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*A. J. Baber Esq
with respects of
John W. Hinton*

Workingmen and the Tariff.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

**WORKINGMEN OF BAY VIEW,
DELIVERED IN PUDDLERS HALL,**

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN,

BY MR. JOHN W. HINTON,

BEFORE THE BAY VIEW LITERARY SOCIETY.

JANUARY 31, 1880.

Reported especially for "The Bay View National Bureau,"
A. E. VANDERPOOL, Proprietor.



Workingmen and the Tariff

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DELIVERED BY THE ADDRESSER'S WIFE,

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN,

By Mr. JOHN W. HINTON,

SECRETARY OF THE DAY VIEW LITERARY SOCIETY

JANUARY 21, 1880.

Published at the request of the Day View Literary Society,
by E. W. HINTON, Treasurer.



Workingmen and the Tariff.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—Free access to the Library of the British Museum could not have furnished me a text more suitable, for my address to you this evening, than I read, just before leaving home, in the *Inter Ocean* of Thursday last. It was a line in Senator Morrill's eulogy on Zach Chandler:

"BY NO FREE TRADE-TARIFF WOULD HE
BUILD UP FOREIGN TRADE ON A
DEGRADED PEOPLE."

I am not here to flatter, but to be truthful and just to all. To the workingmen I shall not say they are worthy of their hire, or that they get their living by the sweat of their brows. If you do not know that you are worthy of your hire, you are not fit to be my audience, and if I do not know that men, who for hours together look into furnaces seven times heated, and gaze upon iron so glaringly white with heat, that drips in liquid beauty from the "buggies" that bear it from the heaters to the rollers—if I do not know that such men sweat at their brows, I am not fit to address you. I am anxious to entertain you, hoping to give you a few new ideas, or to clothe old ones in new garments, perhaps a little gaudy, or mayhap too stern and serious at times, with a little story now and then, as condiments sometimes excite the appetite and aid digestion. Above all desirous of doing good, in an address however imperfect in composition or defective in utterance, contains not a word the speaker does not conscientiously believe.

Gentlemen: I confess to my own littleness, as I reflect that you, in the dignity of labor, as iron workers, represent the most important of all industries. The president of this company, O. W. Potter, Esq., uttered a great truth at Pittsburgh last May, when he said:

"Our industry is one, the success of which governs largely the destiny of this country."

We all know that the moment the iron industry revived, all other industries moved. It was the barometer of

the nation's industrial destinies. Iron started the boom.

Yes, Gentlemen—It is an industry, in which America, under fostering care, will soon become supreme; an industry employing millions of men, and untold millions of money; an industry, though yet in its infancy on this continent, is strengthening with thews, and sinews and muscles, that shall ere long, and not far hence, if properly protected by tariff, be molded into an American giant to loom up like the famed colossus of old.—

THE IRON HERCULES OF THE WORLD.

Iron—There's magical sound in its name. What does it not do? It holds together the cradle in which the young mother rocks her first born. It forms the casket which encloses old age! From the cradle to the grave, it bears us company, and is ever, in some shape, man's companion. It is one of the secrets of his vitality. It gives color and tonic to the blood coursing through his system. It is the silent and subtle motive power of the healthy and vigorous action of his brain, that elevates him above the brute, and brands him lord of creation. No-where are its material uses, so ably and finely set forth as by the German Poet:

"It sets the plow upon the sea,
The Earth for man to conquer;
It guides the ship upon the sea,
It holds her safe at anchor.
It builds strongholds and pleasant homes,
It fills the house with art,
And like a magic wand it comes,
To break the lightning's dart."

And also is it true:

"The God whose will made iron grow
Willed no man to be a slave;
Therefore the gleaming lance and sword
To man's right hand he gave."

In the coming contest upon this question of Protection to American Industry, or Protection to foreign industry, for that is the question, and the issue that will soon be presented for our decision, we, in this country, thank God, need not use the lance or the sword. Under our free government we have the BALLOT, which wills no man to be a slave. He

only, who forges his own fetters loses his freedom, in this free and favored land. I ask you to bear that in mind as you listen to me to-night.

This question of tariff is simply a question of protection to labor—protection to workingmen. Whenever working men are actively employed, and fairly remunerated, prosperity is the condition of the country. Labor is the base of the pyramid on which only can safely be built, or maintained, national prosperity.

In no other question has the workingman so deep an interest as in the tariff question. All of his dearest interests are at stake on that one issue. Hence I couple workingmen with the tariff.

Workingmen! What do they imply? What is a workingman? We worship the first workingman—the Great Creator, who worked six days to make a world to be worked by his creatures, and improved by his workingmen, for their dwelling place. After completing his self imposed task, and wearied with his labor, he rested upon the seventh day, he blessed it, he hallowed it, he bequeathed it to all workingmen, as the most merciful boon, for those who have to toil, whereon they could rest from their labor.

The capital of laboringmen is their strength and sinewy arms.

No persons in a country are more entitled to respect, than that class who comply with the earliest and most primitive of all commands, that: "In the sweat of his face shall man earn his bread.

Daniel Webster said: "The laborer of the United States is the United States." The Abbe DeLamennais says: "Labor is the action of humanity accomplishing the work which the creator has given it in charge."

In all other countries there is a distinction between men; distinctions as to birth, pedigree and opportunities. In this country each man is regarded as a workingman, and recognized as the architect of his own fortune, and any occupation is considered respectable, which enables a man to get a living in an independent manner, by his own efforts. This is the only country wherein a laboring man enjoys equality, prosperity and real independence. *Here, and here only*, man appreciates the dignity of his nature; his every footstep is in the full enjoyment and recognition of his own majesty.

How long is it, since a man, who a few years before, was sitting cross legged upon a tailors bench, making clothes, and who could not read the name of the maker of the scissors, with which he snipped his thread, until taught by his wife to read, soon after became Vice President, then President of the United States. In this country even the ninth part of a man can attain the highest of positions. I mean, of course, no disrespect to the tailors; if any are present.

