, 511; tariffs on, 129, 142, 511
countervailing duties: China imports as target of, 671; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade addressing, 556, 648; Hawley-Smoot Tariff triggering, 401; 1980s increase in petitions for, 578, 587, 610, 621; steel industry petitions on, 563–64, 578, 587; Walker Tariff [1846] on, 188

Cox, Samuel, 245
Coxe, Tench, 87
Cripps, Stafford, 481–82
Crisis of 1839, 183, 202
Crisp, Charles, 290, 305
Cruccini, Mario J., 399
Cuba: Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 400, 404; reciprocal trade agreements with, 433, 440, 725n96; trade with, generally, 297, 306, 404, 479
Cummins, Albert, 323, 325
customs services: customs duties collected by [see tariffs entries]; Founding Fathers’ establishment of, 77–78; relocation of, in South Carolina, 178
Czechoslovakia: foreign exchange controls in, 405; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 446
Dallas, Alexander, 127–29, 138
Dallas, George, 189
Danforth, John, 576, 598–99, 617
Davis, John, 180
Davis, Joseph H., 198, 199
deadweight loss, 194, 253, 284, 590–91, 714n36
Declaration of Independence, 46
Declaratory Act, 41
Declaration of Rights, 39–40
Declaration of Rights and Grievances, 44
Declaratory Act, 41
deflation: average tariff affected by, 390–91; Crisis of 1839 leading to, 183; 1893–98, 289, 294, 305, 722n26. See also Great Depression, recessions
deindustrialization, 569, 572, 596, 599
De Melo, Jaime, 590, 591, 592
DeMint, Jim, 659, 771n121
Deng Xiaoping, 663
Denmark: European Free Trade Association involvement of, 530; foreign exchange controls in, 405; gold standard abandoned by, 405
Dependent Pension Act (1890), 243
depressions: Crisis of 1839 leading to, 183; 1893–98, 289, 294, 305, 722n26. See also Great Depression, recessions
Destler, I. M., 600, 601–2
Diamond Match, 314
Dickerson, Oliver M., 38
Diebold, William, Jr., 527
Dillon, C. Douglas, 498, 730n33
Dillon, Samuel, 644
Dingell, John, 4, 597, 610
Dingley, Nelson, 295
Dingley Tariff (1897), 295–96, 303, 307, 314, 315
Dirksen, Everett, 530
“dirty tariffication,” 654
Disability and Dependent Pension Act, 268
Dole, Robert, 598
“dollar shortage” problem, 496–97
dollar valuation. See foreign exchange rates
Dolliver, Jonathan, 323
domestic producers: agricultural products of [see agricultural products]; American System approach to [see American System]; American valuation provision on prices of, 352, 354; antebellum period growth of, 193, 196–98, 200–201; automobile industry as [see automobile industry]; categories of, 128; consumers conflicting interests with, 13, 20, 146–47; economy geography of [see economic geography]; elasticity of substitution for, 194–95, 198–200, 253–54, 283; embargoes affecting growth of, 107, 132; exports of [see exports]; foreign relocation of production of, 542, 559, 570–71, 633; Founding Fathers’ stance toward, 72, 74, 75, 80–87, 121–24, 126–27; industrialization among, 196–98, 276–87, 289; infant industries development among, 9, 75, 121–24, 126–27, 131, 259–60, 269–75, 719–20nn105–9; international spillovers of knowledge for, 272–73, 274, 286, 720n109; iron and steel industries as [see iron and steel industries]; manufactured products of [see manufactured products]; monopolies among, 313–15, 724n85; post-War of 1812 imports affecting, 126–31, 133; price fluctuations for, 201–2; production costs of, 320, 326–27, 328, 336, 352, 356–58, 361, 389, 570, 730n75; protection of [see protectionism; restrictions on imports]; raw material access for, 271, 300–301; Report on Manufactures [Hamilton] on, 80–87; subsidies for [see subsidies]; tariffs contingent on performance of, 268; tariffs promotion of, 82, 84–87, 123–24, 131, 136–37, 259–60, 269–75, 719–20nn105–9; taxation of, 212, 213, 221–22, 235; textile industry as [see cotton textile industry; woolen textile industry]. See also specific industries
Dominican Republic, reciprocal trade agreements with, 676, 677
Dorn, David, 667
Dornbusch, Rudiger, 398
Doughton, Robert, 417, 425, 426, 444, 445, 467
Douglas, Paul H., 26, 494, 526
Downey, Thomas, 602
dumping prohibitions. See antidumping provisions
Dunkel, Arthur, 614, 648–49, 650, 767n64
duties. See tariffs entries
duty-free products: Democratic Party stance on, 321, 334; Fordney-McCumber Tariff on, 352; Founding Fathers’ approach to, 77; free trade allowances for [see free trade]; Great Depression-era decline of, 395; inter-state allowances for, 56; McKinley Tariff changes to, 266; post-Civil War levels of, 249; pre-Civil War allowances for, 204; reciprocal trade agreements on, 304; tariffs not imposed on, 5–6, 7–8; Underwood-Simmons Tariff on, 334, 337, 338; Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894) changes to, 291
Dye, Alan, 404
East: agricultural industry position of, 369–70; congressional representation of, 19; NAFTA stance in, 642; protectionism stance in, 598; tariff stance in, 15–16, 311–12, 354–55, 376–78
East India Company, 43–44
Eckes, Alfred, 507
economic crises. See depressions; recessions; and specific panics and crises
economic geography: legislative powers reflecting, 18–20; political party stances reflecting, 21–23, 659–60; political party strength based on, 237–38; tariffs in relation to, 13, 14–16, 17, 18, 20, 146, 155–57, 238; trade policy stability due to, 3, 10–17
Ecuador, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 446

elasticity of substitution, 194–95, 198–200, 201, 253–34, 283

Elkins, Stanley M., 75

Elliott, Kimberly Ann, 610, 624

Ellsworth, Oliver, 65

El Salvador, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 677

embargoes: Civil War era, 216; colonial era, 42–43, 45, 46; domestic producer growth due to, 107, 132; end or repeal of, 111–15, 116; enforcement of, 108–12; Fordney-McCumber Tariff proposing, 354; Founding Fathers’ enactment and repeal of, 95, 99–116, 117, 119, 120–21, 707–8n116; War of 1812 and, 120–21

Emergency Tariff (1921), 351, 361, 368

Emery, Henry C., 726n127

employment issues. See labor interests and labor unions; unemployment

Environmental Defense Fund, 633

environmental issues: China trade relations and, 665; NAFTA and, 628, 632–33, 638, 764–65n19; 2000s trade agreements addressing, 680

Equality for Agriculture [Peek and Johnson], 367

European Economic Community (EEC): agricultural industry in, 525, 528–29, 530, 550, 557, 583–84, 585, 610, 646, 650, 653–54, 661; Common Agricultural Policy of, 525, 530, 550, 557, 584, 610, 646; countervailing duties petitions against, 610; export subsidies in, 556, 583–84; foreign exchange rate issues with, 605; foreign unfair trade practices claims against, 607, 610; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade stance of, 528–33, 555–57; 1950s trade policy affected by, 519–21, 1960s trade policy affected by, 522, 525, 528–33; 1970s trade policy affected by, 548–49, 550, 555–57, 563; 1980s trade policy affected by, 578, 583–84, 585, 607, 610; orderly marketing arrangements with, 563; steel industry exports of, 537, 548–49, 563, 578

European Free Trade Association [EFTA], 520

European Payments Union, 519

European Union [EU], Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership with, 685–86

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 633

Evans, John W., 530

exchange rates. See foreign exchange rates

excise taxes, 78, 99, 214

executive branch. See president/executive branch

Export Enhancement Program, 584, 646, 649

Export–Import Bank, 434, 699n5

exports: of agricultural surpluses, 368–69; American Commercial Invasion via, 299; American System effects on, 144–45; antebellum period levels of, 193; “birdcage” phenomenon with, 494; Civil War impacts on, 211, 216–17; colonial era, 32–34, 35–37, 42, 44–46, 701n7; commercial negotiations of 1784–86 on, 51–54; commodity composition of, 14–15; Constitution of 1787 on, 63–64; economic geography of, 19–20, 238; 1890s growth in, 297, 298–302, 305; embargoes affecting, 103–7, 117; export debenture program on, 376, 380, 384, 401, 732n14; foreign retaliation against, 400–410; Founding Fathers’ stance on, 77, 91–92, 99, 103–6, 116–17, 120–21; GDP ratio to, 106, 211, 249, 451, 559, 567; Great Depression-era decline of, 394, 396; imports interdependence with, 13, 194, 195; independence and markets for, 48–51; Navigation Acts on, 35–37; New Deal-era effects on, 418; 1980s changes in, 566–69, 572, 576–95, 613; non-exportation movement on, 44–45; orderly marketing arrangements on, 557, 561–62, 563, 622; post-Civil War market power of, 253; post-War of 1812 increase in, 125, 131–32; post-World War II levels of, 492–93, 496–97, 498–99; quotas for, 524–25, 532, 548, 590, 648, 653; raw material access affecting, 300–301; reciprocal trade agreements expanding, 297, 302, 303–10, 432, 439, 442, 445; re-exported products as, 77, 91–92, 99, 104; Revolutionary War era, 46–47; special

Faddis, Charles, 427

farming. See agricultural products

Faulkner, William, 511

Federalist Papers: on Constitution of 1787, 66–67; Federalist 10 [Madison], 1; Federalist 11 [Hamilton], 67; Federalist 35 [Hamilton], 86; on tariffs, 86; on trade policy factions, 1


