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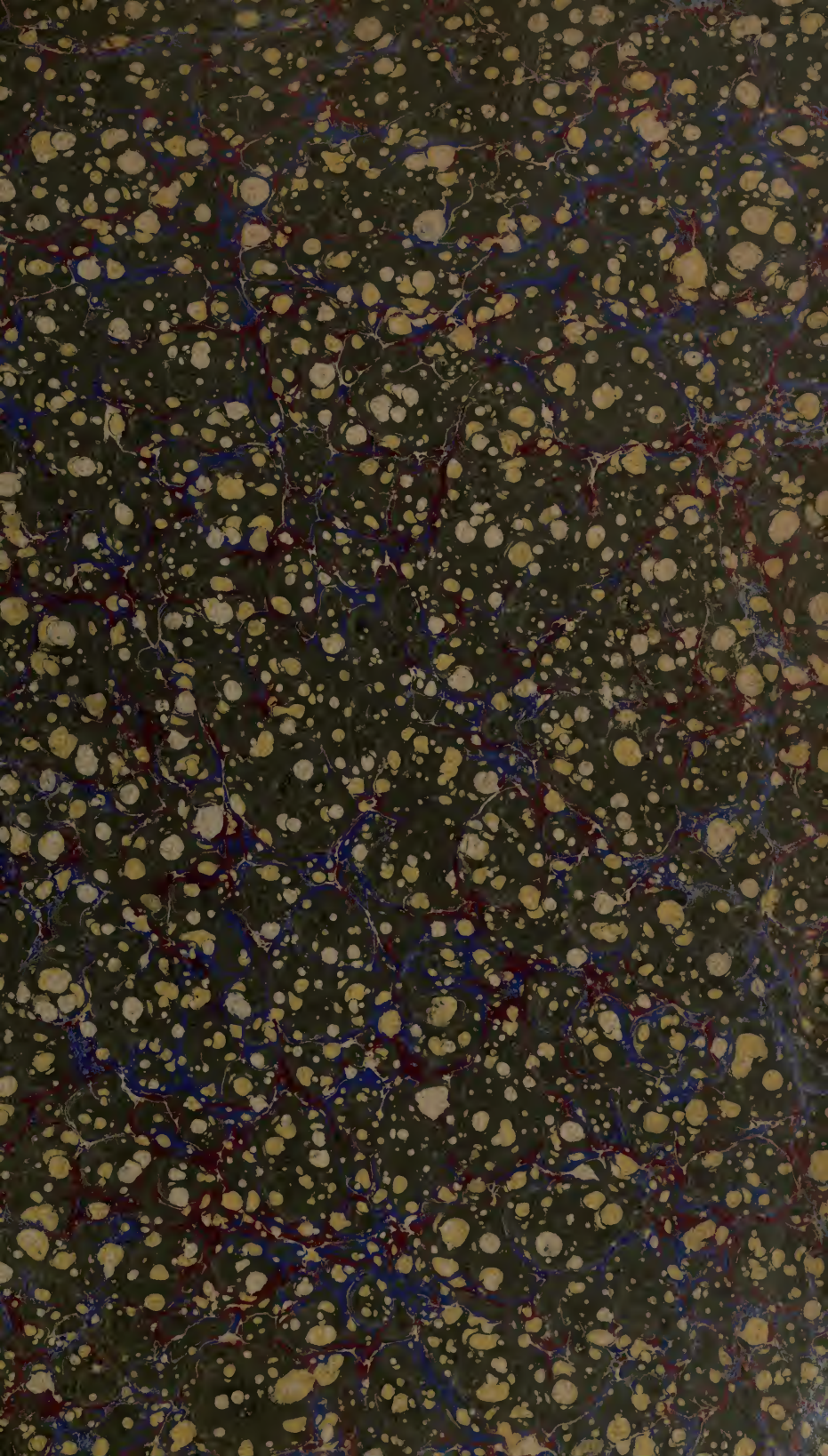
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THE TRUE AMERICAN POLICY.

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# PROTECT LABOR:

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

WORKING MEN,

BY

L. SANIAL,

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN ECONOMISTS.

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TO WHICH ARE APPENDED

STATEMENTS SHOWING THE INCREASE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY AND WEALTH UNDER A PROTECTIVE TARIFF, RATES OF WAGES AND COST OF LIVING IN EUROPE AS COMPARED WITH THE UNITED STATES, ETC.

COMPILED FROM REPORTS OF BUREAUS OF STATISTICS, UNITED STATES CONSULS, CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, TRADE UNIONS, ETC.

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1884.

## II.

But although the American worker need not fear the competition of European immigrants, who come here to enjoy the full benefits of our social, political and industrial system, he cannot fear too much *the competition of cheap foreign labor in the form of cheap foreign products.* In other words,

**Let Him Fear Free Trade,**

which the Democratic party is attempting to force upon this country in the name of liberty. Workingmen, beware!