I ask you to be true to this government, this free land with its glorious institutions, which give you the blessings surrounding you, such as the workingmen, are nowhere else enabled to procure or permitted to enjoy. Be faithful in your duties and in the expression of them, for by the conduct and the votes of workingmen, will be controlled the destinies of this country for good, or by them hurled to destruction.

Mr. Kearney, I have no doubt, thought he said a great thing, in Chicago a few days ago, when he said: "The next president of the United States would be elected by workingmen." If he had been posted he would have known that every president, from Washington to Hayes, inclusive, had been elected by workingmen. The workingmen's votes are the most numerous, hence they make the majority. Workingmen not only create the wealth of the country, but under our free government, by their ballots, they are virtually the rulers of it. Mr. Kearney is behind the times. "Capital is only the fruit of labor, and never could have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the support of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights, nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. * * * * *

"Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich, shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise."

Those are the words of Abraham Lincoln in an address to workingmen at Washington, on the 21st. of March, 1864—the boy who worked on a flat-boat for ten dollars a month, and split the

rails to fence in the first piece of land his father owned in Illinois.

General Grant, Ex-President, formerly a tanner of hides at Galena, Illinois, next a tanner of hides farther south, himself a workingman, said in an address to workmen in Liverpool, England: "I recognize the fact that whatever there is of greatness in the United States, and indeed in any other country, is due to labor. The laborer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labor there would be no government, or no leading class, or nothing to preserve. With us labor is regarded as highly respectable. When it is not so regarded, it is because man dishonors labor. We recognize that labor dishonors no man; and, no matter what man's occupation is, he is eligible to fill any post in the gift of the people; his occupation is not considered in selecting whether as a law-maker or an executor of the law." He said, too, that he had received nothing in England that had given him more pleasure "than the address of the workmen."

A large portion of the WORKINGMEN of Bay View are foreign born, and were adults before they emigrated. They naturally had imbibed a love of country, and were imbued with many of the prejudices, likes and dislikes of their native lands, and it is but natural that in many instances they should cling to them in their adopted country, notwithstanding the causes for those prejudices have no existence here. They may have been necessary to ensure them a bare existence in restricted freedom, and less political liberty in their own land,—they are merely chimerical in this land.

Workingmen are so ground down in other lands, under systems, which though nominally free, yet in reality are worse than slavery, in its common form, because as a general rule the white race have higher aims and aspirations, than have the black race. WORKINGMEN, under old country circumstances and conditions, were justified in many acts and in conduct, that if pursued here would subject them to ridicule and well merited contempt. Here they would be like the man who was found fighting his own shadow, misled and deceived by an atmospheric delusion. What is most needed by workingmen coming here from abroad is their assimilation to the ways of the country, and to aim for a higher plane than they could

have reached in the land they had left: this assimilation is not, however, as easy to some as to others. Let me tell you a little story: An Englishman and an Irishman landed for the first time in America on the fourth of July, in the midst of a hubbadoo of crackers, pistols squibs, etc., and while walking around a discharge of a large number of crackers, elicited the question: "What's all this blarsted row about?" "Fot's it about! Do'n't ye know we're celebrating the time we druv you fellows out o' the country," said the Irishman. A few months after their arrival they met. Pat was well dressed, looking cheerful and bright, and in funds. John Bull was forlorn looking, seedy in dress, and evidently in distress. "Fot's the matter wid you?" Asked Pat. "Why I've 'ad nought to do. I could'n't get no work as I could do, and I've been strapped more than a month!" The Englishman asked: "What have you been doing?" It was now Pat's turn. "Fot'ev I been doing? Fot hav'ent I done you might better ask me? Did'n't I tache mathematics and ashtromomy in a school for a month, an' I cum to preaching too; was'n't I a doctor for a spell, an' I druv a coach an' worked in the harvest shure." The Englishman asked: "Could you do all that?" "Could I!" "Don't you know that in this country any man can do everything, and something else besides." The Irishman was the wisest of the two. It was better to try and assimilate than to be fault finding, trying to ferret out unfavorable contrasts between the old and new countries.

THE TARIFF AND WORKINGMEN.

No subject in the past has been more shamefully misrepresented, no great and vital principle has been falsified in a more dastardly manner than this Tariff Question. That hackneyed clap-trap phrase: "Buy where you can buy the cheapest, and sell where you can sell the highest," is spirted out by the free-trade advocates, as though it was an irrefutable axiom, instead of a mere idiom. In commercial transactions, confined within one country, it may have force, but as between our own and other countries it is a seminal principle, fraught with great danger, holding the germs of a subtle mischief capable of much evil. It does not take into account the distinction between free

and enfranchised labor and slave labor, the latter generally meaning the labor of slaves—usually negroes or their descendants. There is another kind of slavery, where the laborer, though white, is a more dangerous competition, where crowded on small areas of land, too poor to emigrate, dense populations, they must work or starve, while under despotic governments they are owned by and controlled by the manufacturers, who are barometers elevating or depressing the fates of those laborers, as the atmosphere makes the mercury rise or fall. When men are forced to work for twenty-five cents a day, and produce as much *per capita* as our workmen do, who in order to live as American citizens ought to live, receive a dollar a day, it needs no solecism in language to show that what costs in equal quantities and quality, but twenty-five cents, will drive out of market what costs one dollar a day to produce. The agriculturalists are attacking the Tariff lately. J. B. Grinnell, of Iowa, has made a speech in New York: "Forced to ask for lower freights, we are met with the reply that steel rails have gone up from fifty to seventy-five per cent; This adds to the real cost we admit, and he who bears so large a proportion of this burden, is the farmer." The most popular war cry had been, and it seemed ever would be, in the rural regions, that the great burdens of the government, and the largest portions of the taxes are borne by the farmers, who had been so fawned upon, petted and flattered, and soaped over by sycophantic politicians, that they believe themselves almost deities, the great men of the country. The easiest road to a farmer's mind or his pocket, is through his vanity. Mr. Grinnell evidently understands the idiosyncracies of the corngrowers of Iowa; he stoops to conquer. He knows that no class of persons bear so small a portion of the government taxes as do farmers, or are taxed so lightly proportionately. When he says that "less than a dozen institutions are allowed to make steel rails" in this country, he states something entirely incorrect, there being nothing to prevent Mr. Grinnell or his corngrowing constituents, from building and running a steel rail mill; the business is as open to him as to any one. as it is to all, and he knows it. He says that, "1,000,000 tons of steel rails are needed annually for our trunk railways," worth