Federal Reserve: creation of, 348, 727n23; Great Depression role of, 397, 398–99; interest rate changes by, 381, 397, 565; New Deal-era monetary policy changes by, 417–18; post-World War I monetary policy of, 348

Federal Sugar Refining Company, 337

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, 242–43

Feis, Herbert, 418, 437

Fetter, Frank, 18, 26, 389

Fillmore, Millard, 191

financial services industry: Crisis of 1838 failure of, 183; economic crises from excessive lending in, 202; economic geography of, 11; industrial era growth of, 279–80; Panic of 1819 affecting, 136; Panic of 1857 role of, 206; Panic of 1873 role of, 231; post-War of 1812 status of, 136; savings in, 279–80; stock market crash [1929] in, 381, 733n28; stock marke


See also banks

Finger, J. Michael, 526, 589

Finkelman, Paul, 63

Finland: gold standard abandoned by, 405; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440

First Continental Congress, 44

fiscal policy, 137, 566

Fischer, Stanley, 398

flexible tariff provisions, 356–61, 376, 380, 384, 409, 427, 730n74, 733n36

Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, 641

Foley, Mark, 679

Foley, Thomas, 642

Foraker, Joseph, 9

Force Bill, 177, 178

Ford, Gerald, 551–55, 560

Ford, Henry C., II, 493

Fordham, Benjamin O., 494

Ford Motor Company, 493, 574, 575, 630

Fordney, Joseph, 349, 352, 353


foreign exchange controls: multilateral trade agreements addressing, 462, 474, 486, 489; 1930s increases in, 423; 1950s lifting of, 519; world trading system collapse and, 405–6

foreign exchange rates: China trade expansion and, 669–70, 770n105–6; controls on [see foreign exchange controls]; fixed, 397, 542, 547, 566, 669; floating, 566; 1970s trade policy and problems with, 542–49; 1980s-era dollar valuation and, 565–72, 599, 605, 613, 619, 760–61nn82–83; nominal exchange-rate appreciation, 250

foreign policy: anticommunist, 495, 497–98, 518–19; foreign exchange rate issues and, 546; isolationist, 348, 351, 438, 446, 450, 452, 498–99; multilateral trade agreements and, 456, 482, 1950s trade policy and, 512–13, 516–19; 1960s trade policy and, 522; 1980s trade policy and,
foreign policy (continued)

581; 1990s trade policy and, 628–29, 638, 640, 664; post-World War II shifts of, 450, 452, 495–99; reciprocal trade agreements and, 297, 303, 420–21, 438, 446–54, 463–64, 468, 499, 501, 676; tariff policies affecting, 297–98, 400–410, 423, 735n89; 2000s trade policy and, 676, 685. See also specific wars

foreign producers: imports from [see imports]; US-based production of, 622

foreign unfair trade practices: Jefferson’s views of, 110–11; 1960s trade policy addressing, 531, 532; 1970s trade policy addressing, 545, 550; 1980s trade policy addressing, 579, 589, 600, 602, 606–10, 623–24; 1990s trade policy addressing, 624

Foster, John W., 304–5
Foster, Thomas, 181


“Fourteen Points” address, 344–45

Fox, Charles James, 49

France: British 1793 war with, 91–93; British 1803–15 war with, 99–100; commercial negotiations of 1784–86 with, 51, 53–54; European Economic Community involvement of, 520; export subsidies in, 556; foreign exchange rate with, 543; Founding Fathers’ philosophy on relations with, 88, 89–93, 98, 99–100, 116; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade involvement of, 328, 556; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 400, 403; import restrictions in, 405; independence and trade with, 50; maximum-minimum tariff schedules of, 362; Meline Tariff (1892) in, 306; non-intercourse law on trade ban with, 116; reciprocal trade agreements with, 306, 307–8, 435, 440; Treaty of Amity and Commerce with, 47

Frank, Charles R., 541
Franklin, Benjamin, 48, 68–69

Freelhling, William, 163

Free trade: American Free Trade League supporting, 246, 248; Bush [G. W.] administration policies on, 672, 676–81; Central American Free Trade Agreement on, 676, 677–79, 681–82, 722n127; Cleveland stance on, 260, 262; Confederate stance on, 215; European, 520; Founding Fathers’ philosophy on, 68–73; Free Trade Area of the Americas on, 662, 672, 676, 769n88; Free Trade Convention for, 168–69, 171; intellectual and academic positions on, 247–49; North American Free Trade Agreement on [see North American Free Trade Agreement]; patriotism perceived as conflict with, 247; political geography and support for, 659–60; Reagan administration policies on, 20, 573, 576, 610–11, 615–18, 626, 757n23; reciprocal agreements for, 139, 672, 676–81; tariff reform for, 171, 189–90, 202; US-Canada Free Trade Agreement on, 20, 615–18, 630, 676, 761–62nn106–13

Free Trade Area of the Americas [FTAA], 662, 672, 676, 769n88

Free Trade Club of New York, 331

French and Indian War, 38

Frenzel, William, 611

Friedman, Milton, 397

Friends of the Earth, 633

Gage, Thomas, 40

Gallatin, Albert: embargo stance of, 102, 108–11; Report on Manufactures by, 123, 132; tariff recommendation of, 169, 171

Gap, 582

Garfield, James, 229, 237, 248

Garner, John, 374, 377, 385–86, 392, 739n83

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]: dispute settlement for, 644, 648–49, 654–55, 661–62, 673; enactment of, 8, 691–92; European Economic Community conformity with, 521; multilat-

General Electric, 652

Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), 552, 554, 556, 627, 635, 676

General Motors, 574, 575, 630

General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money (Keynes), 457

geography. See economic geography; political geography; and specific regions (e.g., North, the)


Germany: automobile industry in, 574; Berlin Wall fall in, 626; countervailing duties petitions against, 610; European Economic Community involvement of, 520; export subsidies in, 556; foreign exchange controls in, 404–5; foreign exchange rate with, 543, 545, 546; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade involvement of, 556; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 403, 408, 423; maximum-minimum tariff schedules of, 362; most-favored-nation status with, 365; reciprocal trade agreements with, 306, 307, 434, 438; steel industry exports of, 537; World War I and, 343–44

Gibbons, Sam, 617, 620

Gingrich, Newt, 639, 637

Glassie, Henry H., 359

globalization: expansion of global trade and, 663–72; income inequality and, 687; NAFTA and, 632; protectionism avoidance and, 683–84

gold rush (1849), 202, 203

gold standard: abandonment of, 397, 405–6, 417–18; deflation and, 247, 264, 294, 397; 1893–98 depression rooted in, 294, 722n26; as election of 1896 issue, 294–95; foreign exchange rate valuations and, 230, 542–44; Great Depression affected by, 397, 398–99, 404–5, 736n13; inflation and, 313, 348; Panic of 1893 and, 288–89; world trading system collapse and, 404–6; World War I affecting, 339, 348

Goldstein, Judith L., 486

Gompers, Samuel, 243

Gore, Al, 640

Gorham, Nathaniel, 63, 65

Gorman, Arthur, 291, 292–93

Gotlieb, Allan, 617, 618

Grady, Henry, 437, 442

Graham, Lindsay, 670

Grand Army of the Union, 243

Grant, Ulysses S., 329–31, 339–40

Great Depression: collapse of trade during, 394–400; election of 1932 outcome influenced by, 413–17; Hawley-Smoot Tariff association with, 25, 26, 371, 394–400, 413; monetary policy effects on, 397, 398–99, 404–6, 736n13; New Deal-era rebound from, 417–23; Panic of 1930 affecting, 397; political realignment following, 413; stock market crash (1929) precipitating, 381, 733n28; tariff policy changes due to, 8, 423; trade policy realignment due to, 2, 8–9; world trading system collapse and, 404–5

“Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” 408, 423

Great Tariff Debate of 1888, 254–63

Greece, foreign exchange controls in, 405

 Greeley, Horace, 230

Greenpeace, 633

Grew, Joseph, 469–70

gross domestic product (GDP): Civil War cost as percentage of, 211; colonial-era, 701n7; deadweight loss as percentage of, 253, 284, 714n36; exports as percentage of, 106, 211, 249, 451, 559, 567; federal spending as percentage of, 194; Great Depression-era decline of, 394, 395–96, 399; imports as percentage of, 34, 195, 249, 285, 451, 492, 534, 549, 559, 567, 603,
gross domestic product (GDP) (continued)
666, 714n36; income transfers as percentage of, 251; industrial era changes of, 277, 278, 283; manufacturing sector as percentage of, 196, 569–70; national debt as percentage of, 221; tariff revenue as percentage of, 194; trade deficit as percentage of, 566; welfare gain as percentage of, 195
Grundy, Felix, 118
Guatemala, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 677
Gulf Citrus Growers, 641
Haggard, Stephan, 430
Haiti, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440
Hamilton, James, 144, 162
Hancock, Winfield Scott, 233
Hanna, Mark, 296, 319
Hanson, Gordon H., 667
Harley, C. Knick, 194, 195, 198, 200
Harley-Davidson, 594
Harmony of Interests (Carey), 248
Harper, Lawrence, 36
Harrigan, James, 653
Harris, John F., 637
Harrisburg Convention, 147, 149
Harrison, Anne, 526
Harrison, Benjamin, 20, 262–64, 268, 287–88, 304
Harrison, Pat, 417, 449
Harrison, William, 183
Hartke, Vance, 537, 540
Hartley, Thomas, 74
Hastert, Dennis, 674
Haugen, Gilbert, 368
Havemeyer, Harry, 314
Hawaii, trade with, 297, 306
Hawkins, Harry, 437, 460–61, 471, 738n48
Hawley, Willis C., 373, 374–75, 736n11
Hawley-Smoot Tariff: agricultural products under, 371–88, 392, 399, 401–2, 733n32; average tariff under, 375, 389–91, 394, 398; contentious revision of Fordney-McCumber Tariff leading to, 373–88; deflation and, 390–91, 396; election of 1932 stands on, 413–16; enactment of, 27, 387–88; export debenture program in, 376, 380, 384, 401, 732n14; flexible tariff provisions in, 376, 380, 384, 389, 733n36; foreign retaliation for, 400–410, 423, 735n89; Great Depression and, 25, 26, 371, 394–400, 413; ideology in relation to, 25, 26, 27; Keynesian perspective on effects of, 398, 735n70; length and complexity of, 388–89, 391; most-favored-nation status affected by, 403; name of, 734n51; nationalism triggered by, 379, 386, 402; New Deal-era response to, 423, 429; origins or foundations of, 370, 371–73, 392; in perspective, 388–94; political rationale for, 388, 392–94; Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act reversal of, 441; special interest lobbying affecting, 382–83, 385–86, 388, 391–93
Hay, John, 306, 308, 690
Hayden, Carl, 353, 368
Hayes, John, 233, 234, 241–42
Hayes, Robin, 771n121, 772n129
Hayes, Rutherford B., 232, 237, 240
Hayne, Robert, 144, 145, 152
Head, Keith, 272
Heaton, Herbert, 106
Hermann, Binger, 247
Hibbard, Benjamin H., 383
Hickey, Donald R., 101, 119, 120, 121
Hills, Carla, 619, 623, 649
Hollings, Ernest “Fritz,” 557, 587, 597, 659, 767n67
Honda, 594, 671
Honduras, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 677
Hong Kong: percent of textile imports from, 516; textile export restraint agreements with, 524, 561–62, 582, 600
Hoover, Herbert: in election of 1928, 373; in election of 1932, 413–14, 416–17; Hawley-Smoot tariff enacted by, 27, 387–88; tariff stance of, 27, 373, 374, 376,

Houston, David, 338, 341, 360–61
Howard, William, 297
Hufbauer, Gary C., 616, 643
Hughes, Charles Evans, 357, 364–65


Hunter, Robert, 207

Huston, James L., 207–8, 209

Iceland: foreign exchange controls in, 405; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440

Ickes, Harold, 447, 448

ideology, trade policy influence by, 21, 24–27

immigration: industrial era growth of, 279, 285–87, 720–21; isolationist policies affecting, 351; NAFTA potential impacts on, 639

imports: American System approach to [see American System]; antebellum period levels of, 193–202; antidumping provisions on [see antidumping provisions]; “birdcage” phenomenon with, 494; categories of, 188; China trade relations and surge of, 666–72; Civil War impacts on, 211; colonial era, 31–34, 35, 36–37, 39, 40–46, 701n7; commercial negotiations of 1784–86 on, 51–54; commodity composition of, 14–15; Constitution of 1787 on, 62, 64–66, 68; containerization impacting, 534–35; deflation of prices for, 390–91, 396; economic geography of, 19–20, 238; embargoes affecting, 104–7; escape clause protection from, 477–78, 479–80, 494, 518, 528, 552–53, 560–61, 578–79, 586–87, 673, 743n61, 753n101; exports interdependence with, 13, 194, 195; Founding Fathers’ philosophy toward [see Founding Fathers]; GDP ratio to, 34, 195, 249, 285, 451, 492, 534, 549, 559, 567, 603, 666, 714n36; Great Depression-era decline of, 394–96; independence
imports (continued)
and access to, 48–49; industrial era
lack of dependence on, 28; licensing
of, 489; Navigation Acts on, 35, 36–37;
New Deal-era effects on, 418, 419–20;
1970s growth of, 534–42; 1980s changes
in, 566–69, 572, 573, 574, 575–95, 613;
on-importation movement on, 40–43,
44–45, 102, 113, 116–17, 119, 120–21;
post-War of 1812 increase in, 125–26,
133; post-World War I levels of, 349, 351,
352; post-World War II prices of, 196–98;
quintals on, 314, 405–6, 419–20, 423, 426,
474, 479, 511, 517–18, 532–33, 540, 548,
551, 573, 584–85, 590–93, 613, 621, 661,
664, 699n7; reciprocal trade agreements
expanding, 439, 441–42; restrictions on
(see restrictions on imports); statistics
gathered on, 140; subsidies for, 5; tariffs
on (see tariffs entries); 2008–9 recession
and decrease of, 683; War of 1812
impacts on, 120–21; World War I effects
on, 339, 340, 347, 498–99; World War II
effects on, 450–51, 492, 498–99
income: agricultural, 583; American System
effects on, 145; Civil War effects on,
217; colonial era, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37;
cotton, 194; government (see revenue);
industrial era growth of, 277, 278, 279–80,
281–83; inequality of, 668–69, 687;
labor interests and wages, 252, 336–37,
668–69, 687, 766n48; North-South bal-
ance of, 162, 163, 195–96, 217; protection
and transfers of, 251–53, Revolutionary
War effects on, 48; savings of, 279–80;
slavery generating, 163, 211; tariffs af-
festing, 138, 145, 160, 163, 195–96, 245,
246, 251–52, 279–80
income taxes: constitutional amendment for,
327, 338–39; 1890–1912 debate over, 290,
294, 311, 325, 327, 726n122; post-Civil
War changes to, 222, 229; Republican
Party stance on, 311, 325; revenue gener-
ated by, 8, 212, 313, 339; state, 339; tariff
for revenue obsolescence due to, 355;
Underwood-Simmons Tariff including,
358–39; World War I-era increases in,
340–43
independence: colonial era movement
toward, 37, 45, 46; commercial negoti-
tiations of 1784–86 following, 51–54;
Declaration of Independence on, 46;
deflation following, 49–51; Revolution-
ary War era of, 46–48; trade and, 46–51
India: foreign unfair trade practices claims
against, 623, 624; gold standard aban-
doned by, 405; multilateral trade agree-
ments with, 474, 484, 635, 676
Indonesia, multilateral trade agreements
with, 648
industrialization: deindustrialization vs.,
569, 572, 596, 599; economic growth and,
277–87; factors underlying successful,
284–87; immigration growth and, 279,
285–87, 720n109; labor force changes
with, 279, 280–83, 284, 285–86; Panic of
1893 affecting, 289; protectionism and
expansion of, 276–87; tariff relationship
to, 196–98, 276–87
infant industries: Founding Fathers’ develop-
ment of, 75, 121–24, 290–291; interna-
tional spillovers of knowledge for,
272–73, 274, 720n109; tariffs promotion
of, 131, 259–60, 269–75, 719n105–9; theo-
retical guidelines for promotion
of, 9
inflation: Civil War era, 216; gold supplies
and, 313, 348; post-World War II levels
of, 485, 491; World War I-era, 344, 347,
348
inheritance taxes, 212, 229
Institute for International Economics, 636
Intel, 608
intellectual property rights, 644, 645, 646,
647–48, 766n54
internal improvement projects: Crisis of 1839
triggered by collapse of, 183; tariffs and,
157–59, 166–67, 243, 711n74
Internal Revenue Act (1862), 211–12
International Chamber of Commerce, 503
International Harvester, 284, 302, 314, 315
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 542
International Trade Commission (ITC):
administered protection via, 586–89; as-
sessment of protection via, 593; automo-
tible industry recommendations of, 576;
free trade agreement studies by, 635, 681,
772n127; steel industry recommenda-
tions of, 578–79, 673; Tariff Commission
renamed as, 553, 554
International Trade Organization, 455, 472,
474–75, 478, 484, 500–501, 503–6, 649

838 INDEX
Index

Interstate Commerce Commission, 319
Intolerable Acts [1774], 44
“Iowa idea,” 321
Iran: antidumping duties on imports from, 588; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440
Irwin, Douglas A.: on economic effects of protection, 250; on elasticity of demand or substitution, 194–95, 199, 254, 283; on embargo impacts, 106; on infant industry development, 274
Isolationism: nationalist sentiment underlying, 351; reciprocal trade agreements and, 438, 446; Wilson’s opposition to, 348; World War II changes in, 450, 452, 498–99
Israel: OPEC oil embargo for US support of, 349; reciprocal trade agreements with, 598, 615, 676, 678, 681, 761n105
Israel: European Economic Community involvement of, 520; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 400, 403, 404; reciprocal trade agreements with, 438
Jackson, Andrew: Compromise of 1833 role of, 177, 181; in election of 1824, 148; in election of 1828, 148–49, 154, 166; in election of 1832, 179; internal improvement projects under, 166–67; Nullification Proclamation and stance of, 174–75, 176–78; tariff stance of, 148, 153–54, 165, 166, 167–69, 171, 173, 177
Jackson, Henry, 551
Jackson, Jesse, 633
Jackson, John, 614, 649
Japan: agricultural industry in, 584, 661; antidumping provisions applied to, 589, 608–10; automobile industry in, 574–77, 592, 593, 594, 600, 619–20, 759n55; China trade comparison to, 671; countervailing duties petitions against, 610; export subsidies in, 556; foreign exchange rate issues with, 543, 545–46, 566–67, 605; foreign investment in US from, 566–67; foreign unfair trade practices claims against, 607–10, 623–24; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade involvement of, 528, 555, 556; gold standard abandoned by, 405; “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” of, 408, 423; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 408, 423; imports from, as share of GDP, 666; multilateral trade agreements with, 515–16, 528, 661, 749n15, 749n17; Nixon’s secret agreement with, 532; orderly marketing arrangements with, 562, 563; reciprocal trade agreements with, 438, 599, 602–4, 683; semiconductor industry in, 607–10, 622, 624; steel industry exports of, 537, 548–49, 578; textile industry issues with, 515–16, 532, 536, 547–48, 573, 577, 749n15; voluntary restraint agreements/voluntary export restraints with, 537, 548–49, 573, 576–77, 592, 593, 600, 619, 759n55; World War II involvement of, 450, 472
Jarnagin, Spencer, 189
Jay, John, 51, 54, 61, 66–67, 97
Jay Cooke & Co., 231
JC Penney, 582