Free trade would blow out every furnace, shut down every mill, and practically re-establish slavery by degrading American labor.

And to accomplish this, politicians of the free trade school rely upon the mechanics themselves—upon their supposed ignorance of the tariff question.

First, they point to the wealth and greatness of England under a free trade policy. The dazzling figures of her foreign commerce are attractively spread before us. We might be wealthier, they say, if we would only follow her example.

**Let Us Sift This Sophistry.**

A nation is not necessarily wealthy in proportion to its foreign trade. *It is always wealthy in proportion to its domestic exchanges.*

England is no exception to this rule. In almost everything she depends on the world. She depends on it for her supply of food and raw materials; and she can pay for them in manufactures only. *Her trade abroad is enormous; but her people have a less average of comfort than ours.\** Had she not been strong in intellect and lucky in war she would be to-day a very poor country. Even now she might be ruined in a day. Therefore, in sight of every port stand her men-of-war, ready to force it open, if necessary, to her merchant vessels; and the words, "To be or not to be," are plainly written on her flag wherever it floats.

She receives much from the world, and having in good time become creditor of many nations, she returns now considerably less than she receives †; but, the true and final measure of her

\* See condition of working people of England in Young's "Labor in Europe and America."  
† The foreign trade of the United Kingdom in the periods indicated was as follows:

	Imports.	Exports.	Excess of Imports.
In the year 1881.....	£ 397,022,489	£ 297,082,775	£ 99,939,714
In 5 years, 1877-81.....	1,934,434,354	1,300,110,483	604,323,871
Yearly average.....	386,886,871	266,220,966	120,665,905

She wing an average annual excess of imports over exports amounting to £120,864,755. In other words, the annual tribute in products of labor, which the capitalists of Great Britain, as creditors of various nations and colonies, are enabled to impose upon the world, amounts to six hundred millions of dollars.



internal prosperity is the amount of trade between her own people—*what they consume*; what they get from each other in exchange for their respective labor and its products. By this measure she is less wealthy than we are, *for they get less than we do.*

Yes, the figures of her foreign trade are dazzling. But people don't live to do business; they do business to live. If with all her income from foreign investments, and all her factories, and all her ships, and all the millions that pass through her banks, England can only secure to the average British subject a less comfortable home than is enjoyed by the average American citizen, she possesses nothing that we should envy.

True, she could not maintain even that inferior standard of requirements with less enterprise. All the bustle and activity she displays along her coast and in foreign ports are necessary to her existence. Her corn and cotton fields, her flocks and herds are in her ships.

### **Sink the Ships, You Sink England.**

Here, then, is a nation, greater than which there is none in all that constitutes *external* greatness; reaping to-day the fruits of a bold, egotistic and far-sighted statesmanship, which for centuries has never ceased to preside over her councils; and enjoying all the artificial advantages which immense accumulations of capital, wisely distributed throughout the world in all the channels of production, transportation and finance, can possibly confer. Yet many of her people are miserable, and the actual amount, *per capita*, of products consumed by them is less than in this country. They must be satisfied with a small remuneration for converting into manufactures the raw materials of the world, and with the development of industry everywhere that remuneration must grow smaller.

### **But What Do We See in America?**

An enormous production, more than ninety per cent. of which, with the exception of cotton and tobacco, is consumed at home,\* and an internal commerce which, though less costly, dwarfs the foreign traffic of England. Are the commodities thus exchanged of no value to us because they never crossed the ocean?

The benefits derived by this country from the protective tariff are incalculable. They are seen everywhere; in the growth of our manufacturing cities; in the diversification of industry; in

\* See Appendix—The production in 1880; Export in the same year.

the employment of labor ; in the home demand for food and raw materials, and the consequent development of agriculture ; in the lower price of every commodity produced here in competition with the foreigner ; in the rapid accumulation of capital ; in our vast network of railroads ; in the prompt payment of the public debt ; in our comparative freedom from taxation ; in the liberal education within the reach of every child,\* and in the higher standard of comfort enjoyed by the American people. There is not a roof in the land under which its beneficial effects cannot be discerned by the economist or the moral philosopher. Indeed, both the English mechanic and the English farmer look to this as the promised land. Shall we, at the beck of the Democratic party, surrender Congress to British legislators, turn our manufacturing States into a desert, and bowing low to the Cobden Club, mutter humbly : " Rule, Britannia ?"

