

# List 34

## Trade Before Trump

A Short List of 40 19th century American Pamphlets and Broadsides on  
Free Trade, Tariffs, and Protectionism.

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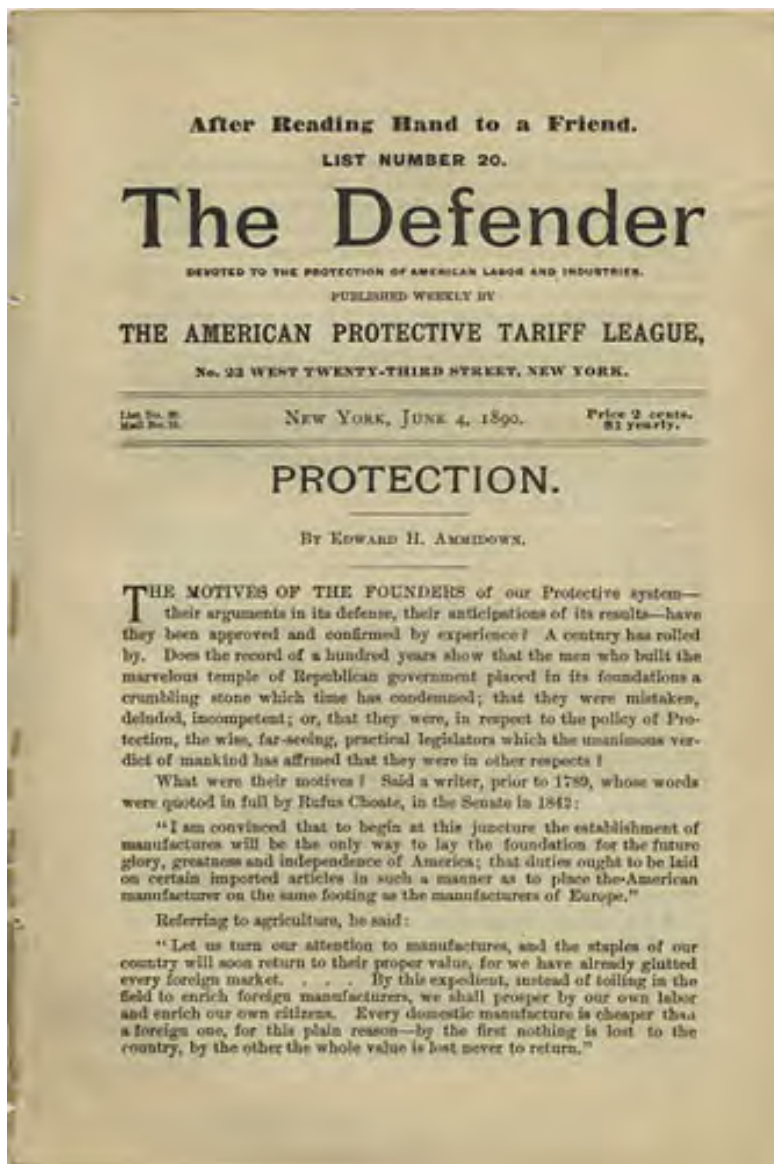
1. AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL ASSOCIATION. SWANK, JAMES MOORE. DUDLEY, THOMAS; STEBBINS, GILES; FREED, A. T.; MASON, DAVID HASTINGS. [Collection of 14] **Tariff Tracts**. [Philadelphia]: American Iron and Steel Association, [1878]-1889. Pages vary from 12 to 24 pp. each. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$100

*First editions (except one). Beginning with "Hard Times" circa 1878 then through to Tract No. 1, 1889. Dudley, Thomas H.: What protection has done for the United States (No. 2, 1880); Stebbins, Giles Badger: A Tariff is not a Tax (No. 3, 1880); Freed, A. T.: The "barbarism" of protection an open letter to John Bright (No. 7, 1880); Who are benefited by protection? : an editorial article in the Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association (No. 8, 1880); Mason, David Hastings: Bottom facts. A calm presentation of some of the foundation principles upon which the American policy of protection to home industry rests (No. 1, 1881); The testimony of the fathers : distinguished opinions on industry, labor, wages, foreign trade, and protection (No. 2, 1881); Twenty years of protection (No. 3, 1881); The "barbarism" of protection an open letter to John Bright (No. 4, 1881); Fresh Facts. The Cost of Transportation of Western Farm Products (No. 2, 1882, 2nd ed); The testimony of the fathers : distinguished opinions on industry, labor, wages, foreign trade, and protection : chronologically arranged (No. 3, 1882); Swank, James Moore: Footprints of the British lion (No. 2, 1884); Swank, James Moore: All about tinsplates : Great Britain's monopoly in the manufacture of tinsplates for the American market (No. 1, 1889); Swank, James Moore: Great Britain's monopoly in the manufacture of tinsplates: a letter to the Hon. William B. Allison (Also No. 1, 1889). James Moore Swank was a pioneering protectionist who headed the American Iron and Steel Association from 1872 until 1912. Very good copies. [35546]*



2. AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE. AMMIDOWN, EDWARD H. **The Defender. Devoted to the Protection of American Labor and Industries [Eight Issues].** New York: American Protective Tariff League, 1890. 8vo. Removed. \$150

*First edition. Includes List Numbers 13 (August 30), "Workingmen and the Tariff"; 19 (May 14), "Why Irishmen Should be Protectionists"; 20 (June 4), "Protection"; 21 (May 28), "What is a Tariff?"; 22 (June 11), "Wool Growing and Wool Manufacturing"; 31 (July 5), "Speech of Hon. Wm. McKinley, Jr on the New Tariff Bill in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, May 7th, 1890"; 32 (July 2), "Free Trade or Protection? Blaine's Reply to Gladstone"; 33 (August 1), "The American Policy of Protection applied to American Shipping Engaged in International Commerce". The periodical was published weekly, Apr.-Dec. 1890, but afterwards published irregularly. Overall very good copies. [36597]*



3. AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE. LAWRENCE, WILLIAM. PORTER, ROBERT P. [Three Issues from] **The American Protective Tariff League. Number 15. The American Wool Interest [with] Number 18. An Address to some Free-Traders [with] Number 28. Why Irishmen Should be Protectionists.** New York: American Protective Tariff League, 1887. 22 pp.; 8 pp.; 8 pp. 8vo. Stapled paper wrappers. \$75

*First edition. The American Protective Tariff League was organized in 1885. The first item was a printing of the "Address of Hon. William Lawrence, of Ohio, before the Farmers' National Congress, at Chicago, November 11, 1887." The second "An address to some free traders. Before the Commonwealth Club of New York, December 19, 1887." Very good copies. [36578]*



4. BRYAN, WM. J. [WILLIAM JENNINGS] AND MCKINLEY, WM. [WILLIAM, JR.]. **The Tariff. Extracts from the Speeches of Hon. Wm. J. Bryan, of Nebraska, in the House of Representatives, Jan. 20, 1894, Jan. 13, 1894, March 16, 1892. Extracts from the Speeches of Hon. Wm. McKinley, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives May 7 and May 20, 1890.** n. p.: [The American Protective Tariff League]: [1896]. 16 pp. Sm. 8vo. Stapled paper wrappers.  
\$25

*First edition. At the head of the title: 59. This was publication number 59 of The American Protective Tariff League, organized in 1885, though no mention is made of it in the document. Printed in two columns. Bryan for free trade, McKinley opposed. OCLC locates about a dozen copies, though many are either mis-dated as earlier than its actual publication date (see Economist 1896) or published later. About very good, institutional blind stamp on title, leaves browned, small tears along fore edge. [37339]*



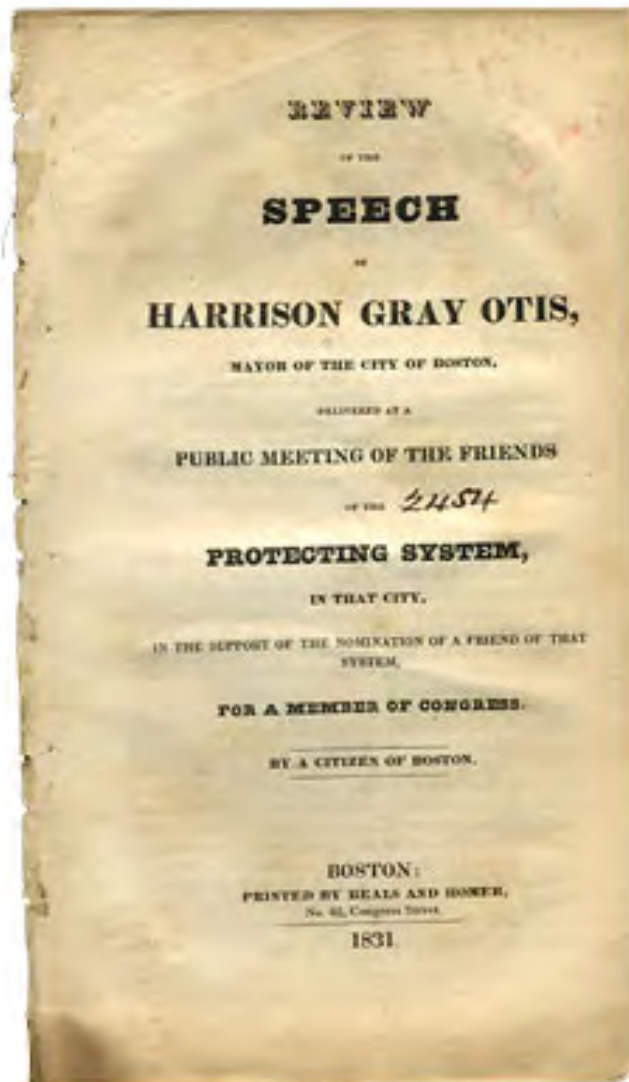
5. CAMERON, [SIMON], AND SEWARD, [WILLIAM H.]. **Speeches of Messrs. Cameron and Seward, on the Tariff. In the Senate of the United States, June 15, 1860.** [Washington, D.C.]: n.p., 1860. 8 pp. 8vo. Disbound. Sabin 10169n. \$25

*First edition. Simon Cameron (1799-1889) the senator from Pennsylvania argues for an increase in tariffs which under the Democratic administration of Buchanan had led to a 30% drop in government revenues (good for the South at the expense of the North). Cameron served as United States Secretary of War for Abraham Lincoln at the start of the American Civil War. Removed from a larger volume, a good copy, tiny numeral inked to top fore corner. [35933]*



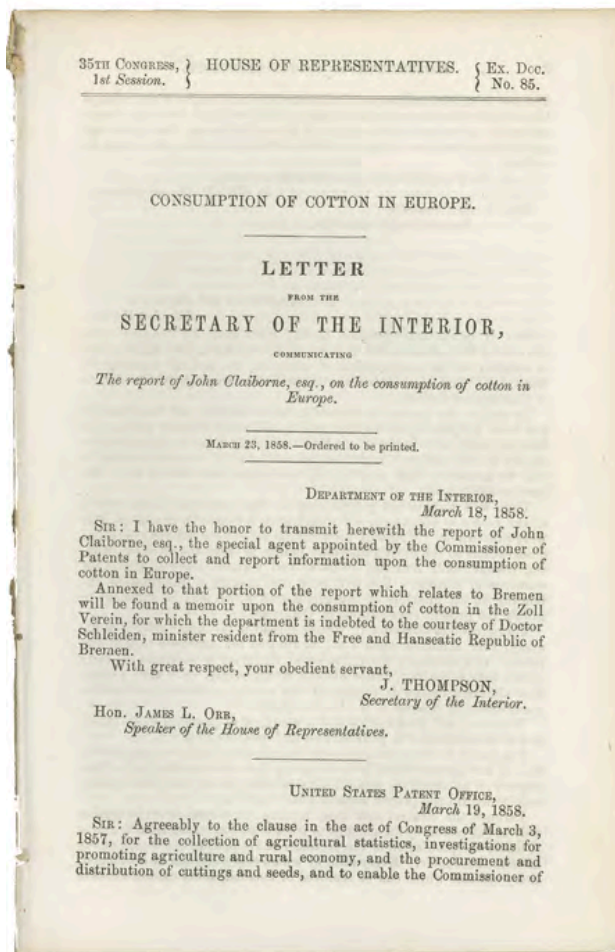
6. CITIZEN OF BOSTON (PSEUD). **Review of the Speech of Harrison Gray Otis, Mayor of the City of Boston, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Friends of the Protecting System, in that city, in the Support of the Nomination of a Friend of that System, for a Member of Congress. By a Citizen of Boston.** Boston: Printed by Beals and Homer, 1831. 40 pp. 8vo. Removed. Sabin 70271. Shaw & Shoemaker 8969. Goldsmiths'-Kress no. 27175.17. \$25

*First edition. Perhaps written by David Henshaw (1791-1852), Collector of the Port of Boston and Massachusetts State Senator. Henshaw was a strong Free Trade Democrat who here attacks Otis' support of tariffs. A good copy, penned numerals on title, stain to bottom edge at inner margin, not affecting text, mail fold, small holes on last 2 leaves affecting a few letters. [27769]*



7. CLAIBORNE, J. F. H. [JOHN FRANCIS HAMTRAMCK]. **Consumption of Cotton in Europe. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Communicating the Report of John Claiborne, esq., on the Consumption of Cotton in Europe. March 23, 1858. Ordered to be printed.** [Washington, D.C.]: [U.S. Government Printing Office], 1858. 99 pp. 8vo. Disbound. \$40

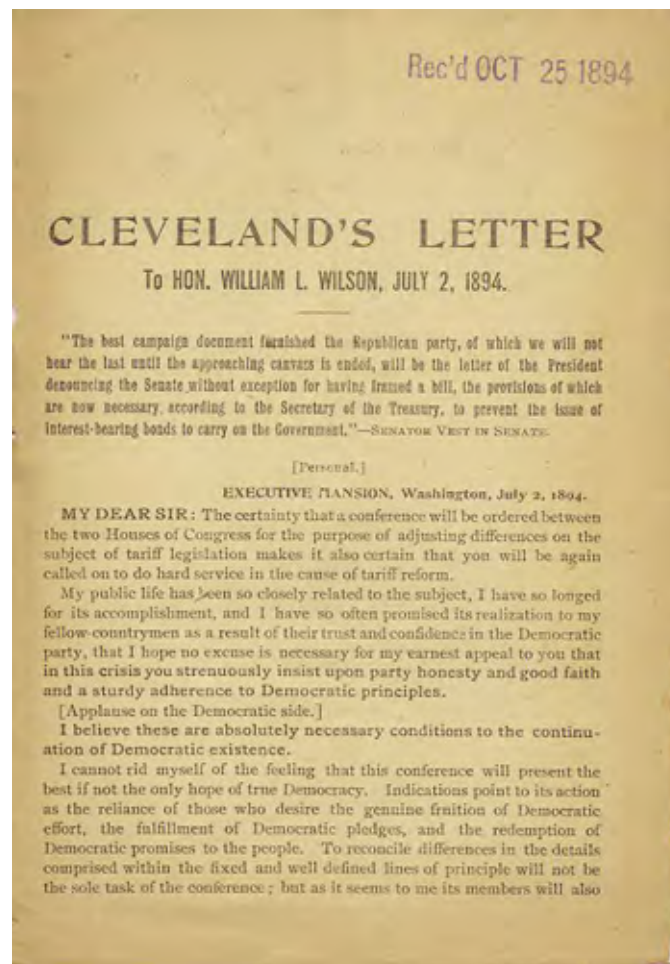
*First edition. 35th Congress, 1st Session. House of Representatives. Ex. Doc. No. 85. Four page introduction followed by Claiborne's report. Removed from a larger volume else a very good clean fresh copy. [43065]*