Knutson, Harold, 427, 467, 468, 483

Korea: antidumping provisions applied to, export-oriented growth policies in, foreign unfair trade practices claims against, 561–62; reciprocal trade agreements with, 582, 676, 678, 680, 681, 684; steel industry exports of, 578

Korean War, 505

Kottman, Richard N., 402, 407

Krugman, Paul, 570, 635–36, 637

labor interests and labor unions: assessment of cost per job saved for, CAFTA issues related to, China trade relations and, 665, 667–69, foreign relocation of production affecting, industrial era changes in, reciprocal trade agreements addressing, 467–68; tariff policies affecting, trade adjustment assistance addressing, 523, 553, 564; 2000s trade policy and, 667–69, wages and, 252, 336–37, 668–69, 687, 766n48. See also unemployment

LaFollette, Robert, 311, 323, 338, 382, 383

LaGuardia, Fiorello H., 376

Lamont, Thomas, 386

Land Act (1841), 184

Lawrence, Robert Z., 570, 656, 669

League of Nations, 344, 345–46, 400, 403, 406, 452, 728n42

Lebanon, multilateral trade agreements with, 474
Le Blond, Francis, 223
Lee, Richard Henry, 58–59, 63
legislative branch. See Congress
Legro, Jeffrey, 26
Lehman Brothers, 682
Lend-Lease program, 451, 455–56, 472–73
Lerner, Robert, 179–80, 181
Levin, Sander, 675
Levi Strauss, 582
Lewis, Drew, 576
Lincoln, Abraham, 208–10, 213, 214, 217, 715n58
Lindert, Peter H., 48
Lipinski, William, 659–60
Lippmann, Walter, 386
List, Friedrich, The National System of Political Economy by, 710n48
lobbying: origins of word, 239–40; post-World War II policy shifts affecting, 495; Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and, 429–30, 432, 443, 445, 739n65; tariff alteration goals of, 224, 226, 238–40, 245–46, 337, 382–83, 385–86, 388, 391–93. See also special interest groups
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 324, 346, 365
Long, Russell B., 550, 558
Longworth, Nicholas, 374, 377
Louisiana Purchase, 99
Lovett, Robert A., 482
Lowell, Francis Cabot, 134
Lowi, Theodore J., 214
Luxembourg: European Economic Community involvement of, 520; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440
Lynd, Staughton, 45
Maclay, William, 76
Macon's Bill No. 2, 116
Maddison, Angus, 278
Madsen, Jakob B., 408
Malaysia, reciprocal trade agreements with, 685
Mallary, Rollin, 149
Mandatory Oil Import Quota Program (MOIP), 517
Market-Oriented Sector-Selective (MOSS) negotiations, 604
Marshall, George C., 497
Marshall Plan, 496, 497
Marvin, Thomas O., 359
Mason, George, 64
Matsui, Robert, 598, 657
maximum-minimum tariff schedules, 326, 362, 365
Mayer, Frederick W., 637
Maysville Road Bill, 166–67
May Tenth Agreement, 680
McAdoo, William, 340–41
McCraw, Thomas K., 315
McCulloch, Hugh, 225
McCumber, Porter, 354
McCusker, John J., 32, 36, 37, 48
McDuffie, George, 153, 167, 169
McKee, Samuel, 223
McKellar, Kenneth, 409
McKinley, William: death of, 310, 317; in election of 1890, 287; in election of 1896, 294–95; as gold standard supporter, 294–95; reciprocal trade agreements stance of, 307, 308–10; tariff stance of, 242, 260, 261, 265, 267, 268, 269, 277, 294–95, 297
McKinley Tariff (1890), 253, 263–69, 273–74, 287–88, 297, 305, 390
McKitrick, Eric, 75
McLane, Louis, 170
McMaster, William, 369–70
McMillin, Benton, 290, 314
McNary, Charles, 368
McNary-Haugen bill, 368–69
Meade, James, 460, 741–42n19
Meany, George, 523, 549–50
Meltzer, Allan H., 399
Memminger, Christopher, 216
Menard, Russell R., 32, 36, 37, 48
Mercer, John, 85
Mexico: financial crisis (1994) in, 643; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 400; imports from, as share of GDP, 666; Mexican War of 1847, 203; North American Free Trade Agreement with, 8, 21, 625–44, 676, 686, 763–64nn2–7, 766n48; oil imports from, 517, 631; reciprocal trade agreements with, 8, 21, 440, 625–44, 676, 686, 763–64nn2–7, 766n48; steel industry exports of, 578
Michel, Robert, 641
Micron Technology, 608
Midwest. See West and Midwest
Mill, John Stuart, 248
Millikin, Eugene, 452, 476–77, 483, 489, 492, 513, 514
Mills, Roger, 245, 258, 260–61
Mills, Wilbur, 525, 532
Mills bill, 532–33, 534, 540, 547, 751n54
Milward, Alan, 4
minimum-maximum tariff schedules, 326, 362, 365
minimum valuation provisions, 134–35, 151, 187
mining/mineral resource extraction: antebellum period growth of, 193; economic geography of, 10–13, 14, 18; industrial era changes in, 280; for iron and steel industry, 271, 300–301; raw material access via, 271, 300–301; reciprocal trade agreements affecting, 449; silver proponents in, 264–65
Mississippi River access, 60–61
Missouri Compromise (1820), 204
Moley, Raymond, 414–16, 418
Mondale, Walter, 579
Mongrel Tariff (1883), 236, 239
Monroe, James: on Confederation Congress legislative powers, 58, 59; Monroe-Pinkney Agreement by, 100–101; tariff stance of, 137–38, 140–41, 145
Monroe-Pinkney Agreement, 100–101
Morehead, James, 192
Morgenthau, Henry, 447
Morocco, reciprocal trade agreements with, 676, 677, 678
Morrill, Justin, 207, 212, 213, 222, 225, 230, 240
Morrill Tariff (1861), 202, 209–10, 211
Morrill Tariff #2, 213
Morris, Gouverneur, 62, 65
Morrison, William, 239, 245, 256
Moses, George, 380
most-favored-nation (MFN) status: China trade relations and, 663–66, 667; Fordney-McCumber tariff on, 356, 362–66, 731n94–95; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade addressing, 479, 507; Hawley-Smoot retaliation despite, 403; Jay Treaty allowances for, 97; Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act recognition of, 425; reciprocal trade agreement template addressing, 436; Revenue Act (1916) on, 343; Trade Act (1974) addressing, 551, 753n100; treaty plan of 1776 status beyond, 47
Mulroney, Brian, 616, 618, 763n6
Mundell, Robert, 279, 280
Murphy, Peter, 617
Mutual Aid Agreement, 457–60, 473
Nader, Ralph, 633–34, 641
NAFTA. See North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
Nasaw, David, 317
Nast, Thomas, 233
National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), 302, 504, 524, 634
National Association of Wool Manufacturers, 241–42, 246
National Banking Acts (1863, 1864), 279
National Coal Association, 517
National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation, 445
national debt: Civil War era, 213, 221; Founding Fathers addressing, 78, 79, 88, 99, 121; pre-Civil War, 206–7; surpluses vs., 255, 656 (see also under revenue); tariff policies and, 167, 169, 184, 206–7, 213; War of 1812 increasing, 121; World War I increasing, 340
national defense: China trade relations and concerns for, 665; communist threats to,
national defense (continued)
498, 518–19; Founding Fathers’ consideration of, 70–71, 75, 80–81, 99; income tax as reliable revenue for, 339; multilateral trade agreements allowances for, 480; 1950s trade policy consideration of, 517, 518–19; 1980s expansionary spending on, 566; tariffs in consideration of, 130–31, 148
National Foreign Trade Council, 504
National Grange, 342, 369, 445
National Industrial Recovery Act, 418, 419
nationalism: Hawley-Smoot Tariff triggering, 379, 386, 402; isolationism support based on, 351; multilateral trade agreements superseding, 456; protectionism and, 687; reciprocal trade agreements and, 434; War of 1812 support due to, 118
National Reciprocity League, 302
National Recovery Administration, 419
National Semiconductor, 608
National System of Political Economy, The [List], 710n48
“National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers” [USTR], 690
National Wildlife Federation, 633
National Wool Growers Association, 445
Navigation Acts, 35–38, 44
Navigation Laws, 71, 74–75, 89, 90–91
Nelson, Douglas, 495
Nelson, John R., Jr., 87
Netherlands: European Economic Community involvement of, 520; reciprocal trade agreements with, 438, 440; tariff policies in, 405
“Neutrality Proclamation” [1793], 92
Nevins, Allan, 239, 246
Newlands, Francis, 324
New Zealand: agricultural industry in, 646;
British trade agreements with, 407; reciprocal trade agreements with, 685
Nicaragua, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 677
Nike, 671
Niles, Hezekiah, 137, 147, 150, 153, 171, 202
1950s trade policy: agricultural products addressed in, 510–12, 516; Commission on Foreign Economic Policy on, 513–14; European Economic Community effects on, 519–21; European Free Trade Association effects on, 520; export subsidies in, 511; foreign policy and, 512–13, 518–19; import quotas in, 511, 517–18; labor movement stance on, 518; multilateral trade agreements in, 515–19, 521; Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act renewal and, 509, 510, 513–15; stalemate in, 517, 518; tariff policies in, 510–19, 520–21
1960s trade policy: agricultural products addressed in, 525, 528–29, 530; containerization impacting, 534–35; election of 1968 stances on, 530–31; European Economic Community effects on, 522, 525, 528–33; foreign policy and, 522; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as, 527–33; textile industry issues addressed in, 524–25, 531, 532, 536; trade adjustment assistance in, 523; Trade Expansion Act (1962) as, 521–27
index 845