say, \$70 per ton, if made in this country. In ten years there is \$700,000,000 added to the nations wealth; if made out of this country, say at \$60 per ton, there would be \$600,000,000 paid out of this country to help such foreign country, and to impoverish our own. Just so much employment given to foreign laborers while our own are idle. Nor is it alone the mere making of the rails, it is the other numerous industries that are set in motion to make a rail. To make one sheet of plate glass sets thirty-three industries in motion. Constant employment of our workmen is constant additions to the nations wealth, and enabling our workmen to keep bettering their condition, to get better homes of their own, to become stockholders in the country, it anchors them to the soil. There is an old adage we cannot deride nor ignore it.

UBI BENE IBI PATRIA.

"Where I am well off there is my country." Men will practice this, and, if they cannot make their living in this country, they will emigrate to another. Do you doubt it? Read your papers and see how many skilled laborers and mechanics, who were on the verge of starvation in their own countries, are coming here. The main reason is the condition of the working man is so much better here, in every way, than in any other country. Here, with a slight effort, and ordinary economy and prudence, he becomes a freeholder, lives in his own home, is his own landlord on his own soil. In political rights and power he is the equal of any of his fellow men. He can pursue his own happiness in his own way, restricted only by laws made by his fellow men, and which those men can repeal by their votes. Before the law he is the equal of the man who employs him. No caste, or title or hereditary descent renders one man superior to another. No divinity hedges a king. Here every avenue to independence, to riches or wealth, is as open to one man as to another. You can scarcely point to a single instance, in this western country, this Mississippi Valley, the future seat of the world's empire; of a wealthy man, who has not climbed up from poverty to the condition he is in, and, what is of more consequence to workmen is that he who has already reached the goal of riches, has been unable, has been debarred the power,

even if he had the inclination of impeding or obstructing others from reaching the same goal.

CAPITALISTS NOT TYRANTS.

But are capitalists, or those men holding high positions, over others, of trust and responsibilities, necessarily tyrants? It is often implied, even asserted, by many of those orators whose whole aim is to stir up strife between workingmen and their employers. Are they tyrannical? The president of this company, Mr. Potter, said at the meeting in Pittsburgh last May:

"No gentlemen, you had better let this labor question alone, or if you touch it, let it be in the way of encouragement, rather than in despair, to your employees and their families."

And he said also "that it was not high wages, but bad management that drove thirty per cent. of the mills of Pittsburgh into bankruptcy. It was being in an eternal quarrel with your employees, and your credit system, that was where your ruin began." And again, he said: "Every man of you have more or less men in your employ who know much more about many details of your business than you do, and, who in a quiet way, save their salaries every day, by their devotion to you and your interests, and these men you know and have confidence in, and would and do entrust them with your property, to the utmost limit, such men do not ruin you, as a rule you don't appreciate them. Fill your mills with such men and their acts will never disgrace or ruin you."

Bear in mind, Gentlemen, that those remarks of Mr. Potter were made not to workingmen, but to the largest assemblage of iron and steel manufacturers, heavy capitalists, ever assembled on this continent. They were the unsolicited utterances of the president of an iron and steel company, employing upwards of 4000 workingmen, they were made too at a city hundreds of miles from his own place of business.

Were they not manly, truthful, honest, and fearless in utterances—words fitly spoken? I ask you is it not a pleasure, even an honor, to be in the employ of such a man, whom you must not forget, is only an employee of other men—you and he are only workingmen.

But I have more to ask: Could you,

as workingmen, have chosen a representative from among yourselves, to give expression to your most vital interests, as between workingmen and employers, who could have represented your interests more fully, fairly, honorably and manfully, than did Mr. Potter, at Pittsburgh, last May.

CAPITAL BENEFITS LABOR.

To you, gentlemen, who not only read, but reflect on what you read, and form your own opinions, it cannot have escaped your observation, that the opponents of protection to American Industries; which is protection to American workingmen, scarcely ever question the benefits that accrue to those workingmen, but usually base their opposition, their arguments and assertions, and allegations that capitalists and manufacturers derive the greatest benefits from such protection; and in a measure that is true. Do they wish it otherwise? Ought not men who invest heavy capital, risking it in the most costly machinery, subject to all the caprices of whimsical legislators, who, taking all the chances of losses, as well as gains, by the fluctuations of prices, the uncertainties of supply and demands, and all the changes and contingencies of trade, with its too frequent unscrupulous competitions; ought they not to make greater profits, than those who risk only so frequently, their capital of manual labor, or at best, skilled labor, and, who at the end of each year, have still that capital left, comparatively unimpaired? Ought not such men be better paid? You will, I am sure, respond in the affirmative of the question? And, if for no other reason, simply for this, that it is the capitalists who set the machinery in motion that gives employment to the workingmen!!! Capital to be increased is dependent upon workingmen. Workingmen to be employed are dependent upon capital!!! No two forces are more dependent, one upon the other, than are capital and workingmen. No two are so benefited by a mutual recognition of that dependence! In no way can greater benefits be felt by both, than by a cheerful recognition of that dependence. Give to each of an hundred men, a like capital, and start them on the same day, in the pursuit of competency, or independence, or wealth if you please, and have them all meet five or ten years afterwards

