

## A STRONG ARGUMENT.

Hon. J. D. Caton Explains Why He Favors a Revision and Reduction of the Tariff.

An Excess of Protection That Does Not Benefit Labor but Is Instead a Burden Upon Industry.

The Veteran Jurist Approves the Mild Measure of Reform Recommended by President Cleveland.

Hon. J. D. Caton, whom a former generation knew as the Chief Justice of Illinois, and who enjoys in an honored old age a degree of confidence and respect rarely accorded to any man, has been moved to make himself plainly understood in an interview with a Newswayman and was quoted abroad from that basis. He writes with all the sturdy vigor of his younger years. The letter is addressed to and published in the *Burlington Hawkeye*. The venerable Judge says:

"The reporter of that interview unfortunately misunderstood me in several particulars. I feel constrained to set myself right on the subject. He was correct, however, in stating that I did approve the President's last annual message to Congress in recommending a reduction of the tariff to so reduce the income as to meet the requirements of an economic administration of the Government. In doing this, my regard should be had to our domestic industries. But for political party strife I believe that the great body of the American people would cordially approve of this wise and conservative recommendation. As it is, there are not wanting those in the ordinary walks of life who would soon utter a falsehood for the deliberate purpose of deceiving, who with brazen effrontery call this a free-trade measure and those who approve of it free-traders, which means, and is so intended to be understood, the abolition of all tariff duties and the readmission of foreign goods. This was not recommended by the President and is advocated by no party. There is then no free trade in the country. The President recommends a moderate reduction. Do his opponents oppose this and insist that the present tariff shall be maintained? If so, why?

"The reason assigned by the advocates for a high tariff is that it enables manufacturers to pay higher wages to their operatives than they could afford to do were they obliged to sell their products in competition with free foreign goods, that American laborers must be protected from the effects of the pauper labor of Europe. This is the happy case which would catch the votes of the laboring men of this country. The tariff does not tend to increase the wages of those skilled workmen whose labor cannot be performed by the ordinary laborers who are engaged in the production of goods, the price of which is enhanced by the amount of the tariff laid upon the imported goods. It is only these skilled workmen, employed in special branches of work, whose wages are enhanced by the tariff, while the wages of the common laborers, and other mechanics, as blacksmiths, masons, or the like, are not increased a penny by reason of the tariff, except that the man can command a wage when employed by others not engaged in the manufacture of these projected goods. The tariff does not protect them in any way from the pauper labor of Europe. The wages of these paupers are held up and shock in the faces of all wage-workers in America to frighten them into the high-tariff ranks. It is pertinent to inquire what ratio the skilled workmen engaged in the special manufactures, whose wages are actually enhanced by the tariff, bears to the great mass of laboring men on our farms, in building all of the great and small structures in all of our cities and towns and in the country, and in all the thousand instances in which both common and skilled labor are employed. Not one of all these men does the tariff protect from the pauper labor of Europe by a single cent increase of their wages. The protected laborers are not one in a thousand, and I think I may say not one in ten thousand, to those who live by their daily toil in all the other walks of life. How false is the cry, then, that the tariff is to protect the American laborer by enhancing his wages when not one in a thousand can possibly benefit from it."

"We can hardly believe that those who advocate this high tariff to protect American labor (2) really appreciate how few they are employing all their gushing sympathy, while they have no sympathy to spare for the great mass of laborers who quietly toil on and prosper without their sympathy or protection. This cry is to protect the American laborers from the competition of foreign labor by increasing their wages for the labor which they perform, but feeding them with taffy of the weakest kind. It is diluted more than a thousand-fold, for not one in a thousand, nay, not one in many thousands, is cented to it wages. You have but to look around and on every side you see the truth of this verified. Let us at the last, you everywhere meet. Your blacksmiths, your carpenters, your masons, your hod-carriers, your harness-makers, your teamsters, and indeed everyone you see who is busily employed in building up your city or carrying on its commerce, and point out a single one whose wages are increased by a single cent by reason of the tariff, and if you say there is a farthing's increase point out how, in what way, is it increased.