Niskanen, William, 574


non-exportation movement, 44–45
non-importation movement, 40–43, 44–45, 102, 113, 116–17, 119, 120–21
non-intercourse law, 116
Norris, George, 360, 385

North: abolitionist movement in, 163, 211; John Quincy Adams’s political support in, 148–49; American System impacts in, 143, Civil War with [see Civil War, US]; colonial era trade in, 33–34, 41, 43; Compromise of 1853 stance of, 181–82; Confederation Congress stance of, 58–61; congressional representation of, 19; Constitution of 1787 stance of,
North (continued)
63–67; cost-benefit analysis of tariffs for, 195–96; embargo stance in, 103, 106–7, 111–15; import restrictions stance in, 533; income tax stance in, 338–39; independence and trade impacts in, 50; NAFTA stance in, 642; non-importation stance of, 117; North-Midwest coalition, 157–58, 166–67, 242, 310; North-South trade war, 215–18; political parties representing, 22; reciprocal trade agreement stances in, 469, 470; reexports affecting, 92; Republican Party support in, 263, 295; slavery stance in, 163, 209, 211; tariff stance in, 7, 13, 14–16, 75, 85, 129–30, 135–36, 139–40, 148–65, 183, 185, 209, 242, 244, 312, 337, 372, 377–78, 512, 659; textile industry in (see cotton textile industry; woolen textile industry); War of 1812 stance in, 120; Whig Party support in, 183
North, Douglass, 277–78
North, Frederick (Lord), 42, 49
Norway: European Free Trade Association involvement of, 520; foreign exchange controls in, 405; gold standard abandoned by, 405
Nullification Crisis of 1833, 147, 165–75, 176–78
Nullification Ordinance (1832), 173–74, 176, 181
Nullification Proclamation, 174–75
Nye, Gerald, 384, 446
Obama, Barack: The Audacity of Hope by, 681; CAFTA position of, 681–82; in election of 2008, 681, 682; reciprocal trade agreements under, 684–86; trade-promotion authority for, 685; 2008–9 recession response under, 682–84
Observations on the Commerce of the American States with Europe and the West Indies [Sheffield], 51–52, 53
Office of the US Trade Representative: foreign unfair trade practices retaliatory response by, 607, 610, 612, 623–24; multilateral trade agreement planning by, 614, 649, 650; NAFTA role of, 626–27, 632; “National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers” by, 690; Reagan administration trade policy facilitated by, 579, 604, 607, 610, 612, 614, 617–18; role and responsibilities of, 554, 558–59; Trade Agreements Act (1979) facilitated by, 558; US-Canada Free Trade Agreement role of, 617–18
Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Co., 206
oil industry. See petroleum industry
O’Mahoney, Joseph, 449
Oman, reciprocal trade agreements with, 676, 678, 679
Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act [1988]: fast-track provision of, 613, 627–29; foreign exchange rate reports under, 670; objectives of, as GATT platform, 645–46; proposal and passage of, 611–13; Special 301 provision of, 612–13; Super 301 provision of, 612, 623–24
O’Neill, Thomas P., 599, 611
Open Door notes, 306, 690, 723n52
orderly marketing arrangements [OMAs], 557, 561–62, 563, 622
Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 519, 584, 648
Organization for European Economic Cooperation, 519
Organization for Trade Cooperation [OTC], 516–17, 749n21
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 517–18, 549
Packwood, Bob, 20
Page, John, 85
Pakistan, multilateral trade agreements with, 648
Palen, Marc-William, 298
Panama, reciprocal trade agreements with, 676, 678, 680, 681, 684
Pan American Conference [1933], 424
Panasonic, 671
Panic of 1819, 136, 202
Panic of 1837, 183
Panic of 1857, 202, 206, 209, 211
Panic of 1873, 231, 232
Panic of 1893, 288–89
Panic of 1930, 397
Pareto, Vilfredo, 20
Payne-Aldrich Tariff [1909], 326–27, 331–32
Pease, Don, 602
Peek, George N.: Equality for Agriculture by, 367; Export-Import Bank leadership of, 434; foreign trade adviser role of, 433–34; reciprocal trade agreement stance of, 433–34; Why Quit Our Own? by, 434
Pelosi, Nancy, 664, 680
Pepper, Claude, 446
Pepsi, 585
peril points provisions, 477, 483, 502–3, 510, 518, 523
Perlman, Selig, 383
Perot, Ross, 631, 634, 640, 641
Peru, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 676, 678, 680, 681, 685
Peskin, Lawrence A., 122, 123
Peterson, Merrill D., 122
petroleum industry: imports quotas on, 517–18; NAFTA application to, 631; 1950s trade policy on, 517–18; 1970s energy crisis with, 518, 549, 559, 574, 575; 1980s trade policy on, 568; OPEC affecting, 517–18, 549; raw material access for, 301; Suez Crisis [1956] affecting, 517; tariffs for, 547
Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry, 136–37
Philippines, trade with, 306
Pierce, Franklin, 204–5
Pinckney, Charles, 65, 66
Pinkney, William, 100–101
Pitt, William, 48
Pittman, Key, 446, 449–50
Plaza Accord, 605
Plumley, Charles, 467–68
Poinclext, Miles, 338
Poland, steel industry exports of, 578
political geography: admission of new states altering, 237, 263; Compromise of 1833 in relation to, 181–82; legislative powers in relation to, 18–20; political party stances reflecting, 21–23, 659–60; tariffs in relation to, 14–16, 17, 18, 20, 146, 151, 157–65; trade policy stability in relation to, 3, 10, 14–17. See also specific regions (e.g., North, the)
political institutions. See Congress; president/executive branch
political parties: Democratic [see Democratic Party]; economic and political geography underlying, 21–23, 237–38, 659–60; Federalist Party as [see Federalist Party]; Founding Fathers’ divergence of, 68, 87, 88, 99; partisanship of, 656, 659–60, 680; policy platforms of, 185; reciprocal trade agreements stances of, 22, 97 [see also under specific parties]; Republican [see Republican Party]; Second Party System of, 182; tariff stances of, 21–23 [see also under specific parties]; trade policy influence of, 21–24; unified governments with majority of one, 23–24 [see also under specific parties]; Whig Party as [see Whig Party] Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff [Schattschneider], 392–94, 692–93
Polk, James, 185–87, 189
population of US, 193, 277, 278
Portugal: agricultural industry in, 610; European Economic Community involvement of, 610; European Free Trade Association involvement of, 520; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 403
president/executive branch: legislative powers of, 17, 20–21, 165; New Deal-era authority of, 419; post-World War II shift in US trade policy by, 490; reciprocal trade agreement powers of, 8, 307, 413, 424–30, 432, 453, 467–70, 490–91, 739n83; Special Trade Representative of, 526; tariff proposal by, 188, 333–35; tariff setting
president/executive branch ([continued])

Preston, Julia, 643–44

Principles of Social Science (Carey), 248

Procter and Gamble, 652

production cost equalization, 320, 326–27, 328, 336, 352, 356–58, 361, 389, 570, 730n75


Prohibition, 729n47

Probity Act, 46

“Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment” (State Dept.), 473

protectionism: administered, 586–89, 684; American System approach to [see American System]; antebellum period and, 193–202; assessment of effects of, 589–95; China trade relations not triggering, 671–72; Civil War era stance on, 214; Crisis of 1839 creating pressure for, 183; definition of, 700n10; domestic producer promotion via, 82, 84–87, 123–24, 131, 136–37, 259–60, 269–75; economic effects of, 249–54; effective rate of protection, 249–50; Founding Fathers’ philosophy on, 70–71, 74, 75, 80–87, 705n49; ideology on, 25–26; income transfers related to, 251–53; industrial expansion and, 276–87; intellectual and academic positions on, 247–49; nationalism and, 687; net rate of protection, 250–51; 1970s move toward, 538–42, 547, 559–64; 1980s evolution of, 572–95, 619–24; 1990s decline in, 622–24; nominal rate of protection, 249–51; post-Civil War levels of, 222–29, 249; post-Reconstruction conflicts over, 232–36; post-War of 1812 emergence of, 125–31; post-World War I return of, 348–56; pre-Civil War changes in, 205, 206–10; recession triggering call for, 136–40, 202; reciprocal trade agreements effects on, 303, 305; Republican coalition for, 236–49, 348–56, 598, 611; restrictions on imports for [see restrictions on imports]; tariffs as tool for [see tariff entries]; 2000s trade policies on, 682–84, 686–87, 692; 2008–9 recession and, 682–84, 692