### III.

Ingenious sophists point also to the crudeness of some tariff laws and ask you, working men, to remove the defect by tearing down the structure. At the request of the Protectionists themselves, a TARIFF COMMISSION was instituted, with a view to the judicious revision of these laws. An opportunity was thus offered to the agents of Great Britain for a crusade against American industry. Don't they improve it wonderfully? Importers of British goods, merchants and speculators, heretofore better known for their wealth-absorbing inclinations than for their devotion to the welfare of the people, have suddenly become the friends of the oppressed. Protection, they say, fosters

### Monopoly

and works all the time against improvement. Believe that, working men, upon the word of those new friends. Shut your eyes to the glaring light of our national development. Admit, if you can, that the American people have been slow to avail themselves of their inventive faculties ; that they are wanting in manufacturing enterprise ; and that the spirit of competition, so dear to the free trade school, has not been more active among our citizens under a protective system than it could by any possibility have been if crushed in its infancy by the superior strength of the old established industries of Europe.

\* The total amount received from taxation for support of public schools in the United States during the year 1890 was \$70,371,436; from funds and rents, \$6,580,632; total, \$76,952,067; yearly expenditure per capita of pupils in public schools \$1.87.



## PROTECT LABOR.

Why, you cannot admit that? Neither can I, and for good reasons. *Wherever monopoly exists*—and it exists nowhere to the same extent as in free trade England—*it springs from other causes than the tariff.* But it remained for the free trader to find no other remedy for its suppression than the suppression of industry.

### **Abuse, Injustice, Oppression of the Weak**

are great evils everywhere. But nowhere are they less than here; and in this mighty republic, firmly rooted in the rights of man, the nobility of genius and the dignity of labor, no wrong can last longer than the people are willing to permit. When it is so entirely within our power, as a political body, to control our resources, to regulate their application, and in many ways to compel American capital to do its duty, shall we confess our inability to exercise intelligently these precious rights, give up the advantages of our independent industrial system, and throw ourselves on the mercy of foreign monopolists?

Under any circumstances that we may conceive, other than revolution and war, capital is strong, and its owners can take care of themselves. Not so with labor.

Free trade would entail a temporary loss upon the capitalists engaged in domestic industry; it would inflict a permanent injury on the working men.

While the first would soon recover their ground of vantage, the latter would forever have lost their hard-won advance; for capital would still command here the rate of profits prevailing everywhere, whereas labor could exact no higher rate of wages than that paid elsewhere.

Therefore I say, **This fight is the working man's fight. It is the fight of American labor against foreign capital.**

Let that be settled first. Masters of their own domain under a protective policy, there is no question, political, economical, or social, that the people of the United States, armed with the ballot, cannot settle peacefully among themselves.

### **IV.**

The tree is known by its fruits. After twenty years of steady protection, we find our mechanical, agricultural and scientific abilities developed and employed in every possible channel. Is not that policy the best which confers upon a nation the maximum benefit?

In one respect only can it be said that we are deficient. Since British privateers, under the flag of our rebellious States, drove our ships from the sea, we have been at the mercy of foreign vessels—mostly English or built in England—for the development of our foreign relations. Maritime trade is one of the few industries to which our government has failed to extend adequate protection, and the result is seen in our lamentable dependence on British merchants for the purchase of anything foreign that we must buy, and for the sale of any surplus that we can spare. As

### The Ship Question

must grow in importance until it affects every employment throughout the country, working men should understand it well.

In discussing it the friends of England, with much cunning and hypocrisy, appeal to the national sentiment. They tell us of the great shame it is for America to be so small on the sea; they remind us of the glorious time when our flag floated proudly at the masthead of wooden ships in every part of the world; and they compare the immense volume of our foreign commerce with our insignificant share in the carrying trade which that commerce has developed. But while they acknowledge that the disappearance of our flag was precipitated by the Civil War, and that the revolution in shipbuilding, which immediately followed, found us unprepared to meet the new requirements of ocean transportation owing to the then undeveloped condition of our iron industries, they all contend, not only that we should have bought ships in England, but that we should buy them there now, instead of constructing them at home. This method of dealing with the subject suggests

### A Few Queries.

Would our agricultural industries, from which the bulky freight that requires so many vessels is obtained, furnish it to-day if any considerable portion of the capital used in their development had been invested in foreign-built ships?

Would the number of miles of railroad in this country have increased from 30,635 in 1860 to 52,914 in 1870, 93,672 in 1880, and 125,000 in 1884, if any considerable portion of the capital spent here in the building of those roads had been spent in England in the purchase of ships?

Was not the development of our railway system a necessary condition of the development of our agricultural and other industries from which we derive our foreign commerce?

Admitting, as it is claimed, that the amount of ocean traffic which we might have secured by recovering at any cost our maritime standing would be about \$60,000,000 per annum, can this be legitimately called a loss when we consider that an application of our surplus capital to the building of railroads has raised the gross earnings of our railway system from \$39,456,358 in 1851 to \$615,401,931 in 1880, and \$807,112,780 in 1883?

