

After Reading Hand to a Friend.

NUMBER 13.

The Defender

DEVOTED TO THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LABOR AND INDUSTRIES.

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE,

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Workingmen and the Tariff.

IT is our purpose to point out the facts, and the arguments derived from them, which prove that the workingman—the man who works for wages—is more than all others benefited by Protection, and, therefore, most interested in maintaining and perfecting it. By workingman is meant not only the man, but his family and dependents. Indeed, the families of workingmen are the chief beneficiaries of the existing Protective system. If the different classes of the people of the United States and of Europe are compared as regards their mental and physical condition, their habits, modes of life, social surroundings, their elevation in the scale of civilization, it is manifest that the widest distinction will be found to exist between the workingmen of the two countries. It will also be found that this distinction is the greatest, the most striking, between the families of the workingmen of the two countries. As the social position of any class is higher in proportion to its advancement, the distinction between the condition of that class here and abroad becomes less marked. The rich in both countries have the same advantages—enjoy the same privileges. Their families have the same comforts—indulge in the same luxuries. Descending the scale, distinctions gradually appear. The middle class in this country is better off, has more comforts and advantages than the same class in Europe. The women and children of this class in the United States enjoy almost all the privileges which are accessible to any of the most favored in the community. If we go lower in the social scale in Europe, the women and children, no less than the men, give evidences of inferiority in all the traits of womanhood and of manhood. In this country the women enjoy the advantages conferred by comparative relief from working for wages, and are permitted to devote themselves to the care of their homes and their children. Go still lower and the distinction becomes still broader. Both men and women and their children in Europe, are literally slaves of toil and hunger, working hopelessly and aimlessly, looking forward to the grave as their first and only resting place. The family bonds and relations barely exist, and that motive which in this land inspires the hours of toil—the hope of advancement, if not for the parents, at least for the children—has little if any force. Here, then, do we find the

pre-eminent advantage of our American Protective policy. It protects the workingman and his family. It saves them from degradation and distress. It makes the family relation, in all its attractive qualities, possible. It elevates the wives and children of the workingman. It relieves them, or most of them, from the need of working for their daily bread. It makes home life possible. It affords to children leisure for early education, and thus opens up to them endless opportunities. The rich and the middle classes get some of the benefits of Protection. As compared with the poor and the working people, they get but little, and they would be nearly as well off under Free-Trade, while the condition of the poor would become indescribably wretched. Our American workingmen who have never contrasted their condition with that of their competitors under low wages and insufficient work abroad, cannot, and do not, realize the perils of Free-Trade. Let them read about their fellow workmen on the other side of the water, or talk with one who has been forced to leave his native land by starvation wages and the hopeless destitution of his family, and they will comprehend the danger which now threatens them.

Free-Traders are accustomed to dwell on the advantages conferred by Protection upon employers, the manufacturers and proprietors, who pay wages, hoping to excite the envy and hostility of workingmen. They do not mention the infinitely greater advantages of those who are employed. As a class, the employers of labor here make no greater profits than those of the Old World. Competition is active. The ambition of our people is ever alert to seize upon every opportunity for increasing their wealth, and no industry is long allowed to return unusual profits. It is soon overrun with competition, and its profits speedily turned to losses. But this same spirit of competition, sure to level down profits of employers, is the safeguard and the promoter of high wages for the employed. Stimulated by Protection, it strives to set every man at work, and it competes for labor as well as for profits. The demand for workingmen advances their wages, and so long as enterprise is encouraged and protected against foreign interference, so long will it continue to demand labor, and thereby sustain wages. Reverse the process, check and throttle our industries, discourage enterprise, and workmen must surely go begging for work; their wages decline, and, becoming insufficient for the support of their families, the workman's wife must come to his aid and join in the daily struggle, and his children suffer from neglect. Poverty and distress take the place of comfort and prosperity, and in time degradation and despair, hopeless and inevitable, become the lot of the American workingman, as it is and has for centuries been the lot of his fellow workmen in Europe. Workingmen have, then, the greatest interest in the result of the pending discussion between Protection and Free-Trade. Let them watch it, and see to it that no party and no combination of men or circumstances are permitted to overthrow or lower the barrier of Protection, which is the safeguard of their happiness for the present and of their hopes for the future.

