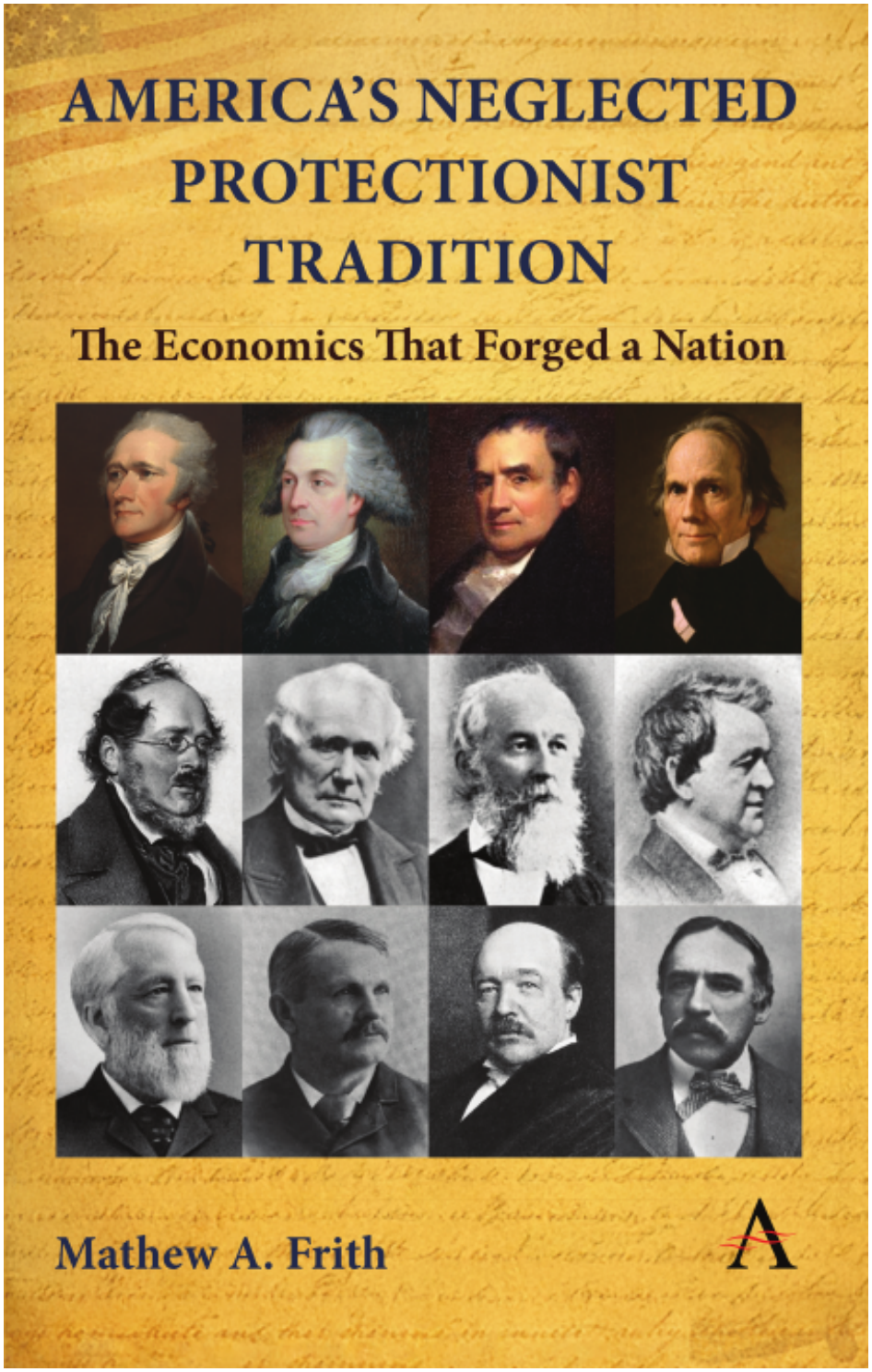
Biographical Companion to *America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition: The Economics That Forged A Nation*



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Last updated: June 2026

Praise for America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition

'Mathew Frith offers a masterful recovery of the protectionist school of political economy that shaped nineteenth-century America, restoring its analytical power and revealing its enduring relevance to contemporary debates over trade and development. This book will stand as the authoritative reference on the subject for years to come.'

Carlos Eduardo Suprinyak, Associate Professor of Economics,
American University of Paris, France.

'Frith's book fills a significant gap in the scholarly literature by offering what is to date the most comprehensive review of the theoretical underpinnings of America's central contribution to the history of economic thought. An engaging and accessible read, *America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition* reveals that protectionism is about much more than just tariffs.'

Christopher W. Calvo, Florida International University, USA;
Author of The Emergence of Capitalism in Early America.

'This book is essential reading for those who still don't acknowledge USA's deep protectionist heritage which has returned with such a force today.'

Lars Magnusson, Emeritus Chair Professor of Economic History, Uppsala University,
Sweden; Author of Mercantilism: The Shaping of an Economic Language**.**

'A well-written and clearly organized exploration of the neglected and timely topic of American protectionist thought from the founding era to the twentieth century.'

Lawrence Peskin, Professor of History and Geography, Morgan State University, USA; Author
of Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.

'Mathew Frith has provided an interesting and lucid examination of the philosophy and economic theory of a group of early American economists, a group neglected by modern mainstream economics with its bias toward free trade. Frith correctly argues the protectionist policy promoted by the group was well-suited to the historical conditions of the early American nation. There is much food for thought, both for those interested in early American economic history and its leading thinkers, and for those who see merit in fitting tariff and industrial policy to the current economic and social conditions of a country.'

Harry Bloch, John Curtin Distinguished Emeritus Professor, Curtin University, Australia.

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About America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition

At a moment when protectionist trade policy has returned to the centre of global economic debate, *America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition* recovers the deep intellectual roots of that impulse — roots that stretch back to America's founding and that represent a far more sophisticated economic tradition than is commonly understood. This work offers the definitive treatment of the American protectionist school of economic thought — an intellectual tradition originating with the ideas of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Coxe, and developed further by thinkers such as Friedrich List, John Rae, and Henry Charles Carey. By drawing on the writings of nearly seventy economists and statesmen, this account provides the first systematic treatment of the philosophy and theory of the American protectionist tradition.

In reconstructing their system of thought, *America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition* demonstrates that the American protectionists represented a coherent and systematic school of economic thought, and one that rivalled their English classical counterparts. Against the conventional literature on the topic, which treats American Protectionist thought as merely an adaptation of English classical economics, this work demonstrates that the American Protectionists developed a distinctive approach to economics. Not only did they differ from the Classicals on the policy recommendations concerning international trade, they rejected basic assumptions of the English classicals which remain foundational to contemporary economic analysis.

Central to the thinking of the American protectionist tradition is the idea of the economy as dynamic and inventive. Rather than seeing scarce resources as placing fixed limits on economic progress, the American protectionists looked to invention, human ingenuity, and the diversity of talents and aptitudes as the means of forging the wealth of nations. Among other areas of economic analysis, this work explores the American protectionists' support for economic diversification, which stands in contrast with free trade theory's emphasis on specialisation. By challenging the Classical view that individuals represent homogeneous and uniform factors of production, the protectionists saw mankind as possessing unique talents, aptitudes and dispositions. Protected diversification was thus necessary to allow individuals to exercise these unique qualities. By recovering this neglected tradition, this work not only fills a significant gap in the history of economic thought but also provides valuable historical perspective on contemporary debates regarding trade and industrial policy, technological innovation and economic development.

Purchase Options for *American Neglected Protectionist Tradition*:

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Biographical Companion Citation Information and Suggestion

These biographical sketches are adapted from the author's doctoral dissertation. Readers seeking detailed citations and source material should consult the dissertation.

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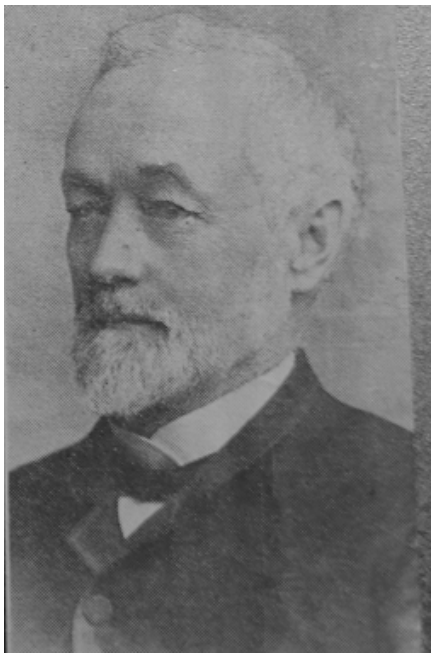
Henry Carey Baird



Henry Carey Baird (1825-1913) was born on September 10, 1825, at the Frankford Arsenal, an ammunition plant in Bridesburg, now part of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He was the grandson of Mathew Carey and the nephew of Henry Charles Carey. His father was Thomas J. Baird, who served as a Captain during the War of 1812. After receiving an education at the Anthony Bolmar School, now the West Chester Academy, Henry Carey Baird would work at his uncle's book publishing firm, then Carey & Hart, (originally founded by Mathew Carey) and would eventually become a part owner of the firm in 1845. Later in 1849, Baird would establish Henry Carey Baird Publishers which specialized in technical books and books relating to industry and economics. It was around 1857 that Baird became interested in the social and economic doctrines of his uncle, Henry C. Carey. Baird's economic writings would mostly appear in newspaper and magazine articles, or in pamphlet format. Politically, Baird was a member of the Whig party until its disintegration. He then became a Republican in 1856, but would later leave the Party in 1875, after growing disgruntled with the Party's stance on the greenback issue. Baird would then become one of the founders of the Greenback Party. He would, however, abandon the Party in 1884, due to the Party's endorsement of a free trade platform. At the age of eighty-seven, Baird would pass away on December 31, 1913.