8. CLEVELAND, GROVER. **Cleveland's Letter to Hon. William L. Wilson, July 2, 1894.** n.p.: n.p., 1894. 4 pp. Sm. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$75

*First edition. "The best campaign document furnished the Republican party, of which we will not hear the last until the approaching canvass is ended, will be the letter of the President denouncing the Senate without exception for having framed a bill, the provisions of which are now necessary, according to the Secretary of the Treasury, to prevent the issue of interest-bearing bonds to carry on the Government."-Senator Vest in Senate." From the Congressional Record. OCLC shows only a copy at the State Lib. Ohio. Leaves browned and edges somewhat fragile, date stamp on top margin, a good+ copy. [37322]*



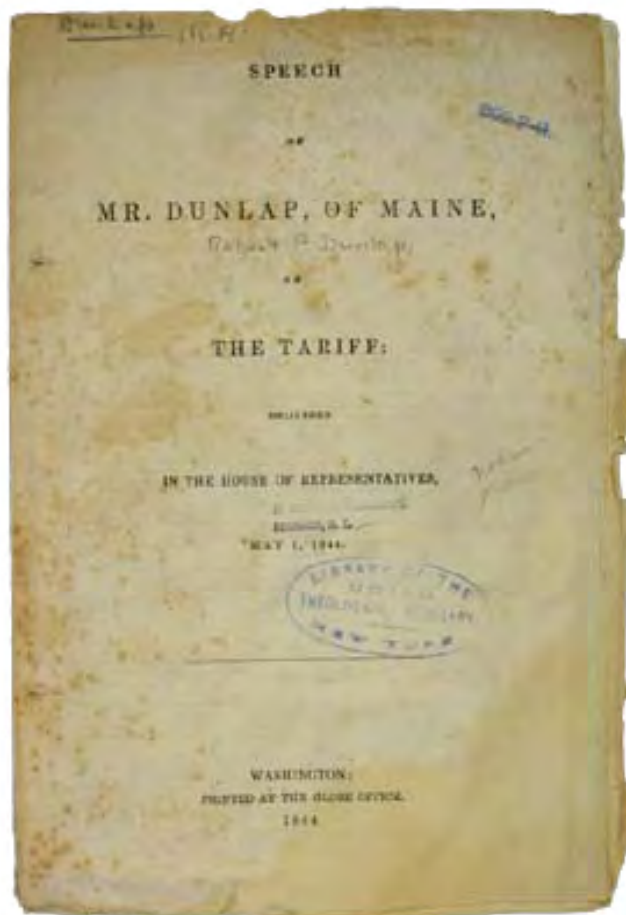
9. [DAVENPORT, HOMER]. [Political Cartoon] **A Few Really Pertinent Questions. Viceroy Li Hung Chang to Viceroy Hanna.** n.p.: n.p., [1896]. [1 sheet]. Illus. with 1 b/w drawing. 5 3/8 x 3 1/2 inches. \$75

*An early and important political cartoon, reproduced without attribution (though everyone would have been familiar with the source) as an anti- McKinley political piece, by "the most famous cartoonist of 1896," Homer Davenport (1867 -1912), which first appeared in the September 3rd, 1896 issue of the Hearst's New York Journal, shortly after Davenport and settled on his devastating image of Hanna. A potbellied Hanna, dressed in a checked suit, each checked filled with a dollar sign, is questioned by Chinese viceroy Li Hung Chang who toured the United States in 1896, while in the back-ground is a safe marked "Syndicate" containing \$118,000, the amount supposedly owed by McKinley to Hanna's business syndicate. Atop the safe is a skull marked "Labor." Below is the text: "How rich are you? Did you make any of your money reducing workingmen's wages? If the free coinage of silver would, as you say, tend to reduce the wages of workingmen, why are YOU opposed to it? Who gives you all the money you are spending now? What do you promise in return for it? How do you make Mr. McKinley do what you tell him? Will he keep on doing it when he is President? How did you get hold of him first? Do you consider that those notes are a good investment?" McKinley, a supporter of the gold standard, argued that "that high tariffs would restore prosperity." Sound familiar 120 years later? OCLC locates no copies. A very good copy with 2 creases. [37333]*



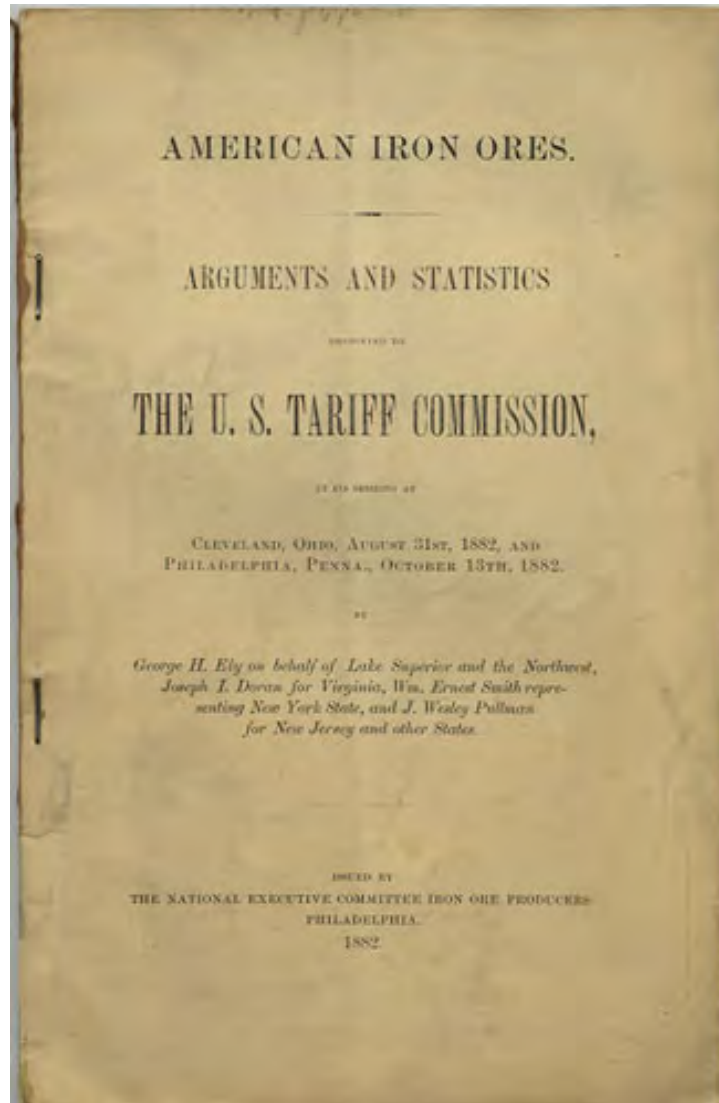
10. DUNLAP, ROBERT PINCKNEY. **Speech of Mr. Dunlap, of Maine, on the Tariff: delivered in the House of Representatives, May 1, 1844.** Washington: Printed at the Globe Office, 1844. 8 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers (paper). Williamson: Bibliography State of Maine 2977. \$40

*First edition. Robert Pinckney Dunlap (1794-1859) was the Democratic Governor of Maine, (1834-38) and U.S. Representative from Maine 2nd District, 1843-4. OCLC shows four locations: G. Washington Univ., Bowdoin, Columbia, and Wisc. Hist. Soc. About good: library stamps to wrappers, edges worn with tears, scattered foxing, damp stain to lower corner. [25894]*



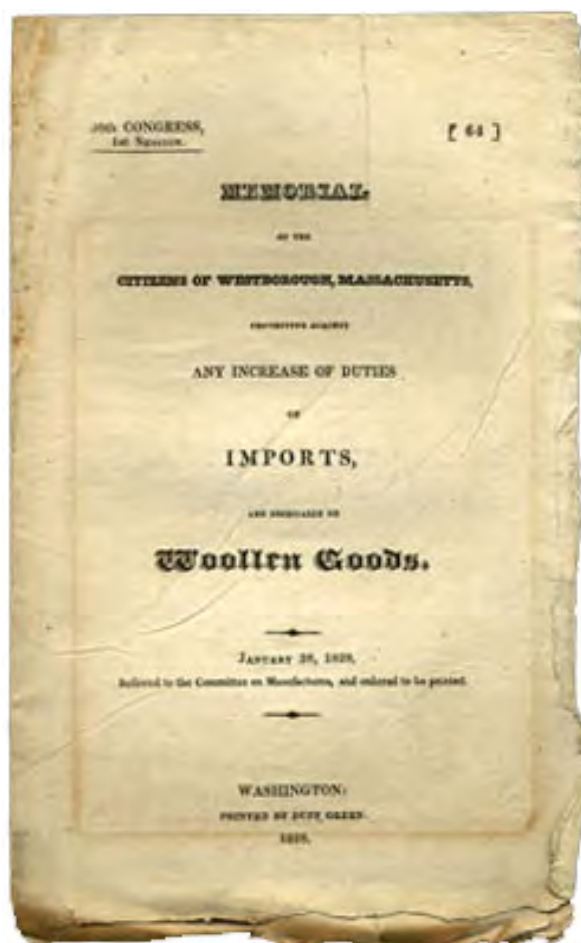
11. ELY, GEORGE H., ET AL. **American Iron Ores. Arguments and Statistics presented to the U.S. Tariff Commission, at its sessions at Cleveland, Ohio, August 31st, 1882, and Philadelphia, Penna., October 13th, 1882.** Philadelphia: National Executive Committee Iron Ore Producers, 1882. 74 pp. 8vo. Stapled paper wrappers. \$75

*First edition. OCLC locates five copies: NYHS, Rutgers, Bowling Green, Western Reserve, Superiorland. Lacking the front wrapper, rear wrapper very soiled, mail fold, else about very good. [36565]*



12. [TARIFFS]. FISHER, NATHAN, ET AL. **Memorial of the Citizens of Westborough, Massachusetts, Protesting Against any Increase of Duties on Imports, and especially on Woollen Goods. January 28, 1828. Referred to the Committee on Manufactures, and ordered to be printed.** Washington, D. C.: Printed by Duff Green, 1828. 7 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers. Shoemaker 36582. \$25

*First edition. 20th Congress, 1st Session. [64]. OCLC shows only a single copy at Yale Law. A very good unopened copy with offsetting on the title page. [27989]*



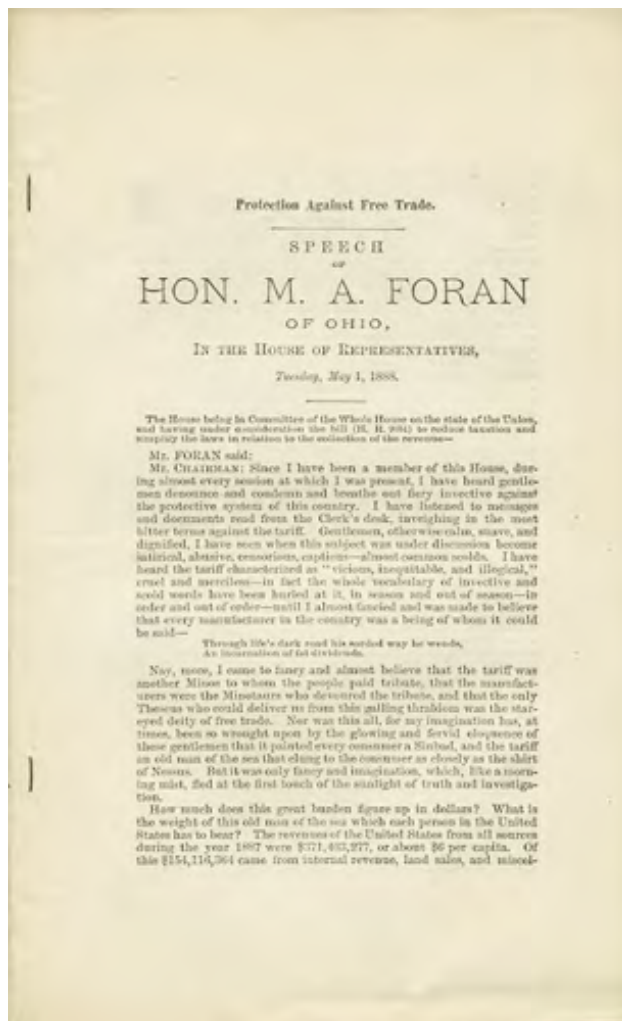
13. FOOS, JOHN. **Tariff Discussion. Speech of Hon. John Foos in the Buckeye Club Rooms, Springfield, Ohio, Monday Evening, July 9th, 1888. An Able Expose of the Democratic Free Trade Fallacy and Solid Facts from the Records Favoring the Republican Idea of Protection.** n.p.: n.p., 1888. 16 pp. 8vo. Stitched self wrappers. \$50

*First edition. John Foos was a sugar grower with a plantation and refinery in Louisiana; he testified in Congress against lowering the tariff. Apparently unrecorded. Not in OCLC nor NUC. A very good copy with browning leaves. [36579]*