FACTS AND FIGURES FOR WAGE EARNERS.

THE FOLLOWING TABLES, compiled from Vol. 20, U. S. Census, and from British official statements, give the average weekly wages in 102 kinds of work, including manufactures, mechanical trades and unskilled labor:

WEEKLY WAGES IN 102 EMPLOYMENTS.

Occupations.	Great Britain.	United States.	Occupations.	Great Britain.	United States.
Boots and shoes, Cutters..	\$5.06	\$13.85	Potteries, handlers.....	\$8.39	\$16.62
Finishers	7.26	14.50	Printers.....	6.55	13.56
Gas, stokers.....	7.86	11.70	Carpets, weavers	7.28	12.00
Hats, finishers.....	6.29	10.60	Winders, women.....	2.78	5.28
Trimmers, women.....	3.15	8.65	Dyers	8.87	11.50
Trimmers, girls.....	1.87	5.25	Mechanics.....	6.90	12.00
Dyers	4.96	13.50	Cotton goods, printers..	12.10	28.02
Dyers, boys	2.66	4.25	Apprentices.....	5.08	15.30
Iron furnaces, keepers...	9.66	11.67	Boys	0.85	3.90
Keepers' helpers.....	4.86	8.82	Grinders.....	5.20	8.40
Fillers.....	5.53	8.29	Strippers.....	4.45	6.37
Enginemen.....	6.78	12.82	Drawers, women.....	3.50	4.62
Iron foundries, moulders.	7.66	13.76	Mule spinners.....	6.96	9.21
Machinists.....	7.19	13.34	Doffers, boys	2.18	4.14
Machinery, moulders.....	7.93	13.67	Dyers.....	4.06	6.51
Pattern makers.....	7.46	15.46	Dyers, boys.....	2.18	3.90
Rolling mills, puddlers..	7.28	20.64	Finishers.....	6.20	9.36
Helpers.....	4.35	11.02	Finishers, boys	2.90	4.26
Hammermen.....	14.52	27.00	Mechanics.....	6.78	12.54
Rollers.....	7.26	13.38	Carpenters.....	6.41	11.66
Roll turners.....	7.26	19.50	Laborers.....	3.87	7.03
Rollers and bloomers...	14.52	28.86	Silks, winders	2.96	5.34
Hoppers.....	4.60	8.34	Weavers, power.....	5.40	11.50
Roughers.....	6.05	13.44	Weavers, women.....	4.38	7.94
Calcmers.....	2.42	11.44	Designers.....	12.00	24.71
Wheelers.....	4.84	7.20	Lace machine opera-		
Wheelers, coal.....	4.84	9.60	tors, male	9.11	14.75
Stock takers.....	4.84	9.60	Lace machine opera-		
Laborers.....	4.11	7.80	tors, female	3.09	5.00
Coal mining, miners.....	5.75	11.45	Dyers.....	7.00	12.77
Drivers.....	3.32	10.00	Woolens, sorters	6.47	10.40
Engineers.....	6.78	13.84	Warpers, male.....	5.52	10.63
Blacksmiths.....	6.41	11.00	Warpers, female.....	2.90	5.76
Iron miners.....	5.52	11.70	Spinners, male.....	7.05	10.39
Paper, rag sorters.....	2.54	4.75	Spinners, female.....	2.72	5.13
Finishers.....	6.05	10.93	Weavers, male.....	5.38	10.00
Finishers, women.....	2.90	4.65	Weavers, female.....	3.78	5.80
Mechanics.....	7.38	13.88	Fullers.....	5.87	8.96
Potteries, plate makers...	7.70	20.30	Dyers.....	4.90	7.52
Dish makers	9.62	19.43	Car works, makers....	7.50	10.93
Cup makers	9.92	19.67	Coach makers.....	8.11	12.05
Saucer makers.....	7.93	18.58	Wood machinists....	7.74	11.58
Basin makers.....	9.66	19.73	Smiths.....	8.11	12.47
Hollowware jiggers....	11.62	21.89	Painters, coach.....	7.26	11.21
Hollowware pressers....	8.14	17.90	Painters, wagon.....	4.84	10.93
Kilnmen.....	6.86	13.18	Laborers.....	4.36	6.90
Sagger makers.....	8.46	19.33			
Mold makers.....	10.23	20.79	Total, 93 occupations.	\$578.49	\$1,106.83
Turners.....	8.00	16.97	Average weekly.....	6.22	11.90

TRADES, GENERAL.