Would it have been better for us to buy ships in England when



she had the monopoly of iron, than to develop our steel and iron industry, for instance—an industry by the growth of which in this country the price of the most important material now used in the construction of ocean steamers has been lowered to such an extent, that we can now build here the finest vessels at a less cost than we would have had a few years ago to pay on the Clyde for inferior ones?

In short, were it better to have many ships, but little agriculture, few railroad facilities, a limited industry, and little foreign trade, than to possess, among other advantages, those industries by means of which we can now acquire ships without paying a cent for them to foreign countries?

We do not suppose that the most enthusiastic admirer of the free-ship theory will claim that we might have to-day a mercantile marine without having neglected to the amount of its cost the development of our domestic resources—unless he is ready to prove that we have made a bad use of our surplus capital, and of the labor to which it has given employment.

If what we did was all we could do, and if what was done was good, where is the benefit of searching in the past for a cause of shame and lamentation? It is not the past that we must consider, but the present—and the future.

Now, however, we can have ships, and ships we shall have in spite of Great Britain, *built of American iron*, as they should be, for the flag must not cover a deception.

And these ships our government *must protect*, as England protects hers, by paying them a fair compensation for carrying the mails.

To those who claim that we should lose nothing by exchanging breadstuffs with England for ships, we answer that we should gain *a shipyard besides the ships* by constructing them at home; that it is better for us in every respect to feed, clothe, shelter and otherwise keep in comfort ten thousand American mechanics working in American shipyards than to export food or money to support ten thousand foreigners three thousand miles away; that we possess *all the labor, all the iron, and all the timber* necessary to build a fleet with all the modern improvements, and that it is our advantageous duty to build it rather than to purchase it.

## V.

With such a marine as we can now readily acquire from ourselves and easily protect from foreign competition, we shall at last obtain that

### Commercial Independence

which is so necessary to the free, full and beneficial exercise of our productive forces. We may then ship less cotton to Liverpool and carry more cotton cloth to China. We may receive less iron from Great Britain and send more machinery to Mexico, to

Brazil, to Australia. *This will increase the demand throughout the country for all kinds of labor, and especially for the skillful trades that command a high rate of wages.* When those manufactures in which we can already claim a superiority of some kind are no longer cried down in foreign markets by British agents, or taxed for profits by British merchants; when they are shipped *directly* and sold abroad *at their true price*, or exchanged for tea, coffee, rubber, dye-woods, raw silk, and the thousand other materials which we must buy in foreign lands and have heretofore received *indirectly* through British agencies; then we may find that England had good reason to fear the growth of American industry under a protective tariff, and that she was knowing and wise in attempting to destroy it in its infancy.

Whatever progress we shall make in this direction must, however, come of itself,

### **By the Simple Force of Our Natural Advantages,**

greater than the artificial contrivances by which England has established her commercial supremacy. It is in no respect desirable that we should obtain the command of foreign markets by reducing the ability of our own people to enjoy the fruits of their labor. It is certainly not desirable, for instance, that for the mere sake of competing with Great Britain in Africa or in India, we should give the African or the Hindoo more than we can spare after sustaining our population on the higher plane of American life. *Foreign commerce at such a price would constitute a national loss, not a gain;* and it were better to have no surplus at all, if by any possibility this surplus should prove the means of degrading our industrial classes.

Let us, indeed, bear in mind that there are

### **Two Kinds of Surplus ;**

one resulting from abundance ; the other from avarice or poverty

1. By virtue of particular advantages a nation may produce certain commodities in such abundance that a surplus is left above requirements. *The prevailing standard of remuneration need not be lowered* to create such a condition of affairs, and it may even be raised by the profitable sale abroad of whatever can thus be spared at home, or by an exchange with foreigners



for products that do not compete with those of any domestic industry.

2. But in countries less favorably situated capital seeks employment and profit *at the expense of labor*; in other words, a surplus is created by compelling abstinence upon the laborer. In such countries the production of wealth may be great, but the consumption of it is small; the toiling millions do not enjoy it; *be the price of their finished work ever so low, their standard of remuneration is lower.*

Thus we export much grain, but we have no empty stomachs in our farm houses; England exports much cloth, but her mills are full of ragged operatives.

In the same manner there are

### Two Kinds of Cheapness;

one produced naturally by well-paid labor and intelligent industry, applied to the development of natural wealth, readily accessible; the other produced artificially by cheap labor, that is made to compensate the employer for the additional cost resulting from natural obstacles.

This country possesses the natural means of production to a far greater extent than England does, and *our labor is not less efficient than hers; but it is dearer.*

Thus we see that when the free trader demands *cheap production* it is very truly *cheap labor* that he means; not simply computed in money, as he sometimes endeavors to explain, but computed in the necessaries of life, as the inevitable consequence would be. And when, rising to the height of our most advanced school of moral philosophers, he invokes the natural law of

### The Survival of the Fittest,

he simply demands the triumph of the inferior civilizations of the Old World over the American civilization.