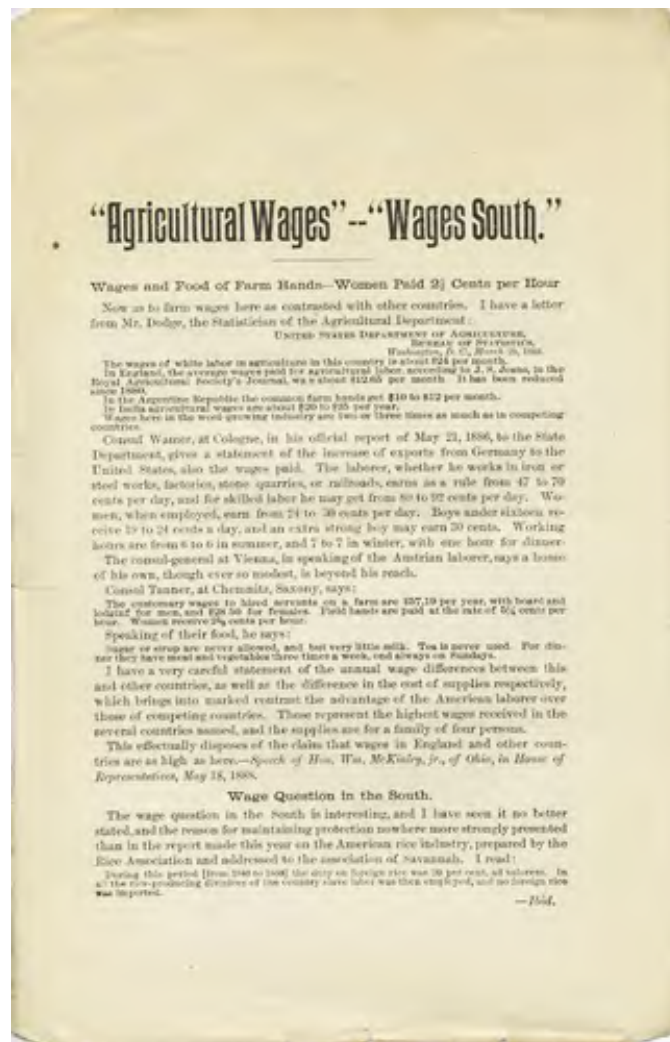
14. FORAN, M.A. [MARTIN AMBROSE]. **Protection Against Free Trade. Speech of Hon. M.A. Foran of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, May 1, 1888.** n.p., 1888. 24 pp. 8vo. Stapled paper wrappers. \$30

*First edition. OCLC locates four copies: Univ. Calif. (2), Yale, Rutherford B. Hayes Pres. Ctr. A very good copy with chip to fore edge of last leaf, contents clean. [37336]*



15. [FREE TRADE]. "Agricultural Wages" - "Wages South." Wages and Food of Farm Hands - Women Paid 2 1/2 Cents per Hour. n.p.: n.p., n.d.[1890-1892] 2 pp. 8vo. Broadsheet. \$100

First edition. A strong anti-free trade pro-labor broadsheet in support of the protectionist McKinley Tariff bill passed during Harrison's administration, showing the low agricultural wages around the world and how American agriculture and ultimately manufacturing would be destroyed. Special emphasis and detailed information given on rice production and quoting a report by the U.S. Minister to China: "Either this tariff must be maintained to maintain the difference of wages or one of two things must inevitably occur: we must abandon production of many of the most valuable fields of industry here or our labor must come down to the standard of the competing labor; and we may discuss our theories until the frosts of December and we cannot alter the fact..." Apparently unrecorded. We could find no copies in OCLC, NUC, or other reference sources. Edgewear, a few minor tears, else a very good copy. [37348]





16. [FREE TRADE]. "Markets of the World." n.p.: n.p., [1888]. 4 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers.

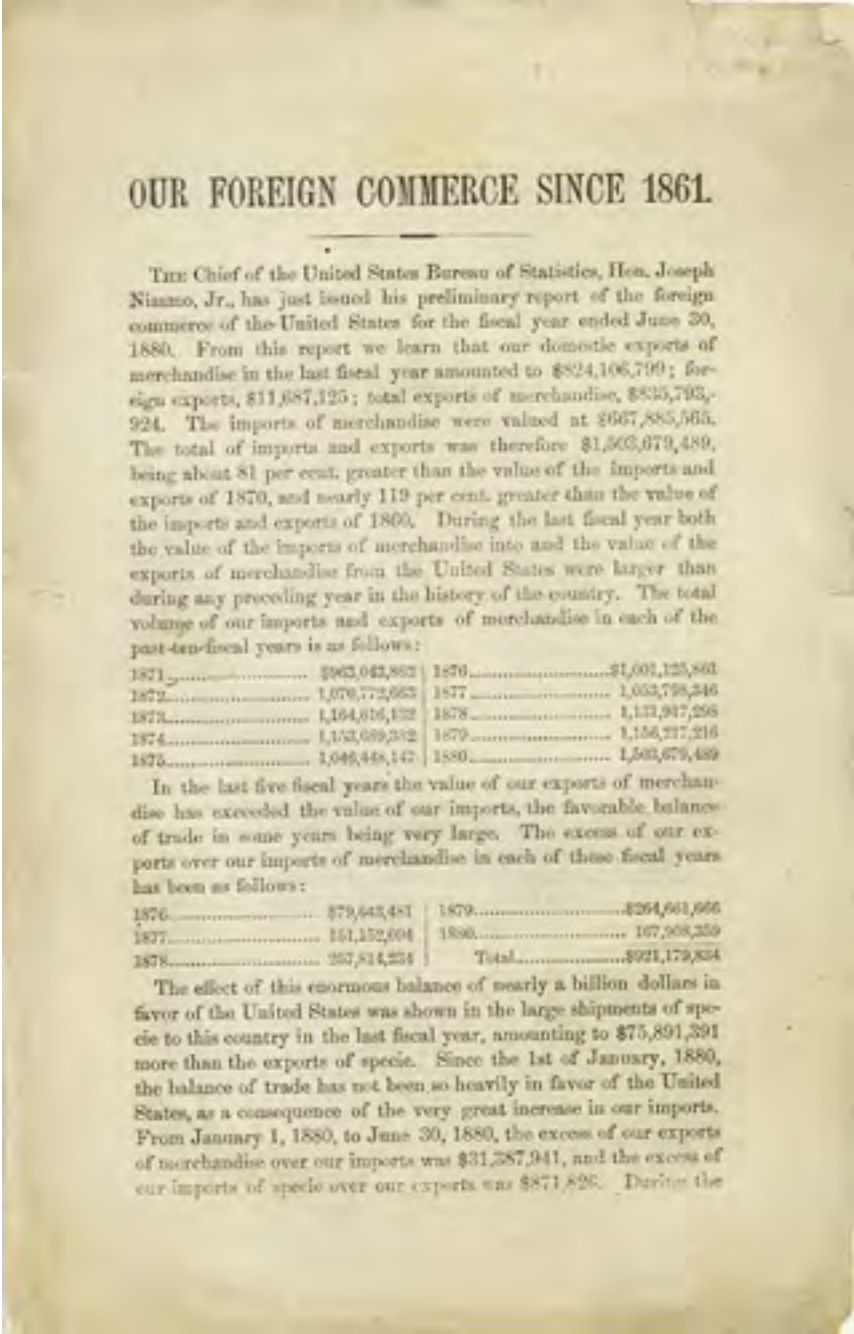
\$25

First edition. Various excerpts of speeches from members of the House of Representatives during April and May, 1888 which highlight the dangers of Free Trade during the 1888 Harrison Cleveland election. OCLC locates three copies: Columbia, Rutherford B. Hayes Library, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. About very good, edges soiled and chipped, mail fold. [37351]



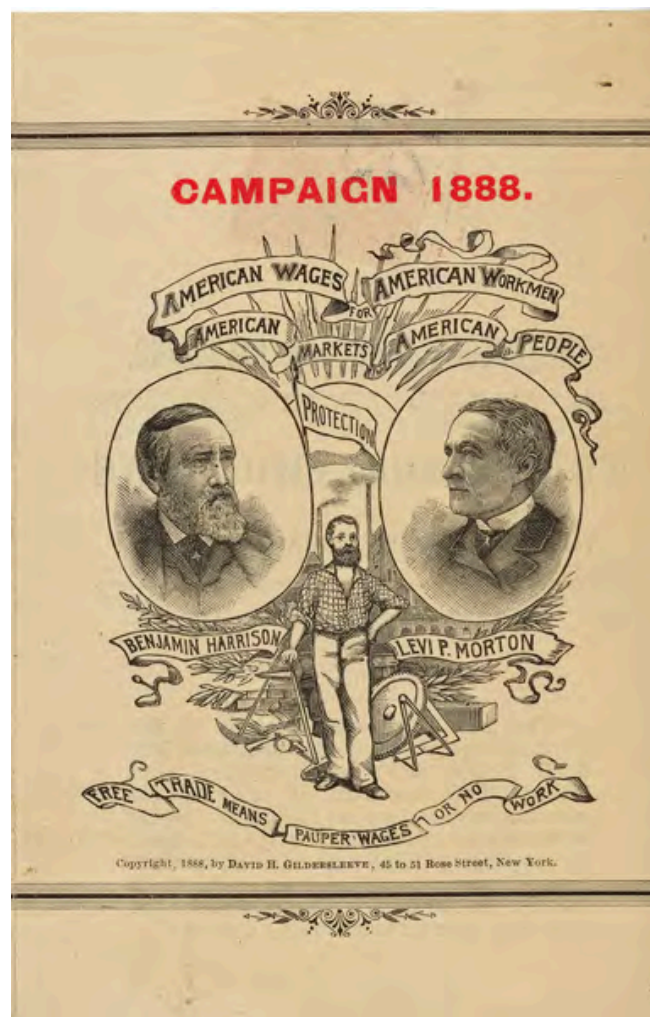
17. [FREE TRADE]. **Our Foreign Commerce Since 1861.** n.p.: n.p., [1880]. 4 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$40

*First edition. In support of Free Trade. Notes that our transportation infrastructure has expanded greatly due to our making rather than importing steel for rails, with no shortages. OCLC locates a few different issues, most from the American Iron and Steel Association, but a few mostly likely published by the Republican Congressional Committee. About very good, small chips and tears to edges, wrappers soiled. [37349]*



18. GILDERSLEEVE, DAVID H. **Campaign 1888. American Wages for American Workmen. American Markets for American People. Protection.** New York: David H. Gildersleeve, 45-51 Rose Street, (1888). Unpaged [4 pp.] Illus. with portraits and 2 color drawings. 16mo. 6 1/8 x 4 inches. Self wrappers. \$100

*First edition. One sheet folded once, the first page with banners and images of Benjamin Harrison and Levi. P. Morton; the following pages with extracts from two English newspapers and from a speech by Bismarck, all supporting tariffs, decorated with color flags. Mostly likely issued by the Home Market Club whose motto was "American Wages for American Workmen, American Markets for the American People, Protection for American Homes." The Tariff policy was the primary issue in the 1888 election pitting Benjamin Harrison, who supported keeping tariffs high, against the free marketer Grover Cleveland. During the campaign of 1888 the Home Market Club alone sent out more than 12,000,000 projectionist documents. Harrison won in the Electoral College even though Cleveland had more votes. Quite scarce. We can find no copies in OCLC, NUC, or any other catalogues known to us. A near fine copy. [36572]*





## THE COBDEN CLUB FOR CLEVELAND.

*The following is a fac-simile of one of the news bulletins issued by the Exchange Telegraph Company, of England, on July 21. It was taken from the walls of an English inn by a Philadelphia traveler.*

## THE TELEGRAPHIC NEWS

OF

THE EXCHANGE TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

Established 1870 for the Supply of News by Telegraph.—Price, 3d. each Issue.

10 SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1888.—(4.21)

### THE COBDEN CLUB.

The annual general meeting of the Cobden Club was held this afternoon, Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P. (hon. secretary) presiding. The chairman, in opening the meeting, said he saw no reason to despair of the ultimate acceptance of the principles of the Cobden Club at home and abroad. Free Trade would shortly achieve a triumph in America. The report for the past year was unanimously adopted.

## FOR FREE TRADE IN FACT AND THEORY.

The Leading Newspaper of Great Britain Expresses the Unanimous English Opinion of Cleveland.

Editorial in London Times of July 6, 1888.

### The Times.

NO. 32,432. LONDON, FRIDAY JULY 6, 1888. PRICE WITH AN EXTRA HALF SHEET 3D.

“Though the PRESIDENT’s celebrated Message to Congress showed his intentions beyond the possibility of mistake, the St. Louis Convention, it will be remembered, did not bring Tariff Reform very prominently forward. It was thought to be delicate ground; and the managers had hopes that the Democratic platform might still attract some Protectionists. But when the Republicans met at Chicago, it soon became plain that the battle was mainly to be fought on the Protectionist issue. In this way PRESIDENT CLEVELAND was forced to take up in a still more decided way his old position, and his Tammany Hall letter is the most definite statement that he has yet made of his reforming views. His language is extremely strong, and to many it can hardly fail to be convincing. It would hardly be possible to put the Free Trade case more clearly or more strongly; and yet—such is the force of words—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND shrinks from the use of the term Free Trade. In fact, he declares that those who taunt him with being a Free-trader are deceiving the country. ‘Free-trader’ appears to be equivalent, in the language of American political controversy, to ‘enemy of working-men and industrial enterprises.’ It is certain that the arguments which PRESIDENT CLEVELAND urges are those which COBDEN used to employ forty-five years ago, and which any English Free-trader would employ now.”