Carpenters.....	\$6.94	\$11.84	Painters.....	\$6.33	\$11.71
Smiths.....	6.98	16.48	Coppersmiths.....	7.74	15.00
Masons.....	7.45	16.33	Laborers.....	4.37	7.70
Tinners.....	7.32	14.76			
Engineers	7.47	15.24	Total, 102 occupations.	\$640.04	\$1,229.74
Mechanics.....	6.95	13.85	Average weekly.....	6.27	12.05

These figures represent a wide range of occupations, from the rudest to the most highly skilled, and embrace those of which the designations in the two countries, as given in the census volume, are substantially the same. The tables also show the enormous indirect effect of the Tariff upon wages in mechanical trades. In nearly every branch of manufactures or mining many mechanics are employed, and the number of smiths, masons, engi-

neers, carpenters and other mechanics engaged in these protected branches of industry is so large that, if part are thus enabled to get good wages, the standard of wages for all is raised, and the demand for the labor of all is vastly increased. Any failure to protect these industries would close thousands of manufacturing establishments, and thus would force many thousand mechanics now employed therein to enter into ruinous competition with those otherwise employed, so that the wages of all would inevitably be depressed.

The following table shows by industries the average weekly wages of the persons in the ninety-three occupations in Great Britain and the United States, as given in Census Volume No. 20, with the percentage of excess in the United States:

	Great Britain.	United States.	P. ct. higher.		Great Britain.	United States.	P. ct. higher.
Boots and shoes..	\$6.17	\$14.20	130.2	Woolen..	\$6.95	\$8.29	67.3
Gas.....	7.86	11.70	48.9	Cars	6.85	10.87	58.7
Hats.....	3.79	8.45	123.2	Carpenters.....	6.94	11.84	70.6
Iron furnaces....	6.68	10.40	55.6	Smiths.....	6.98	16.48	136.1
Iron foundries....	7.42	13.55	82.5	Masons.....	7.45	16.33	119.2
Machinery.....	7.69	14.56	89.3	Tinners.....	7.32	14.76	101.6
Rolling mills.....	8.15	14.45	77.2	Engineers.....	7.47	15.24	104.0
Coal mining.....	5.56	11.57	107.9	Mechanics.....	6.95	13.85	99.3
Iron mining.....	5.52	11.70	111.9	Painters.....	6.33	11.71	85.0
Paper.....	4.72	8.55	81.3	Coppersmiths...	7.74	15.00	93.8
Potteries.....	8.80	18.30	110.4	Laborers.....	4.37	7.70	76.2
Carpets.....	6.45	10.19	58.0				
Cotton.....	4.91	9.01	83.6	Average weekly.	\$6.27	\$12.05	92.2
Silk.....	6.26	11.72	87.0				

GERMAN AND FRENCH WAGES.

The report of German wages, prepared with great care by the Statistical Society, Concordia, quoted by Mr. Schoenhof, an official expressly employed by President Cleveland's Administration to collect Free-Trade statistics, shows the average wages of workmen employed in trades and factories in different provinces of the German Empire, as follows (see "The Industrial Situation," by Schoenhof, page 115):

Silesia.....	\$2.32	Saxony, Prussia.....	\$3.04	Alsace-Lorraine.....	\$3.62
East Prussia.....	2.85	Hesse-Nassau.....	3.15	Wurtemberg.....	3.90
Posen	2.90	Braunschweig.....	3.28	Westphalia	3.65
Pomerania.....	2.68	Bavaria.....	3.22	Rhenish Prussia.....	3.70
Brandenburg.....	2.90	Hanover.....	3.20		
Saxony, Kingdom.....	2.74	Baden.....	3.38	Average.....	\$3.12
Anhalt.....	2.98				

The average of these quotations is only \$3.12 a week, against \$6.27 in Great Britain for 102 occupations named already, and \$12.05 for the United States. The "Annuaire Statistique" for 1884, also quoted by Mr. Schoenhof (page 124), makes French wages average \$6.36 in Paris for men, and \$3.78 in the departments outside of Paris; only \$3.36 for women in Paris, and only \$1.98 outside of Paris.