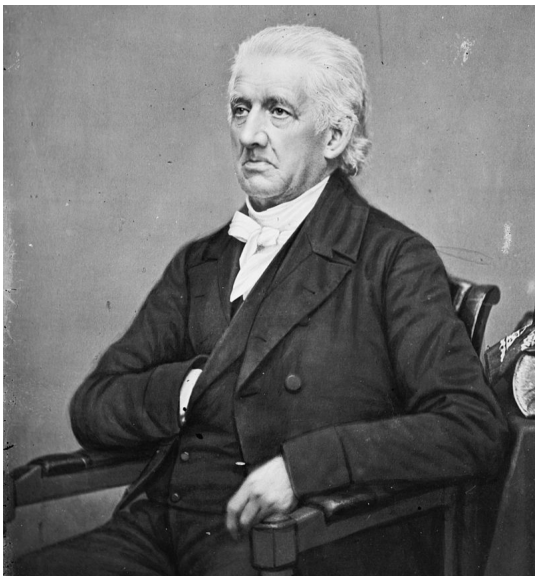
William Barton

William Barton (1754-1817) is best known for co-designing the Great Seal of the United States which still graces the American dollar bill. Born in Philadelphia on April 11, 1754, William Barton was the son of the Reverend Thomas Barton and Ester Rittenhouse. In 1774, at the age of twenty, the young Barton would move to England where it would appear that he undertook legal training, and possibly training in heraldry. Barton would eventually return to America in 1779, during which time, Britain and the United States were in the midst of War. Later that year, Barton would be admitted to the Bar in Pennsylvania. In 1782, Barton's services would then be requested in the field of heraldry. In collaboration with the heraldist Charles Thomson, Barton produced the Great Seal of the United States, which was adopted by Congress on June 20, 1782.

It was during the 1780s that Barton took more of an interest in political economy. His first work was a pamphlet which appeared in 1781 entitled *Observations on the Nature and Use of Paper Credit*. He would then turn his attention more to the question of protection and the encouragement of manufactures. Most of his tracts of this nature would appear in Mathew Carey's *American Museum*. These tracts include *On American Manufactures* (1786), *The True Interest of the United States, and Particularly Pennsylvania, Considered* (1787), *Essays on the Promotion of Manufactures* (1787), and *On the Propriety of Investing Congress with the Power to Regulate the Trade of the United States* (1787). Later in 1791, Barton would produce a small book on population entitled *Observations on the Progress of Population*. Finally, although more of a legal treatise than one on political economy, in 1802, Barton produced *A Dissertation on the Freedom of Navigation and Maritime Commerce*. In addition to these literary efforts, Barton would also serve as the chief clerk of the Treasury

Department under Alexander Hamilton and Tench Coxe. In this capacity, it is plausible that Barton may have had some influence on the direction of *The Report on Manufactures,* since several of the arguments contained in the *Report* were featured in Barton's earlier tracts. After a life as a heraldist, lawyer, and public official, William Barton would pass away in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on October 22, 1817.

Lyman Beecher



Lyman Beecher (1775-1863) was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on October 12, 1775. He was a Presbyterian minister, most known for his role in the Second Great Awakening. Having studied theology at Yale and preached at various congregations, he eventually became President of the Lane Theological Seminary in 1832. Beecher was considered a controversial figure at the Seminary due to his support for temperance and the abolition of slavery. The vast bulk of Beecher's writings are on theological matters, as opposed to political economy. His only known economic tract was entitled "Means of National Prosperity," which was originally delivered as a sermon to his congregation at the First Church of Christ in Litchfield, Connecticut. The sermon would be reproduced in the fifth edition of Mathew Carey's *Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry*. It was selected in place of several other essays which Carey originally intended to include in the work. Writing on the matter, Mathew Carey declared Beecher's tract to be "very far superior to those essays, being much more argumentative and convincing." Lyman Beecher would die on January 10, 1863, at the age of eighty-seven.

Erastus B. Bigelow

Erastus Brigham Bigelow (1814-1879) was born on April 2, 1814, at West Boylston, Massachusetts, some 50 miles outside of Boston. He was the son of Ephraim and Polly Bigelow. Bigelow is chiefly remembered in history as a self-made entrepreneur and inventor, who founded the Bigelow Carpet Company. Indeed, Bigelow is a prime example of the inventive genius which permeates American Protectionist thought. Throughout the course of his company's operation, he would receive some forty patents relating to the manufacture of carpets, with his most important invention being a power loom which allowed for the weaving of velvet and pictorial tapestry. But Bigelow's genius also found its way to the study of economics where he published a number of articles, pamphlets, as well as two treatises in defense of protective tariffs.

In his youth, Bigelow would work on a local farm, whilst attending a local school in the winter. By the age of fourteen, he would produce his first invention, a machine which assisted in the manufacturing of rope. He would then sell this invention to pay for his first several years of education at a local academy. Bigelow would then move to Boston, where he would work as a clerk in a dry goods store. It was during this time, in 1839, that he came up with his next and perhaps his most significant invention, the carpet power-loom. This power loom would be first employed in the Lowell Manufacturing Company. In the late 1840s, however, Bigelow would establish several of his own companies, based upon his inventions, including the Bigelow Carpet Company. In addition to his business ventures, Bigelow would also be one of the founders of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Bigelow's first work on political economy was a pamphlet entitled *Remarks on the Depressed Condition of Manufactures in Massachusetts, with Suggestions as to its Cause and*

Remedy. This work, however, was not chiefly related to the question of protection, but more concerned the operation of joint stock corporations in the state of Massachusetts. It would be in 1862, that Bigelow would produce his more important and first book sized treatise. This was entitled *The Tariff Question Considered in Regard to the Policy of England and the Interests of the United States*. As the titled suggests, this work was concerned with the practical operation of free trade and protectionism in the two countries. What is distinct about the work, however, is the vast range of statistical information which it draws upon. Later, in 1877, Bigelow would produce his next work entitled *The Tariff Policy of England and the United States Contrasted*. This would be of a similar nature to Bigelow's 1862 work, but would be far more concise and readable. Perhaps the clearest exposition, however, of Bigelow's theoretical thought would appear the following year in 1878. This was a long article in the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "The Relations of Labor and Capital." This article, among other things, would affirm the doctrine of the harmony of interests.

In addition to his literary efforts, Bigelow would also assist fellow Protectionist Stephen Colwell with the drafting of the tariff schedules on wool and woolen manufactures for the 1866 Revenue Commission, which was subsequently incorporated into the 1867 tariff bill. Bigelow would also serve as the first President of the fiercely protectionist National Association of Wool Manufacturers, which he had helped found in 1864. Bigelow would remain as President of the Association until 1869. After stepping down from the role, he would continue to serve on the executive until 1878. He would pass away the following year, on December 6, 1879.

William Bingham

Willaim Bingham (1752-1804) was born in Philadelphia on March 8, 1752. He was the fourth and youngest son of William and Molly Stamper Bingham. In 1765, the young William Bingham would enter the College of Philadelphia, and would graduate in 1768. He would then work for the Quaker merchant Thomas Wharton. Bingham proved very successful in the merchant trade, and eventually entered into business with Willing, Morris, and Company, which was the largest American merchant firm at the time. During the American Revolution, their fleet would be contracted by the Continental Congress to serve as privateers and for the procurement of arms and munitions. Bingham himself would serve as a special agent and would be responsible for circumventing British blockades and securing French supplies via the West Indies. As the war drew to a close, Bingham was widely considered the wealthiest man in the United States, acquiring a fortune through privateering and his merchant trade, but also through his dealings in land. One such tract of land later became the city of Binghamton.

Politically, Bingham was aligned with the Federalist Party, and was a political ally of Alexander Hamilton. In fact, there is even strong evidence to suggest that Bingham assisted Hamilton with preparing the *Report on Public Credit.* Bingham would hold public office in several capacities during his life. He would serve as a member of the Continental Congress between 1786 and 1788. Between 1790 and 1791, he would serve in the Philadelphia House of Representatives, and would then serve as President of the Philadelphia State Senate between 1794 and 1795. He would then be elected to the Federal Senate in 1795, and would remain there until 1801, choosing not to recontest the following election.

Bingham's main work on political economy was his book entitled *A Letter from an American on the Subject of the Restraining Proclamations*. This was a reply to the British statesmen John Lord Sheffield, who in 1783, published the pamphlet *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, which argued that Britain should enact severe economic measures on the newly independent American States. The American States, argued Sheffield, would be forced to accept such arrangements, as they were dependent on English manufactures and had virtually no prospect of developing their own. It should be noted that this was prior to the adoption of the United States Constitution. There were no provisions for a uniform national tariff under the existing Articles of Confederation. Individual States, instead, had the authority to enact their own trade legislation, independent of, and without regard to the rest of the States within the Union. This meant that "if one or more [American] states shall prohibit the manufactures of any particular country" for the purposes of developing industry, "British manufactures [will still find] their way to every part of the country" by circumventing the trade barriers of individual States via inland trade. On this charge, Bingham responded that such measures would only compel the States to "unite together, and form one general system of exclusive navigation," and would ultimately "operate like a charm throughout the country" and would be "a spur on the industry of our inhabitants." Bingham's support for protectionism was, for the most part, retaliatory and countervailing in nature, with passages of his work reading as if universal free trade would be the best of all possible outcomes. In any event, his *Letter from an American* would contain the germs of what would become the infant-industry argument. Anticipating *The Report on Manufactures*, Bingham explains that "[trade] restrictions wisely imposed, tend to stimulate and encourage a spirit of industry amongst the people." In 1801, Bingham left the United States for Bath, England, to be closer to his daughter. He would reside there until his death on February 7, 1804.

