

the tariff question were of the highly protective doctrines of the manufacturers of Massachusetts in the comparative infancy of manufactures, and the same doctrines as so fully set forth in the *New York Tribune*. In 1849, I, sold out my business in Georgia and removed to New York, and in 1850, became a manufacturer in Massachusetts, with a store in New York for the sale of my goods.

I had noticed how busy and prosperous were the manufacturers and people of England since the adoption of free trade policy there. I had noticed that the English-born operators of the cotton and woollen mills of my earlier days were missing, and their places filled with the people from other countries.

I had noticed that emigration, since some time prior to the war, had been very little from the factory work-people from free-trade England, and large from high-tariff Germany; that there was almost universal content in free-trade England, and almost universal discontent in all the high-tariff countries of the continent of Europe. The more I thought upon the subject, the more I could not see why the people should be much interested in paying us manufacturers from 35 to 100 per cent. more for goods made by us, than the foreign price—especially as the great West and South could pay in exports of produce of their own raising. I knew that free-trade England was our severest competitor; but I also knew that we got but very little emigration from the manufacturing districts of England, compared with that from the manufacturing districts of high-tariff Germany. That looked as though the “pauperism” was in the high-tariff country rather than in the free-trade country. I concluded to investigate in Europe for myself. I spent four months of each of the years 1873 and 1875 in Europe, and looked up the protective theory with my own eyes, in the light of my own experience and observation as a merchant, and especially as a manufacturer. I became thoroughly convinced that instead of my having been for so many years a genteel and aristocratic pauper, living and prospering upon the charities of the people, I really had been one of the deluded and oppressed victims of the Pennsylvania, Ohio and Lake Superior coal and metal oligarchies, who, in order to pile up illegitimate wealth, had so managed Congress as to acquire, through high tariffs, substantially a monopoly of supplying us with coal and metals, and at a price very largely in excess of the prices paid by our foreign competitors. But in order to increase the demand for their coal and metals—not that they care anything for the manufacturers’ good, only so far as we can be used to enrich them—they rob us manufacturers at wholesale, and allow us to rob the people at retail. They take over sixty per cent. on pig-iron from us foundrymen, and allow us to rob the buyers of our hardware from twenty-five to forty-five per cent., whenever we can combine to keep up prices, so that they feel tolerably secure in their monopoly of supplying the metal in nearly all the hard-

ware and machinery used in this country. I found that our woollen goods manufacturers sustain about the same relations with the wool growers that the metal goods manufacturers do with the producers of metals. The wool growers rob the manufacturers of woollen goods and permit the woollen goods manufacturers to rob the people.

Provided the manufacturers were relieved from the tariff on raw materials, they would need no protection on their manufactures and would be able to relieve the people engaged in other employments from contributing to their maintenance and protection through forced tributes by means of high tariffs on importations.

What the manufacturers need is simply to be let alone, and be left, each for himself, to work out his own success or go under. They do not need any favors through tariffs for protection nor through tariffs for revenue, if relieved from the burdens of tariff on their materials.

Who are the workers for wages in this country? Of what are they composed? First, of the native stock, originally coming largely from the Puritans of the Anglo-Saxon race, ready to dare and do anything for success, willing to undergo any hardship and suffer any privation on the road to success, and compelled to use to the full extent all their powers of mind and body in trying to exist and improve their condition. Other, and allied races, but with somewhat different characteristics, came at the same time and soon afterwards, nearly all in vigorous condition of body and mind, and all imbued with the determination of achieving success. Their descendants are what we call our native stock.

They constitute a sort of reservoir of force and a balance wheel and regulator in factory labor. As inventors and mechanics they are nowhere excelled. They know how to succeed and need no protection. Later, partly as the cause and partly as the effect of our great increase in agriculture and manufactures, internal improvements and inter-state commerce, we have added to and made a part of our working force an immense immigration of the same and of somewhat different races. Much of this immigration has been converted into workshop and factory labor. We have largely the Irish race in all its various characteristics. Much of it crude, but muscular, honest and ambitious. That race has well done its share of the hard labor. The Irish race is a large and almost indispensable element in American factory labor.

The German race, often dissatisfied or irrepresible at home, hard worked on a poor soil, or unskilfully managed in factory labor, for years of their early manhood forced into the army, their labor always largely reduced in the fruits to them by the taxes necessary to support royalty, nobility, and standing armies; has come to us bountifully and in increasing numbers since the high German tariff on raw materials of 1879. In the years 1875-9 there landed in the United States