The wide difference between the proportion of women and children employed in this country and Great Britain renders any comparison of wages only, without allowance for the number of workers of each kind employed, apt to be most deceiving. The number reported in twelve of the sixteen industries compared is contrasted in appended table with the United States census returns for the same industries:

Average Weekly Wages of All Classes of Hands Employed in Each Industry.

ENGLISH WAGES.

	Men.		Boys.		Females.		Total.	
	Classes.	Wages.	Classes.	Wages.	Classes.	Wages.	Classes.	Wages.
Boots and shoes.....	8	\$6.50	11	\$2.43	4	\$2.15	23	\$3.79
Gas	9	6.99	2	1.94	..	..	11	6.03
Hats, felt.....	9	5.88	5	2.34	5	2.56	19	4.08
Iron furnaces.....	16	6.27	2	2.52	..	..	18	5.85
Iron foundries.....	34	6.54	12	2.38	..	..	52	5.11
Machinery.....	29	6.87	17	2.26	..	..	46	5.17
Rolling mills.....	47	6.34	5	1.70	..	..	52	5.89
Coal mines.....	22	5.36	12	2.04	..	..	34	4.54
Iron mines.....	22	5.79	8	2.69	..	..	30	5.03
Paper mills.....	31	5.69	4	2.18	7	2.30	32	3.97
Potteries.....	25	2.43	6	2.07	..	..	43	5.73
Silk.....	4	8.38	..	..	3	2.45	7	6.26
Car works.....	22	6.93	6	2.35	1	2.68	29	5.83
Carpets.....	9	6.15	2	2.20	9	2.79	20	3.80
Cotton.....	37	6.48	23	2.65	20	2.45	78	4.41
Woolens.....	28	5.70	23	2.88	21	2.58	72	3.89
Total.. ..	332	\$6.47	148	\$2.51	82	\$2.47	562	\$4.84

AMERICAN WAGES.

	Men.		Boys.		Females.		Total.	
	Classes.	Wages.	Classes.	Wages.	Classes.	Wages.	Classes.	Wages.
Boots and shoes.....	17	\$12.38	12	\$6.56	1	\$7.50	30	\$9.60
Gas.....	5	11.14	..	..	..	..	5	11.14
Hats, felt.....	19	13.53	5	3.68	6	4.30	30	10.05
Iron furnaces.....	10	10.38	..	..	..	..	16	10.38
Iron foundries.....	12	11.03	..	..	..	..	12	11.03
Machinery.....	28	11.99	..	..	..	..	23	11.99
Rolling mills.....	43	13.99	..	..	..	..	43	13.09
Coal mines.....	11	10.87	..	..	..	..	11	10.87
Iron mines.....	9	9.32	1	2.52	..	..	10	8.64
Paper mills.....	15	10.54	2	6.15	6	5.08	23	8.74
Potteries.....	21	16.36	1	3.97	2	4.03	24	14.81
Silk.....	18	13.04	2	3.15	15	5.91	35	9.42
Car works.....	17	12.12	..	..	..	..	17	12.12
Carpets.....	12	11.82	..	..	9	5.57	21	9.14
Cotton.....	18	10.43	6	4.18	10	4.95	34	7.71
Woolens.....	17	9.94	4	5.48	7	4.94	28	8.05
Total.....	278	\$12.24	33	\$5.13	50	\$5.26	367	\$10.54

MECHANICAL TRADES.