James G. Blaine

James Gillespie Blaine (1830-1893) was born on January 31, 1830, in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania. He would attend Washington College in Pennsylvania, graduating in 1847. He would then move to Georgetown, Kentucky, in 1848, where he would teach in the Western Military Institute as a mathematician. Residing in Henry Clay's home state, Blaine would become an admirer and enthusiastic supporter of Clay. Blaine would later return to Pennsylvania, where he studied the law, and would teach at the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind. He eventually decided, however, to pursue a career in journalism, and in 1853, he would accept an offer to become editor and part owner of the *Kennebec Journal* in the state of Maine. The *Kennebec Journal* was staunchly Whig, but Blaine's involvement with the publication would coincide with the collapse of the Whig Party. Blaine would quickly transform the publication into a Republican newspaper.

Blaine was an early and active member of the Republican Party, serving as a delegate to the first Republican National Convention in 1856. In 1858, Blaine would then be elected to the Maine House of Representatives and would retain the seat until 1862. That same year, he would run successfully for the federal House of Representatives. Blaine would remain in the House of Representatives until 1876, and would also serve as Speaker of the House between 1869 and 1875. In 1876, he would then be appointed to the Senate, where he would remain until 1881, when he resigned to become the Secretary of State under James A. Garfield. Blaine would then go on to secure the Republican presidential nomination in 1884, but would lose the election to the Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland.

Blaine's contribution to American Protectionist thought is rather fragmented. His arguments for protection can be found littered throughout his speeches and addresses as a statesman, some of which would be pamphletized or compiled and published as part of collected volumes. One popular speech was that given on September 29, 1888, which was later circulated by the Home Market Club under the title *Condensed History of the American Tariff Acts and Their Effects Upon Industry*. Blaine's most important work, however, is his two volume treatise *Twenty Years of Congress*, which, despite being a general political treatise, contains numerous discussions on economic questions. In addition to the above, any discussion of Blaine's economic views would be incomplete without mentioning his debate with the English statesmen William E. Gladstone on the subject of protection versus free trade. This debate was conducted in article format and was published in *The North American Review* in 1890. In terms of Blaine's doctrine, it should be noted that whilst Blaine was a committed protectionist, in practice, he rejected the more traditional isolationist stance of the broader American Protectionist School. Instead, Blaine sought a moderately expansionist foreign policy through the use of reciprocal trade agreements, albeit ones of limited scope and with reference to non-competing imports. Blaine would pass away on January 27, 1893, in Washington, DC.

Francis Bowen

Francis Bowen (1811-1890) was born on September 8, 1811, in Charlestown, Massachusetts. He would receive his education at the Mayhew School in Boston. In 1829, he would be admitted into Phillips Exeter Academy. He would then enter Harvard University in the following year and would graduate three years later in 1833. Bowen would then return to Phillips Exeter Academy, this time as a mathematics teacher, before being invited back to Harvard two years later to teach intellectual philosophy. Bowen would remain in this position until 1839. He would then travel to Europe for a brief period of time, before returning in 1841. The following year, Bowen would purchase a stake in the *North American Review* and would become an editor alongside fellow protectionist Alexander Everett.

Bowen would be invited back to Harvard in 1850 and would commence teaching prior to being confirmed by the university board. He would be subsequently denied this position, however, because of a series of politically contentious articles which appeared in the *North American Review*. Bowen would eventually return in 1853, with a new and more favorable President having been appointed to Harvard. Bowen would be appointed as the Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. Bowen would also begin teaching the first dedicated course on political economy ever offered at Harvard.

Although sympathetic to Adam Smith, Bowen refused to use an English Classical text in his course on political economy. Hence, in 1856, Bowen produced his first textbook entitled *The Principles of Political Economy*. In this work, Bowen attempted to demonstrate how the doctrines of "Adam Smith upon free trade, of Malthus upon population, [and] of Ricardo upon rent and profits" are "indefensible." In their place, Bowen sought "to lay down the foundations… of an American System of Political Economy." Bowen's *Principles* would go

through several editions and would later be revised and retitled, in 1870, as *American Political Economy*. In 1871, Bowen would be removed from teaching political economy and would be replaced with the less controversial and more Classical aligned economist Charles Franklin Dunbar. In his later years, Bowen would serve on the United States silver currency commission, where he would produce the minority report in 1876. Francis Bowen would later die in Boston on January 21, 1890.

Henry Charles Carey

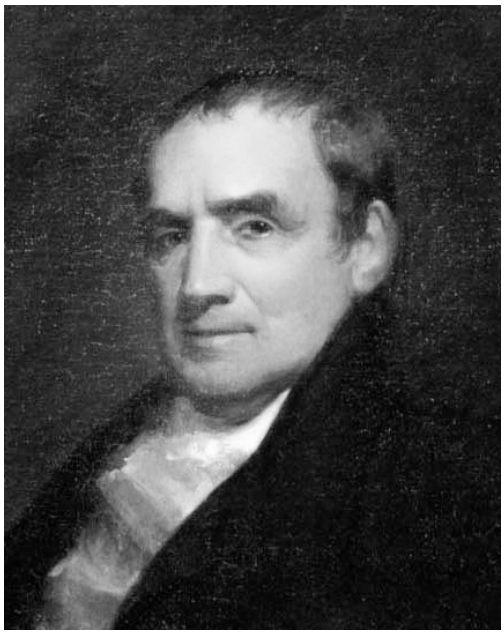
Henry Charles Carey (1793-1879) was born in Philadelphia on December 15, 1793. He was the oldest son of Mathew Carey, himself an important writer in the American Protectionist School. From the age of eight, the younger Carey began working in his father's publishing firm and bookshop. At the age of twelve, he would then be responsible for managing the Baltimore branch. Eventually, in January of 1817, when Carey was the age of fifteen, he would be made a partner in his father's business, with the business being rebranded M. Carey & Son. Henry Carey's brother-in-law, Issac Lea, would then enter the firm in 1821, and in 1824, Mathew Carey would retire. This led to the business being rebranded as H. C. Carey & I. Lea, and then subsequently Carey, Lea, & Carey, after Henry's brother, Edward L. Carey, entered the firm. Henry Carey would remain in the business until 1836, when he decided to devote his attention to political economy and other business ventures, predominately in coal.

Carey had undertaken limited formal study of political economy prior to 1835, but he tacitly accepted the free trade doctrines of Adam Smith and Jean Baptiste Say. In 1835, however, Carey had become acquainted with Nassau William Senior's *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages*, which expounded the wage-fund doctrine implicit in Ricardo. Convinced of the errors of this position, Carey undertook a more in-depth study of the question and responded with his *Essay on the Rate of Wages* in 1836. Carey was still a free trader at this point. Carey then wrote *The Harmony of Nature* in late 1836, but convinced of its inadequacy, the book never went to print. Then, between 1837 and 1840, Carey would produce his three volume *Principles of Political Economy*. According to William Elder, "it was in the closing months of 1842, [upon] seeing the wonderful change effected by the protective tariff then in operation" that Carey became convinced that there "must be some great law that" explains

why “we always grow rich under protection.” Later, he would receive like a “flash of lightning a conviction that the whole Ricardo-Malthusian system is an error, and that with it must fall the system of British free trade.”

Carey’s first work as a protectionist would appear in 1848 and was entitled *The Past, the Present and the Future*. A central theme of this work was Careys’ refutation and reversal of the Ricardian order of cultivation. In 1848, Carey would then assist John S. Skinner in establishing the journal called *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*. Carey contributed numerous articles to this publication, and in 1851, a collection of these articles would appear in his work *The Harmony of Interests*. Between 1848 and 1857, Carey would also be a regular contributor to Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune*. Carey’s most important work, however, would appear in 1858. This was his three volume treatise *The Principles of Social Science*, which provides the fullest exposition of Carey’s system of political economy. A single volume abridged version of this work, edited by Kate McKean, would also appear later in 1864 under the title *Manual of Social Science*. Carey’s last major work would appear in 1872. This was *The Unity of Law*, which represents a philosophical treatise. On October 13, 1879, at the age of eighty-six, Henry Charles Carey would pass away in Philadelphia.

Mathew Carey



Mathew Carey (1760-1839) was born on January 28, 1760, in Dublin, Ireland. His parents were Christopher and Mary Sherridan Carey. His father was a baker, who was contracted to supply breadstuffs for the navy. Although his father disapproved of him entering into the printing profession, Mathew Carey would end up becoming an apprentice printer and bookseller for a local publisher, by the name of Thomas McDonnell, at the age of fifteen. Later, Carey would end up writing articles for McDonnel's *Hiberian Journal*, which was known for its anti-English and pro-American views. Carey's vocal criticisms of Britain's interventions in Ireland eventually led to him exiling himself from his homeland out fear of repercussion. In 1781, Carey escaped to France where he became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, who was serving as the American ambassador to France during the War of Independence, was so impressed with Carey's pro-American reputation, that he hired Carey to work at his printery. In the following year, Carey returned to Ireland to serve a brief stint as the editor of the inaugural Irish nationalist newspaper, the *Volunteers Journal*. Aggravated by the newspaper's hostility towards the crown, the Irish government eventually ordered Carey's arrest. In order to avoid imprisonment, Carey emigrated to Philadelphia in 1784. As legend has it, Carey snuck abroad the departing ship, *The America*, disguised as a woman.