at the starting point! Do you believe they would be equal in the world's goods? If you do you have neither read or observed to a sound purpose. In one way or another some of the men would have become better off than the others. Here and there one would have made wealth, and others would have lost what they started with. Nor does it follow that they who had made the most, had made it dishonestly. Such a conclusion would be manifestly unjust. The greatest of all writers, the great master mind, has said: "Some are born to greatness, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." This difference in business talent, judgment, cunning, shrewdness, power or capacity for acquisition; be it a gift or whatever it may be, is inexplicable; it is incomprehensible! Some men have musical ears, many are strangers to sweet sounds. That men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is a political axiom. But men are not alike or equally endowed with capacities to obtain that happiness, or the independence, that a competency of the world's goods, honestly and uprightly obtained, without the violation of religious or moral principles, generally ensures to the possession. There seems to be at times a realization of the saying: "A fool for luck and a poor man for children." There are plenty of instances where acts of seeming folly have become fruitful of rich returns pecuniarily. One of those lucky fools, so called, purchased for a mere song, at an auction sale, a large number of copper warming pans, an act apparently of the greatest folly, and followed it by an act seemingly still more foolish, by shipping them to Jamaica, an Island in the tropics. The consignee, not knowing what to do with warming pans in so hot a climate, took off the perforated lids, put handles to them and sold them for skimmers to the sugar mills, the other parts he sold for sugar ladles, and thus the consignor realized an immense profit. I might give you more instances, but one will suffice to warm you up on the subject of "luck."

Antagonism between capital and labor is the veriest bosh. Independence of capital is still more nonsensical. The richest man in Milwaukee is the most dependent one. The most independent is the

one whose wants are the fewest, who can reasonably feel sure, by his own efforts, of the certainty of supplying those wants. The more the secrets of rich men's lives are exposed, the cares, the anxieties and perplexities and responsibilities that great wealth so often entails upon its owners—the less envy is felt for them. Rich men are often strangers to the peace of mind enjoyed by those who have only a competency against want. 'Oppression of Capital on Labor', is often cried out for the basest purposes. Workingmen create law making power for they elect the legislators who make laws, and any law that does not protect a working man will not protect a capitalist. As I said to the boys in the school house in this village: "The law that does not guard in safety, the poor saxon in his shanty in the Sixth Ward, is powerless to protect the rich banker in his grand temple in the Third Ward, or gorgeous dwelling in the Fourth Ward. The banker has the greatest risk at stake, hence is more dependent upon good laws made to protect all alike." If laws are wrong it is the fault of WORKINGMEN.

WHO IS ASKING FOR PROTECTION?

On this question of tariff, what are the facts? Who is asking for protection? Not America's workingmen; they have it and are prospering under it. It is English manufacturers that are asking for it. Strange as it may seem to some of you, it is England, with all her boasted Free Trade, with all all her former dictation, that great power, with her vast and unequalled machinery, her inexhaustible means and untold wealth. It is England, who is asking for protection, crying for it, sending committees to this country to try and procure the repeal of the tariff on foreign industries, foreign made goods. I say to you, look out for her. She's skilled in diplomacy. In bribery she is *au fait*. Not a government that has not, at some time, felt the influence, and been swayed by her vast wealth. British gold has been, and is now, powerful and persuasive. It moves her best interests. Beware of it! Her press is ever vigilant. She only, has a Thunderer; the world feels its reverberations. The pertness of popinjays or yelps of puppies, find no place in its columns. When Mr. W. H. Russell, was introduced to President Lincoln, by Mr. Seward, the Presi-

dent welcomed him as the correspondent of "*The Times*," saying: "It was a great power. There was only one thing to which he could compare it to, and that was the Mississippi." That was the river on which "Old Abe" had floated in his boyhood. It had impressed his mind with its sweeping majestic power. Penn-dennis says of the *Times*:

"There she is; the great engine. She never sleeps. She has her ambassadors in every quarter of the globe; her couriers upon every road. Her officers march along with armies, and her envoys walk into statesmen's cabinets. They are ubiquitous. Yonder journal has an agent at this minute, giving bribes at Madrid; and another inspecting the price of potatoes at Covent Garden."

One of the ablest English writers said: "Ambassadors are men sent abroad to tell lies for the benefit of their country."

You may ask, could a congress be bribed? I know and some of you know, that the entire Legislature of Wisconsin, with very rare exceptions, *were bribed*, with a judge or two of the Supreme Court, one of whom put the bribe in his watch-pocket for safety. The governor of the State accepted the bribe, agreeing not to veto the bill, when passed, yet refused to sign the bill, until he received an additional \$25,000, as the signing was not specified in the first bribe. Any number of editors and newspaper proprietors were bribed at the same time.

Has the foreign influence been felt here, or at Washington?

The decision given by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, French, on the Steel Blooms, imported from England, was, to say the least, a curious decision.

A gentleman calling to see the celebrated Earl of Chatham, the great friend of the American Colonists, by mistake was shown into the wrong room. The Earl was down on his knees playing marbles with his young nephew. The Earl remarked: "I suppose you are surprised to find me here? I am playing with my nephew for his amusement. He has been in school at Paris, and I am afraid those Frenchmen have been trying to corrupt him. I've caught him twice attempting to cheat." In the "bloom" case—it may have been the other way.

The English may have corrupted the French, and that may account for the peculiar decision on "blooms."

It is England, that is asking for, beseeching for, crying for, trying to bribe for, begging for, and imploring for protection against the skilled workmen of America, who are righteously protected by their own government.

Yes! They send their representatives here. The president of the Cobden Club of England is asking for protection!

THE COBDEN CLUB CRIES SAVE US FROM AMERICA.