Blacksmiths	172,726	\$1.54	\$2.18	\$265,998	\$376,543	42.9
Cabinetmakers	50,654	1.50	2.13	75,981	107,893	42.0
Carpenters	373,143	1.48	2.00	552,252	746,286	35.1
Coopers	49,138	2.50	4.00	122,845	196,552	60.0
Engineers	79,623	1.70½	2.26	67,883	89,980	32.5
Firemen	101,122	1.05	1.46	41,805	58,128	39.0
Machinists	102,470	1.64½	2.35	166,942	237,632	45.8
Masons	122,566	2.32	3.12	237,730	380,206	34.5
Painters	19,383	1.51	1.93	203,118	267,396	27.8
Varnishers		1.65	2.23			35.1
Plumbers		1.75	2.50	33,920	48,457	42.8
Total	1,076,818			\$1,768,475	\$2,509,174	41.9

OTHER MANUFACTURES.

Brewing	26,219	\$1.00½	\$2.01½	\$26,350	\$52,831	100.5
Brickmaking	66,375	1.29½	1.73	83,964	114,929	36.8
Cigarmaking	56,599	1.31½	1.68	74,423	95,086	27.7
Coppersmiths	2,342	1.75	2.50	4,098	5,855	42.8
Clothing	185,105	1.48	2.01	273,955	372,061	35.8
Flour milling	58,407	1.39½	1.85½	81,473	108,345	33.0
Furniture	48,729	\$1.55	\$2.02	\$75,530	\$98,433	30.8
Gas works	4,695	1.00	1.52½	4,695	7,160	52.5
Marble and stone	21,471	1.83	2.06	39,222	44,290	12.5
Pianos	6,575	2.29	3.03	15,057	19,922	32.3
Ship carpenters, &c.	5,400	1.75	2.02	9,450	10,908	15.4
Upholsters	10,443	1.84	2.50	19,225	26,108	35.8
Wheelrights	16,108	1.52	2.39	24,484	38,488	56.6
Totals	508,468			\$732,006	\$994,266	25.8

UNSKILLED LABOR.

Unskilled labor.	900,000	\$0.99	\$1.32½	\$891,000	\$1,192,500	33.8
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RECAPITULATION.

Protected classes	1,155,213			\$1,433,268	\$2,039,435	42.5
Mechanical trades	1,076,818			1,768,475	2,509,174	41.9
Other manufactures	508,468			732,006	994,266	35.8
Unskilled labor	900,000			891,000	1,192,500	33.8
Totals, 45 classes	3,640,499	\$1.32½	\$1.85	\$4,824,749	\$6,735,375	39.6

The average increase, 39.6 per cent., thus represents more accurately than any other comparison yet found practicable the actual change in the wages of labor in manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries in this country. Contrasted with Professor Levi's statement, which shows a gain of 16 per cent. in the earnings of British labor, in similar industries from 1867 to 1884, it more than justifies the statement that in these industries, as in agriculture, wages in this country have advanced more than twice as much as they have advanced in Great Britain.

WHY MECHANICS GAIN.

The most foolish of all arguments against the Protective policy is that it cannot help wage earners, "because the wages of men in mechanical trades, who are not protected at all, have advanced about as much as the wages in protected manufactures." Those who reason thus, unless they are intentionally deceiving, show that they have not comprehended the first principles of the protective policy. The primary aim of that policy is to create a larger demand for all labor and a larger home market for all products, by promoting the establishment of new industries, and the growth of industries which, without it, could not thrive. This it has done: In 1860, the last year of a revenue Tariff, there were 1,311,246 persons employed in manufacturing, mechanical and mining occupations, according to the census, for the tables headed "manufactures" then included mechanics, miners and quarrymen. In 1880, the tables of manufactures, mining and quarrying account for 2,992,793 workers. The number was about four persons for every 100 of the population in 1860, and about six persons for every 100 of the population in 1880. In addition to the gain resulting from increase in population, there was a gain of 50 per cent. in these industries, due to the national policy.

The first effect is that for every 100 farm workers there were about 20 persons engaged in manufacturing and mining in 1860, but in 1880 about 40 persons for every 100 farmers. Thus was created a double home demand for food, as respects persons employed in these industries, and far more than a double demand for materials of farm production. In this way, wages of farm labor were raised in spite of an enormous immigration.