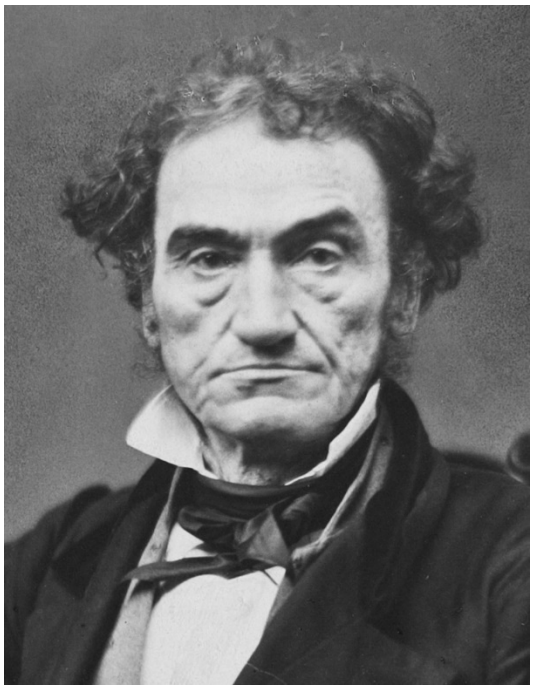
Shortly after his arrival in the New World, Carey would establish a printing house with the help of $400 charity from Marquis de Lafayette, a French general who served in the Revolutionary War, whom Carey befriended during his time in France. Over the next several years, Carey founded several magazines and newspapers, including the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* in January of 1785, the *Columbian Magazine* in October of 1786, and the

more popular *American Museum* in January of 1787. Many protectionist articles written by the likes of William Barton and Tench Coxe would feature in these publications. The *American Museum* would eventually cease in 1792, resulting from an increase in the price of postage for magazines. This caused Carey to enter into the publication of books. The most successful of these early publications was what became known as "the Carey Bible", which was in publication from 1790 to 1821, and represented the first quarto Bible printed in the United States. Carey's first major literary work, *The Olive Branch, or Faults on Both Sides*, would appear in 1814. This work represented a plea for both Federalists and Democratic-Republicans to reconcile their partizan differences in the spirit of patriotism.

Mathew Carey's involvement in the American Protectionist movement would begin around 1819. Prior to this, Carey, by his own admission, "knew very little, scarcely any thing of political economy", explaining that he "did not recollect that [he] had ever written a page on it – nor had [he] read much." Carey, however, quickly became the effective leader of the movement. Carey's first work, *Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry,* appeared in 1819. As the names suggests, this was a series of addresses written by Carey for the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry, which Carey helped found earlier that year, with roughly ten other individuals, including Tench Coxe, Samuel Jackson, and John Melish. In 1820, Carey produced *The New Olive Branch*, which sought to establish the "complete identity of interest between agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce," a theme which was later picked up by his Son, Henry Charles Carey. In 1822, Carey would then produce his *Essays on Political Economy* which served as a work which incorporated *The New Olive Branch*, his earlier *Addresses*, and several other essays, into one comprehensive volume. In the same year, Carey would also commence writing a series of essays entitled *Hamilton*, which Carey penned under the pseudonym 'Hamilton', a pseudonym that Carey adopted frequently. His *Hamilton* essays when through twelve series between 1822 and 1826, and comprised 63 essays.

In 1825, Mathew Carey would retire from his bookselling business and would hand the business over to two of his sons, Henry Carey and Edward L. Carey. A year prior to his retirement, Mathew Carey made sure to return $400 to Lafayette, who had returned to the United States that year in financial ruin. Carey would continue writing on various topics and would also engage in various charity work into his retirement. He would later pass away on September 16, 1839, after a brief illness. He was buried in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church Cemetery in Philadelphia.

Rufus Choate



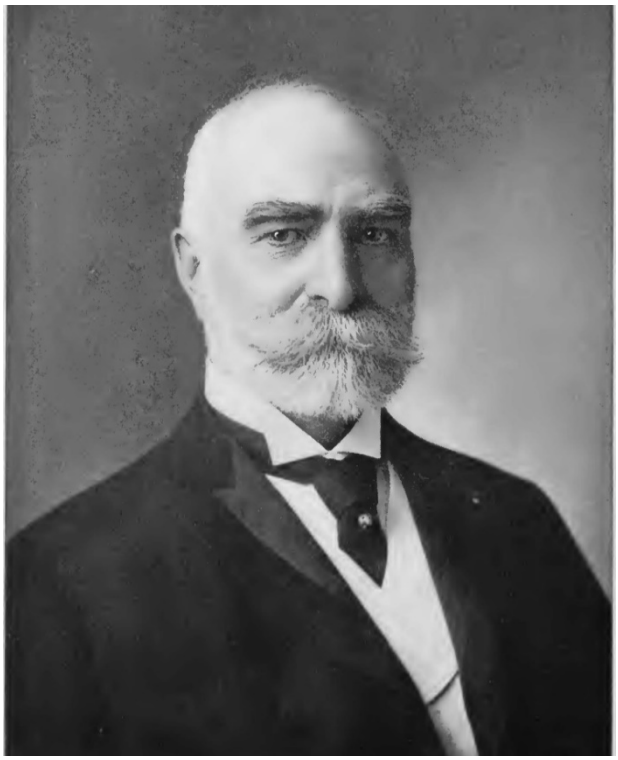
Rufus Choate (1799-1859) was born on October 1, 1799, at the Choate family homestead on Hog Island, Massachusetts, what is now known as Choate Island. He was the son of David Choate and Miriam Foster. The Choate family was of English puritan descent and their presence in North America can be traced to a John Choate, who settled in Massachusetts in 1645. In 1815, at the age of sixteen, Rufus Choate would enter Dartmouth College, and would graduate later in 1819. In the following year, he would work as a tutor at the college, before entering law school in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Choate would then relocate to Washington, DC., in 1821, where he studied for a year in the office of William Wirt, who was the United States Attorney General. The following year, Choate would complete his legal training in the office of the renowned Judge Cummins of Salem, Massachusetts. He would then establish his own practice in the town of Danvers in 1824.

Choate would commence his political career in the mid-1820s. He would first be elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1825 and was then appointed to the State Senate in 1827. In 1830, Choate would then be elected on a Whig ticket to the federal House of Representatives and would be subsequently re-elected in 1832. He would resign from his seat early in 1834 in order to establish a law practice in Boston. Choate would then return to politics in 1841, when he was appointed to fill the Senate seat left vacant by Daniel Webster's retirement. Choate would remain in the Senate until 1845, when Webster returned to the Senate. He would then return to his legal practice in Boston. Later, between 1853 and 1854, Choate would serve as the Attorney General of Massachusetts. After the demise of the

Whigs in 1854, Choate, unlike many former Whigs, refused to join the Republicans, viewing the new party as too sectional in nature.

Choate's contribution to American Protectionist thought came mostly via his congressional speeches. The three most notable of these include his speech delivered on March 14, 1842, entitled *Speech on the Power and Duty of Congress to Continue the Policy of Protecting American Labor*; another delivered on April 12 and 15, 1844, entitled *Speech Upon the Subject of Protecting American Labor by Duties on Imports*; and another entitled *The Tariff* delivered on May 3, 1844. In addition to his Congressional speeches, Choate would also write articles on the subject of protection. Perhaps the most important of these is his 1851 article the *Value of Mechanical Industry,* which provides one of the most elegant renderings of the individuality argument for economic diversification. Choate's speeches and writings would be later pamphletized and circulated by the Industrial League. Later in life, Choate would suffer from ill health, and while sailing on route from Boston to England, his health would deteriorate. He was forced to depart the ship in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He would die in Halifax on July 13, 1859.

Albert Clarke



Albert Clarke (1840-1911) was born on October 13, 1840, on a farm in the small town of Granville in Vermont. He was the son of Jedediah and Mary Clarke. He attended public school in Rochester and West Randolph, and later the Barre Academy. He undertook study of the law in the state's capital, Montpelier, where he graduated in 1859. Between 1859 and 1862, Clarke practiced law in Montpelier, but after 1862, Clarke ceased his law practice and joined the Vermont Infantry to fight in the Civil War and was soon promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant. During the war, Clarke fought at the Battle of Gettysburg. Despite having been wounded at some point during the three days of fighting, he refused to abandon his post until the fighting had ceased. The injuries inflicted upon Clarke at Gettysburg prevented him from continuing his military service. Clarke then retired to Vermont to recommence his law practice, and subsequently became the First Assistant Clerk to the Vermont House of Representatives. He would also receive the honorary title of Colonel around this time.

Clarke's literary career commenced in 1868, when he became editor of the St. Albans *Messenger.* During this time, he also served a brief stint in the Vermont Senate. In 1880, Clarke relocated to Boston, where he became involved in a publishing house, and between 1883 and 1885, he served as an editor of the Boston *Advertiser.* Clarke would also work in the railroad industry during this time, including as an assistant to the President of the Boston and Lowell Railroad, and for a period as President of the Vermont and Canada Railroad.

In 1899, Clarke became the Secretary of the Home Market Club in Boston, a post he would

occupy for twenty-two years of his life. When Clarke took charge, he significantly broadened the activities of the Home Market Club, turning it into a think-tank of sorts for Protectionist thought. He took over as editor of the *Home Market Bulletin,* a periodical for Protectionist thought, changing its name to *The Protectionist* in 1899. He also frequently organized public debates and discussions between free traders and protectionists, including debates with Edward Atkinson, Josiah Quiney, and William Lloyd Garrison. Clark would also write and publish his own articles on the subject. It was estimated that Clarke's collective writings on political economy "would aggregate to forty volumes of three hundred pages each." Clarke would die on July 16, 1911, after going into apoplectic shock, while attending a military reunion.