The representative of the leading Free Trade country, of the greatest power in the world comes to us for protection!!! That power so glowingly described by Daniel Webster:

"A power, which for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome in the height of her glory is not to be compared. A power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions, and military posts, whose morning drum beat following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, daily circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

They come to this country and virtually say as did one of their largest houses, through its circulars:

"The United States was at one time a large customer for our ironware and textile fabrics, but the hostile tariff she had enforced, since the civil war, has nearly driven us out of her markets, and has built up a vast system of manufactures which completely supplies her own wants, and leaves something to spare for competition with us in foreign markets."—Annual Cotton Circular of Smith, Edwards & Co., Liverpool. December 31, 1878.

Look with what shrewdness, cunning and consummate judgment the commissioners from England have been selected. They are all chosen friends of John Bright, a name cherished and respected, and remembered gratefully by all patriotic Americans for the good words he has ever spoken for America, and his kind feelings and unflinching friendship for the North during the Southern Rebellion. He deserves the best wishes of all Americans. But John Bright is an Englishman.

"He might have been a Boasian,
A French, or Turk, or Proosian
Or perhaps an I - tal - i - an.

But in spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations,
He remains an Englishman.

And don't you forget it. So are Mr. T. Bailey Potter and his associates. They are the worst enemies America has, for their success would be our injury. Mr. Bright aims to ruin that "system of manufactures which completely supplies our own wants," and which makes us a "dangerous competition with England in foreign markets;" a system, the result of judicious tariff, till it has strength now to compete in many articles with the first manufacturing power in the world.

IRISHMEN AND FREE TRADE.

I digress for a few moments to speak on the subject of Irishmen and Free Trade. I am governed solely by the sentiment of one of the ablest Irishmen that ever lived. He said: "I am satisfied that while a man is suffered to live, it is an intimation from providence that he has some duty to discharge, which it is mean and criminal to decline."

I have only the kindest feelings towards Irishmen, here or anywhere. My remarks will be of the most friendly character. I wish there were more to hear me. I am told that most of the Irish men in Bay View advocate Free Trade. Those with whom I have conversed so expressed themselves. I admire their courage, but I think their judgment erroneous, their conclusions inconsistent, their policy suicidal to their best interests.

I have already said I flatter, no one, I wish to be just and truthful to all.

We all know that Irishmen hate England, with an intensity that language can scarcely describe. They never; "well hardly ever," omit an opportunity of expressing that hatred. Yet in this country, with rare exceptions, they have been inconsistent, contradictory and self stultifying on this question of a tariff—protection to home industries; to American Workingmen. In every word, action and effort they manifest a ceaseless vigilant desire to injure England, cursing, denouncing and anathematizing her. During the ferocity of the Fenian Furor, when the wildest and worst passions of frenzy, anger and savage revenge culminated in an attack upon the people of Canada,

who had no more to do with injuring or oppressing Ireland, or the Irish people, than with injuring the man in the moon, Irishmen, while holding the sword, or the torch in one hand, to murder or lay waste by fire, the dwellings of those people, in the bloodiest spirit of relentless rancor; and,—it is not the fault of the Fenians, that hundreds and thousands of Canadian homes were not burnt and the bodies and bones of their murdered owners mingled with the ashes; yet with the other hand dropped their votes, almost as one body, in this country, in obedience to the orders of Free Trade advocates, thereby strengthening and enriching England, while weakening and impoverishing America.

Was there ever a greater bull perpetrated than that?

The Eagle must have sneeringly laughed as she saw the Irish voters of this country patting, petting, and nourishing John Bull.

One party has always counted, and never in vain, upon the Irish vote, to help them carry Free Trade measures.

Is it not strange that Irishmen do not see what would be the effect, in this country, could they be successful? Would not England crash the industries of America, as she did those of Ireland? What sensible man doubts it? England's destruction of Irish industries has been one of the causes of bringing the Irish people to their present impoverished condition. Dependent almost solely upon agriculture, or its proceeds, and without manufactures of any extent, the failure of a crop was famine for the people. Common sense would suggest that encouragement to manufactures was the only remedy?

The Earl of Dunraven, in his letter to the New York *Herald*, on Irish affairs, says, on the subject of Ireland's industries:

"Practically speaking, there are no other industries in Ireland to which people can turn their attention. Such was not always the case. Ireland, at one time, showed plenty of disposition to originate and develop manufactures. England crushed every effort for her own selfish interests."

That is the opinion of a distinguished Irishman.

James Anthony Froude, in a recent article bears still stronger testimony to the successful efforts of England to extinguish Irish manufactures, to prevent her from becoming a manufacturing, or even a successful agricultural country. Here is what he says:

"The English ought to have shown that the English connection meant at least material prosperity. They deliberately determined, on the contrary, to keep Ireland poor and miserable as the readiest means of preventing it from being troublesome. They destroyed Irish trade and shipping by navigation laws. They extinguished Irish manufactures by differential duties. They laid disabilities even on the wretched agriculture for fear that Irish importations might injure the English farmer."

That is the opinion of a distinguished Englishman, of whom Father Tom Burke said:

"Mr. Froude speaks words the most eloquent and compassionate * * * which brought tears to my eyes * * * I pray God to bless him and reward him. He speaks words of generous, enlightened, statesmanlike sympathy for the peasantry of Ireland, and for these words, Mr. Froude, if you were an Englishman ten thousand times over, I love you."

One of the great wants of Ireland is coal; while she has but little iron. But plant her hill sides and valleys with manufactories which the abundance of her labor could supply. Give diversified employment to her people, cease to have agriculture her sole dependence, and a different condition of things would soon exist there. Give to her common school system, strict compulsory attendance to elevate her peasantry to self reliance, and very soon no prominent ecclesiastic would dare to testify, in the House of Commons, that "an Irish plowman ought to receive only sufficient education to enable him to follow the plow, or an Irish blacksmith to know more than should fit him to hammer iron, for fear they should become discontented with their conditions in life."

Immediately after the arrival of Mr. W. H. Russell, the *London Times* correspondent, in New York, in March, 1862, he attended on invitation of his countrymen, the meeting of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and in his speech said:

"I must say that I saw to-day more Irishmen with good coats and hats on, than I ever saw before in my life."