"If you find one in five thousand of all these laborers who can point to the tariff as in any way protecting them, then you will find that those specially protected workmen are receiving two or three times the wages which the great multitude of laborers around them receive and with which they are prosperous and contented.

"Here, then, you may find an infinitesimal proportion of the laboring men of your city whose wages are enhanced by reason of the tariff. And these are the laborers you have been telling all the time that the tariff is enacted for their benefit, to protect them from the pauper laborers of Europe, and who shall blame them if they take you at your word and by combinations enforce their claims for all the benefits which the tariff secures to American labor. Not only this, but the monomaniacal all of this class of labor by forbidding their employers to take apprentices to learn the business, except by their consent, which will only be granted in case of a son, a brother, or a cousin, or possibly an aunt in some special calling.

"This may truly be called the aristocracy of labor, to which is applied the strictest laws of primogeniture, in which the common laborers of the country are admitted to no part or interest. Here you have illustrated the influence of the tariff, so far as its effect upon American labor is concerned. It enhances the wages of a very few to an infinitesimal extent. While to the great multitude it is a palpable and positive burden without the least increase in the pay for their labor. What is this tariff? It is a subsidy paid to the home producer of goods, the price of which is enhanced by the amount of the tariff laid upon like goods imported from abroad. Who pays this subsidy? Every consumer of these protected goods. Every man who buys a hatchet, or a hammer, a pound of nails; everything made of iron or steel, or even of lumber, pays higher prices for it by the amount of the tariff imposed upon the material, or on the manufactured article. This is the case with all the merchants who are the final purchasers of these goods, and they will tell you that more than 90 per cent. of these tariff goods are purchased by laboring men, either farmers or laborers in towns, men who earn their living by their own hands, and the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by reason of the tariff. A manufacturer of agricultural implements has to pay a tariff on the iron and steel, and even fine timber which he uses, and this of necessity he must add to the price of the implements, so that the entire burden must fall upon the farmer, who must leave it to cultivate and harvest his crop. If the cost of his harvester or cultivator is only 20 per cent. on the cost of his implements would be a boon which he would appreciate, and it would be worth an effort on election day to secure it. But it is said that the tariff is an indirect tax and is not felt by him who pays it as the burden of a direct tax is felt; that the consumer will pay \$10 to the dealer in the increased price of what he buys and feel it less than he would to take \$1 from his pocket and give it to a tax collector. I think this is so, for in this way alone can we explain why we have paid these millions of sub-

sides every year to protect our domestic manufacturers from foreign competition—our home labor against pauper labor. If but 10 per cent. of this subsidy thus indirectly paid by consumers had to pass through the Treasury on its way from the pockets of the payers to the pockets of the recipients of the subsidy not, one man in Congress would dare to vote for the subsidy. All past history shows that the average Congressman has such a horror of the very name of subsidy that he dare not admit it to his lips except with anathemas, when it is called by a less-sounding name, and then will vote for it with avidity, though it be ten times a subsidy. This tariff by any other name would not smell so sweet, especially if that name be subsidy.

"I have here stated facts which I invite any candid and truthful man to controvert, and upon these facts alone the President would seem to have been justified in recommending a total abolition of the tariff and the establishment of free trade. But he did not do so, and I cordially agree with him. He did not think it would be wise or just to suddenly withdraw all protection from our manufacturers, which, under the stimulating influence of the war tariff, had been encouraged and invited to make large invest-

ments every year to protect our domestic manufacturers from foreign competition—our home labor against pauper labor. If but 10 per cent. of this subsidy thus indirectly paid by consumers had to pass through the Treasury on its way from the pockets of the payers to the pockets of the recipients of the subsidy not, one man in Congress would dare to vote for the subsidy. All past history shows that the average Congressman has such a horror of the very name of subsidy that he dare not admit it to his lips except with anathemas, when it is called by a less-sounding name, and then will vote for it with avidity, though it be ten times a subsidy. This tariff by any other name would not smell so sweet, especially if that name be subsidy.