Henry Clay

Henry Clay (1777-1852) was born in a district known as the Slashes in Hanover County, Virginia, on April 12, 1777. His parents were the Reverend John Clay and Elizabeth Hudson. His formal education consisted of three years at a log schoolhouse in the Slashes. At the age of fourteen, Clay would move to Richard, Virginia, where he would work briefly as a clerk at a drugstore. In the following year, Clay would work in the office of the clerk of the High Court of Chancery, where Clay would take a liking to the law. Then, at the age of nineteen, Clay became a student of the then Attorney General of Virginia, Robert Brooke. After a year of study, he obtained his license to practice the law in the state of Virginia. Clay then decided to move to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1797, to be closer to his mother, who had moved there earlier in 1792. After his arrival, Clay would establish a legal office in Lexington.

Clay's career in politics would begin in 1803, when he was elected to the Kentucky State Legislature. In 1806, Clay would then briefly serve in the United States Senate, filling a seat which had been vacated. He would then return to the Kentucky Legislature in 1808, before returning to the Senate in 1810 to fill another vacancy. He would then be elected to the federal House of Representatives in 1811 as a Democratic-Republican, during which time he served a Speaker of the House. Clay would then resign from the House in 1814 to serve as a commissioner at the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812. He would return to Congress in 1815, and would remain there until 1825, serving as Speaker of the House for most of that time. He would then run as a Presidential Candidate in 1824, but ended up

pledging his electoral votes to John Quincy Adams to prevent a Jackson victory. In return, Clay would be appointed as Adam's Secretary of State. Clay would then break away from the Democratic-Republicans to form the National-Republicans, which later evolved into the Whig Party. He would then be elected to the United States Senate in 1831, and would serve there until 1842. Clay would also run unsuccessfully in the 1828, 1832, 1836, and 1844 presidential elections. After failing in his 1844 presidential bid, he would return to the Senate in 1849, and would remain there until his death on June 18, 1852.

Henry Clay would effectively become the political leader of the American Protectionist movement, assuming the mantle left by Alexander Hamilton. Throughout his time in Congress, Clay would give no less than ten speeches involving the topic of protection, internal improvements, and American industry. Clay's first speech on the subject was delivered to Congress on April 6, 1810, and was entitled *On Domestic Manufactures*. While Clay does not explicitly endorse tariff protection in the speech, he does present the case for domestic preference in government procurement. Clay would then deliver his speech entitled *On Internal Improvement* on March 13, 1818, which provides a sophisticated analysis and defence of infrastructure development. His three signature speeches on the subject of protection include *On Protection to Home Industry*, delivered April 26, 1820; *On American Industry*, delivered March 30 and 31, 1824; and *On the American System*, delivered February 2, 3, and 6, 1832. Clay's last major speech on the tariff, which is of significance more for political than economic reasons, was his speech of February 12, 1833, entitled *On the Compromise Tariff*. In making this speech, Clay would compromise on the issue of protection by agreeing to a gradual reduction in tariff rates, so as to resolve the nullification crisis which threatened the preservation of the Union.

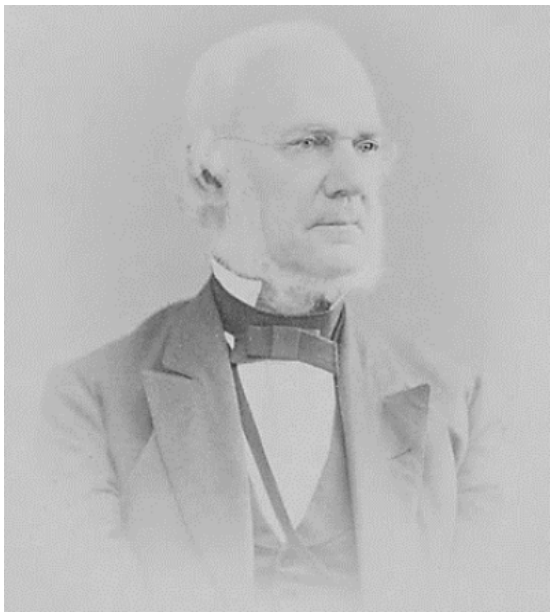
Calvin Colton

Calvin Colton (1789-1857) was born in Long Meadow, Massachusetts, in 1789. He would later attend Yale University, where he would graduate in 1812. Upon graduation, Colton would attend Andover Theological Seminary, and would be ordained as a Presbyterian Minister in 1815. He would then settle in Batavia, New York, where he served as a Pastor. Due to the partial loss of his voice, however, Colton would have to discontinue his pastoral work in 1826, but he would still continue his affiliation with the Church. Colton would then pursue a career in journalism before eventually becoming a Professor of Political Economy in 1852 at the Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. Colton produced several works on the subject of political economy. The first of these was his monetary tract *The Crisis of the Country,* which appeared in 1840. Then, between 1843 and 1844, his *Junius Tracts* would appear as a series of articles, and this would contain the first elaboration of his concept of intellectual capital. In 1846, he would then publish *The Rights of Labour*. Colton's most important and elaborate treatise would appear in 1848, however, under the title *Public Economy for the United States*, which spans over 500 pages.

As an economic theorist, Colton was a devout follower and personal friend of Henry Clay. Colton would even be responsible for writing a biography of Clay entitled *The Life and Times of Henry Clay*. This work is also far more than a mere account of Clay's life, it also contains an impressive analysis of Clay's economic thinking. In addition to writing Clay's biography, Colton would also be responsible for editing the seven volume collection of *The Works of Henry Clay*, which made Clay's speeches accessible to the general public. In

addition to those aforementioned works, Colton also wrote on theology, including *Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country*, which appeared in 1836, and *The Genius and Mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, which appeared in 1853. Colton continued in his Chair of Political Economy at Trinity until his untimely death on March 13, 1857.

Stephen Colwell



Stephen Colwell (1800-1871) was born on March 25, 1800, in Brook County, West Virginia. He attended the old Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, where he received a classical education. Upon graduating in 1819, Colwell moved to Steubenville, Ohio, where he undertook further study in the law. He would later be admitted to the bar in 1821. Over the next seven years, Colwell practiced the law while residing in St Clairsville, Ohio, before moving to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1828. Colwell continued his law practice while residing in Pittsburgh. Then, after the death of his first wife, Colwell remarried Sarah Bell Richards, the daughter of the wealthy Pennsylvanian iron manufacturer, Samuel Richards. This marked a major turning point in Colwell's life. In 1836, Colwell ceased his law practice, and moved to Weymouth, New Jersey, where he became a manager of one of his father-in-law's iron furnaces. Shortly after, Colwell moved again to Philadelphia, where he took control of another one of his father-in-law's iron works based in the neighboring suburb of Conshohocken. It appears that after the death of Samuel Richards, Colwell would acquire at least some of his father-in-law's assets. Having developed a reputation as an effective businessmen, Colwell would later serve as a director of various railroad companies, including the Camden, Atlantic, Reading, and Pennsylvania Railroads.

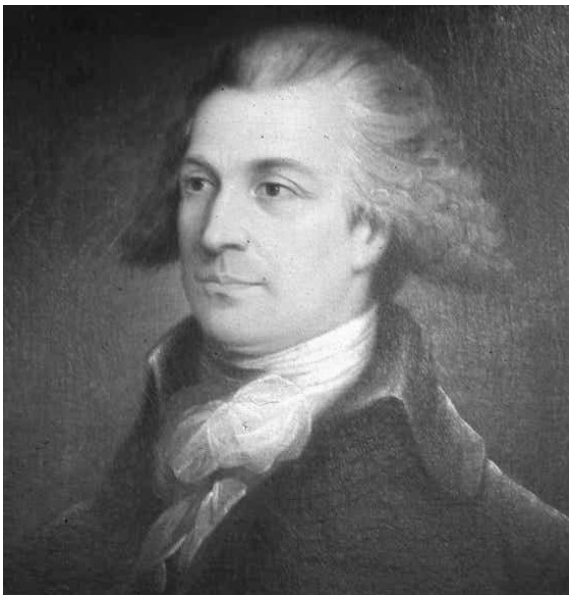
In addition to these commercial activities, Colwell was also involved in a number of public charities, associations, and societies. This includes his involvement in the African Colonization Society, an organization which advocated the ending of slavery and aided in the re-homing of former slaves to Liberia. He would also serve as a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, the Princeton Theological Society, and other theological associations and charitable institutions. During the outbreak of the American Civil War, Colwell would also

supply Union army hospitals with supplies free of charge.

The main elaboration of Colwell's economic views, outside of monetary questions, is his 1850 pseudonymous piece entitled *The Relative Position of Foreign Commerce, Domestic Production*, *and Internal Trade*, his 1861 economic philosophical piece *The Claims of Labor and Their Precedence to the Claims of Free Trade*, and his introductory essay which was prefixed to the first American edition of Friedrich List's *National Systems of Political Economy*, which appeared in 1856. This introductory essay would be published later as a separate publication in 1867. Other views of his can also be found in his four special reports contained within the *Reports of a Commission Appointed for a Revision of the Revenue System of the United States*, which appeared in 1866. These reports were written between 1865 and 1866, when Colwell was appointed to serve as a member of the Presidential Revenue Commission. Colwell's special reports include (1) the *Influence of the Duplication of Taxes on American Industry*, (2) the *Report Upon the Relations of Foreign Trade to Domestic Industry and Internal Revenue*, (3) the *Report on Iron and Steel,* and (4) the *Report of the United States Revenue Commission on Wool and Woolen Manufactures*, the latter of which appears to have been a joint effort of both Colwell and Erastus B. Bigelow. All four of these reports mostly concern the burdensome effect of internal taxation on domestic industry. In addition to those listed, Colwell also wrote a fifth special report entitled *Over-Importation and Relief*, which was omitted from the final report.