There was a world of meaning in that remark. Irishmen can wear better coats in this country than anywhere else. Protection to American industry has enabled them to get them; not, however through their own votes!!!

You certainly cannot desire to cripple the industries of this country. Yet it must be plain to you, who read and reflect, that if England was not the sufferer by our Tariff, she would not be eager to have it repealed! Else why send her emissaries to this country seeking to influence our press—they have already influenced a portion of it. It is known to some of us that a certain paper in a neighboring city; very strongly Irish in its sympathies; managed by Irishmen, or their immediate descendants; is under the influence of the Cobden Club, and that paper is strongly Free Trade. Why do the English Emissaries seek to influence members of Congress for a change in the tariff? Simply because it protects and fosters American manufacturers, causing new manufactories, mills, works, etc., to be erected without number, strengthening this country by the exclusion of foreign made goods, to the detriment and injury of our own.

Do you wish to change this? If you succeed you would be like the man in the scripture, you would have sown the wind and you would certainly reap the whirlwind. No class of men are more dependent upon the Tariff, in this country, than are Irish workingmen, whether mechanics or mere laborers.

The united Irish societies in Chicago, a short time since, voted unanimously to remit their contributions to an agent in Dublin, leaving to his discretion their distribution, directing him to act on—"The principle that it was right to do the reverse of what the English government and their organs advised."

My friends! That advice, if sound, as to the subscriptions is sounder yet, as to the Tariff Question—vote the reverse of what the English organs advise, and you will vote right, and for your own interest.

I give you these sentiments in the kindest spirit, with the very best of

wishes towards you—the words only of friendly advice. Think over them; they will be printed just as spoken.

You have been misled and deceived, and mistaken in the past, as you are in the present. You are injuring yourselves by your Free Trade votes. You are not doing your duty to the country that gives you a home, with opportunities you could have no where else. Let me add, for your consideration, something worthy of your deepest thoughts: *In hearts and minds that are filled with hatred, and ever seething with intense thirst for revenge, the seeds of good sentiments can never strike root.*

AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS.

is a sound motto, not in a know nothing, but know something sense. The detachment of her American colonies was a terrible blow to England—the loss of their trade, the rivalry of their manufactures is a vital stab, that taps the arterial blood, weakening her commercial greatness. The commissioners sent here, virtually say: “Your mills and factories are all busy; your industries are moving day and night. Your workingmen are all prospering, and earning higher wages, proportionately, than ever before, while the money paid them had never much greater purchasing power. Throughout your vast country, good crops have been gathered; prosperity exists everywhere, and it has injured us. We want to you change all this. Repeal your Tariff; stop your mills, so that ours can start up. Our workingmen are idle, and on the verge of starvation. Is this right? Ought not your government to be run for our benefit as well as yours?”

Washington advised not only against “the insidious wiles of foreign influence,” but “not to open the door to foreign influence and corruption,” fearing that it might “facilitate the subjection of our best interests to the policy and will of another country.” Heed his advice.

Now Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter made speeches here after dinner, and eloquently pictured the benefits(?) to accrue to America from Free Trade(?) with England. It is more important to know what Mr. O. W. Potter, of Chicago, the American, says before dinner, than what Mr. Potter, the Englishman, says after dinner. Many years since, a boast-

ing Italian was bragging in New York about Italy, that she was the greatest, and most wonderful country in the world. America was nowhere. “We’ve got Mount Vesuvius, Sar, throwing up fire out of the bowels of the earth, Sar; day and night, Sar.” And addressing Edwin Forrest: “What have you got, Sar! to equal that, Sar?” Forrest replied: “We’ve got Niagara Falls, Sar, that would put it out in two minutes, Sar, and bust your little country all to pieces, Sar.”

When they talk to you about Thomas Bayley Potter, tell them you’ve got O. W. Potter, that can put out his Free Trade fire in two minutes, with honest arguments for the protection of American Workingmen.

DECEMBER 18, 1879.—At a meeting held at Rochdale, England, to welcome Mr. T. Bayley Potter, on his return from America, a Mr. Heape, maybe a relation to Uriah Heap, made a motion: “That the free traders in the United States may soon be crowned with success by the entire removal of all barriers to free commercial intercourse between England and America.” And it was passed by acclamation. Mr. Heape would have been “struck all of a heap,” had some one asked him to have American Tobacco, High Wines, Snuff, Segars, California Brandy, etc., admitted duty free into England for the “removal of all those barriers to free commercial intercourse between England and America.” And, while playing missionary, as a free trader, Mr. Heape might have also asked for the admission, duty free into England, of Cognac, Champagne, Laces, Silks and Kid Gloves, etc., from France? I only make this suggestion to help along English so called “Free Trade,” which, in fact, has not, and never had an existence!!

At the meeting referred to Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter said:

“It was like new life to me to visit America, and to see in her boundless resources of the soil, in the developement of education, in the sober industry of her people, and in her devotion to peace a security for the progress of mankind. I seemed to regain faith in the future of humanity, and confidence that the English race would continue to lead the van in progress.”

We are leading it, we intend to keep the lead. Mr. T. Bayley Potter is not the first Englishman that has found it out. Years ago, Sir Morton Peto, verging on insolvency, after ineffectual efforts to dispose of railway shares and debentures, during his visit to this country, and returning disconsolate and defeated, was asked, in New York, what he thought of the Americans? He replied: "An American is an Englishman very much sharpened up."

Mr. Bright fared no better by his speech at Rochdale. It had scarcely reached America when there appeared in the New York *Evening Post*, the American organ of Free Trade, a letter from a British Workingman, at Rochdale, saying:

"The wonderful speech of Mr. John Bright, at Rochdale; wonderful because it was so filled with a description of your own wonderful country—caused many of us to determine that America must be our home at the earliest possible moment. Many also, with myself, would be glad if that moment could only be the present one; that is impossible."