Public Citizen, 633–34

Quay, Matt, 291

Quincy, Josiah, 112

quota rent, 561, 590–91, 592

railroads, 192, 200, 205, 206, 231, 241, 250, 272, 277, 319

Randall, Samuel, 244, 256, 258, 312

Randall Commission (Commission on Foreign Economic Policy), 513–14

Randolph, John, 92, 117, 118, 130, 138–39, 144, 153, 162

Rankin, Christopher, 144

Raskob, John Jakob, 414

Ray, John, 494

Rayburn, Sam, 336, 453–54, 465, 468, 515, 520


restrictions on imports: American System approach to (see American System); antebellum period, 193–202; embargoes as (see embargoes); foreign exchange controls and, 405–6, 423; Founding Fathers’ philosophy on, 68–73, 74, 75, 77, 80–87, 94–95, 99–116; ideology on, 25–26; legislative powers to enact, 20; Navigation Acts on, 35, 36–37; New Deal-era, 419; 1970s movement toward, 538–42; 1980s trade policy on, 573, 575–76, 578–79, 581–82; political party stances on, 22; post-War of 1812 emergence of, 125–31; post-World War II reduction of, 493; reciprocal imposition of, 94–95; tariffs as tool for, 7–8, 9, 25, 56, 74, 75, 77, 128–31, 134–35, 136–47, 154–55, 185, 193–202, 222–29, 236–54, 276–329, 348–56 (see also protectionism); trade policy goal of, 2; world trading system collapse triggering, 405–6, 408

revenue: colonial era changes to extract, 38–45; Compromise of 1833 affecting, 184; Confederation Congress lack of authority to raise, 54–57, 61; Constitution of 1787 changing authority for raising, 62, 68; deficit from lack of (see national debt); embargoes decreasing, 107–8; Founding Fathers raising, 73, 75–88; income taxes as source of, 8, 213, 313, 339; Internal Revenue Act (1862) on, 211–12; political party stances on, 22; post-War of 1812 increase in, 126; public land sales raising, 184; quota rent for, 561, 590–91, 592; Revenue Act (1916) on, 340–43; special commissioner of the revenue addressing, 223–29; surpluses of, 167, 202, 203, 204–5, 206, 221, 232, 233, 235, 243–44, 255–56, 258, 259, 268, 656; tariffs for raising (see tariffs entries); taxes as source of (see taxes); trade policy goal of raising, 2, 7; War of 1812 decreasing, 121; World War I affecting, 339–43
Revenue Act (1916), 340–43
Revolutionary War era, 46–48
Richardson, J. David, 614
Rivers, Douglas, 486
Robbins, Asher, 163–64
Robbins, Lionel, 460
Robertson, Norman, 471
Robinson, James, 639
Roosevelt, Franklin D.: Atlantic Charter under, 459; death of, 466; in election of 1932, 413–17; in election of 1936, 444; in election of 1940, 455; in election of 1944, 464; gold standard abandonment under, 417–18; Lend-Lease program under, 451, 455–56; New Deal policies under (see New Deal); Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act under, 413, 424–54, 463–66; reciprocal trade agreements under, 413, 415, 418, 424–54; tariff stance of, 414–17, 424–25, 427; world trade system development under, 455–63 (see also multilateral trade agreements)
Rostenkowski, Dan, 601
Russia, World War I economic effects on, 344. See also Soviet Union
Rutledge, John, 62
sales taxes, 235, 236
Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 626–27
Sanders, Bernie, 686
Sarasohn, David, 311
Save Your Job, Save Our Country (Perot), 634
Sayre, Francis B., 432, 434, 436, 437, 442, 444
Schenck, Robert, 228
Schott, Jeffrey J., 636, 643
Schumer, Charles, 670
Schwartz, Anna J., 207
secession: election of 1860 results prompt- ing, 209; embargo and threats of, 707–8n116; tariff conflicts and, 136, 168, 209, 211
Second Bank of the United States, 136, 183
Second Continental Congress, 46–47
Semiconductor Industry Association, 607–8, 609
Senate: apportionment of seats in, 141;
September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, 674
service industries: labor and political power of, 660; multilateral trade agreements on, 644–45, 646–47, 654; NAFTA application to, 631; 1980s growth of, 571–72
Setser, Vernon G., 54
Sheffield, Earl of [John Baker Holroyd], Observations on the Commerce of the American States with Europe and the West Indies by, 51–52, 53
Shelburne, Earl of, 48
Shell, 517
Sherman, John: on economic and political geography, 18; on executive branch legislative powers, 20–21; on protectionism, 240; Sherman Silver Purchase [1890] by, 265, 268, 289; on tariffs, 23, 207, 230, 233, 236
Sherman Antitrust Act [1890], 315, 724n85
Sherman Silver Purchase [1890], 265, 268, 289
Sicotte, Richard, 404
Sierra Club, 633
silver: 1893–98 depression and, 294, 722n26; as election of 1892 issue, 287; as election of 1896 issue, 294–95; Sherman Silver Purchase [1890] on, 265, 268, 289; tariffs and, 264–65, 268, 295–96
Simmons, Furnifold, 379, 381
Simpson, Richard, 510, 513, 514, 517
Singapore, reciprocal trade agreements with, 676, 677, 678
Sjaastad, Larry, 250
Slater, Samuel, 132
slavery/slave trade: abolitionist movement against, 163, 211; Civil War over, 211; Compromise of 1850 on, 204; Constitution of 1787 “dirty compromise” over, 63, 64–66, 703–479; cotton industry dependence on, 132; election of 1860 debate over, 209–10; free-slave state balance, 204; Kansas-Nebraska Act [1854] on, 204; Missouri Compromise [1820] on, 204; tariffs and, 162–63, 164, 168, 180, 203–5, 208, 209; value of, 163, 211, 713n65
Smith, Adam: Founding Fathers’ policies influenced by, 69–71, 80, 81; Shelburne as disciple of, 48; The Wealth of Nations by, 69–70
Smith, Alfred E., 372, 414
Smith, Samuel, 150
Smith, William Loughton, 95, 158, 162
Smoot, Reed: on agricultural tariffs, 370; in election of 1932, 736n10; on flexible tariff provisions, 357, 358, 361; on most-favored-nation status, 364; tariff revision under, 377–78, 381, 383, 401, 408
smuggling: colonial era, 39, 41, 43–44; embargoes leading to, 108, 110; Founding Fathers’ stance on, 82, 86, 108, 110; tariffs leading to, 39, 41, 43, 82, 86
Sony, 671
South: agricultural industry position of, 369; American System impacts in, 143–45, 158–60, 163–64; Civil War with [see Civil War, US]; colonial era trade in, 34, 37, 41–43, 44–45; Compromise of 1833 to appease, 7, 176–84, 211; Confederation Congress stance of, 58–61; congressional representation of, 19; Constitution of 1787 stance of, 63–67; cost-benefit analysis of tariffs for, 196; cotton in [see cotton textile industry relocation to, 511–12; Democratic Party support in, 183, 244, 263, 295, 659; embargo stance in, 103, 107, 111, 113; import restrictions stance in, 533; income tax stance in, 338; independence and trade impacts in, 50; Jackson’s political support in, 148–49, 166, 176; NAFTA stance in, 642; nationalism in, 118; 1980s trade policy effects in, 595, 597, 598; non-importation stance of, 117; North-South trade war, 215–18; Nullification Crisis of 1833 in, 147, 165–75, 176–78; political parties representing, 22, 659; reciprocal trade agreement stances in, 449, 469; reexports affecting, 92; Republican Party support in, 659; secession of states in [see secession]; slavery in [see slavery/ slave trade]; tariff stance in, 7, 13, 14–16, 75–76, 85, 129–31, 132, 136, 137–40, 144–45, 148–65, 183, 184–93, 209, 215–18, 244, 312, 334, 337, 355, 377–78, 510–12, 659; War of 1812 stance in, 120
South Africa: British trade agreements with, 407; steel industry exports of, 578
South Korea. See Korea
Soviet Union: collapse of communism in, 626; most-favored-nation status of, 551, 753n100; post-World War II foreign policy toward, 495. See also Russia, World War I economic effects on
Spain: agricultural industry in, 610; Confederation Congress negotiations with, 60–61; Cuba relations with, 297; European Economic Community involvement of, 610; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 400, 403–4; steel industry exports of, 378
Spanish-American War of 1898, 297
Spaulding, Rufus, 222–23
special commissioner of the revenue, 223–29
Special Committee on Relaxation of Trade Barriers, 461–62
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, 554
Special Trade Representative, 526
Specific duties: average tariff fluctuations due to, 5, 7; controversy over, 155; definition and description of, 5; Fordney-McCumber Tariff on, 532; Founding Fathers’ approach to, 73, 75, 77, 80, 84; post-Civil War changes in, 222; post-World War II decline in, 485, 491; pre-Civil War use of, 206, 207, 210; reciprocal trade agreements affecting, 441; Underwood-Simmons Tariff changes to, 335–36, 338; Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894) changes to, 291
Spooner, William, 268
Springer, William, 260
Stamp Act (1765), 39–41
Stamp Act Congress, 39–40
Standard Oil Company, 267, 268, 301, 302, 314, 315, 517
Stanwood, Edward, 167, 205, 213, 231, 240, 261, 296
States: Democratic-Republican balance of, 237, 263; free-slave state balance, 204; income taxes imposed by, 339; regions of [see specific regions [e.g., North]]; tariffs imposed by, 56–57
Steel industry. See iron and steel industries
Stevens, Thaddeus, 210, 212
Stewart, William, 264
Stockman, David, 576
Stock market crash (1929), 381, 733n28
Stock market crash (1987), 612
Stolper-Samuelson theorem, 252, 700n19
Story, Joseph, 113–15
Strauss, Robert, 538
Structural Impediments Initiative [SII], 623
Strum, Harvey, 107
Suetens, Max, 482–83
Suez Crisis (1966), 517
Sugar Act (1764), 39, 41
Surge control arrangements, 579, 629
Sutherland, Peter, 650, 651
Swank, James, 239
Sweden: antidumping duties on imports from, 588; European Free Trade Association involvement of, 520; gold standard abandoned by, 405; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440
Sweeney, John, 657
Switzerland: countervailing duties petitions against, 610; European Free Trade Association involvement of, 520; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 403, 404; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440
Taft, Robert, 469–70, 491, 502, 513
Taiwan: antidumping provisions applied to, 588, 589, 609; countervailing duties petitions against, 610; export-oriented growth policies in, 663; orderly marketing arrangements with, 561–62; reciprocal trade agreements with, 582
Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles Maurice de, 121
Tarbell, Ida, 312–13
Tarbell, Ida, 312–13
Tariff Board, 326–27, 331, 726n127
Tariff Commission: agricultural prices study by, 351; average tariff decline report by, 485; creation of, 728n29, 728n12, 728n35; escape clause investigation recommendations by, 477, 494; flexible tariffs provision role of, 356–57, 358–61; on Hawley-Smoot Tariff effects, 375,
Tariff Commission (continued)
389; lowered tariff impacts report by, 476, 477, 502; on McKinley Tariff, 305; most-favored-nation status position of, 362–64; 1950s powers of, 513, 518; partisan split of, 359–61; Reciprocity and Commercial Treaties report by, 362–64; renaming of as International Trade Commission, 553, 554; Republican and Democratic support for, 331, 333; Revenue Act (1916) creating, 340, 341–43; tariff reform recommendations by, 233–36, 256; Trade Expansion Act (1962) changing role of, 523