Colwell also wrote significantly on financial and monetary questions. The most important of these works was his major 1860 treatise *The Ways and Means of Payment: A Full Analysis of the Credit System with its Various Modes of Adjustment,* which spanned over 600 pages. He also wrote several smaller monetary tracts including *Remarks and Suggestions Upon the State and National System of Banks* which appeared in 1864, and his special report *Upon High Prices and Their Relations with Currency and Taxation,* which was also intended for, but never made it into, the final report of the 1866 revenue commission. Colwell's other literary works mostly concern religion, the most important of these being his *New Themes for the Protestant Clergy* which appeared in 1851 and went through several editions. At the age of seventy, Stephen Colwell would pass away on January 15 or 16, 1871. Prior to his death, Colwell had bequeathed his library of over 5000 works on political economy to the University of Pennsylvania. It was said to be the most complete library of its kind in the United States at the time.

Tench Coxe



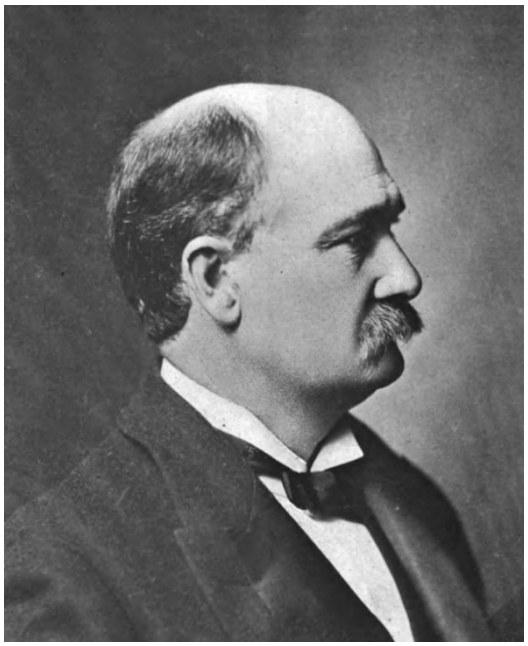
Although Daniel Raymond was the first American economist to write a systematic treatise on economic theory, Tench Coxe (1755-1824) takes the title as the first American economist to write a full book sized publication on the subject of political economy. Tench Coxe was born in Philadelphia on May 22, 1755. He was the son of William and Mary Francis Coxe. The younger Coxe received an education from the College of Philadelphia, what is now the University of Pennsylvania, but it is not entirely clear whether he graduated. In 1776, just after the commencement of the War of Independence, Coxe would then enter into his father's merchant house. During the war, Coxe maintained a position of neutrality, though some evidence suggests that he was sympathetic to the British. Later in the war, he would change his allegiance to the Continental Army. Then, in 1786, Coxe would be appointed as a member of the Annapolis Convention, and in 1788, he would serve in the Continental Congress. Like Alexander Hamilton, Coxe would also write in support of the adoption of the United States Constitution during the late 1780s. He would then become a Federalist, and in 1789, he would be appointed as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Hamilton, where he would assist in drafting *The Report on Manufactures*. Coxe would remain in this position until 1792, when he became Commissioner of Revenue.

Coxe would eventually change political loyalties, becoming a Democratic-Republican. This shifting of allegiances meant that Coxe was branded a traitor by Federalists and would be given the name "Mr. Facing Both-Ways." Coxe would then be removed as Commissioner of Revenue in 1797 by President Adams. His next government appointment would not be until 1803, when Jefferson entered the White House and appointed Coxe as Purveyor of Public Supplies, a position he retained until 1812. Coxe then became a collector of internal revenues for the district of Philadelphia in 1813. These menial roles were, of course, displeasing to

Coxe, who saw himself, probably quite rightly, as the most obvious candidate for the US Secretary of the Treasury.

Coxe produced numerous tracts on political economy throughout his life. The first of these would appear in 1878. This was a pamphlet entitled *An Enquiry into the Principles on Which a Commercial System for the United States of America Should be Founded*, which represents the first elaboration of his protectionist views. In 1791, he would produce *A Brief Examination of Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the States*, which was a response to the pamphlet written by the British statesmen John Lord Sheffield. His major work would appear in 1794. This was entitled *A View of the United States of America in a Series of Papers*, which represents a major statistical tome and the first ever book-sized economics treatise produced by an American. Other important works written by Coxe include *Observations on the Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce of the United States* (1789), *An Essay on the Manufacturing Interest of the United States* (1804), and *A Memoir Upon the Subject of the Cotton Wool Cultivation, the Cotton Trade, and the Cotton Manufactures of the United States of America* (1814). Tench Coxe would pass away on July 16, 1824, in Philadelphia.

George B. Curtiss



George Boughton Curtiss (1852-1920) was born in Mount Morris, Livingston County, New York in 1852. He was the son of George and Hilda Curtiss. During Curtiss's childhood, his family moved to Illinois, where they raised the young George Curtiss on the family farm. It was here that Curtiss received his early education. Later in 1876, Curtiss left Illinois for his native state of New York, and settled in Binghamton. During this time, Curtiss undertook the study of the law, whilst teaching penmanship at Lowell Business College. He would be admitted to the Bar in 1880. Three years later, Curtiss would be elected as the district attorney of Broome County, where he would remain for six years. Curtiss would then form a law partnership with Taylor L. Arms in 1886, under the name Arms and Curtiss, which would later become Curtiss, Arms & Keenan in 1898, and then Curtiss, Keenan & Tuthill in 1908.

Curtiss's first major economic work *Protection and Prosperity* was published in 1896. This 847 page treatise is primarily one of economic history, which traces the effects of tariff legislation on the industrial development of England, Europe, and the United States. Despite its focus being chiefly economic history, the eleventh and final chapter of the work is of immense theoretical value. It provides a clear summary of some of the key doctrines of American Protectionist thought, as well as some original contributions. One of these original contributions concerns the debate over 'natural' and 'artificial selection.' Although more of an argument from analogy, Social Darwinist thinkers at the time, such as William Graham Sumner, often invoked the theory of natural selection to justify free trade. In response, Curtiss retorted with an argument from "artificial selection", noting that "when we come to consider the rapid improvements and development of plant and animals, we find that it has

been due not to *natural selection*, but to *human selection*." Similar to how farmers utilize artificial selection to perfect certain characteristics found in plants and animals in a shorter amount of time than what would occur naturally, Curtiss notes how the government can perfect and speed up the development of domestic industries through protectionist policies, which discredits the appeals to natural selection extolled by Social Darwinists.

Curtiss's second major work *The Industrial Development of Nations* appeared in 1912. This monumental three volume treatise consists of over 1880 pages. Relative to his earlier work, *The Industrial Development of Nations* represents a greatly extended analysis of the industrial development of nations and their respective trade policies. Both of Curtiss's major works would be utilized by the Republican Party in their campaigns. In 1899, President McKinley repaid Curtiss's debts to the Republican cause by appointing him as US District Attorney for the Northern District of New York. He would be later reappointed to the role by President Roosevelt in 1904, and Taft in 1909, before ending his period of service in 1913. At the age of sixty-eight, Curtiss died at his residence in Binghamton, New York, on June 21, 1920.

Alexander J. Dallas

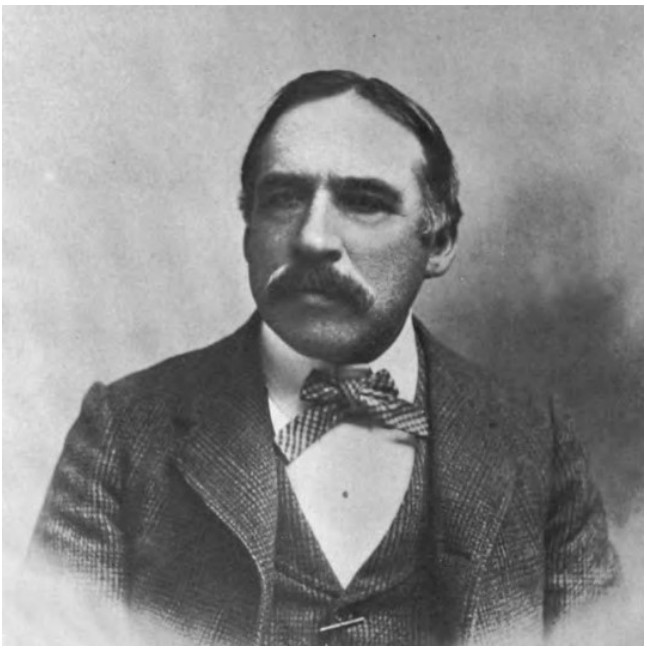
Alexander James Dallas (1759-1817) was born in Kingston, Jamaica on June 21, 1759. He was of Scottish and Irish ancestry. With Jamaica lacking adequate educational facilities, the Dallas family decided to move to Edinburgh, and then to London, to put the young Alexander through schooling. Dallas was planning to become a lawyer, but upon the death of his father at the age of ten, his family could no longer afford to fund his legal training. He would eventually return to Jamaica in 1780, and through family connections, he would be admitted to the bar. Dallas would remain in Jamaica for three years, before deciding to seek out a new life in the United States. With a letter of introduction from William Bingham and Robert Morris, who he became acquainted with in Jamaica, Dallas sailed to the United States in 1783. He would settle in Philadelphia and would be admitted into the Pennsylvania bar in 1785. Dallas also established a career in journalism during this time. He would briefly gain employment with the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald* in 1787, and would then become the editor of Mathew Carey's *Columbian Magazine* later that year.