The policy of a statesman that drives the best workingmen out of his own to a foreign country, is anything but *bright*—to my understanding. Mr. Bright was behind the times. Sixty years ago the London *Christian Observer* said of this country:

"While other nation are exhausting themselves in strife, she is accumulating wealth and power, which in time, unless some mighty revolution dash to pieces, the whole framework of her society must make her the mistress of the world."

Next comes Lord Derby and says, a short time since: "The United States might be our most formidable rival, but the Americans do not face us openly. They fight entrenched behind a protective tariff, even with the help of which they have not wholly checked the importation of English manufactures into America. Still American competition is not to be slightly spoken of."

That reminds me of what a member of Parliament said in the House of Commons, when England was engaged in the slave Trade. "Gentlemen," said he, "you can never imagine how perfidiously the negroes treat us; their wickedness is so great that on some of the coasts of

Africa they prefer death to slavery. When we have bought them, they stab themselves, or plunge into the sea, which is so much loss to the purchaser. Judge by this action of the perversity of that abominable race."

In the times of the Revolution, Charles Townshend, in Parliament, said: "And now these Americans—children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms; will they grudge their mite to relieve us?"

Col. Barre replied: "They planted by your care? Your oppressions drove them to America. They nourished by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense: For the defense of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior yielded all its little savings for your emolument."

"Ah me! What perils do environ?
The man that meddles with cold iron."

Mr. Bayley Potter bears his testimony to American progress and prosperity. At this time particularly is it so of the iron interest. Orders far ahead of the capacity of the mills to fill, those who cannot wait, contented with an inferior article from England—gold flowing in from the old land by millions; our elevators groaning under the pressure of the grain that fills them; our vast territory, a huge beehive, busy everywhere, all labor fairly, generously remunerated; the country a paradise for workingmen, and all this because American workingmen and manufactures are, and have been for many years, protected by a tariff. The Old Book says: "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

England admits that we are beginning—to successfully compete with her in many articles of manufacture, in various parts of the world. We know that if the tariff is continued, we shall soon compete with her in all. It has taken England centuries to arrive at her present status. We have just passed our hundredth birthday.

ENGLAND ASKING PROTECTION AT HOME.

One English writer said, recently in favor of Protection, to England. God save the mark!! Protection to England after 27 years of *bright* free trade! Mr. Vivian tells us that America "has the curse of

protection upon it" and then continues: "Where man interposes his short sighted laws, the best provision of providence is shackled and blighted" and asks with singular sharpness. "Are we to understand that America is shackled and blighted, or merely that free trade has a divine origin?" He continues: "We see what America is, what she would be if free trade had been her destiny instead of protection, we can easily realize. There would be no iron works, no cotton works, no glass works, no paper factories, no teeming hives of industries. Every manufactured article would be imported from Europe. Her iron and coal mines would be still undeveloped. She would remain a purely agricultural country like Russia, and her progress and civilization would be indefinitely postponed." That is an English statement remember. Mr. O. W. Potter said at Pittsburgh last May: "It is clearly demonstrated now, by the results in England, what a condition this country would be placed in by the overthrow of the industries represented by the association," and again "English capital and free trade can shut up every iron and steel establishment west of the Alleghenies in three years, and every one east of them in five years; and it will not be five years before we will be face to face with this issue." English manufacturing power equals 600,000,000 human beings; is almost beyond computation. Horace Greely said of London: "Under the canopy of yellow fog which covers like a blanket the district stretching some six miles in every direction from Temple Bar or Charing Cross is gathered more wealth, more intellectual force, more commercial activity, than any thousand square miles besides. A meeting of half a dozen plain citizens in a dingy back room in the city decides on a step which shall give new life to the industry of a province of Central Asia or an island in the Pacific, Mexican mines are worked or deserted, oceans are traversed in quest of islands of guano or beds of pearl, as a few long heads quietly laid together in London, see fit to direct. Here dwells the great heart whose pulsations are felt and obeyed in China or Australia, Egypt and Brazil, and whose life giving currents are constantly returning, to enrich their source and augment its power." During the hundred days of Napoleon Buonaparte—commonly understood as being from the time he left the Island of Elba to the conclusion of the

battle of Waterloo Great Britain poured out a stream of wealth of hundreds of millions of pounds, and no nation has increased in riches as she has. Mr. O. W. Potter was right, free trade and her capital could shut up our mills, for she could afford to pay hundreds of millions of dollars to secure a permanent repeal of the Tariff. As sincerely as I believe in my own existence do I assert that in this matter of "Tariff" is an issue of the greatest magnitude, not only to this country but to England.

It is, whether England, by skillful diplomacy can cripple and set back the tide of American manufactures, and she again become the mistress of the world as a manufacturing country or whether America by continuing her protection, to her workmen shall become the principle manufacturers for foreign markets. That is the coming issue, and the question to be decided.

The twaddle about ties of blood kindred, relations and other stuff, is well enough for after dinner speeches, for the feast of reason and the flow of soul as flowery adornments upon such occasions. All trade and commerce is selfish, all competition, all strife, over reaching, one trying to outdo the other in any way that existing laws do not proscribe nor punish. When the talk of sympathy between nations love for each other, generosity to each other, is talked of, remember what one of the greatest statesmen of England, said who guarded her safety and interests with a success equal to any. Lord Palmerston in 1848, in reply to the charge of neglecting alliances said:

"As to the romantic notion that nations or governments are much or permanently influenced by friendships, and God knows what, why I say that those who maintain those romantic notions, and apply the intercourse of individuals to the intercourse of nations are indulging in a vain dream. The only thing which makes one government follow the advice and yield to the counsel of another is the hope of benefit to accrue from adopting it, or the fear of the consequences of opposing it."