Tariff History of the United States, The [Taussig], 3

Tariff of 1816, 131, 138, 139


Tariff of 1828 (Tariff of Abominations), 125, 147–54, 164–65, 171, 194

Tariff of 1842, 184, 186, 187, 202

Tariff of 1857, 205–6, 215

Tariff of 1872, 231

Tariff of 1883, 236, 239

tariffs: ad valorem duties as [see ad valorem duties]; average [see average tariff]; definition and description of, 5, 700n13; duty-free products not subject to [see duty-free products]; economic and political geography in relation to, 13, 14–16, 17, 18, 20, 146, 154, 155–65, 238; export restraints vs., 590–91; guidelines for setting, 9; ideology on, 24–27; legislative powers to enact, 18, 20 [see also under Congress; president/executive branch]; political party stances on, 21–23 [see also under specific parties]; restrictions on imports as objective of, 7–8 [see also protectionism; and specific tariffs]; revenue as objective of, 2, 7, 8, 590, 700n10; specific duties as [see specific duties]; unified governments and stability of, 23–24. See also specific tariff eras (e.g., tariffs [1763–89])

tariffs (1763–89): colonial era, 39, 41–43; Confederation Congress lack of authority to impose, 54, 56–57, 61; Constitution of 1787 changing authority to impose, 62; independence and imposition of, 50; most-favored-nation agreements on, 47; Navigation Acts on, 35; restrictions on imports as objective of, 56; revenue as objective of, 56; Revolutionary War era, 46; state-imposed, 56–57; uniform, 62

tariffs (1789–1815): Constitution of 1787 changing authority to impose, 68; domestic producer promotion via, 82, 84–87, 123–24; first tariff act, 73–80; Founding Fathers’ stance on, 69, 71–72, 73–80, 82, 84–87, 88, 89, 90–92, 94, 123–24; rebate of, for reexported products, 77; reciprocal imposition of, 71–72, 94; restrictions on imports as objective of, 74, 75, 77; revenue as objective of, 73–74, 75–76, 77–78; uniform, 90; War of 1812 impacts on, 120


tariffs (1833–65): American System approach to, 178–81, 186; antebellum period policies on, 193–202; categories of, 188; Civil War era changes to, 7, 210–18; Compromise of 1833 on, 7, 176–84, 211, 713n4; cost-benefit analysis of, 194–98; deadweight loss from, 194; Democratic-Whig divide over, 182, 183–93; economic
crises creating pressure for, 183, 202;
Force Bill for enforcement of, 177, 178; income affected by, 195–96; industrialization relationship to, 196–98; length of, 389; minimum valuation provision with, 187; Morrill Tariff (1861), 202, 209–10, 211; Morrill Tariff #2, 213; national debt in relation to, 184; Nullification Crisis of 1833 in response to, 176–78; political party stances on, 182, 183–93; pre-Civil War stability of, 203–10; recession triggering call for, 202; reform of, 177–82, 187–89; restrictions on imports as objective of, 185, 193–202; revenue as objective of, 181, 184, 185–90, 203, 211–18; revenue surpluses affecting, 202, 203, 204–5, 206; secession and, 209, 211; slavery and, 180, 203–5, 208, 209; Tariff of 1842, 184, 186, 187, 202; Tariff of 1857, 205–6, 215; unified governments and stability of, 191, 203; uniform, 181, 188; Walker Tariff (1846), 182–93, 199, 202, 203, 215

tariffs [1912–28] (continued)
length of, 389; lobbying efforts on, 337;

tariffs [1928–32]: agricultural products and, 371–88, 392, 399, 401–2, 723n14, 733n32; average tariff, 375, 389–91, 394, 398, 734n16; election of 1928 stances on, 372–73; election of 1932 stances on, 413–16; export debenture program in, 376, 380, 384, 401, 732n14; flexible tariff provisions in, 376, 380, 384, 409, 733n16; Fordney-McCumber Tariff [contentious revision, 373–88; foreign retaliation for, 400–410, 423, 735n89; gold standard and, 397, 398–99, 404–5; Great Depression and, 8, 25, 26, 371, 394–400, 413; Hawley-Smoot Tariff, 25, 26, 27, 370, 371–410, 413–16, 423, 429, 441, 732n14, 733n12, 733n16, 734n15, 735n70, 735n89; ideology in relation to, 25, 26, 27; Keynesian perspective on effects of, 398, 735n70; length and complexity of, 388–89, 391; most-favored-nation status affected by, 403; nationalism triggered by, 379, 386, 402; New Deal-era response to, 423, 429; political rationale for, 388, 392–94; production cost equalization via, 389; on raw materials vs. intermediate and finished goods, 376; special interest lobbying affecting, 382–83, 385–86, 388, 391–93; stock market crash [1929] and, 381, 733n28


tariffs [1979–92]: countervailing duties as, 578, 587, 610, 621; deadweight loss from, 590–91; export restraints vs., 590–91; free trade agreement elimination of, 617; punitive or retaliatory, 609–10

tariffs [1992–2017]: China trade relations and, 664, 666, 667, 670, 671, 684; countervailing duties as, 648, 671; “dirty tariffication” with, 654; multilateral trade agreements addressing, 643, 648, 650, 652–53, 654, 664; NAFTA phaseout of, 629, 643; steel industry, 673; 2016 levels of, 691