In January of 1791, Dallas would be appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and not long after he would become involved in the Democratic-Republican Party, where he positioned himself in the more conservative and nationalist wing of the Party. He would then pen the work, *Features of Mr. Jay's Treaty* in 1795, which castigated Federalists for normalizing trade relations with Britian. Annexed to this work was his essay *View of the Commerce in the United States,* which emphasized the economic implications of the Treaty. In 1801, Dallas would then be appointed as the US Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Dallas would remain there until 1814, when President Madison appointed him to replaced Albert Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury. During his tenure, Dallas produced several major treasury reports, including his *Report on Public Credit,* his

Report on Treasury Notes, and his *Report on the National Bank*.

Dallas's main protectionist work, however, was his *Report on the General Tariff,* which was communicated to Congress on February 12, 1816. In this *Report*, Dallas notes that while the establishment of domestic manufactures was deemed important ever since Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures*, the government never implemented policies to bring about this end. Dallas observed, however, that "American manufactures" had "been introduced during the restrictive system and the war," referring to the US non-importation acts enacted during the Napoleonic Wars. These peculiar circumstances "afforded a sufficient inducement for [the] investment of capital, and [the] application of labor" to manufacturing, but, Dallas noted, that this "inducement, in its necessary extent, must fail when the day of competition returns." Dallas's primary concern was not so much the encouragement of infant industries but preventing the loss of already established industries. Indeed, "the present policy of the Government," explains Dallas, "is directed to protect, and not to create manufactures." Dallas therefore proposes high rates of protection for mature industries, moderate rates for infant industries, and revenue rates for industries which are unestablished or unsuited to the United States. In November of 1816, Dallas would retire from public office, and would return to his law practice in Philadelphia. Within just weeks of returning to Philadelphia, Dallas would die on January 16, 1817, following bouts of a mysterious and reoccurring pain.

Van Buren Denslow



Van Buren Denslow (1833-1902) was born in Yonkers, New York, in 1833. In his early twenties, Denslow would commence the study of the law, and would be admitted into the bar in 1855, but decided to pursue a career in journalism and academia instead. It was around this time that Denslow produced his first protectionist tract through a series of lectures called "The Causes of the Present Hard Times." In 1863, Denslow would move to Chicago, where he became chief editorial writer of the *Chicago Tribune,* which was associated with Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. Then, in 1866, he became editor in chief of the Chicago *Republican,* where he undertook an aggressive campaign for the cause of protectionism, but by 1868, he moved back to New York for a brief stint at Greeley's *New York Tribune,* before returning to the *Chicago Tribune* the following year. Around the same time, he also helped with the editing of *Putnam's Magazine.* Later in 1880, he would become the chief economic writer of the fiercely protectionist *Chicago Inter-Ocean,* as well as a contributor to George Gunton's *Social Economist,* where many of his short economic tracts would appear. Denslow's academic career would commence in 1872, when he became the organizing secretary and Professor of Law at the Union College of Law. Around the same time, Denslow would also begin teaching at Northwestern University and the old University of Chicago, the predecessor institution of the present-day University of Chicago.

One of Denslow's first published works was produced in 1879 for the Philosophical Society of Chicago. This work was entitled *A Plea for the Introduction of Responsible Government and the Representation of Capital into the United States as Safeguards against Communism and Disunion.* In this piece, Denslow calls for constitutional reforms that would allow the

introduction of aristocratic elements in state and local government to counterweight populist demands. Such reforms were intended to protect the United States from communism. In 1885, Denslow once again returned to New York with the intention of resuming his law practice but would become immediately preoccupied with editing the *American Economist,* which was the official periodical of the American Protective Tariff League. It was not long after this that Denslow produced his most brilliant work, his *Principles of the Economic Philosophy of Society, Government, and Industry* (1888). Whilst designed as a general economics textbook, the treatise's central and original argument concerns the role of entrepreneurial profit and how it acts as a migratory force which moves resources into new industrial pursuits.

On July 17, 1902, at the age of sixty-nine, Denslow died in his home in New York City. He left his personal effects to his housekeeper and friend, Melissa Waxham. These personal effects included sixteen unpublished manuscripts. The details surrounding these manuscripts remains unknown, but it stands to reason that at least some of them were on economic matters. Miss Waxham later moved to Omaha, Nebraska, where she lived out her remaining years. The unpublished manuscripts remain missing until this day. That death prevented Denslow from finalizing these works for publication is a misfortune. As one of the last and most sophisticated writers of the School, these lost writings may have contained one of the most advanced expositions of American Protectionist thought. Van Buren Denslow was survived by his four children, one of whom bore the name Henry Carey Denslow to signify the reverence which the elder Denslow held for the great economist who came before him.

George B. Dixwell

George Basil Dixwell (1814-1885) was born on December 12, 1814, in Boston, Massachusetts. He was the son of John Dixwell, a Doctor, who received his M.D. from Harvard in 1796. The Dixwell family were esteemed for their intellectual culture and personal worth. The younger Dixwell received an early education from Boston Public Latin School. Like his father before him, George Dixwell would be admitted to Harvard in 1830. He was apparently a very gifted scholar who excelled in all subject areas, but after graduating around 1834, Dixwell decided to enter into a career as a merchant. He would join his older brother in an expedition to India where they established a mercantile house. Over the next thirty years, Dixwell continued his career as a merchant, and undertook operations in both India and China, where he became fluent in Hindi and Mandarin, which aided his commercial activities in the region.

Dixwell ceased his commercial operations and returned to the United States in 1873, at the age of fifty-eight. After receiving a sizable inheritance from his parents and being free from his business affairs, Dixwell turned his attention to the study of science, philosophy, and most importantly, political economy. Although he never produced a major treatise on economics, his articles, many of which were republished in pamphlet format, accorded him a strong reputation within Protectionist ranks. Described as "a demolisher of false systems, an exposer of fallacies, [and] an eradicator of errors," Dixwell's essays represented a series of sharp offensives against competing economic doctrines. With the above in mind, Dixwell's approach to political economy differed from that of most other economists within the American Protectionist School. Whereas other American Protectionists tended to adopt an inductive approach, Dixwell, being immersed in the study of logic, utilized the deductive

method. Through the use of logical reasoning, Dixwell focused his attention on exposing the fallacies of competing economic doctrines. Among his critical essays are *The Premises of Free Trade Examined* (1881), a *Review of Bastiat's Sophisms of Protection* (1881), *"Progress and Poverty": A Review of the Doctrines of Henry George* (1882), a *Review of Perry* (1882), and a *Review of Professor Sumner's Speech* (1882). Speaking a few days before his death, Dixwell, it is said, told his friend and fellow protectionist, John L. Hayes, that "for the last seven years of my life, waking or sleeping, I have thought and dreamed of nothing else [other than political economy]." On April 10, 1885, George Dixwell died of pneumonia, at the age of seventy.

Thomas H. Dudley

Thomas Haines Dudley (1819-1893) was born on October 18, 1819, in Burlington County, New Jersey. He grew up working on his mother's farm. His mother, Ann Haines, was left a widow, after the death of Thomas's father in 1820. She was thus responsible for raising Thomas and his three siblings herself. Thomas Dudley would subsequently become a schoolteacher and would eventually save enough money from this job to commence his study of the law, which would be undertaken in the office of William N. Jeffers, a respected lawyer in Camden, New Jersey. Then, in 1843, at the age of twenty three, Dudley would serve as both the Camden City Clerk and the City Treasurer. His involvement in politics would also begin around this time. In the following year, Dudley would become Secretary of the Henry Clay Club of Camden and would thus take an active part in Clay's 1844 Presidential Campaign.

Dudley would then be admitted as a counsellor-at-law in 1848, and it was also around this time that he began his friendship with Henry Charles Carey. Dudley continued his involvement in political activities during this period. After the disintegration of the Whigs, Dudley became an early member of the Republican Party, and in 1856, he would serve as Chairmen of the Executive of the New Jersey Branch of the Party. He would then be chosen as a delegate to the 1860 Republican National Convention, where he would aid in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. In addition, it has been suggested that Dudley was responsible for introducing the tariff plank to the 1860 Republican Platform. The following year, Dudley would travel abroad for health reasons. Then, at the request of the Lincoln Administration, he would be appointed as the acting Consul to Paris. In late 1861, Dudley

would then be appointed as the Consul to Liverpool in the United Kingdom. As this was in the midst of the American Civil War, Dudley would also act as a spy and would coordinate a system of industrial espionage to prevent the United Kingdom from supplying the Confederate States with naval ships. During his time in Liverpool, Dudley also became acquainted with the prominent free trade statesman and Manchester liberal John Bright, and despite their differences in economic creed, it appears that the two formed a friendship. Dudley would remain as Consul until 1872. Upon his return from England, Dudley would establish a legal practice in Camden.

Dudley was a committed Protectionist since his early days as a Clay supporter, but his writings on the topic would not appear until after his return from Liverpool. Although Dudley never produced a major treatise on political economy, he did produce approximately twenty three papers and pamphlets on the subject. Among these were *Protection or Free Trade for the United States of America?* (1880), a *Reply to Augustus Mongredien's Appeal to the Western Farmer of America* (1880), *The Farmer Freedeth All* (1882), and *Which is Best for Farmers, Protection of Free Trade?* (1887). In addition to these literary efforts, Dudley would also be elected as Vice President of the American Protective Tariff League in the 1880s, and would retain this position until at least 1892. On April 15, 1893, at the age of seventy-three, Dudley would pass away in Philadelphia.

Cyrus Elder

Like his older brother William, Cyrus Elder (1833-1912) was born in Somerset, Pennsylvania, on June 16, 1833, some twenty seven years after William. Cyrus attended both public and private schools during his formative years. After finishing school, Elder worked at a store in Somerset, before moving to Philadelphia, to work at a dry goods wholesaler. He would then return to his parent's house in 1855, in order to undertake the study of the Law. He would be admitted to the bar in 1856. Around this time, Elder would also be active in the newly formed Republican Party, and would subsequently be nominated as a delegate to the 1856 Republican National Convention. Then, in 1859, Elder would marry the sister of fellow protectionist James M. Swank.