The workers in new manufacturing establishments need houses, furniture, and all the products of mechanical works. For every mechanic in 1860 there were about two persons engaged in manufacturing and mining; in 1880 for every mechanic there were at least three such persons demanding his services. But that is not all; a vast number of the mechanics themselves found employment in the new manufacturing works, so that the increased demand for other mechanical works fell to a smaller part of the whole number. Thus the demand for mechanical labor not in manufactures and mining was more than double, and the wages of mechanics were thus advanced.

Finally, the development of manufactures and of mining employed 1,700,000 persons who were not so employed in 1860, and who, but for that development, must have sought work in mechanical trades or in farming. Had half of them gone into farming, increasing by more than a tenth the number of farm workers, must not that have depressed the wages of farm labor? Had the other half gone into mechanical trades, increasing by 80 per cent. the number of mechanics, must not the depression in wages of such labor have been severe?

Thus it is that the increased demand and increased wages for labor in one department have affected with incalculable blessing labor in every other department of industry. And so a Free-Trade policy, by closing thousands of factories, mills and mines which Protection has opened, and turning out of employment workers numbering a million or more, compelling them to seek work in farming or in mechanical trades must cause a frightful depression in the wages of all labor.

"The condition of the working people is one of hardship, and nothing but ceaseless industry and economy enable them to make ends meet. Most laborers live in this manner: In the morning before going to work a piece of bread and 2 cents worth of brandy; at breakfast, bread crumbed into a basin of coffee; for dinner, a piece of bread and cheese, or an apple and a gill of red wine; for supper, a piece of bread and a little sausage. A meat and vegetable meal is indulged in only on Sunday."

"The family circle does not exist in the sense in which it is known and appreciated by the working people of the United States."

BELGIUM.

"In general the wages paid to Belgian labor are higher than the wages paid in any other country in Europe, except England, France and Denmark."

"In 1880 the number of work-people in Belgium was 2,520,000, of which 1,824,000 were women. Consul Tanner says: 'Of a total of 23,569 employed in the mines in his district, 13,569 were women, boys and girls.' Wages paid to female labor are as follows: In mines, 35 to 65 cents per day; farm laborers, 20 to 40 cents per day; servants, 10 to 25 cents per day and found; operatives in mills, 10 to 65 cents per day; street sweepers, 10 to 45 cents per day."

"A paper-maker says he is 44 years old, earns 77 cents per day, although the average earnings in the mill do not exceed 58 cents per day; hours from 6 a. m. to 7 p. m. His wife works also, and two of his children earn something, without which he could not get along."

HOLLAND.

"As illustrative of how the more prosperous laborers live in Holland the following experience of a mason is of interest: Is 34 years old; works by the hour; is paid 8 cents per hour, though the average rate is 7½ cents; is paid for 12 hours per day in summer, and 7½ hours per day in winter. Considers himself fortunate if he earns \$230 per year. Lives as follows: Food—breakfast, coffee, bread and butter; dinner, potatoes, with fat and sometimes vegetables; on Sunday, beef or pork for dinner. As to saving for old age, it is out of the question."

SWITZERLAND.

"A shoemaker, 37 years old, a representative workman, usual hours 10 to 12, earns 58 cents per day; wife works at washing and sewing, and earns 29 cents per day, when she can get work. Could not support his family otherwise. Total income, 193 to 242 dollars per annum. Breakfast, coffee, bread and potatoes; dinner, soup, sometimes meat, mostly food prepared from flour; supper, bread, potatoes and coffee. Can save nothing."

"Silk weaver, 60 years old, earns 48 cents per day, and the silk weaver who can do that the year round is fortunate. Another weaver stated that coffee and bread three times a day constituted their fare. On occasions when money is plenty a little meat was indulged in. Twenty-five to forty per cent. of the whole number of employees are females. The effect of their employment has been to reduce the wages of men."

ITALY.

"Wages per week: Bricklayers, \$4.20; masons, \$3.60; plumbers, \$3.60; carpenters, \$4; bookbinders, \$3.80; cigar makers, \$3; coopers, \$2.60; printers, \$4.60; tailors, \$4; cab-drivers, \$2.50. Diet: Morning, soup; dinner, soup, bread and cheese, or potatoes and codfish; supper, bread, wine, macaroni or vegetable stew. Meat is a rarity and a luxury."