One of the ablest of French writers says "In the eyes of the English that which is most useful to England is always cause of justice. The man or the government, which serves the interests of England, has all sorts of good qualities; he who hurts

those interests all sorts of defects; so that it would seem that the *criterion* of what is right, or noble, or just, is to be found in the degree of favor or opposition to English interests the same thing occurs to some extent in the judgment of all nations but it is manifested in England to a degree which astonishes foreigners."

An eminent French writer says of English patriotism: "From the Queen to the meanest beggar, there is not one Englishman or woman who is not a patriot all over. Take here for example a barrister, a journalist, a military man, a cleanser of walks, a ragpicker, a duke, a workman, a lord, a tradesman, a clerk, a young girl, an old female, a lady, a chambermaid, a poor man, a rich one, an atheist, a believer, a chartist, a whig, a tory, there is one thing common to all, and which they are prior to anything else, and that is English to the core; one thing which they will have prior to anything else, and at any cost and that is the influence and the prestige of England." That noble patriotism of Englishmen, springs from a deep sense of duty. In Wellington's despatch (it was said) the word "glory" did not occur, duty was frequent, 'Duty' inspired Nelson at Trafalgar. Just before that bloody conflict began on which the fate of the world depended, when the British were thinking of—

"England, home and beauty,
Along the line, the signal ran;
England expects that every man,
This day will do his duty."

They did their duty; duty to country is true patriotism. Preference to our workmen over foreign workmen is our first duty—the most urgent of all our duties, it is *true* patriotism, their prosperity is the nations prosperity.

I appeal to you as WORKINGMEN, having so much at stake in this issue, whose future welfare depends upon it to be as steadfast and faithful in your duties to American influence and interests, as Englishmen have ever been, and now are in their duties to English influence and interests. For a moment only let me call your attention to a subject, that, I have not yet seen touched upon in any of our papers. It is beginning to rise on the horizon though not visible to every naked eye. Standing armies! What if a million or so of able bodied men should be disbanded from the European armies, returning to manufacturing at prices, which would

starve American mechanics and workmen!

There is cause for grave thought on this subject. Already hints are thrown out of *elimination*, discharging that class of men, who were formerly skilled artisans, and superior workmen, in large numbers, retaining mostly those who formerly were mere laborers. On this subject already contemplated in Europe there is reason for serious reflection by American workmen.

WORKINGMEN, TARIFF AND CAPITAL—A GRAND TRINITY.

In Bay View there is working harmoniously, a grand trinity of benefactors—WORKINGMEN, TARIFF and CAPITAL, producing the best of results. No better lesson, to all of us, has been taught than by Bay View as it is, and as it was, a short time ago. Bear with me a few moments. I will draw the contrast between its past and present, leaving you "to point the moral and adorn the tale."

Bay View, just before this company purchased it, was a dead iron works, and that is the ghastliest, and most chilling and repulsive of all manufactory corpses. How dreary, how desolate, how dismal! There was the sad, solemn, sepulchral silence of its machinery. The very quiet was depressing. The darkness of its evenings and nights was scarcely bearable. No light! No flaming gas silvered up the curling clouds of smoke, or sent its golden hues flashing through the jetting steam. Bay View was like a deserted village. No employment. The workmen were idle—their homes wore dull and gloomy. No man or woman present, possessed of ordinary intelligence and common sense, believes that if Free Trade advocates could have ruled that those mills would have again been set in motion? No, my friends! It was the tariff only, that saved you! Under the Tariff capital felt secure, in making the investment, and the works were again started. They needed a divinity to again shape their ends. Capital came with its almost God like power. It banished the gloom and dissipated the darkness. In the majesty of its power, it said: *Let there be light, and there was light*

Thinking on this subject a few months ago, while returning to Milwaukee at night on the Northwestern train, I re-

solved to write this lecture. As we stopped at your station, the light from the works attracted the passengers attention, as it shown on the car windows. Abreast of the Minerva Works the "Goddess of wisdom, of war, and the liberal arts," held aloft her bright oriflamme lighting up the buildings for some distance, serving as a flaming beacon to the incoming vessels to our harbor. Looking back at the Rolling Mill Works, the mingled clouds of smoke and steam and flashing lights, I realized the contrast, between life and death, stagnation and vital motion, suspension and industry, suffering or prospering workingmen.

Labor had always been there, or could have been had in abundance, for it was weary with waiting and yearning for employment. But labor was impotent and helpless as a mewling and puling infant, Capital came and supplied the needed light; dispelled the dark shadows; ignited the fires; sent its hot breath into the furnaces; again the flames went shooting into the air. With a magical power it touched the engines, the machinery moved obedient to its will. The ponderous wheels revolved; the workingmen were busy; their homes again became cheerful, and their wives and their children partook of the newly created joy that capital had shed in the hundreds of cottages in Bay View.

My friends—I have earnestly endeavored to impress upon you that this whole question of Tariff, is one of protection to labor, of

EMPLOYMENT TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN who must be protected for American free

and enfranchised workingmen, cannot even handed, as yet, successfully compete with foreign labor—they ought not to be asked to, common justice to them forbids it!!

In forming your opinions on this question of protection to American industry for the benefit of American laborers and mechanics, do not lose sight of this all important fact, England has grown up from barbarism and slavery, to her present status of civilization and freedom with limited political liberty. Our United States were born to freedom and were the children of the fullest liberty, and every man and woman who comes here comes to the enjoyment of that freedom and that liberty. American laborers and mechanics will never be, they never ought to be, contented with the pauperized condition of those of other lands, where dense populations on limited areas create and enforce a species of slavery and forced servitude in labor from which we can always be exempt in this country if we but protect our laborers and mechanics.

Our government was formed for "the promotion of the general welfare" which must be the welfare of the workingmen, who constitute nine-tenths of the people, "the laborer is the United States." "Without labor (workingmen) there would be no government, or no leading class or nothing to preserve." (Gen. Grant.)

To protect American workingmen against foreign workingmen is the highest duty of American Law Makers.