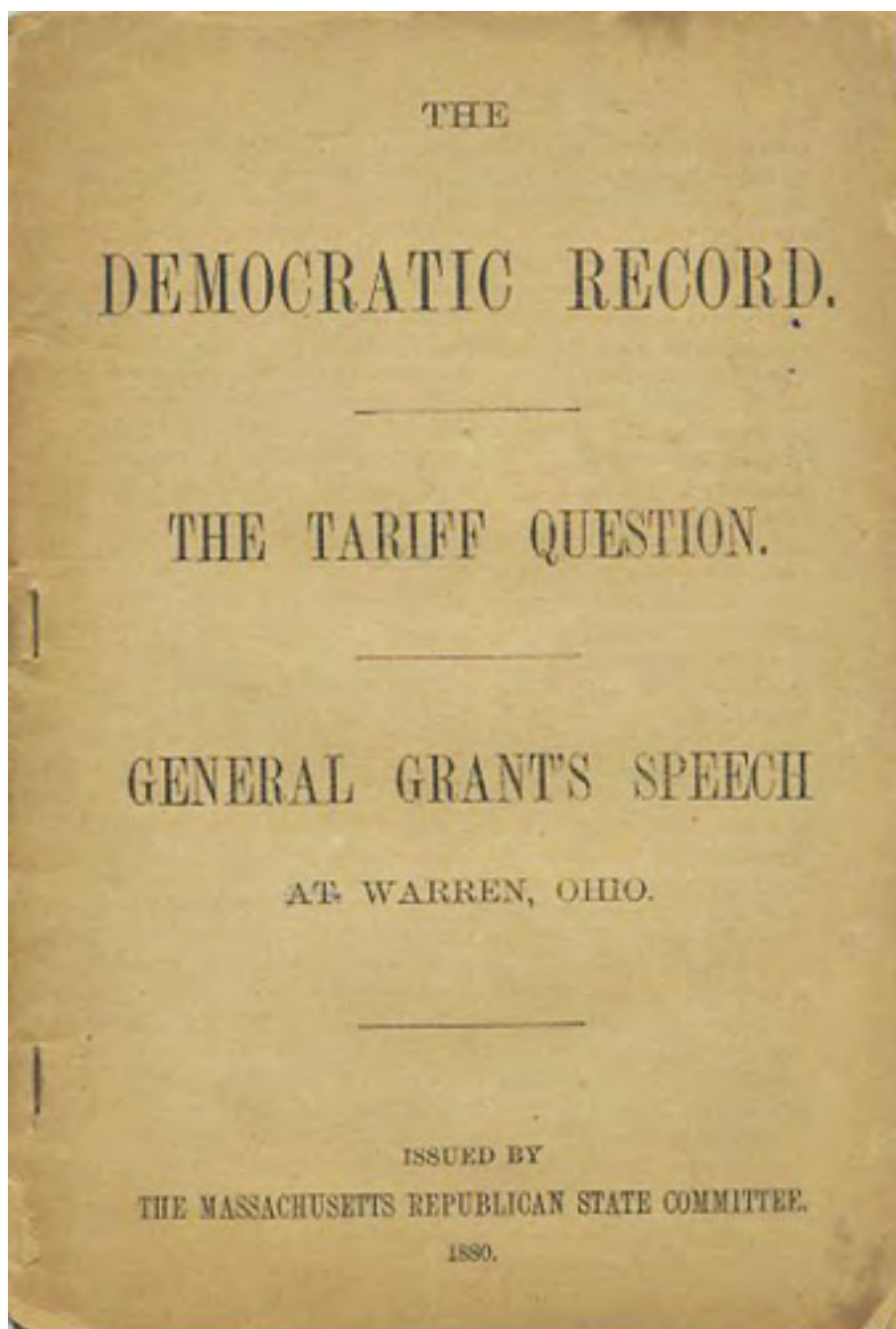


Extract from Speech by Prince Bismarck in the Reichstag, May 14, 1882.

“The success of the United States in material development is the most illustrious of modern times. The American Nation has not only successfully borne and suppressed the most gigantic and expensive war of all history, but immediately afterward it disbanded its army, found employment for all its soldiers and marines, paid off most of its debt, gave labor and homes to all the unemployed of Europe as fast as they could arrive within its territory, and still by a system of taxation so indirect as not to be perceived, much less felt. Because it is my deliberate judgment that the prosperity of America is due to its system of protective laws, I urge that Germany has now reached that point where it is necessary to imitate the tariff system of the United States.”

19. GRANT, [ULYSSES S.]. **The Democratic Record. The Tariff Question. General Grant's Speech at Warren, Ohio.** [Massachusetts]: Massachusetts Republican State Committee, 1880. 32 pp. 16mo. Stapled paper wrappers. Kelsey: Grant Bibliography 215. \$25

*First edition. A very good copy, tears at spine ends, edgeworn, leaves browned.* [37335]



20. GREELEY, HORACE. **Protection and Free Trade. The Question Stated and Considered.** New York: Greeley & McElrath, n.d. [1844]. 16 pp. 8vo. Stitched. Sabin 28492n.

\$15

*First edition. An impassioned discussion by Greeley. "...the apparent individual advantage is often to be pursued by a course directly adverse to the general welfare. We know that Free Trade asserts the contrary of this, maintaining that if every man pursues that course which seems most conducive to his individual interest, the general good will thereby be most certainly and signally promoted. But to say nothing of the glaring exceptions to this law which crowd our Statute-books with injunctions and penalties, we are everywhere met with pointed contradictions of its assumption, which hallows and blesses the pursuits of the gambler, the distiller and the libertine, making the usurer a saint and the swindler a hero. Adam Smith himself admits that there are avocations which enrich the individual but impoverish the community." Dampstained and foxed throughout, a few small corner chips; a good copy. [27872]*



21. HOME MARKET CLUB. **The Issue Paralleled. Protection or Free Trade. Which are You For? Early American Patriots for Protection.** Boston: Home Market Club, Rand Avery, Printers, n.d. [circa 1888]. 1 pp. 9" x 11 1/2" Broadside. \$125

*First edition. Protectionist broadside from the Home Market Club, founded in 1887 by textile manufacturer George F. Draper. As a protectionist lobbying group it focused on educating the public on what it called 'the evils of free trade.' Its motto was "American Wages... American Markets... and American Homes." A very good+ copy with a mail fold. [36571]*

**THE ISSUE PARALLELED.**

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE.

WHICH ARE YOU FOR?

**EARLY AMERICAN PATRIOTS FOR PROTECTION.**

"The only time England can use a Celt is when he Emigrates to America, and votes for Free Trade."—*London Times.*

<p><b>Constitution of the So-called Confederate States.</b></p> <p>No bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry.</p>	<p><b>Republican Platform.</b></p> <p>We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection: we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe: we will support the interests of America.</p> <p>We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the murderer and sheriff.</p> <p>We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives of Congress in opposing its passage.</p>	<p><b>From President Cleveland's Message.</b></p> <p>Our present tariff laws—the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation—ought to be at once revised and amended. . . . When an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.</p>	<p><b>From "The London Times," July 6.</b></p> <p>It is certain that the arguments which President Cleveland urges are those which Cobden used to employ forty-five years ago, and which any English free trader would employ now. Such propositions as that taxation ought to be strictly limited by the needs of the country, that it is unjust to tax the whole community for the benefit of special classes, that import duties stifle production and limit the area of a country's markets, are purely free-trade arguments. <i>As such we are very glad to see President Cleveland using them, though we are sorry for the popular infatuation which makes it dangerous to give them their right name.</i></p>
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☞ Don't be humbugged by any side issue. This is the only one. In '76 the fight was for political independence: now it is for industrial independence. In '61 the fight was for the Union,—protection on one side, free trade on the other. The sacrifices of patriots in the past must not be forgotten.

**EARLY AMERICAN PATRIOTS FOR PROTECTION.**

The first important law passed by the first Congress was "An act for laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandises imported into the United States," and its first section or preamble was as follows:—

*"Whereas, it is necessary for the support of the Government, the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandises imported."*

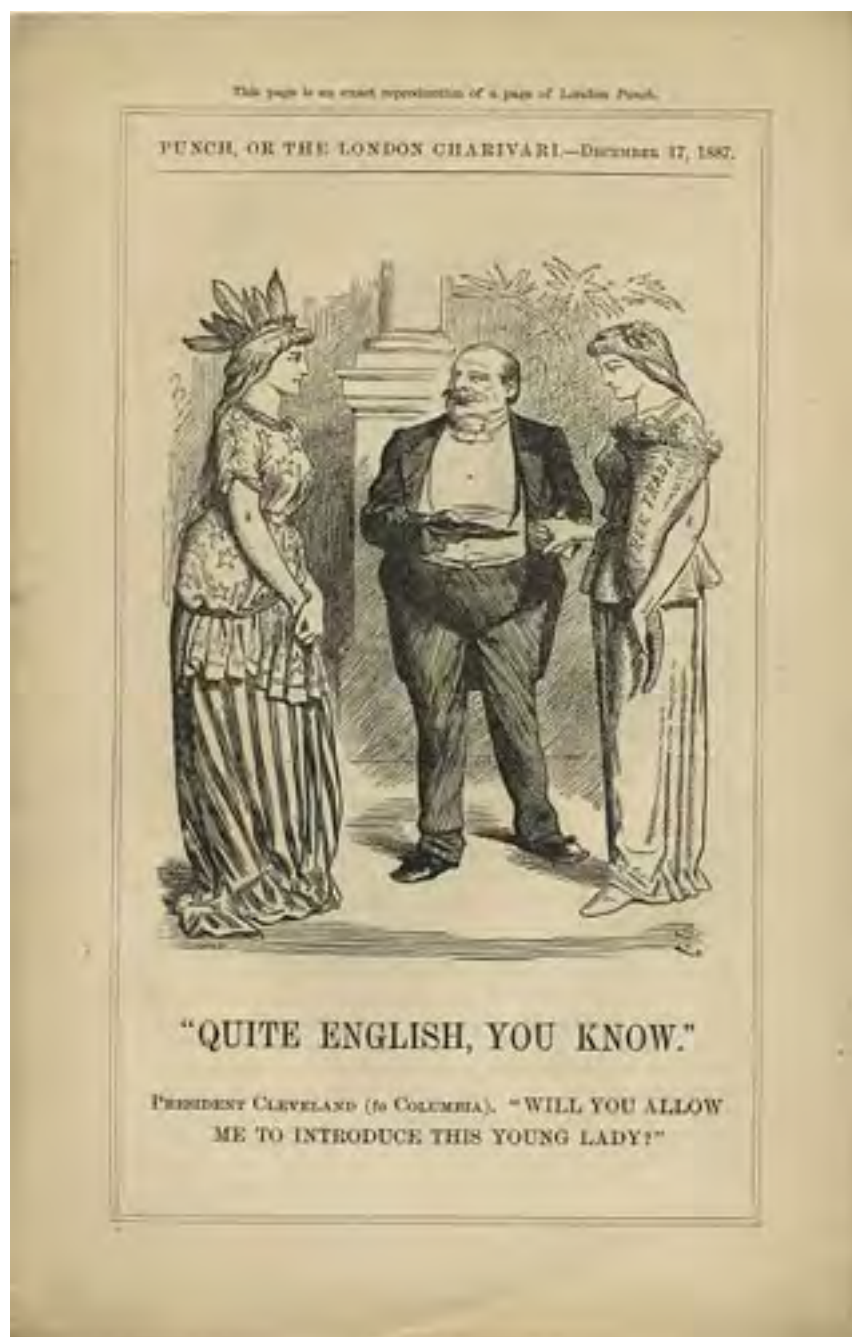
The bill passed with only eight votes against it in the House, and with scarcely any opposition in the Senate. President Washington approved the bill July 4, 1789, and great was the rejoicing, as it was regarded as a "Second Declaration of Independence."

**ISSUED BY HOME MARKET CLUB, 56 BEDFORD STREET, BOSTON.**

Rand Avery Company, Printers, Boston.

22. INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE. **Tariff Tract No. 8, 1888. British Comments on the President's Message.** Philadelphia: Industrial League, 1888. 12 pp. 8vo. Pictorial paper wrappers. \$100

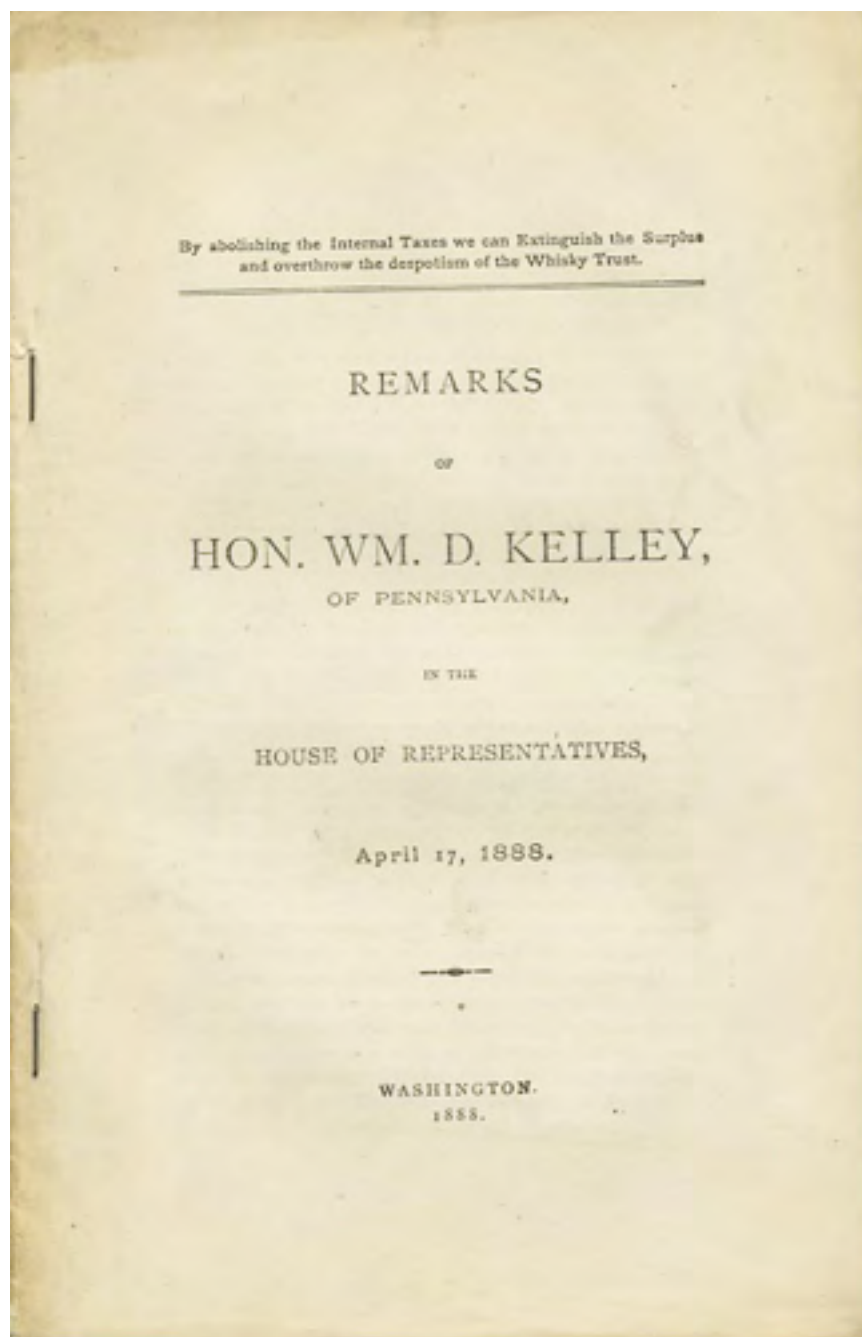
*First edition. Cover page is a cartoon from London Punch, dated Dec. 17, 1887 showing Grover Cleveland as a supporter of British Free trade. An anti-Cleveland anti-free trade tract. OCLC locates only six copies under two accession numbers: Columbia, Hagley, Rutherford B Hayes Pres. Ctr., Rochester, Johns Hopkins, and LOC. Edges just browning else near fine. [36570]*