But America *will* survive. *As the fittest intellectually,* she will decline a brutal challenge; and she will continue working out her own destiny for the benefit of mankind, by securing to the millions now settled on her generous soil, and to the millions whom the pauper labor system of older countries may still drive to her shores, *that standard of Dear Labor which is the benefit and glory of Modern Progress.*

## APPENDIX.

In confirmation of the facts and arguments presented in the preceding pages, tabular and other statements are here submitted to show the beneficial effects of a protective tariff upon the manufacturing, mechanical and farming industries of the country, especially upon work-people in all departments of labor.

### INCREASE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY UNDER A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

*Statement showing the Number of Hands Employed and the Value of the following Industries of the United States in the Census Years 1860 and 1880, with the Percentage of Increase during the last Twenty Years :*

INDUSTRIES.	Census year 1860.		Census year 1880.		Per cent of Increase in 20 years.
	Number of hands.	Value of product.	Number of hands.	Value of product.	
All Industries.....	1,311,246	\$1,885,861,676	2,732,595	\$5,369,579,191	184.7
<b>PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES :</b>					
Wool manufactures.....	59,522	80,734,606	154,563	254,567,655	215
Iron and Steel.....	38,845	59,190,961	140,978	296,557,695	401
Glass and Glassware.....	9,016	8,775,155	23,822	21,013,464	140
Silk manufactures.....	5,360	6,589,171	31,337	34,510,343	423
Cotton manufactures.....	122,028	115,681,774	188,101	210,950,383	82
Boots and shoes.....	123,026	91,889,298	111,152	168,050,354	81
Agricultural implements...	14,814	17,487,960	30,580	63,617,486	292
Paper.....	10,911	21,216,802	24,422	55,109,914	160
Ship and boat building.....	9,260	11,667,661	27,013	36,496,462	213
Brick and tile.....	21,409	11,263,147	66,155	32,836,887	191

From 1860 to 1880 the increase in the population of the country, through natural growth and unprecedented immigration, was about 60 per cent. ; whereas it appears from the above table that, during the same period, the annual value of our manufactures increased 184.7 per cent. In other words, under the protective system, *our manufacturing industries are increasing three times faster than our population.*

But it must furthermore be observed that, owing to the domestic competition developed by the tariff, every product of those industries is now considerably cheaper than it was in 1860, the price of many articles having declined one-third, or even one-half, during the last twenty-four years, as will be shown hereafter. Therefore, by considering *quantity*, instead of *value*, we find that the increase of production is larger still than it appears from the foregoing table.

In the meantime the rate of wages has largely increased, as will also be shown hereafter. By this double movement of *Cheaper Goods* and *Dearer Labor*, the people were enabled to consume their increased production. Let us illustrate :

### I.—CHEAPER GOODS.

**Woolens.**—The following statement, from the books of John & James Dobson, manufacturers of woolen goods, Philadelphia, shows the average prices for blankets in 1860, from the lowest to the highest grades, compared with the average prices ruling in 1883 for like qualities :

1860.....	\$2 00	\$2 25	\$2 50	\$3 50	\$3 75	\$5 00	\$7 50	\$8 00	\$10 00	\$13 00
1883.....	1 25	1 62½	1 80	2 35	3 20	3 75	5 50	5 60	7 75	8 50

Messrs. Dobson furthermore state that in the entire range of woolens used for wear of men and women the present-prices are from 30 to 60 per cent. below those prevailing in 1860, the greatest reduction having taken place in the lowest grades of goods.



Messrs. Barditt, Young & Ingalls, of Boston, make a similar statement in relation to ready-made clothing.

The price of delaines—an article consumed in this country at the rate of nearly two yards per head of population—fell from 20.06 cents in 1860 to 11.22 cents in 1882.

**Cotton Goods.**—In 1860, prices for cotton goods, including prints, averaged 9.6 cents per yard; in 1883 the same goods averaged 7½ cents per yard. Coarse cotton cloths are now selling for 4 cents a yard. Our common grades have fallen below the English price, and they are driving away the adulterated, heavily-sized British goods from the markets of Asia.

Says Mr. Robert P. Porter: "We have practically robbed England of 55,000,000 costumes. Imports of cotton goods have steadily declined from 227,000,000 yards in 1860 to 23,000,000 yards in 1881, while exports reached, the same year, 150,000,000 yards."

In proportion to our population our annual consumption of cotton cloth is the largest in the world (52 yards per head, or nearly twice as much, per capita, as in Great Britain, and three times as much as in Continental Europe).

"And what does this high consumption signify?" says Mr. John L. Hayes. "It signifies the 'clean shirt,' the symbol of masculine neatness and personal self-respect; it signifies the clean bed, the symbol of household order, and nice underclothing, the test of personal neatness; it signifies well-clad women and children; in short, it signifies not the luxury of the few, but the comfort of the masses, and shows what is a prime necessary of life for the civilization which this consumption represents."