"Upon the breaking out of the civil war there was a revenue to maintain it, and every form of tax which could produce a revenue was devised and cheerfully and gladly submitted to by the people. It was to maintain institutions upon which we believed not only the future prosperity of the whole country depended, but upon which each individual thought his private fortune and well-being depended. The war tariff, as well as all of the other war taxes, was framed with the idea of revenue alone. Money was the great object, while the encouragement to manufacturers, so far as that could be done consistently with the main object of the law, was incidentally

recommending a reduction of the tariff would be pleasing to the foreign manufacturers. He replied that I was greatly mistaken if I thought so; but as a statesman I would please them the best that I could. The inventive genius and enterprise which they most value from us is not; that so long as American manufacturers were upheld and sustained by the tariff they had nothing to fear from us in foreign markets; that if we would leave to them the markets of the outside world we were quite welcome to our markets at home; that what they most feared was a condition of things which would bring into active operation the genius, the skill, the enterprise, and, in fine, the whole resources of the Americans, as applied to the production of the various classes of goods protected by the

administration, has advocated and promoted measures tending to the pronounced welfare of the whole country. His very personality, therefore, has a powerful influence upon the voters. The National Committee find that thousands of voters are going to vote for Mr. C. because they have confidence in his patriotism, based upon what he has done since he entered the White House. They say: "He has made a good President and we believe that he will continue to make a good President." This confidence in the President exists to a wonderful extent in the agricultural regions of the great West and will make itself felt on election day. Making all allowance for the natural enthusiasm of our correspondents for the Democratic cause, I feel justified in saying that we will carry Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, each of which has hitherto been Republican in every Presidential election since 1832. I refer to these States because they give us both branches of Congress, and enable the President to carry out the great measures of reform which are now blocked by the Republican Senate. Of course we expect to carry New York, Indiana, Connecticut, and New Jersey, the only other States which can fairly be called doubtful. We understand what the Republicans are doing to gain them, and we do not propose to sleep."

## NEW YORK ALL RIGHT.

Democrats More Than Hopeful—The Leaders Confident of Carrying the Empire State by a Heavy Plurality.

New York Special to Chicago Herald.]

Never before in Presidential campaign have the Democratic managers in New York started the ball so early and with so much enthusiasm. From time immemorial the politicians of the party have come back from national conventions after factional strife and contention which have left bitterness and dissension. There are no feuds this year that require time to heal. Nobody is in doubt as to whether Tammany Hall will be loyal to the ticket or whether the County Democracy will split in their tents. Union, harmony, and enthusiasm prevail. All hands are impatient for the campaign to get fairly under way. There never was a party so cheerful and confident as the Democrats in New York this year.

There are many causes at work which indicate unmistakably that the electoral vote of the State will go to Cleveland by a greatly increased plurality over 1884. In the first place the increase in the Prohibition vote will admittedly be large. St. John got just 25,000 votes in the State in 1884. Every year since that time the vote has shown an increase. Last year it was over 40,000. The Prohibitionists themselves expect to get 61,000 to 75,000 this year. We Democrats estimate the Prohibition vote at 60,000, and the Republicans claim that it will not be more than 40,000. Even so would it reach only the latter figure if it would make Rep. Jones defeat almost certain. They lost the State four years ago when it was only 23,000. Of the 15,000 increase over this figure, which is conceded this year, at least 12,000 votes will be drawn from the Republicans. Can they stand this loss? The Democratic majority of 17,000 last year, when the Prohibition vote reached nearly 42,000, is a pretty complete answer to this question.

Last, but not least, there is the labor vote. Henry George poll'd last year over 70,000 votes for Secretary of State. This year the Labor party is politically dissolved. Feeble remnants of it that will not poll over 10,000 votes remain. The great leader and organizer of his party, Henry George, true to his instincts in opposing monopoly and a tariff in the interest of labor as against a tariff for millionaires. The great bulk of the labor vote will follow him unless the signs of the times are all at fault. What does this mean? What can it mean except that New York is not going to be won by a scratch this year, but is going to emphasize her electoral vote for Grover Cleveland by a popular majority ranging from 30,000 to 50,000!

## NEW YORK POLITICAL BUMMERS.

Preaching Protection in the Guise of Honest Labor.