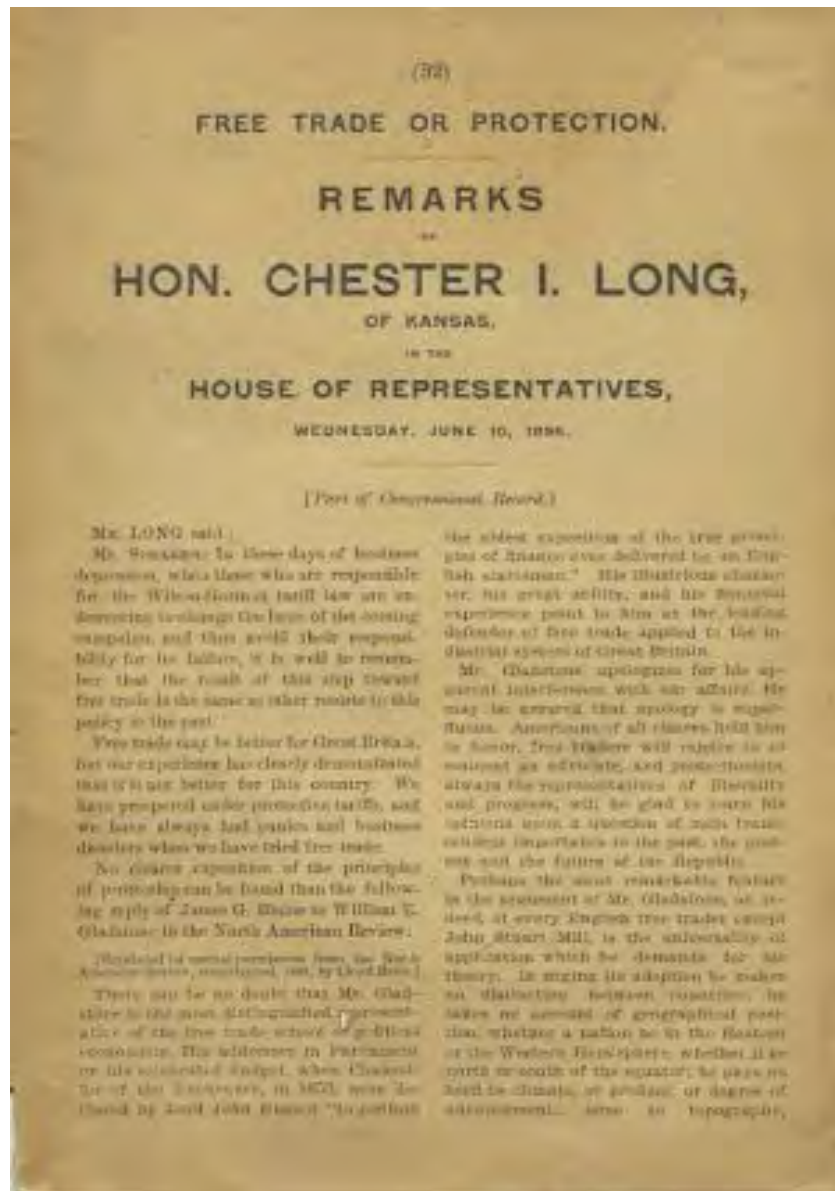
23. KELLEY, WM. D. [WILLIAM DARRAH]. **Remarks of Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, April 17, 1888. By Abolishing the Internal Taxes we can Extinguish the Surplus and overthrow the despotism of the Whisky Trust.** Washington [D.C.]: n.p., 1896. 36 pp. 8vo. Stapled paper wrappers. \$25

*First edition. Supports the steep reduction of taxation within the country though a strong supporter of tariffs. A very good copy with the last 2 leaves detached at the staples. [37338]*



24. LONG, CHESTER I. **Free Trade or Protection. Remarks of Hon. Chester I. Long, of Kansas, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, June 10, 1896.** n.p.: n.p., 1896. 16 pp. Sm. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$15

*First edition. Soiling to wrappers, chips and tears mostly to fore edge, leaves browned, good.*  
[37255]



25. MCDOWELL, [JOSEPH JEFFERSON]. **Speech of Mr. McDowell, of Ohio, on the Tariff. Delivered in the House of Representatives, May 3, 1844.** [Washington, D.C.]: n.p., 1844. 8 pp. 8vo. Removed. Anti-slavery propaganda collection, Oberlin College, p.57.

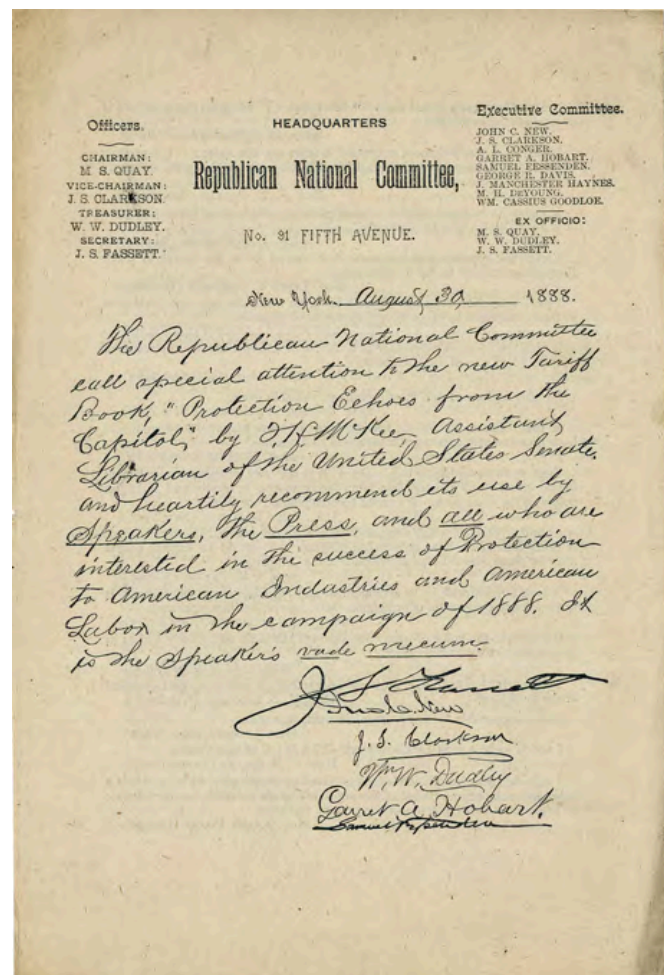
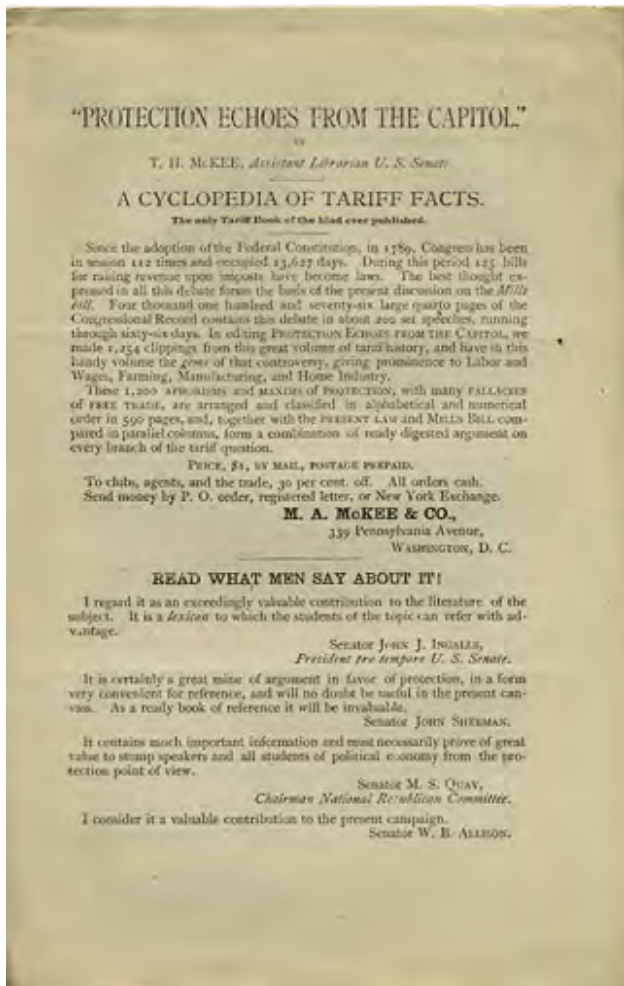
\$25

*First edition. Some scattered foxing else a very good copy, inscription on the top edge of the first leaf. [36142]*



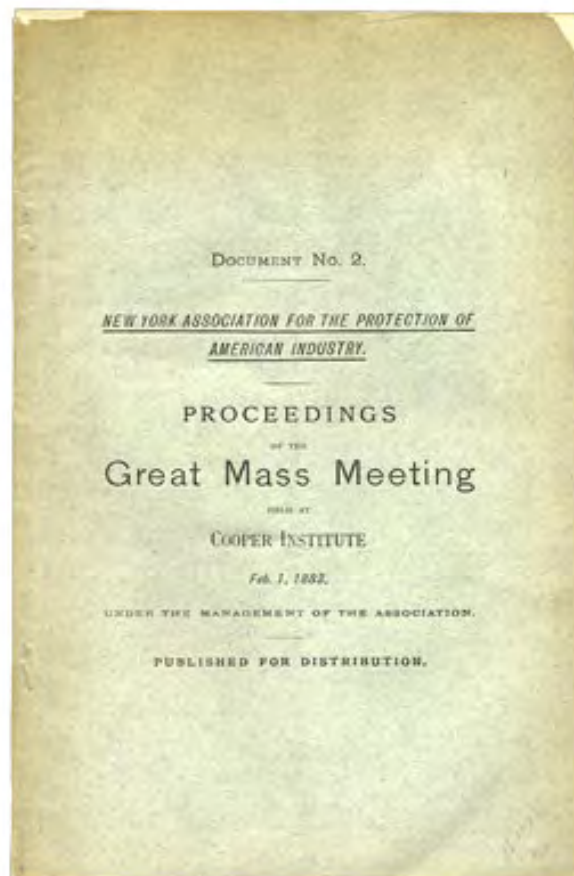
26. MCKEE, T.H.; REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. **Protection Echoes from the Capitol. A Cyclopedia of Tariff Facts.** New York: Republican National Committee, [1888]. 4 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$20

First edition. Brochure for the publication of the book by McKee, Assistant Librarian U.S. Senate, "Protection Echoes from the Capitol. A Cyclopedia of Tariff Facts." with quotes from various sources on the significance of the book which was published by M.A. McKee & Co. in Washington, D.C. and approved of by the Republican National Committee members with a facsimile of their endorsement and signatures on the last page. OCLC locates no copies of this advertisement. A very good copy with minor edgewear. [36574]



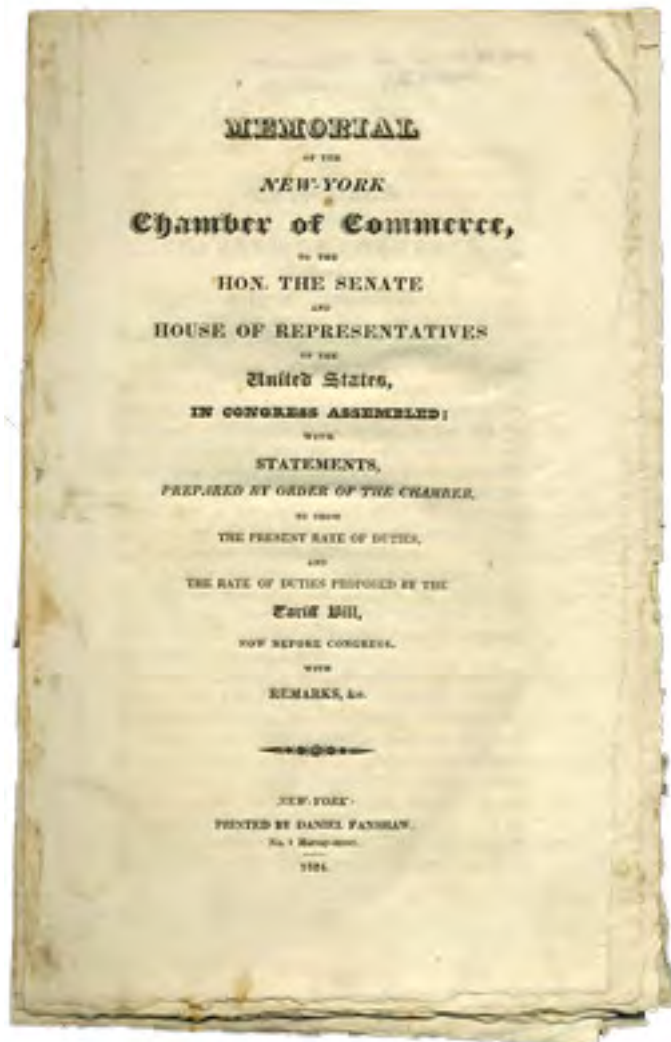
27. NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY. BUTLER, GEORGE; COOPER, PETER, ET AL. **Proceedings of the Mass Meeting held at Cooper Institute, New York, February 1st, 1883: addresses of Peter Cooper, William E. Dodge, William M. Evarts, Dexter A. Hawkins, and Cyrus Hamlin: Addresses and resolutions adopted by the meeting...** New York: New York Association for the Protection of American Industry, 1883. 70 pp. 8vo. Stapled paper wrappers. \$50

*First edition. New York Association for the Protection of American Industry Document no. 2. Peter Cooper's opening remarks could have been written today: "The advocates of free trade ... are trying to persuade ... people that it is for our interest to buy from other countries all the manufactures that they have to offer. These advocates of free trade propose that our mechanics shall either work at the starvation wages of foreign laborers or be forced to abandon their trades...." Other speeches on free trade including William Dodge, William Evarts, Dexter Hawkins, and Cyrus Hamlin, President of Middlebury College, on the blight of free trade. The objectives of the New York Association for the Protection of American Industry was: "1. To disseminate ideas favorable to just protection of manufactures. 2. The development, protection, and advancement of the various industries of the United States. 3. The restoration and development of ocean navigation in American-built ships sufficient for the exigencies of trade, commerce, and manufactures, and for the advantage and safety of the country. 4. The security of the comfort and improvement of workmen, and—by encouraging allowances or pensions after long-continued service in important establishments—of their support in old age." A very good copy with nicks on the spine, small chips to the wrappers, some edgewear, mildly creased, leaves clean. [27291]*