**Silks.**—This is, properly speaking, an article of luxury. Yet its consumption has become general in this country, while it has remained beyond the reach of the working classes in Europe. From a recent report of the American Silk Association, it appears that from 1865 to 1882 the cost of machine twist has decreased 56 per cent.; fine silk and scarfs, 55 per cent.; serges and twilled silks, 62 per cent.; handkerchiefs, 62 per cent.; ribbons, 54 per cent.; laees, 50 per cent.; dress goods, 30 to 35 per cent.

**Boots and Shoes.**—The fact that we export boots and shoes to the British colonies is sufficient evidence of their comparative cheapness in this country.

**Earthenware.**—In 1860, when the import duty was 24 per cent., a crate of crockery-ware was sold here for \$95.30. In 1882, with an import duty of 40 per cent., a crate of this same ware was sold for \$57.80; a decline in price of about 40 per cent. in the face of an increase of 16 per cent. in the rate of duty. For this great reduction we may well thank the domestic competition of Trenton, N. J., and Liverpool, O., fostered by the "war tariff." Yet the potter who came from England twenty-four years ago earns here, in making this cheaper ware, double the wages that he received and would still receive there.

**Glassware.**—The price of window glass fell in eleven years from .053 per pound to .031 per pound. The cost of domestic plate glass is now one-half, and in some sizes one-third, of what we had to pay when we imported it. Singular as it may seem, we are now exporting various kinds of glassware (tumblers, lamp chimneys, &c.) to nearly every country in the world, including Great Britain, Germany, France and Belgium.

The following suggestive extract is from the report of the Hanover Handelskammer for 1879: "We dare not forget that for some short time past North America has supplied us with an excellent quality of pressed glassware, which, for purity of material and elegance of finish, has no equal. This glassware, in large quantities, has found its way to the German market, where it meets with ready sale and enjoys the well-earned plaudits of consumers."

**Furniture, Stoves, Clocks, Cutlery, Kitchen Utensils, etc.,** such as are used in the houses of mechanics and farmers, not only cost much less now than they did in 1860, but have actually become so much cheaper here that they are exported from the United States in large quantities to all parts of the world.

**Tools.**—In no branch of industry, perhaps, is our superiority so well established as in the manufacture of tools. Yet some free trade papers—the New York *Herald* among others—have lately made an extraordinary display of ignorance or bad faith by asserting that the duty on foreign saws, planes, hatchets, shovels, axes, &c., was a tax upon the tools of the American workman. In reply to this absurd argument in favor of foreign importers we submit the following list of wholesale English and American prices of various staple articles, obtained from prominent hardware merchants in England and America:

Articles.	English price.	American price.
Hatchets, No. 2, per doz.....	\$6 00	\$5 25
Hand saws, per doz., common.....	6 00	5 00
do. do. best.....	13 48	15 00
Saws, cross cut, 4 feet each.....	2 36	2 00
do. do. 4½ feet each.....	2 60	2 25
do. do. 5 feet each.....	3 12	2 50
Planes, jack, 18 inch, per doz.....	15 00	10 20
Axes, No. 2, per doz.....	9 00	9 50
Augers, 2 inch, per doz.....	12 00	11 52
Anvils, steel face, per lb.....	08	08½
Shears, cast steel, 8 inch, per doz.....	6 00	4 20
Shovels, No. 2, per doz.....	7 48	5 00
Brick trowels, per doz.....	8 24	7 50

We might indefinitely extend the list of manufactures which domestic competition, under the beneficent influence of a protective policy, is constantly making cheaper while enlarging the field of enterprise and labor. Iron or salt, nails or needles, steel rails or artificial flowers, carpets or corsets—any article that we might name would illustrate the same tendency to cheapness from the day sufficient protection induced its domestic production.

## II.—DEARER LABOR.

**Farm Labor.**—The average monthly wages of a farm hand in 1850 were \$10.89, being \$13 in the manufacturing States of New England, \$11.78 in the West, and only \$9.74 in the South. The rise was slow until 1860, when the average rate was about \$14, the same relative difference existing then as in 1850 in favor of the farm laborer in manufacturing States. Under the protective system the rise was rapid, especially in those States where the development of manufacturing industry was greatest. In 1882, according to Prof. J. R. Dodge, the monthly wages of the agricultural laborer averaged nearly \$25 in twenty-eight States and Territories, where less than one-half of the population is engaged in agriculture; \$19.50 in thirteen, where more than one-half and less than seven-tenths of the people live on farms and plantations; and \$13.20 in six States almost exclusively agricultural.

In the whole range of economic facts there is nothing, perhaps, so remarkable and conclusive as the statistical data recently presented by Prof. Dodge.