Tarr, David, 590, 591, 592
Taussig, Charles, 415

Taussig, Frank: on antebellum period growth of domestic producers, 200–201; on Civil War era tariffs, 214; on cotton textile industry, 135; on infant industry development, 272, 274–75; on production cost equalization, 357–58; on Tariff Commission, 341, 342, 362; on tariff
effects on industrialization, 197–98; *A Tariff History of the United States* by, 3; on trade surplus effects, 340
taxes: Civil War era, 211–12, 213, 215–18; colonial era shift in, 38–45; Confederation Congress lack of authority to impose, 54–57, 61; Constitution of 1787 changing authority to impose, 62–65; deadweight loss from, 194, 253; excise, 78, 99, 214; on exports, 5, 63–64, 194–95, 215, 216–17, 251; Founding Fathers’ shifting of, 78–80; on imports [see tariffs entries]; income, 8, 212, 222, 229, 290, 294, 311, 313, 325, 337, 338–39, 340–43, 355, 726n122; inheritance, 212, 229; Internal Revenue Act (1862) on, 211–12; 1980s reduction in tax rates, 566; post-Civil War reform of, 221–31; sales, 235, 236; special commissioner of the revenue addressing, 223–29
Taylor, John, 149
Taylor, Zachary, 191
Tea Act (1773), 43, 44
tinplate, 266–67, 268, 273–74, 284, 720n111
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 24
Tomz, Michael, 486
Townshend, Charles, 41
Toyota, 671
trade: agreements on [see trade agreements]; colonial era [see colonial era]; exports in [see exports]; Great Depression-era [see Great Depression]; imports in [see imports]; independent and, 46–51; regional stances on [see specific regions [e.g., *North*]]; restrictions on [see boycotts; embargoes; protectionism; restrictions on imports]; statistics gathered on, 140; terms of, 194; trade deficits, 49, 451, 489, 539–40, 544, 559, 565, 566–68, 570, 599, 610–11, 619, 656, 669, 687; trade surpluses, 340, 347, 451, 496–97, 535, 547, 559, 611; US policy on [see trade policy, US]; wars affecting [see specific wars]; world trading system, 400–410, 455–63 [see also globalization; multilateral trade agreements]
trade adjustment assistance [TAA], 523, 553, 684
trade agreements: commercial negotiations of 1784–86 on, 51–54; ideology on, 25–26; legislative powers to enact, 8, 21; multilateral [see multilateral trade agreements]; political party stances on, 22; reciprocal [see reciprocal trade agreements]. See also specific agreements by name
Trade Agreements Act (1979), 558
Trade and Tariff Act (1984), 598–99, 615
Trade Expansion Act (1962), 521–27, 610
trade policy, US: Confederation Congress lack of authority for, 51, 52, 54–61; Constitution of 1787 changing authority for, 61–67; Founding Fathers philosophy on, 68–73; future of, 692–93; historical overview of, 1–27; ideology influencing, 21, 24–27; political institutions enacting [see Congress; president/executive branch]; political parties influencing, 21–24 [see also specific parties]; reciprocity as goal of [see reciprocal trade agreements; reciprocity]; restriction of imports as goal of [see restrictions on imports]; revenue as goal of [see revenue]; stability of, 2–3, 10–17, 18, 23, 689–92
trade-promotion authority [TPA], 674–75, 680, 685
trade-related intellectual property rights [TRIPs], 644, 645, 646, 647–48, 766n54
trade-related investment measures [TRIMs], 646, 647
Trading with the Enemy Act (1917), 548
Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership [TTIP], 685–86
Trans-Pacific Partnership [TPP], 685, 686
Treaty of Amity and Commerce (1778), 47
Treaty of Ghent ([1815]), 121, 125
Treaty of Paris ([1783]), 48
Treaty of Rome ([1957]), 520
Treaty of Versailles ([1919]), 346
trigger-price mechanism, 563–64, 573
Trump, Donald, 686–88, 690, 692
Tugwell, Rexford, 416, 418
Turkey, reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 446
2000s trade policy: China trade relations and, 666–72, 686–87, 769–70nn93–97, 770nn105–6, 770n108; foreign exchange rates and dollar valuation influencing, 669–70; foreign policy and, 676, 685; labor issues and, 667–69, 677, 680, 682, 769–70nn96–97; multilateral trade agreements in, 673, 674–76; protectionism stance in, 682–84, 686–87, 692; reciprocal trade agreements in, 672–81, 684–86; steel industry support in, 672–73, 768–69n86, 771n113–14; trade deficits and, 669, 687; trade-promotion authority for, 674–75, 680, 685; 2008–9 financial crisis affecting, 670, 682–84, 692
Tyler, John: Compromise of 1833 stance of, 184; free-slave state balance under, 204; rise to presidency by, 183; tariff stance of, 150, 159, 171, 172, 183–84; Whig expulsion of, 185
Underwood, Oscar, 22, 334
Underwood-Simmons Tariff (1913), 333–39, 343, 347, 391
unemployment: Great Depression-era, 396; 1970s growth of, 540–41; 1980s changes in, 556, 571, 596–97, 622; 1990s rates of, 643, 656; post-World War I, 349; 2000s rates of, 668, 682
uniform tariffs: 1763–89, 62, 1789–1815, 90; 1816–33, 155, 169, 170, 174; 1833–65, 181, 188
United Automobile and Aircraft Workers, 467, 493, 574–75, 577, 630
United Kingdom: Abnormal Importations Act in, 406; Anglophobia against, 247; Atlantic Charter with, 459; Civil War [US] position of, 216–17; Coercive Acts [1774] by, 44; colonial era relations with, 31–46, 701n17; commercial negotiations of 1784–86 with, 51–54; Confederation Congress authority lack with, 51–54, 55, 57–61; Corn Laws in, 190, 192; Declaratory Act by, 41; embargoes on trade with, 42–43, 45, 46, 99–116, 117, 119, 120–21; European Free Trade Association involvement of, 520; export subsidies in, 536; foreign exchange rate with, 543; Founding Fathers’ philosophy on relations with, 68, 71, 72, 87, 88–98, 99–121; France 1793 war with, 91–93; France 1803–15 war with, 99–100; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade involvement of, 528, 556; gold standard abandoned by, 397, 405; Hawley-Smoot Tariff retaliation by, 403, 407, 423; imperial preferences of, 406, 407, 423, 438–39, 457, 458–60, 462, 473, 479, 481–82, 489, 744n74; Import Duties Act in, 406–7; independence from, 37, 45, 46–48; industrial era comparison to US, 277, 278; inflation in, 313; international spillovers of knowledge from, 272–73, 274, 286, 720n109; iron and steel industries in, 201; Lend-Lease program with, 451, 455–56, 472–73; McKinley Tariff [1890] affecting, 269, 273; Monroe-Pinkney Agreement with, 100–101; multilateral trade agreements with, 457–63, 471, 472–74, 481–83, 486, 489, 528, 556, 744n74, 744–45n76; Mutual Aid Agreement with, 457–60, 473; Navigation Acts by, 35–38, 44; non-intercourse law on trade ban with, 116; post-Revolution trade with, 48–51; Prohibitory Act by, 46; reciprocal trade agreements with, 306, 438–39, 440, 446, 465; Revolutionary War era relations with, 46–48; Seven Years War with, 38; Stamp Act [1765] by, 39–41; Sugar Act [1764] by, 39, 41; tariff policies in, 406–7, 439, 461, 471; tax burden shift by, 38–45; Tea Act [1773] by, 43, 44; trade deficits of, 451, 489; Walker Tariff [1846] affecting trade with, 189–90; War of 1812 with, 68, 116–21; World War I economic effects on, 344; World War II effects in, 439, 450–51
United Mine Workers, 517
United Nations: Conference on Trade and Development, 506; establishment of, 462; International Conference on Trade and Employment, 474–75, 500
United Steel Workers, 536, 578, 621, 672
Uruguay: agricultural industry in, 646; foreign exchange controls in, 405
US-Canada Free Trade Agreement, 20, 615–18, 630, 676, 761–62
US Steel Corporation, 301, 302, 314, 315, 563–64, 578
US Tariff Commission. See Tariff Commission
US Trade Representative [USTR]. See Office of the US Trade Representative
Van Buren, Martin, 148–49, 150, 151–52, 167
Vanik, Charles, 551
Venezuela: oil imports from, 517; reciprocal trade agreements with, 440, 446
Verplanck, Gulian, 177
veteran pensions, 243–44, 255, 257, 268, 310, 718
Vietnam, reciprocal trade agreements with, 685
Viner, Jacob, 690
Volcker, Paul, 543, 547, 565, 605
voluntary restraint agreements (VRAs): 1970s trade policy on, 537–38, 548–49, 563; 1980s trade policy on, 573, 578, 579, 587, 600
Waldstreicher, David, 45
Walker, Robert, 186, 187–88, 190, 192
Walker Tariff (1846), 182–93, 199, 202, 203, 215
Walmart, 671
Walsh, David, 353, 383, 389
Walsh, Thomas, 415
W. & S. Lawrence, 156
“War Hawks,” 117–19, 120
War of 1812, 68, 116–21
Washington, George: on Constitution of 1787, 64; election of, 67; “Neutrality Proclamation” by, 92; reciprocal trade agreements stance of, 90, 91, 92, 95, 97–98; tariff stance of, 76–77, 90, 91; trade policy philosophy of, 68, 73, 87
Wealth of Nations, The [Smith], 69–70
Webster, Daniel: John Quincy Adams’s support by, 148; American System opposition by, 143–44; Compromise of 1833 stance of, 180, 183; economic geography influencing, 18; tariff stance of, 18, 27, 143–44, 146, 152, 156, 183
Weekly Register, 137, 150
Weidenbaum, Murray, 576
welfare gains, 194–95, 592
welfare losses, 106, 399, 590–91
Welles, Sumner, 459
Wells, David A.: as American Free Trade League president, 246, 248; on intermediate product tariffs, 250; as special commissioner of the revenue, 223–29
West, Milton, 453
West and Midwest: admission of states in, 263; agricultural industry position of, 369–70; Compromise of 1833 stance of, 181; congressional representation of, 19, 193; cost-benefit analysis of tariffs for, 195–96; Democratic Party support in, 295, 660; embargo stance in, 103; NAFTA stance in, 642; nationalism in, 118; 1980s trade policy effects in, 595–98; North-Midwest coalition, 157–58, 166–67, 242, 310; political parties representing, 22; progressive movement based in, 311–12; protectionism stance in, 598; reciprocal trade agreement stance in, 427–28, 446, 448, 449–50, 470; Republican Party support in, 263, 295; silver proponents in, 264–65; tariff stance in, 15–16, 135–36, 156–57, 191–93, 242, 266, 311–12, 327, 334, 337, 354–55, 376–78, 512; territorial expansion into, 118; War of 1812 stance in, 120
West Germany: countervailing duties petitions against, 610; European Economic Community involvement of, 520; foreign exchange rate with, 543, 545, 546. See also Germany
Westinghouse, 302
Whig Party: American System resurrection by, 185; destruction of, 204; in election of 1844, 185–86; internal improvement
Whig Party (continued)
projects under, 243; tariff stance of, 21–22, 182, 183–93; trade policy of, 88
White, Harry Dexter, 460–61
Whitney, Eli, 131
Why Quit Our Own? [Peek], 434
Wilcox, Clair, 500–501, 504
Wilkinson, Joe R., 510
Williams Commission report, 538–39, 541, 543–44
Williamson, Jeffrey G., 48
Wilson, William L., 289–90, 291, 292
Wilson-Gorman Tariff [1894], 289–93, 305
Wool and Woolens Act [1867], 242
World Economic Conference [1927], 346, 400
World Economic Conference [1933], 423–24
World Economic Forum [1990], 626
World Trade Organization (WTO): China involvement in, 662, 664, 666; dispute resolution under, 654–55, 661–62, 673; establishment of, 644, 649, 650–51; public opinion on, 662; 2000s negotiations by, 674–75
World War II: Atlantic Charter on postwar trade, 459; foreign policy shifts following, 450, 452, 495–99; Hull’s views of trade ties with, 446–49; Lend-Lease program during, 451, 455–56, 472–73; reciprocal trade agreements affected by, 439, 447–54; shift in US trade policy following, 489–500, 507–8; US involvement in, 450; US trade effects of, 447–54; world trade system following, 455–63
[see also multilateral trade agreements]
World Wildlife Fund, 633
Wright, Jim, 611–12
Wright, Philip G., 271, 272
Wyden, Ron, 687
Yeutter, Clayton, 606
Yugoslavia, foreign exchange controls in, 405
Zevin, Robert B., 135, 199
Zoellick, Robert, 674, 676