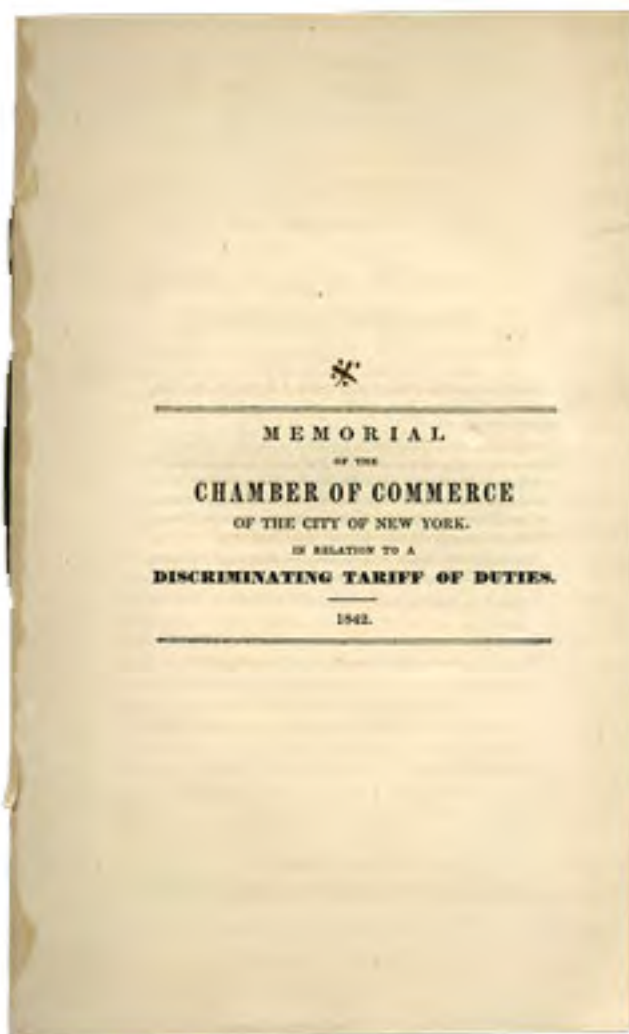
28. NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. BAYARD, WILLIAM. **Memorial of the New York Chamber of Commerce, to the Hon. The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress Assembled: with Statements, Prepared by Order of the Chamber, to show the Present Rate of Duties, and the Rate of Duties Proposed by the Tariff Bill, now Before Congress. With Remarks, &c.** New York: Printed by Daniel Fanshaw, 1824. 23 pp. 8vo. Stitched self wrappers. Shaw & Shoemaker 17405; Kress Lib. C.1301. \$50

*First edition. Argues against new tariffs and restrictions on Trade which it declares are unconstitutional. There can be no taxes whose purpose is not strictly to raise revenue, thus taxation cannot be used as a policy tool. "It is painful to your memorialists to perceive that while the nation... is beginning to see the advantages of a free Commerce, and the evils of restrictive laws...attempts are making in the United States to induce the national government to adopt a narrow retrograde policy." 18th Congress, 1st session. A very good or better untrimmed copy, mild foxing, mainly on the edge of the front wrapper, signed "R. Hand" with the word "approved" on first page. [27645]*



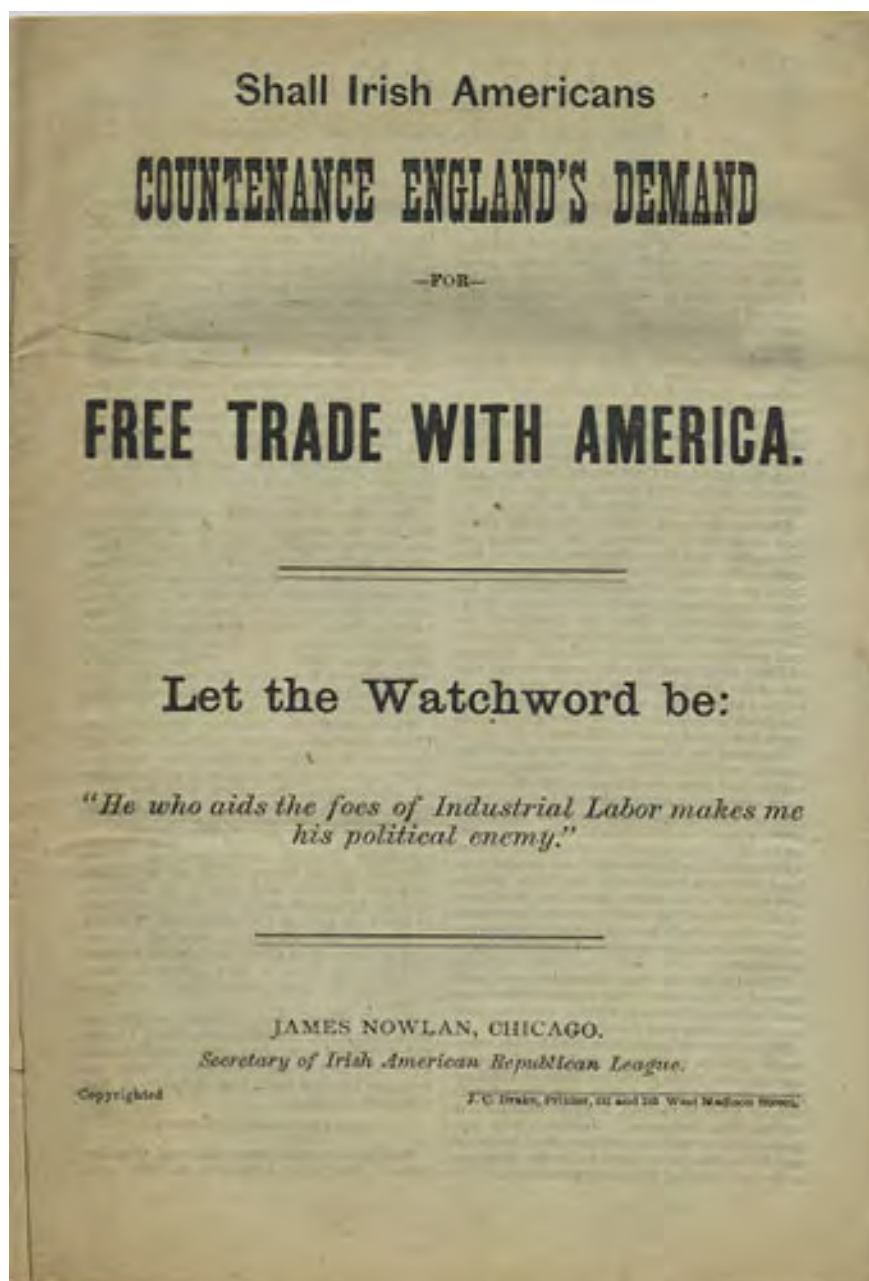
29. NEW YORK CITY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. **Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York. In Relation to a Discriminating Tariff of Duties.** New York: J. P. Wright, Printer, 1842. 11 pp. 8vo. Stitched paper wrappers. Sabin 54161. Amer. Imprints 423608. \$75

*First edition. The Chamber argues for a "discriminating duty on foreign imports" as opposed to direct taxation to raise the funds needed by the Federal government. Presented at the 2nd session of the 27th Congress. OCLC locates two copies: Library Company of Philadelphia and Boston Athenaeum. Lacking the printed wrappers else a very good or better bright copy. [27637]*



30. NOWLAN, JAMES. **Shall Irish Americans Countenance England's Demand for Free Trade with America. Let the Watchword be: He who aid the foes of Industrial Labor makes me his political enemy**". Chicago: J.C. Drake, Printer, [ca. 1884]. 16 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$175

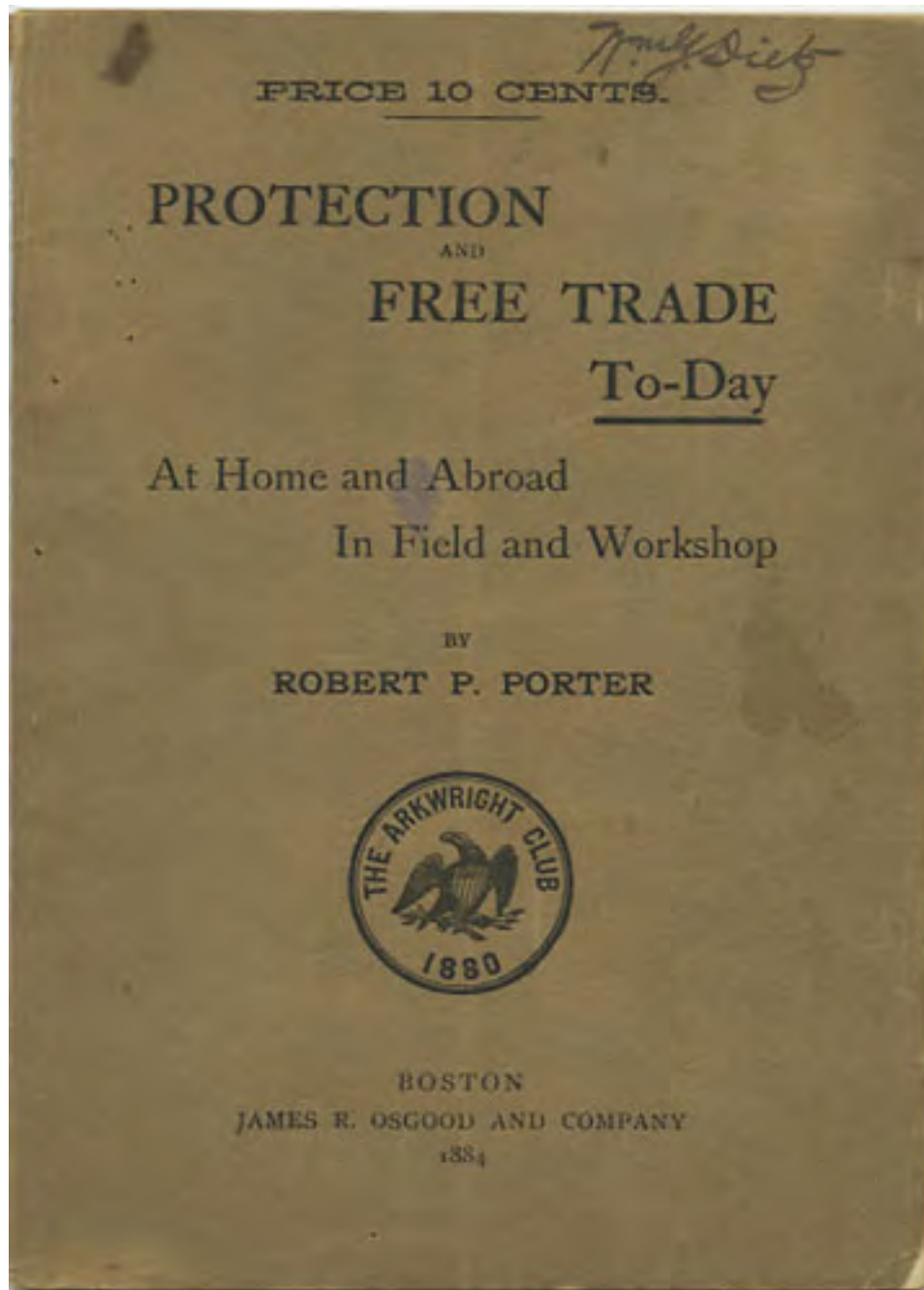
*First edition. A strong anti-British, anti-free trade, pro-Republican piece for the 1884 election between Blaine and Cleveland, providing a detailed history of British oppression of the Irish, their destruction of Irish manufacturing, and the British attempts to produce the same result in America. Irish-American Republican Leagues were started in the early 1880s and the printer, J. C. Drake, was not at 181 and 183 West Madison Street prior to about 1878, which would place publication somewhere about the time of the 1884 election. OCLC lists two copies, Western Reserve Hist. Soc. and Commonwealth of PA Lib., both of which date this incorrectly as 1865. A very good copy with a mail fold. [36566]*





31. PORTER, ROBERT P. **Protection and Free Trade To-Day. At Home and Abroad in Field and Workshop.** Boston: James R. Osgood, 1884. 48 pp. 16mo. Paper wrappers. Nineteenth Century Legal Treatises: 36180. \$25

*First edition. "Read before the Arkwright Club, Boston, August 7, 1884, and ordered to be printed." An important document opposing free trade. Wrappers soiled, owner's signature, else very good, mail fold. [36567]*



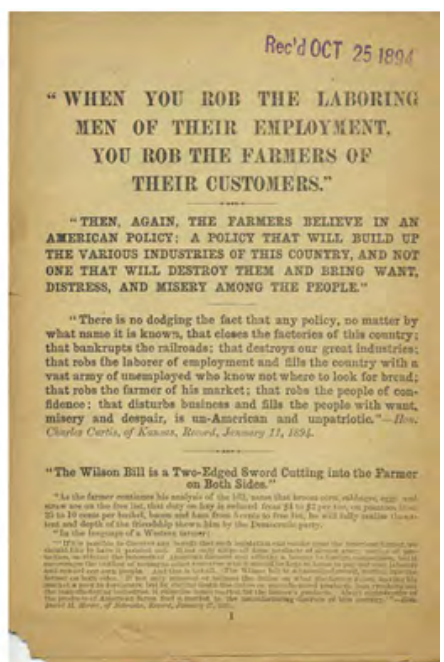
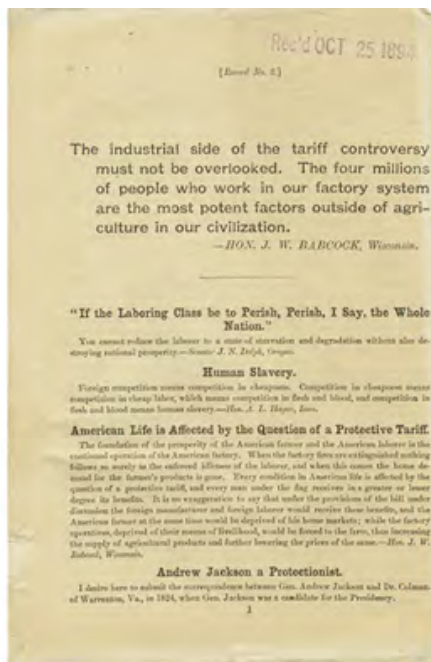
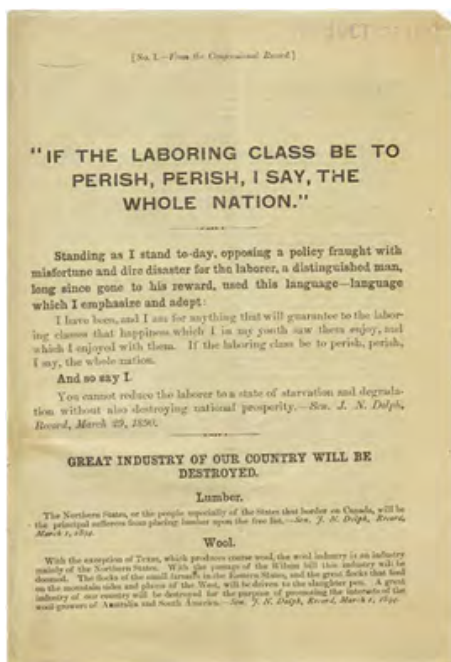
32. [REPUBLICAN PARTY. FREE TRADE. ELECTION FO 1894]. [Three Pamphlets Issues by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee on Free Trade]. [n.p.]. [Hartman & Cadick?], [1894]. 8 pp., 8 pp., 8 pp. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$100

First editions. The mid-term elections of 1884 were a disaster for the Democrats led by Grover Cleveland. Republicans and Populists, in large part due to the efforts of Joseph Weeks Babcock (1850-1909), a Republican Congressman from Wisconsin, who helped organize the Re-publican Congressional Campaign Committee in 1893 and was a major force in routing the Democrats in the 1894 House elections which cost the Democrats 113 of their 218 seats. They are most likely printed by Hartman & Cadick, Republican printers. All follow the same format of quoting leading figures and using bold face type. Good to very good copies. [43553]

1: [Caption title] "If the Laboring Class be to Perish, I Say, the Whole Nation." A the head of the title: [No. 1 - From the Congressional Record]. The caption title is from the English Reformer William Cobbett followed by "You cannot reduce the laborer to a state of starvation and degradation without also destroying national prosperity," a quote from Joseph Norton Dolph (1835-1897), Senator from Oregon, from one of his many speeches quoted here. OCLC locates only a single copy at the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center. A very good copy docketed on front wrapper, mail fold.