The latest device of the managers of the Republican campaign is the employment of an army of agitators who go about the country disguised as workmen, to preach the doctrine of protection and ring the changes on foreign pauper labor into the ears of day laborers. Jack Breitling, a New York ward bummer, a day or two since blurted out to a reporter the entire plan. He said that he and many others were employed by the National Republican Campaign Committee at \$8 a day to go about the country, mingle with the workingmen, and enlighten them, as much as possible, into voting the Republican ticket by holding up to them the scarecrow of pauper labor and ruined industries. These agitators do not work, but wear the dress of workingmen and harden their hands by rubbing them with corn-cobs and pitching rocks for fun. During the dinner hour and at night they visit the places where the men congregate and give them pointers on the tariff. Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) *dispatch*.

## FARMER JONES' VIEW OF IT.

The Labor Candidate for Governor Says His Spectacles Make Cleveland the Winner.

Farmer Jones, of Camargo, the Union Labor candidate for Governor of Illinois, is in the city. "I have been speaking every day," said he to *Mail* reporter, "and to large audiences. The people are alive to their political interests. They are studying the questions of the hour, and it is my belief that great changes are taking place all along the line."

"How do you estimate the relative chances of the two great parties in the national contest?"

"I have a chance to see a great many people from every part of the country, and my present conviction is that Cleveland will be selected. I reach that conviction through what I observe and hear. The working classes, I think, are largely against Harrison, and sentiment is rapidly crystallizing against protection. I would be for protection if it protected, but it doesn't. It helps the manufacturer at the expense of the consumer and labor is not in the least benefited."—*Chicago Mail, Rep.*

## MARSHALL FIELD FOR CLEVELAND.

The Great Merchant Holds that the Country Needs Reduced Import Duties.

Mr. Marshall Field, the head of the great Chicago mercantile house, has been in Boston, and he talked politics while here. Mr. Field is a strong Republican and he is also a protectionist, but, to the surprise of some Republicans who interviewed him, he professed an intention this year of voting for Cleveland. He does this on the ground that President Cleveland's administration in its policy on the tariff question is decidedly in line with that of the country.

Mr. Field says that there is no reason at all to be apprehended from it that there will be a just and wise and moderate reduction of the rates of duties which is needed at this juncture and which must be had if the nation is to escape serious difficulties. He thinks the Republicans have made a great mistake in allowing the Democrats to take the lead of them in reformation on this point.—*Boston Herald*.