Having divided the States and Territories into four classes: 1—those having less than 30 per cent. of their population engaged in agriculture; 2—those with 30 and less than 50 per cent.; 3—those with 50 and less than 70 per cent.; and 4, those having 70 per cent. and over similarly engaged, the eminent Statistician of the Department of Agriculture arrived at the following result:

Table showing how the development of manufacturing industry, by increasing the non-agricultural population (and consequently the number of consumers of agricultural products), increases also, 1, the Value of Farm Land; 2, the Value of Farm Production; and 3, the Wages of Farm Labor:

CLASS	No of States and Territories.	Per cent. of Population Engaged in Agriculture.	Value of Land per Acre.	Value of Agricultural Product per capita.	Wages of Farm Labor.
1	15	Less than 30 per cent.	\$38 65	\$457 }	\$25 00
2	13	Between 30 and 50 per cent.	30 55	394 }	
3	13	Between 50 and 70 per cent.	13 53	261	19 50
4	6	Above 70 per cent.	5 18	160	13 20



**Mechanical Labor.**—From an extended investigation by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, the result of which was published in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the said Bureau (1884), it appears that wages in Massachusetts are now 28.36 per cent. higher than they were in 1860. Moreover, the decrease in working time, since the passage of the Ten Hour law in 1874, is from three to six hours in many manufacturing industries, especially the textile.

These figures may be accepted as representing, very approximately, the average increase in wages, for the last twenty-four years, in the industries of the United States.

Wages in Great Britain are 9.74 per cent. higher than they were in 1872. The average increase for a number of years is, therefore, at the rate of 1.23 per cent. a year in this country, against .81 per cent. in Great Britain.

### COMPARATIVE WAGES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The following statement, prepared from the latest and most accurate data at hand, shows the average weekly rates of wages, in building and some other trades, in the principal countries of Europe, as compared with those paid in the City of New York in the present year (1884). As the rates in different parts of this country are not uniform, any one who feels interested in the subject can compare the figures given in this statement with the price of labor at or near his place of residence.

OCCUPATIONS.	Belgium.	Denmark.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Spain.	England.	Scotland.	NEW YORK.
Building trades:									
Bricklayers.....	\$6 00	.....	\$4 00	\$3 60	\$3 45	\$5 15	\$8 12	\$9 63	\$24 00
Carpenters.....	5 44	4 25	5 42	4 00	4 18	4 88	8 25	8 12	21 00
Gasfitters.....	5 40	.....	.....	3 65	3 95	.....	7 25	8 40	18 00
Masons.....	6 00	4 45	5 00	4 30	4 00	4 80	8 16	8 28	24 00
Painters.....	4 20	4 15	4 90	3 92	4 60	4 80	7 25	7 16	18 00
Plasterers.....	5 40	.....	.....	3 80	4 35	7 20	8 10	10 13	24 00
Plumbers.....	6 00	.....	5 50	3 60	3 90	.....	7 75	7 13	21 00
Roofers.....	.....	.....	.....	4 00	3 90	.....	7 90	8 30	.....
General trades:									
Blacksmiths.....	4 40	3 90	5 45	3 55	3 94	4 65	8 12	7 04	13 50 to 16 50
Bookbinders.....	.....	3 72	4 85	3 82	3 90	3 60	7 83	6 50	12 00 to 18 00
Brassfounders.....	.....	4 20	.....	3 20	5 49	.....	7 40	6 90	15 00 to 16 50
Butchers.....	4 50	4 50	5 42	3 85	4 20	.....	7 23	4 75	12 00 to 18 00
Cabinet-makers.....	4 80	.....	6 00	3 97	4 95	4 20	7 70	8 48	15 00
Coopers.....	.....	4 10	7 00	3 80	4 35	4 95	7 30	6 10	21 60
Coppersmiths.....	.....	3 85	.....	3 30	3 90	.....	7 40	7 10	15 00 to 16 50
Outlers.....	.....	3 85	4 63	4 00	3 90	.....	8 00	6 25	12 00 to 18 00
Horseshoers.....	.....	3 85	5 40	3 25	3 50	.....	7 20	7 00	18 00 to 19 50
Millwrights.....	.....	4 00	.....	3 30	4 95	.....	7 50	7 50	18 00
Printers.....	.....	4 62	4 70	4 80	3 90	.....	7 75	7 52	18 00
Saddlers.....	4 80	3 85	5 00	3 60	3 90	.....	6 80	6 15	18 00
Sailmakers.....	.....	4 85	.....	3 80	3 90	.....	7 30	6 33	18 00
Shoemakers.....	.....	3 30	4 75	3 12	4 32	3 90	7 35	7 35	12 00 to 18 00
Tailors, custom....	4 50	3 85	5 00	3 30	3 90	3 90	7 40	7 35	18 00 to 24 00

NOTE.—In the above statement the New York figures are union rates for every trade in which there is a union. The non-union rates vary somewhat from these, but are not appreciably lower for efficient workmen.