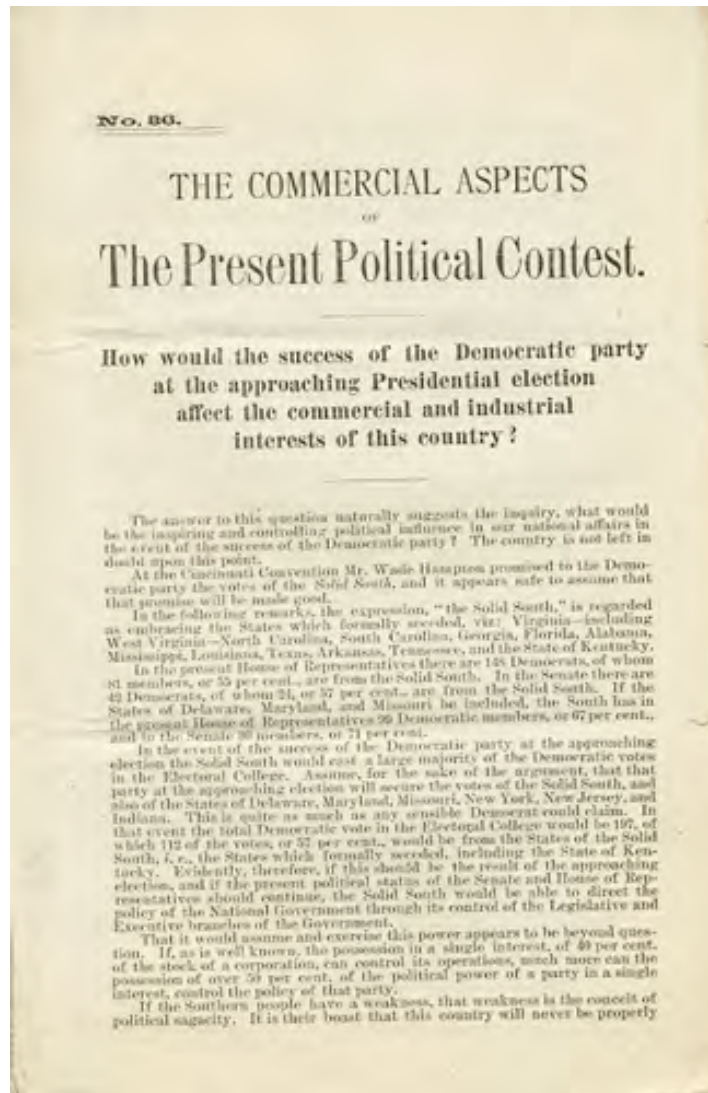
2: [Caption title] "The industrial side of the tariff controversy must not be overlooked. The four millions of people who work in our factory system are the most potent factors outside of agriculture in our civilization." - Hon. J. W. Babcock, Wisconsin. A the head of the title: [Record No. 3.]. Apparently unrecorded. We could find no copies in OCLC, NUC, or other reference sources. Chip to front wrapper else very good, with docketing stamp.

3: [Caption title] "When you Rob the Laboring Men of their Employment, you Rob the Farmers of their Customers." The quote from the caption title belongs to Charles Curtis (1860-1936), Republican from Kansas who would go on to become Hoover's Vice President. OCLC locates one copy at the Western Reserve Historical Society Library. A good copy, browned, some minor chipping, docketing stamp on front wrapper.



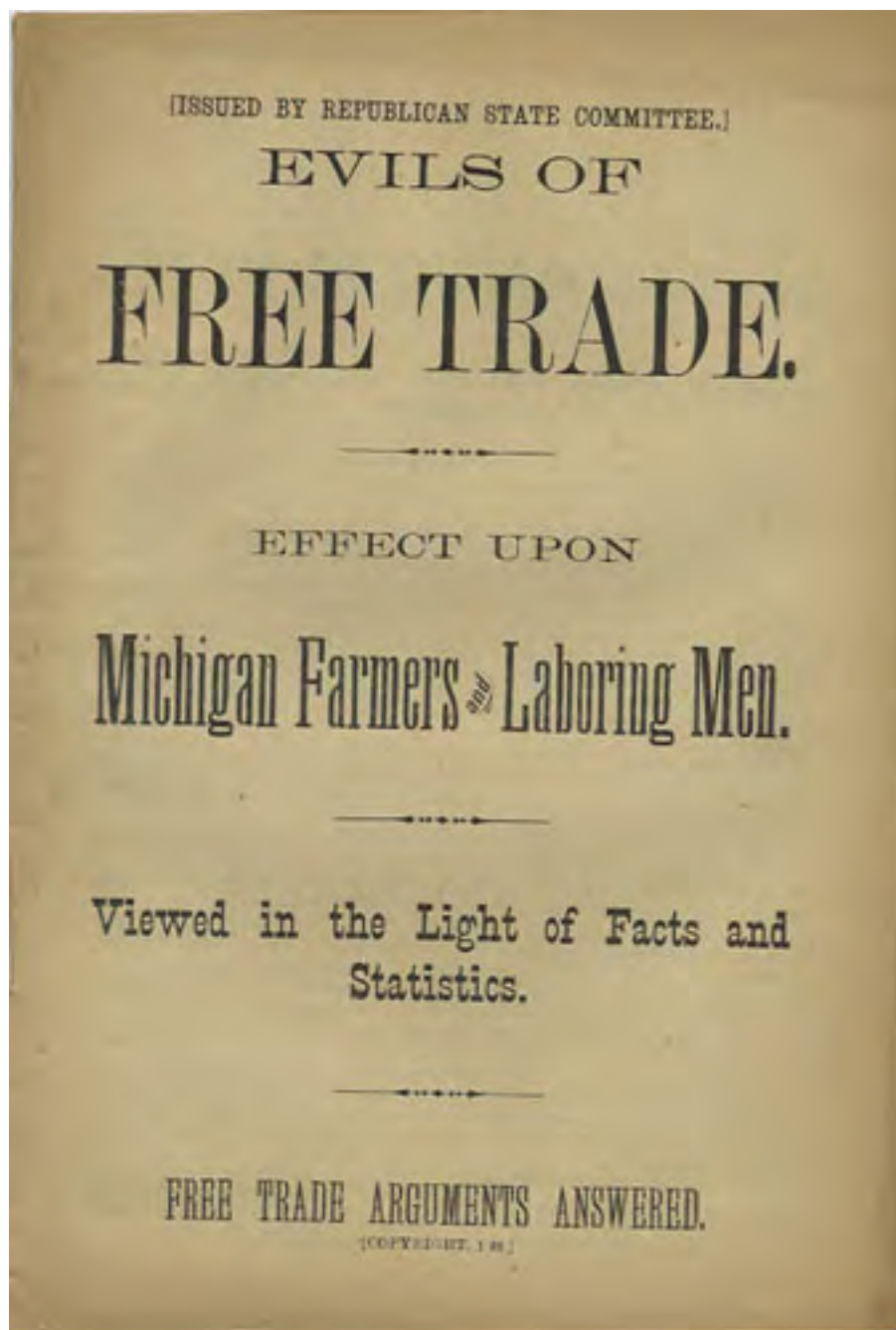
33. [REPUBLICAN PARTY]. **The Commercial Aspects of the Present Political Contest. How would the success of the Democratic party at the approaching Presidential election affect the commercial and industrial interests of this country?** [No. 86.] n.p.: n.p., [1880]. 7, [1] pp. 8vo. Self wrappers. \$75

*First edition. Republican campaign document of 1880 argues against the Democratic Party which it feels will give undue influence again to the South. Statistics are marshaled to show how little economic power the South has and how little it spends on education. "That the South should have her fair proportion of influence in the councils of the Nation, no patriotic or fair-minded man will deny; that she should have a prepondering, or even undue influence, in the councils of the Nation, no patriotic or sensible man should admit." But nevertheless, it did happen. OCLC lists copies with No. 36 and No. 86 at the head of the title. A good copy, folds, small chips and tears to fore edge, last leaf with large chip to corner not affecting text and copious penciled notes on rear blank. [37341]*



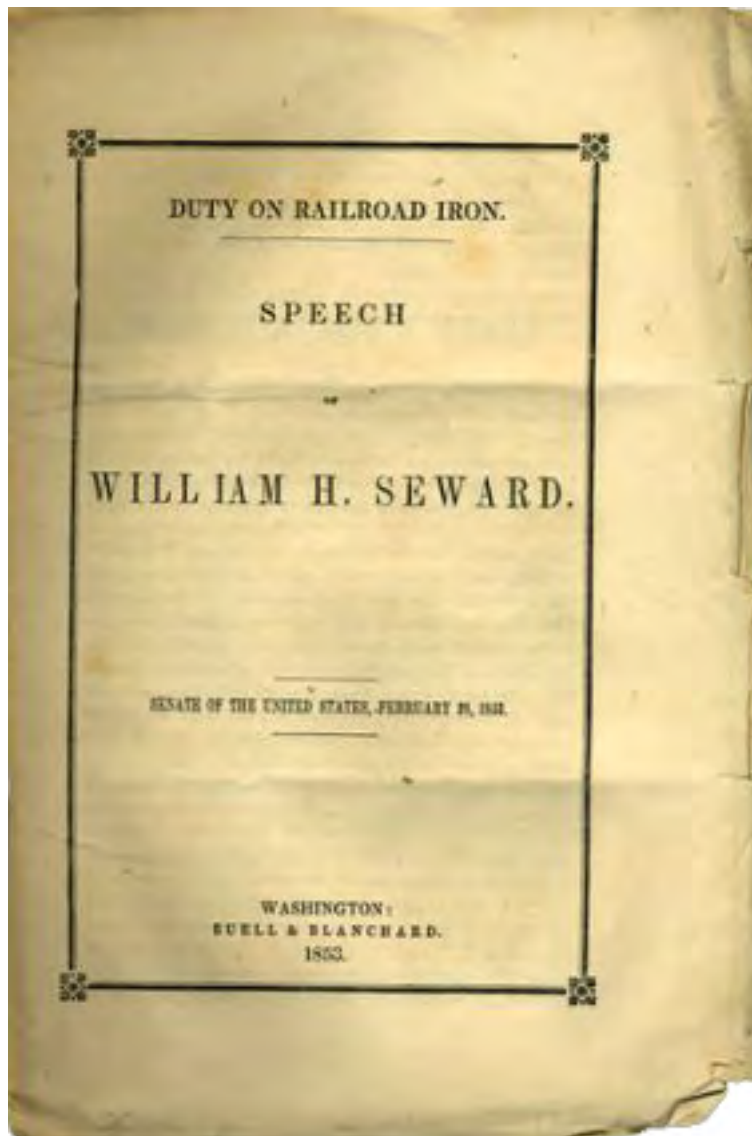
34. REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE. [CAMPBELL, MILON D., ATTRIB.]. **Evils of Free Trade. Effect upon Michigan Farmers and Laboring Men. Viewed in the Light of Facts and Statistics.** [Lansing, Mich.?] Republican State Committee, 1888. 32 pp. 8vo. Stitched paper wrappers. Streeter: Michigan Bibliography Vol. 1: 5955. \$100

*First edition. A strong summary of the arguments against free trade. Attributed to Milon D. Campbell of Coldwater Michigan, President of the National Milk Producers Federation. OCLC locates only seven copies, all in the midwest: Newberry, Detroit Public, Henry Ford, Lib. of Michigan, Univ. Michigan, UM Bentley Hist. Lib., and Rutherford B. Hayes Pres. Ctr. A very good copy, leaves browning. [36576]*



35. SEWARD, WILLIAM H. **Duty on Railroad Iron. Speech of William H. Seward. Senate of the United States, February 28, 1853.** Washington [D.C.]: Buell & Blanchard, Printers, 1853. 16 pp. 8vo. Self paper wrappers. Sabin 79516. \$50

*First edition. A very good unopened (uncut) and untrimmed copy, mail fold. [35971]*



36. THURBER, H.K. [HORACE]. **To the Wage-Earners of the United States - What is your interest in the coming Presidential election?** n.p.: n.p., 1888. 3 pp. [1]. 8vo. Self wrappers. OCLC: 319163561. \$25

*First edition. This is one of two versions, both scarce. Horace K. Thurber was a member of the Board of Managers of the American Protective Tariff League. OCLC locates one copy at the State Lib. of PA. A very good copy with browning leaves and small tears at the margins. [36577]*

*To the Wage-Earners of the United States—What is your interest in the coming Presidential election?*

President Cleveland has precipitated the conflict between the wage-earners of this country and the wage-earners of Europe. In all fairness and candor, I ask you, Can there be but one result, if the theory of free trade is carried out, and that is the reduction of wages? Our markets in the present age of steam are only ten days' distance in time from the European markets. Freights are so low that in all manufactured goods this item can hardly be taken into account in the cost of the merchandise. A difference of 5 per cent. in cost of manufacturing in this country over the cost in Europe, sends the orders by cable to any European market that is lower in price than our own; consequently the only protection labor has in this country over the labor in any European country is the action of a protective tariff. Then comes the question, Does the average wage-earner in this country receive higher wages and better net results than the wage-earner does in Europe? that is, can you live better, can you gain a home easier, can you educate your children better, can you lay by a surplus in case of sickness or old age, easier in this country than they can in the most crowded portions of Europe?