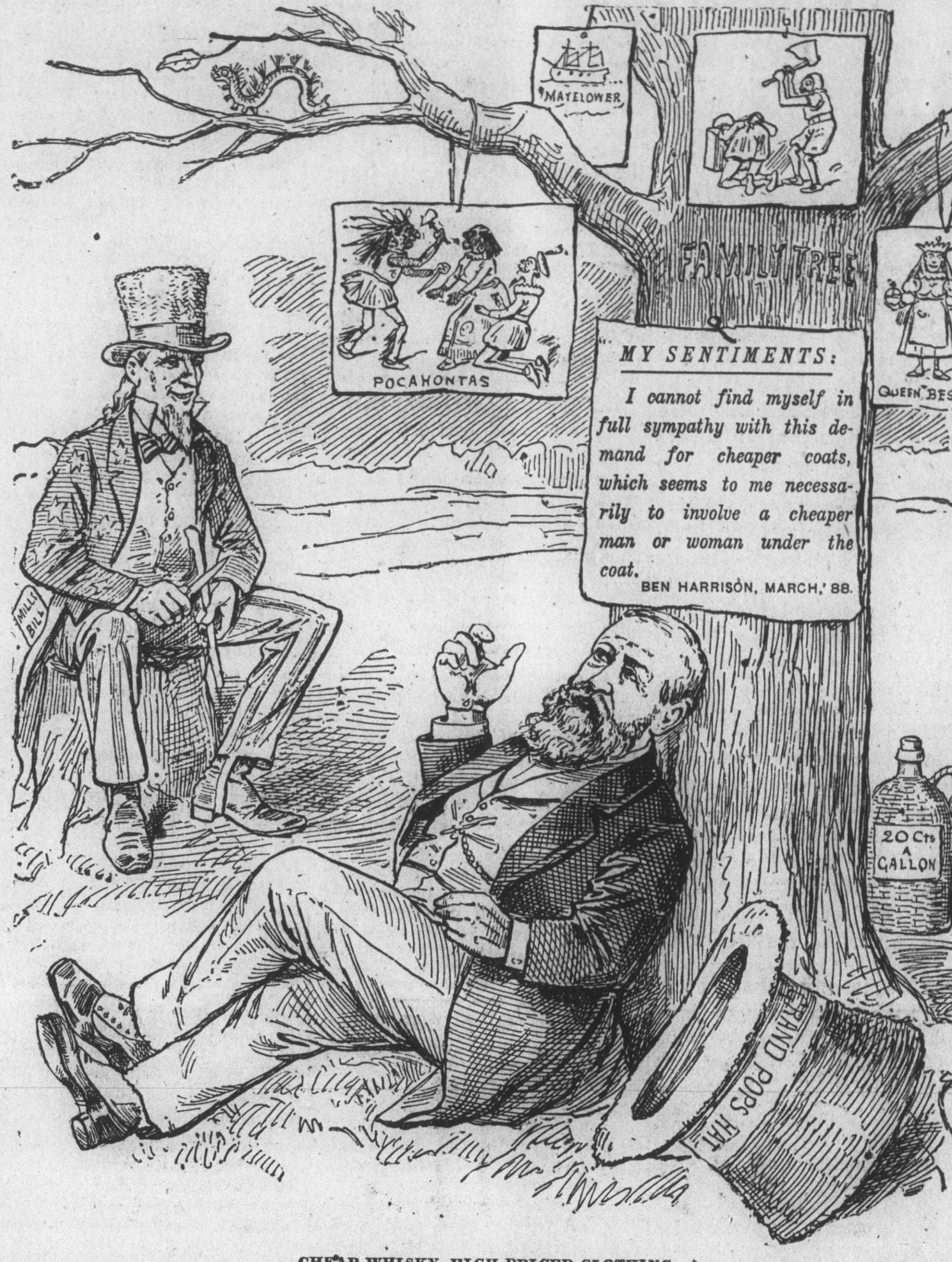
## JUDGE HILTON ON THE MILLS BILL.

In 1882 the six large woolen mills owned and operated by the A. T. Stewart estate were shut down because they could not be run at a profit on account of the tariff on raw wool, which made the material entering into the manufacture so much more expensive here than English manufacturers had to pay for it. Thousands of men and women were employed in those mills prior to that date. In conversation with a prominent gentleman of this city a few days ago Judge Henry Hilton, at Woodlawn Park, Saratoga, said:

"I hope the Mills bill will pass, for I want to start up those machinery again. I will begin to operate those mills as soon as I can buy wool as cheap as the English manufacturers can."—*Albany (N. Y.) Dispatch*.

PEOPLE who pretend to know something about Illinois politics are now making the assertion that John M. Palmer is going to be elected Governor. They say that the veteran is arousing great enthusiasm at his meetings; that all over the State the farmers are muttering at the present condition of things, and that up to the record of party deserters shows three Republicans to one Democrat.—*Chicago Herald*.

Fraud whisky in politics is not found to be the "holy joy" whose praises have been so rapturously sung by Rob Ingersoll. It has not driven the skeletons from the Republican feast nor painted pleasing landscapes on the Republican brain.—*Chicago Herald*.



CHEAP WHISKY, HIGH-PRICED CLOTHING.

ments in enterprises, the business of which they had yet to learn. Those enterprises have been largely sustained by the Government subsidies, which had relieved them from the necessity of self-reliance. To withdraw at once this Government would let many of them fall to the ground, overwhelmed in ruin, which would indeed be a national calamity. Recognizing this fact, the President did not propose to withdraw from them altogether the Government subsidy upon which they had so long relied, or even the greater part of it, but only so much as they could afford to have, just enough to stimulate them to efforts of self-reliance, to improve or adopt improved machinery, and greater economies in their business. These enterprises had been fostered by subsidies as infant industries, many of them from a fifth to a quarter of a century, until now they have become rather aged infants to rely so much upon parental sustenance. His policy was to feed them something. Yes, largely yet, not so much as formerly, but to make them help themselves more. He knew and the world knew that the American people possess genius and resources when conditions require their exercise exceeding