"Consul Welsh, of Tuscany, says: 'The food of the workmen is simple in the extreme. A cup of bad coffee serves till noon, when a meal of bread, beans cooked in olive oil or hogs' grease, or polenta (like our Indian meal), boiled or fried, is taken. The evening meal is much the same as the noon-day meal. Fresh meat is seldom eaten even by a skilled mechanic.'"

"Wages of female workers in mills, factories, etc., are about one-half those of males."

AUSTRIA.

"Average wages of various workmen amount to \$4.05 per week; but this should be further reduced 20 to 40 per cent. in certain provinces. Hours of labor, 60 to 72. The working classes steady and industrious. Even with such admirable characteristics they are unable to save anything.

"Female laborers number 3,671,726, against 3,857,812 male laborers; so that the women of Austria about evenly divide the hardships and burdens of labor with the men. The hours of female labor are longer than the hours of male labor, while their wages are from 25 to 50 per cent. less.

"Flour, meat and vegetables cost more in Austria than in the United States. House rent is as high as in the United States; but in the article of clothing the difference is largely in favor of this country. But when we consider the mode of life practiced here by the laboring man, the contrast is very great. Food and clothing are limited to a minimum, both in quality and quantity, the former generally consisting of rye bread with figs, coffee and soup, or meat with vegetables, not more than once a day; in many cases only once a week, while the clothing is coarse and durable. Were it otherwise the small pittance earned would not suffice, even with the greatest economy.

GERMANY.

"The German laborer excels in perseverance, patience under the most trying circumstances, trustworthiness, industry and economy. These virtues enable him to maintain existence in his own land on low rates of wages, and to accomplish great results in almost every field of labor.

HOW THEY LIVE.

LABORER.—"Gets about \$123 a year, but very uncertain. Saving is out of the question. We live mostly on potatoes. Meat we eat four times a week, buying half a pound for 11 cents."

MASON.—39 years old. Gets 95 cents a day. Works from six in the morning to six at night. Idle four months in the year. Keeps a goat and raises a hog for meat. Lives mostly on potatoes, with a little coffee or milk, soup in the morning, and bread and potatoes for supper. Can save nothing.

BOOKBINDER.—38 years old. Earns 89 cents per day. Cannot support his family thereon. Unable to save anything.

Consul Bremer says: "Most of the necessities of life in the shape of food are higher in Berlin than in the City of New York. Cotton goods are probably cheaper in New York than here. Woollen clothing, 30 to 40 per cent.; table linen, 20 to 30 per cent.; silk goods, 10 to 25 per cent. cheaper here (in Berlin).

"For some reason, which I am unable to explain, woollen blankets are very little, if any, cheaper here than in America. This is also the case with woollen underclothing. I have no doubt whatever that one can live in America as cheap as he can live in Germany if he will live in the same manner. I know the question is often asked in America, How can the laboring people in Germany live, if they receive such a small pittance for their labor? My reply is simply because they do not live as well as the

laboring classes do in America. They are, also, as a rule, much more economical in their expenditures and in their manner of living; and, all the members of a family who can labor must do so, in order to assist in caring for themselves and the general household. The laboring women here are accustomed to the hardest manual labor on the farm, in the workshop, about the mines, &c., such labor as would only be performed by the strongest men in the United States."

Consul Schoenle, of Barmen, says: "As a rule, the laboring classes subsist on a comparatively meagre diet, live in small, badly ventilated tenement houses, and their clothing is coarse and of inferior material."

BREAKFAST.—Coffee, of very poor quality, potatoes and brown bread. Dinner: beans or peas cooked in fat, or potatoes with fat and onion sauce, etc. Supper: coffee and potatoes served in rape-seed oil. On Sundays, some meat.

CLOTHES.—Of cheap and ordinary material, made up without reference to taste or fashion. Women and children wearing wooden shoes, and in summer barefooted. Household furniture restricted to the most indispensable articles. Of comfort such as the average American workingman's family enjoys, the German workingman's family has not the faintest idea.

"It is almost impossible for an average workingman with a family to accumulate any saving for sickness or old age. His life is a continual struggle for subsistence, and almost without hope of bettering his lot in the future."