In the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Hon. Carroll D. Wright formulates as follows the result of his investigation for 1883:

THE GENERAL AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE PAID TO EMPLOYEES IN TWENTY-FOUR LEADING MECHANICAL AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN MASSACHUSETTS IS **62.11 per cent.** HIGHER THAN THE GENERAL AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE PAID IN THE SAME INDUSTRIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The following figures are taken from the aforesaid report :

*General average weekly earnings, in 1883, in Massachusetts and Great Britain in the following employments :*

OCCUPATIONS.	Massachu- setts.	Great Britain.	OCCUPATIONS.	Massachu- setts.	Great Britain.
Artisans' tools.....	\$11 80	\$4 89	Furniture.....	\$11 04	\$7 96
Boots and shoes.....	11 63	4 37	Glass.....	12 28	6 94
Brick.....	8 63	4 16	Hats.....	11 01	5 51
Building trades.....	14 99	7 21	Hosiery.....	6 49	4 67
Carpetings.....	6 08	4 11	Machinery.....	11 75	6 93
Carriages and wagons.....	13 80	4 89	Metals.....	11 25	7 40
Clothing.....	10 01	6 71	Printing.....	11 37	5 52
Cotton goods.....	6 45	4 66	Stone.....	14 39	8 58
Cotton bleaching, &c.....	8 67	4 94	Wooden goods.....	12 19	5 67
Flax and jute goods.....	6 46	2 84	Woolen goods.....	6 90	4 86
Food preparations.....	9 81	2 72	Worsted goods.....	7 32	3 60

It therefore appears from the above table, that

WHILE A WORKER IN GREAT BRITAIN EARNS **one dollar** IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING OCCUPATIONS, THE MASSACHUSETTS WORKER EARNS AS FOLLOWS :

Artisans' tools.....	\$2 41	Furniture.....	\$1 39
Boots and shoes.....	2 66	Glass.....	1 77
Brick.....	2 07	Hats, fur, wool, silk.....	2 00
Building trades.....	2 08	Hosiery.....	1 39
Carpetings.....	1 48	Machinery.....	1 70
Carriages and wagons.....	2 82	Metals.....	1 52
Clothing.....	1 49	Printing and publishing.....	2 06
Cotton goods.....	1 38	Stone.....	1 68
Dyeing, bleaching, &c.....	1 75	Wooden goods.....	2 15
Flax and jute goods.....	2 27	Woolen goods.....	1 42
Food preparations.....	3 00	Worsted goods.....	2 02

**Potteries.**—The average rate of wages in the potteries of Trenton, N. J., is 113 per cent. higher than in Staffordshire, England.

**Iron Ship Building.**—Average rate paid in J. Elder & Co.'s iron ship building works, Glasgow, Scotland, \$6.12; in W. Cramp & Son's ship yard, Philadelphia, \$12.32. Difference in favor of American labor, 102 per cent.

#### COMPARATIVE COST OF LIVING AND STANDARD OF COMFORT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Dr. Edward Young, author of "Labor in Europe and America," and late Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, in his recent letters to the *Issue*, the Hon. Robert P. Porter in his letters to the *Tribune*, and other authorities, have given graphic pictures of the abject misery prevailing among the laboring classes on the European Continent. The United States Consul at Chemnitz, Saxony, says :

For homes, families have generally a single room, which frequently answers for workshop as well. For food, they have black bread made of rye, coffee made of chickory, a few boiled potatoes, *sometimes a little cheese, butter, or goose grease*, and on Sundays a pound of meat for a family of five or six persons. Their clothes are of the coarsest materials, and their shoes are generally wooden-soled slippers.

The Consular Reports published by the State Department are full of similar statements concerning the condition of the working people in all parts of Europe. Yet, free trade writers are now recklessly asserting that in Great Britain, under a free trade policy, the necessaries of life are so much cheaper that the British worker, with lower wages, can live as comfortably as the American. That this is an absurd, willful misstatement must be sufficiently apparent, even to the superficial observer, from the comparative wages and prices given above. But, in conclusion, we submit the **GRAND RESULT** obtained by Carroll D. Wright :

*Taking into consideration the difference in the cost of every item of expense, including rent, in the two countries (some being dearer, and some cheaper, in one than in the other), the American workingman is actually 42 per cent. more comfortable than the workingman in Great Britain.*

He consumes two pounds of meat for every pound that a man in the same occupation consumes in Great Britain; he spends more in clothing but has better clothes; more in rent but has better lodgings; more in education, more in luxuries, more in pleasure; and finally he saves 6.11 per cent. of his larger income while the industrious British toiler can only save 1.76 per cent of his smaller earnings.







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