considered. Under this encouragement, large amounts of money were invested in manufacturing enterprises, which, without this encouragement, would not at the time at least, have been undertaken, nor have they, a rule, so learned the business as to be able to successfully compete with foreigners whose longer experience and greater skill enabled them to produce goods at the lowest possible cost. But they have been all the time making progress in this direction. To suppose that they have not learned something, yes, very much, by the experience of the last twenty-five years would be too discreditable to the American people to be admitted. That some have made such progress in improved methods and methods as to enable them to compete with anybody is undoubtedly true, and that these are realizing great profits and putting up great fortunes is undoubtedly true. But this is true only in a few instances, and these should not be cited to the detriment of the far greater numbers who are not so fortunate, and who would go down without some support. It may be unfortunate that no discrimination in any given line of goods can be made in the granting of this subsidy. As it is, it must be bestowed alike upon the weak and upon the strong. Some will go down with any amount of subsidy, either from bad management or bad conditions. As no subsidy could sustain

possess unlimited water-power so situated that

it can readily be utilized to propel machinery. Look at your petroleum wells constantly spouting more oil than can be taken care of, and with which you are now lighting a large proportion of the world and which will continue to do so, a more and more important part in manufacturing. And last, if not greatest of all, look at your natural gas, which as a fuel is unsurpassed for the production of ore and the generation of steam, which flows right into your furnaces without cost, save only the conduits to convey it from the flowing wells. And now gas fields are being discovered with as much frequency as were the oil wells. Look, too, to your gold and silver mines. Now, these are but a few of the natural advantages which you have over all other peoples for manufacturing cheaply and of the best quality. Well may we fear you as manufacturers more than our farmers, for you are capitalists. But it is self-evident that so long as you keep the tariff to subsidize your manufacturers so long we have nothing to fear from them. By all means keep your tariff. By no means compel your people to rely upon their own resources, and bring into active play those mighty powers which are now kept latent by the influence of the tariff. With such resources and with such genius to utilize them, when they shall be once aroused and you are compelled to act and compete in the markets of the world we do fear. Do not arouse the sleeping lion, and remove the sedative which disposes him to repose."

"I was silent. Here were truths I could not gainsay, which would point to free trade as an immediate necessity, but there were other facts which Mr. Watson had overlooked which made protection, at least for a time, a necessity to avoid a greater calamity, and to these facts I have already referred. JOHN DEAN CATON."

## GROVER WILL GET THERE.

According to Chairman Brice Mr. Cleveland Will Carry a Great Many Sure Republican.

Chairman Brice takes a very hopeful view of the Democratic prospect. In a conversation at national headquarters in New York recently, he said:

"I am glad to be able to say that we have just received cheering reports from nearly every section of the country, and conduct our business upon economical and sound business methods. If our manufacturers are ever to learn anything they certainly must have learned something within the last twenty-five years, and they should begin to rely upon the knowledge and the experience thus acquired, and the burden upon the consumers who bear the burden of the subsidy to pay them should begin to be lightened, at least."

"It may be, and no doubt is, true that the Mills bill is not the best that could be devised to accomplish the desired end. To do this would require supreme wisdom, and when done it would require infinite power to convince all that the bill thus dictated was the best that could be devised. We must then be content with the best we can get."

"In further illustration of a point which I have already mentioned, and which I believe to be the greatest interest, it is connected with our tariff. I state that soon after the publication of the last annual message of the President I was in conversation with a personal friend, Mr. Watson, of Glasgow, Scotland, who is an extensive manufacturer of goods, nearly all of which are sold in foreign countries. When I remarked to him that I supposed that the message of Mr. Cleveland

had been a good one, and which I believe to be the greatest interest, it is connected with our tariff. I state that soon after the publication of the last annual message of the President I was in conversation with a personal friend, Mr. Watson, of Glasgow, Scotland, who is an extensive manufacturer of goods, nearly all of which are sold in foreign countries. When I remarked to him that I supposed that the message of Mr. Cleveland