Consul Mason, from Dresden, says:

"An important factor in the labor of Germany is not inquired into, viz., the labor of dogs. I have heard it said that women and dogs, harnessed together, do more hauling than the railroads and all other modes of conveyance of goods united. Hundreds of small wagons can be seen every day on all the roads leading to and from Dresden, each having a dog for the near-horse, harnessed, while the off-horse is a woman with her left hand grasping the wagon tongue to give it direction, and the right hand passed through a loop in a rope which is attached to the axle, binding her shoulder. Thus harnessed, woman and dog trudge along together, pulling miraculous loads in all sorts of weather."

Consul-General Brewer says:

"In the year 1879 the government enacted a Tariff law, having in view, no doubt, a two-fold object—first, the raising of a revenue; second, the protection of the agricultural and other industries in the empire from the competition which they met with by the importation of the productions of other countries. There is the usual difference of opinion of the general effect of this measure, the friends of Protection claiming that it was wise and that the effect thereof has been beneficial. Whatever may be the fact, my observation has led me to the conclusion that Protection is the settled policy of Germany for many years to come."

Consul Schoenle says:

"In 1878, business was dull and a general depression was felt heavily on all industrial branches. Since 1881 business has slowly recovered, money became easier, and wages rose gradually, and at the present time almost all workingmen are employed, if not at full time and uninterruptedly during the whole year, at least to such an extent as to keep privation from their doors. Most of the necessities of life have also declined, so that a greater number of articles of food are now within the purchasing power of the laboring classes."

COST OF LIVING, AND SAVINGS, UNDER PROTECTION.

WHEN IT IS PROVED that wages are so much higher in this country than in Europe, the Free-Traders reply that the cost of living is higher in proportion, and therefore the savings are no greater.

But the evidence on the subject is perfectly clear: 1st, that the cost of living is not materially higher; and 2d, that the savings are very much greater.

Full details as to cost of living in Europe will be found in the official report from American Consuls to the State Department at Washington. We give only the conclusions of the report.

Food: "It appears from the report hereto annexed, that the American workman consumes more and better food than the mechanic or laborer abroad, and that the cost of this food is as small in the United States as in Europe."

Clothing: "In general, clothing can be purchased cheaper in Europe than in the United States; especially clothing of the higher grades. The same influence which prompts the higher paid workingman in the United States to purchase better and more varied food than his European comrade, extends also to his clothing, for he buys more and better garments." Consul Shaw, of Manchester, England, says: "I believe clothing similar to that which the English operatives wear can be purchased in the United States at about the same price."

"House rent in Europe is apparently lower than here, but the habitations are usually inferior to those of the United States."

More exact and comprehensive investigations were made on the subject by Carroll D. Wright, chief of the labor bureau of Massachusetts in 1883. At that time, he found that the average cost of living of workingmen in Massachusetts, including rent, was 17 per cent. higher than living on the same scale would cost in England. Excluding rent, the cost in Massachusetts was found to be only five per cent. higher than in England.

The testimony of the savings banks tells the story so emphatically that no doubt can longer remain as to the advantages of wage-workers in the United States.

The deposits in the savings banks in the seven industrial States—New England and New York, in 1887, were 1,100,000,000 dollars, or about \$100 per head of population. In Great Britain the deposits were 520,000,000 dollars, or about \$13.50 per head.

The deposits in New York State in 1886 were \$482,686,730. The loans of all the National banks in the State the same time were only \$354,841,070. As deposits in the Savings banks were all loaned out, it follows that they were lending more money than the National banks by \$125,445,660. "What other country in the world can show like this, its workers on 1, 2 and 3 dollars per day being the great lenders of capital by which the industries in which they are engaged are carried on?"

But still stronger proof of the benefits of Protection is found in the statistics of Free-Trade and pauperism. According to the census of 1880 the number of persons in almshouses in this country was 83,665, and the number of outdoor paupers 21,598, a total of 110,263, out of a population of 51,000,000. Great Britain, with a population of 35,000,000 maintained 784,155 paupers in England and Wales, 416,982 in Ireland, and 91,091 in Scotland, according to the latest returns—1885. A total of 1,292,228 paupers in the Free-Trade country, and 110,263 in a protected country!