There can be but one answer to this question, and that is yes. We see it everywhere; we see it in the healthier condition of our wage-earners; we see it in the way their wives and children are dressed; we see it in their homes, (of which they very often own the title deeds); we see it in the deposits in the savings banks (which are wholly the net results to wage-earners). In the United States there is due to 3,418,913 depositors \$1,235,247,571, an average of \$361 30-100 to each depositor. We see it in the fact that those who are able to get away from labor-oppressed Europe are emigrating to this country. All these are hard facts that the free trader cannot get away from. Free trade is a very pretty theory, but it is mainly professional men who advocate it, and it is gratifying to some to preach "that all the world are brothers" and that consequently we should not protect the labor of our own neighbors, our own citizens, who build our towns into villages, our villages into cities, who consume our own raw products. Free trade may be charity to foreign operatives, but I for one believe that charity begins at home first; that my own country is entitled to my

37. [TARIFFS]. UNITED STATES. CONGRESS. **Comparative Statement of Duties on Certain Imported Goods. Shewing the Duties Heretofore Paid, now Paid, and as Proposed by the new Tariff. February 17, 1824. Printed by order of the House of Representatives.** Washington, D. C.: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1824. 7 pp. 8vo. Removed. Shoemaker 18680. \$25

*First edition. 18th Congress, 1st Session. [75]. OCLC shows only one copy at the AAS. A very good untrimmed copy. [27981]*



38. [TARIFFS]. UNITED STATES. CONGRESS. **Statement of the Cost of Such Manufactures as are Embraced in the Proposed Tariff, for the Purpose of Excluding the Foreign Supply by Protecting Duties; With the Amount of Duties accruing thereon, in the year ending 30th Sept. 1823. February 12, 1824. Printed by order of the House of Representatives.** Washington, D. C.: Printed by Gales & Seaton, 1824. 7 pp. 8vo. Removed. Shoemaker 19106. \$25

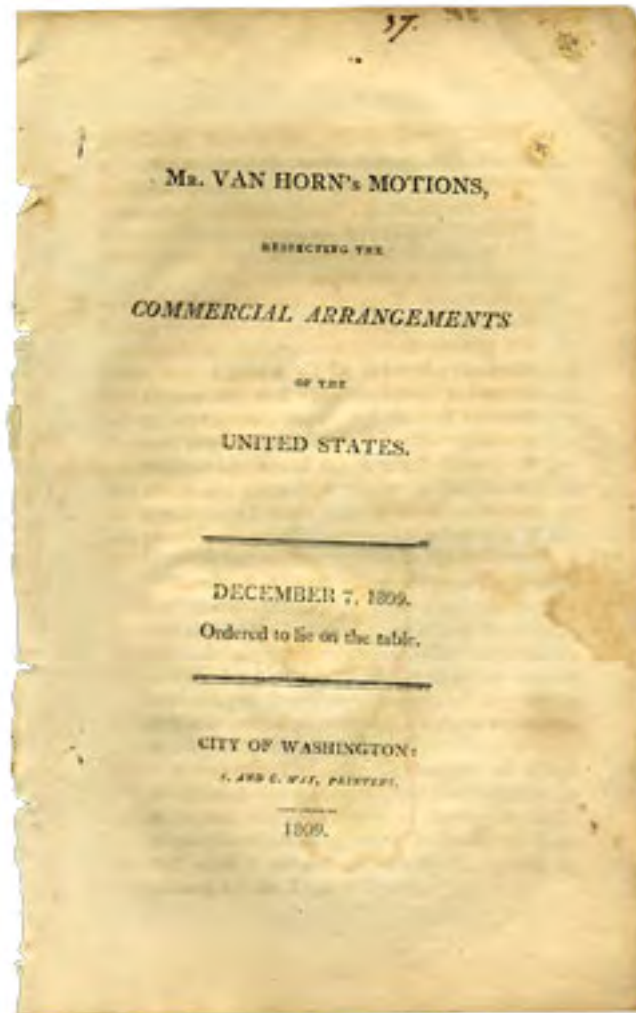
*First edition. 18th Congress, 1st Session. [72]. OCLC shows only one copy at the AAS. A very good untrimmed copy, scattered foxing. [27982]*





39. VAN HORN, [ARCHIBALD]. **Mr. Van Horn's Motions, Respecting the Commercial Arrangements of the United States. December 7, 1809. Ordered to Lie on the Table.** Washington, D. C.: A. & G. Way, Printers, 1809. [4 pp.]. 8vo. Removed. Shaw & Shoemaker 19016. \$20

*First edition. Van Horn (Republican congressman from Maryland) proposed that only ships owned and navigated by Americans be allowed to carry goods grown, produced, and manufactured in the United States as well as placing tariffs on foreign goods. OCLC shows only a single copy. Numeral on top edge of leaves, trimmed, light damp stain on title page, good+. [27941]*



## A House Divided Against Itself.

### Who Tells the Truth?

"We have entered upon an era of Free Trade"—*Free Trade, Clinton's Letter to Douglas.*

Tom L. Johnson in his letter of resignation as candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket, The District of Ohio, says: "I am, as you all know, in general, belief, a Free Trader."

"We are entering upon a most fearful Presidential contest, the most important since that of 1860. Mr. Cleveland, by his message, for which I sincerely honor him, has challenged the protective industries of the country to a contest of extermination."—*Some Free.*

"The Democratic Party is a Free Trade Party to it is nothing. The Democratic Party will make a Free Trade fight in 1888. If it loses, it will make another in 1892. The conflict between Free Trade and Protection is irrepressible and must be fought out to the bitter end."—*Henry Williams.*

"I desire Free Trade, and I will not help to perfect any law that stands in the way of Free Trade."—*Dean Q. Mills.*

"All trade should be as free as possible."—*Senator Corbin.*

"Mr. Cleveland has landed his ship in a straits before the country as a champion of Free Trade against Protection. If he is re-elected, Protection will have recovered its death blow."—*Henry George.*

"I am a Free Trader. The Mills bill is a step in that direction. The only fault I have to find is that the step is not long enough."—*Chapman B. Woodruff, of Alabama.*

"It is the bill something it means a long step toward Free Trade, because it has got away of our leading products on the free list."—*Chapman B. Woodruff, of Alabama.*

"Add to the free list as many articles as possible. Reduce duties upon every dutiable article to the lowest point possible."—*Henry Williams.*

"I am for General Cleveland because I am a Free Trader. My purpose is also Henry Cleveland, because at last he has elevated the Democratic standard against the robber and thief, Protection."—*Henry George.*

"Mr. McCloskey (Rep.)—He says friend of this bill in the debate stated one objection in favor of the American Tariff system, which discrimination in favor of the home product and labor?"

"Mr. Hooper (Dem.)—No, there was no one, and you will not find any Democrats in either one of the College of study of this bill."

"It is certain that the arguments which President Cleveland urges are those which Calves used to employ 45 years ago and which any Free Trader would employ now."—*London Times.*

"For American party purposes, the President feels compelled to characterize the attempt to land him as a Free Trader, as a deception of his enemies. For all that, the electoral conflict now in progress is a conflict between Free Trade and Protection, and nothing less."—*London Daily News, July 5.*

"My only real remedy that satisfaction on this side of the water, for the reduction of President Cleveland, against the adoption of his programme of tariff revision, and his ideas on that subject go a long way toward Free Trade."—*London Star.*

"It is admitted that to give effect to Mr. Cleveland's policy, duties in the amount of some \$100,000,000, about two-thirds of the entire customs revenue must be surrendered. This operation may not establish Free Trade in the strict sense of the term, but it will be a great step toward it."—*London Times.*

## How Free Trade works in England.

### FURTHER TESTIMONY.

READ! READ!! READ!!!

UNION BOLIVIER MILLS,  
CLEVELAND, O., October 5, 1888.

DR. ELLIOT M. AVERY,  
Secretary of the Western Reserve Protective Tariff League.

I am permitted to send you the following extract from a letter just received by one of my fellow workmen.

Yours, etc.,  
DAVID ARMSTRONG.

15 Alma Street,  
WINDSOR-UPON-AVON, ENGLAND,  
September, 1888.

"Have you just heard from us, I am sorry to say that we have been anything but prosperous. Perhaps you know that trade in England, especially the iron trade, has been almost at a standstill for about four years. During that time, I, like many others, have done little or no work. The place where I was employed closed its work at the very beginning of the depression. For about two years I did nothing, having worked but very little before that for six months. Many employed at the most place for a great number of years were obliged to break up their homes and go abroad. We, however, stayed here, hoping that in a short time trade would revive. Another year passed without any improvement. Shortly after, my brother John sent for me to go to Stockton to work a furnace. I had not been there long before I broke a blood vessel in my head. This threw me out of employment for about three months. When I recovered I had lost my work and had to take a week inferior job. The remuneration was so little that I gave it up and went back to Stockton to labor in the engine factory, working about a Pound a week. However, I have come back to Stockton and am now working a fire-braking furnace, but am now only average about twenty-five shillings a week."

I remain, yours truly,  
JAMES PARKER.

What do you think of that, American wage-master? You who are doing the same work as this English brother workman of yours, know that you make as much in a day as he makes in a week. Do you want to exchange your wages for his so that, through the beautiful operations of Free Trade, you may stand a chance of saving a dollar on an English-made suit of clothes? Do you want to save at the expense and waste at the hang loaf? If you do, please read this little dialogue:

#### The Clothes Argument.

English Merchant—I say, man, if your Government would only knock off the bloody tariff, you know, you could get your clothes for about half what you pay now, don't you know?

American Merchant—Can you get good clothes as much cheaper in your country?

English Merchant—O, yes.

American Merchant—Well, why don't you get some?

English Merchant—O, that if I don't afford them. I don't get the wages, you know.

## The Eagle and the Lion

"The Republican party holds that a protective tariff is constitutional, wholesome, and necessary. We do not offer a fixed schedule, but a principle. We will revise the schedule, modify rates, but always with an insistent provision as to the effect upon domestic productions and the wages of our working people."—*Benjamin Harrison.*

The lowest free-trade is not foreign trade, but domestic trade, which brings the consumer and producer face to face, and thus removes the obstacles created by distance from markets.

#### REACTION OF FREE TRADE.

Free trade raises wages of the laboring people. Read the figures: The papers in London the third week in June, when the census was taken, numbered 71,527. At a corresponding period of last year there were 69,222; 1867, 67,207; 1868, 64,792.

"Clearly connected with the subject of the tariff is that of the importation of foreign laborers under contract of service to be performed here. The law now in force prohibiting such contracts received by actual support in the Senate, and such amendments as may be found necessary effectively to defend our workmen and women from this most insupportable form of competition will have our sincere advocacy. Legislation prohibiting the importation of laborers under contract to serve here will, however, afford very inadequate relief to our working people, if the system of protective duties is broken down. If the products of American shops must compete in the American market, without favoring duties, with the products of cheap foreign labor, the effect will be different, if at all, only in degree, whether the cheap labor is across the street or over the sea. Such competition will soon reduce wages here to the level of those abroad, and when that condition is reached we will not need any laws forbidding the importation of laborers under contract—they will have no inducement to come, and the employer no inducement to send for them."—*Benjamin Harrison.*

#### WITH THE TARIFF.



WITHOUT THE TARIFF, European level of wages is raised to American level of wages. Wages, like water, will always find their level if tariff barriers are removed.

#### TWO OF A KIND.

An American tariff reformer while walking through the holy precincts of the British Museum found himself face to face with an Egyptian mummy.

"Oh, are you, mummy," said the American tariff reformer.

"No," said the Egyptian, "I am not a mummy, I am a woman."

"Indeed!" said the American. "You mean by something like me. I am not a free trader but a tariff reformer."

And then the tombstone winked his eye and the tariff reformer nodded and went his way.

The record of this highly amusing story will be found in the morning papers on the 15th day of November next.

## ELEVEN YEARS OF FREE TRADE.

### Good Democratic Testimony as to the Ruin They Wrought.

#### SHALL IT BE REPEATED?

In President Buchanan's message to Congress, in 1857, he says:

"In the midst of unexampled plenty in all the productions of American agriculture, and in all the elements of national wealth, we find our manufacturer starved. Every public work is retarded, and private enterprises are abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers are thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The revenues of our Government, which are chiefly derived from duties on imports from abroad, have been greatly reduced. Under the circumstances, a loan may be required before the close of your session, but this, although deeply to be regretted, would prove to be only a slight misfortune when compared with the starving and distress prevailing among the people. This is the 'golden era' of which the Cleveland Free Trade Club so sweetly sings."

#### Tariff Reduction Means Reduction of Wages.

The farmers and workmen of this country are the persons most interested in this campaign. The free trade reduction of the tariff and the destruction of the American protective system proposed by the Democrats will throw open the markets of this country to the agricultural and industrial products of the pauper labor of the world. It will ruin farmers, reduce wages to the English level, and deprive our workmen of employment.

#### General Benjamin Harrison Understands It.

"The gates of Castle Charles swing inward. These men who have tilled at wages in other lands that barely sustained life, and opened no avenue of promise to them or their children, know the great land of hope, as well as the swallow knows the land of summer. They testify that here there are better conditions, widespread more hopeful prospects for workmen, than in any other land."—*Benjamin Harrison, 1888.*

#### Home Market the Best.

"The more work there is to do in this country, the higher the wages that will be paid for doing it. That policy which secures the largest amount of work to be done at home is the policy which will secure to our laboring men steady employment at the best wages. A policy which will transfer work from our mines and factories to foreign mines and foreign factories, inevitably tends to the depression of wages here."—*Benjamin Harrison, 1888.*

*First edition. With the main issue of the 1888 campaign about tariff policy, the broadsheets detail the horrors of free trade in specific industries and the need to defeat the incumbent President, Grover Cleveland. Scarce. All four are apparently unrecorded. We could find no copies in OCLC, NUC, or other reference sources of these or any other broadsheets from the society. Good to very good copies, edges browned, worn, some chips and tears. [43552]*

*1. Publication No. 2: Eagle and the Lion: begins with a Harrison quote on evils of free trade and goes on to show how England will benefit from free trade. Ends with "Cleveland & Mills, Surgeons, Reductions neatly effected. God save the Queen!" bordered in black box.*

*2. Publication No. 5: How Free Trade Works in England. & [verso] How Free Trade Works in England. Further Testimony. Read! Read! Read!.*

*3. Publication No. 6: A House Divided Against Itself. Who Tells the Truth? & [verso] "To Iron and Steel Workers."*

*4. Publication No. 9: Eleven Years of Free Trade. Good Democratic Testimony as to the Ruin They Wrought. & [verso] Tom L. Johnson and the Farmer."*