At the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Elder was quick to join the Union Army, enlisting in the volunteer infantry company in Somerset, where he would be appointed as second lieutenant. Later in the conflict, he would be appointed as quarter-master of the tenth regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserve and would serve in the Peninsula Campaign of 1862. During this operation, however, Lieutenant Elder would contract chickahominy fever and would subsequently resign from his post. Elder would then return to his law practice in late 1862, where his services were be enlisted for the Cambria Iron Company. Elder would work almost exclusively for the Cambria Iron Company until his retirement in 1901. The owner of the company was Daniel J. Morrell, who along with Joseph Wharton and several others, would go on to establish the explicitly protectionist American Industrial League in 1868. As a staunch Protectionist and associate of Morrell, Elder would be appointed to serve as Secretary of the League. In this capacity, Elder would also serve as the editor of the *Industrial Bulletin*. Elder would continue in this role until the collapse of the League in 1873.

Elder's first publication on political economy would appear in 1872. This piece was entitled *Dreams of a Free-Trade Paradise,* which consisted of several satirical essays mocking the arguments of free traders. It would not be until 12 years later in 1886 that his main work on political economy would appear. This was entitled *Man and Labor*. This contained the substance of a series of lectures delivered by Elder at the Cambria Scientific Institute. In addition to his economic writings, Elder also produced a poetic work entitled *My Gift* in 1867. Cyrus Elder died in Philadelphia on December 14, 1912

William Elder

William Elder (1806-1885) was viewed by Henry Charles Carey as one of the two most competent economic thinkers and expounders of the American Protectionist doctrine. Of the very limited scholarship on Elder, however, his reputation is that of a mere popularizer of the Carey doctrine. This does a grave disservice to this important thinker. For one thing, Elder did not follow Carey blindly. He drew extensively from a range of protectionist thinkers, and his approach, more than any other in the Carey circle, can be viewed as a synthesis of the leading American Protectionist theories. His harmonizing of the ideas of Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List, and Henry Carey, in particular, would leave an impressionable mark on the School.

William Elder was born on July 23, 1806, in the small town of Somerset in Pennsylvania. His family owned a farm outside of town where William was to spend his childhood years. His early education was apparently quite ordinary. He attended a local public school of substandard quality. Elder later recalled that his teachers were qualified only by the fact that their laziness precluded them from other employments. The only real educational opportunity offered to him was the use of his family's private library, and we must assume by his later literary output that Elder was an astute learner in his private capacity. Prior to turning twenty, Elder would go on to study medicine at a medical practice located in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, but would later relocate to Philadelphia to attend formal medical training at Jefferson College. He would graduate in 1833. In 1834, he would return to Chambersburg, where he would establish a joint medical practice. He would remain there for two years, before moving to Pittsburgh, where he would establish an independent practice. It was around this time that Elder began to take more of an interest in politics. Among the issues which aroused Elder's interest was the cause of abolition and the anti-masonic movement, and by 1839, Elder ran successfully on a Whig and Anti-Masonic ticket for the Recorder of

Deeds for Allegheny County. Elder's medical practice apparently suffered due to his involvement in politics, which led Elder to cease medicine and pursue a legal career instead. He would be admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in August of 1842. He would then establish a practice in Pittsburgh later that year. In 1845, Elder would then relocate to Philadelphia. In the period following, Elder would also commence his career in journalism, and in 1854, a series of essays on assorted political and social topics would be published under the title *Periscopic*s.

It would be in 1852, after Elder became personally acquainted with Henry Carey that he began to take more of an interest in political economy, a subject which would occupy the rest of his life. His first efforts in the cause of protection was actually assisting Carey in the preparation of his *Principles of Social Science*. In the period following, Elder began writing newspaper articles in defense of the ideas of Hamilton, List, and Carey. These would appear in the *North American,* the *Philadelphia Press,* the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and the *New York Tribune.* In 1860, these articles would be compiled and published as a pamphlet entitled *The Doctrine and Policy of Protection.* Having demonstrated a grasp of economics, a year later, Elder gained employment in the United States Treasury. It was in this capacity that Elder published his 1863 work entitled *Debt and Resources of the United States*, a topic which was followed up on in 1865 with the work *How Our National Debt can be Paid*.

In 1866, Elder decided to resign from the Treasury Department, and return to Philadelphia to focus more on his career in journalism. During this time, Elder also lectured on economic matters and continued to produce pamphlets on protection. In 1877, Elder's first major treatise, *Questions of the Day: Economic and Social,* appeared. As the title suggests, this work was a general treatment of the major economic and social questions of the time delivered from a distinctly American Protectionist perspective. In 1873, Elder decided to return to the Treasury Department, where he would remain for the rest of his life. While at the Treasury, Elder would continue to write on economic questions. In 1882, his *Conversations on the Principal Subjects of Political Economy* would appear. This publication would represent the culmination of his literary efforts and would mark his last major work on the subject. Elder passed away three years later on April 5, 1885.

Alexander H. Everett

Alexander Hill Everett (1790-1847) was born on March 19, 1790, in Boston, Massachusetts. Everett was an astute learner, and would enter Harvard at the young age of twelve. Although he was the youngest in his class, he would graduate first in his class at the age of sixteen. After a short stint as a teaching assistant at Phillips Exeter College, he would then study law at the office of John Quincy Adams. For some time, Everett would be joined at the hip with Adams. In 1809, when President Madison appointed Adams as the Ambassador to Russia, Everett would accompany Adams and would serve as his private secretary. Everett would reside in St. Petersburg for two years, before proceeding to London, where he would reside for a further year. With the return of hostilities between the United Kingdom and the United States accompanying the commencement of the War of 1812, Everett returned to Boston. There, he would be admitted into the bar, and would establish a law office. Not long after, however, Everett would return to foreign affairs. In 1814, he would be appointed as Secretary of the Legation to the Netherlands, eventually becoming *chargé d' affaires* in 1818. Everett would retain this position until 1824, when he returned to the United States on a leave of absence. In 1825, President Adams would then appoint Everett as Minister to Spain.

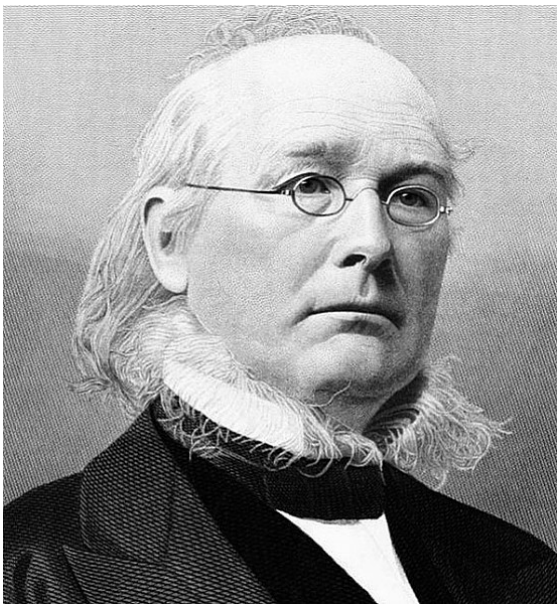
Everett would return to Boston in 1829. The same year, he would purchase a stake and would subsequently become editor of the *North American Review*. Under Everett, the *North American Review* would take on a more protectionist orientation. Everett's involvement in party politics would also begin around the same time. In 1830, Everett would be elected as a Whig to the Massachusetts State Legislature, a position he would retain until 1835. He would also be selected as a delegate to the 1831 Whig National Convention, where he would endorse Henry Clay's presidential nomination. Everett would, however, eventually join the

Democratic Party, after being impressed by President Jackson's handling of the nullification crisis.

Everett wrote numerous works on political economy. The most important of these is his *New Principles on Population with Remarks on the Theories of Malthus*, which appeared in 1823. The work is essentially a refutation of Malthus, which argues that population growth tends to produce abundance, as opposed to scarcity. Later, Everett would prepare the *Memorial* for the 1833 New York Friends of Domestic Industry Convention, which was designed as a reply to Albert Gallatin's 1831 *Memorial of the Free Trade Convention.* Everett's *Memorial* would be published as part of Hezekiah Niles' *Journal of the Proceedings of the Friends of Domestic Industry*. The bulk of Everett's other economic writings would appear as articles in *The North American Review*. The most important of these articles being "British Opinions on the Protecting System" and "The American System." Later, between 1844 and 1845, Everett would enter into a debate on the topic of population with the economist George Tucker of the University of Virginia. This debate was undertaken through a series of letters which were published in *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review.*

Everett would return to foreign affairs in 1840, having been appointed as a confidential agent in Cuba. Upon the completion of this assignment, he would be appointed as President of Jefferson College in Louisiana. He would serve in this position for a brief period of time, before returning to Boston due to ill health. In 1845, Everrett would then be appointed to another diplomatic post, this time as Commissioner to China. En route to China, Everett would fall ill during a stoppage at Rio de Janeiro, which compelled him to return to Boston. He reattempted the trip in 1846 but was once again overcome by illness. Everett passed away on June 28, 1847, shortly after arriving in Canton, China.

Horace Greeley



Horace Greeley (1811-1872) was born on February 11, 1811, in Amherst, New Hampshire. Greeley grew up on his parents' farm and was the third of his seven siblings. He would attend a local school, though his attendance was quite irregular. In his private capacity, however, Greeley would be an avid reader and had apparently read the Bible at the age of five. In 1826, at the age of fourteen, Greeley would become an apprentice at the Vermont based newspaper *The Northern Spectator*. Greeley would remain there for five years until the newspaper ceased. With the money he had saved, Greeley decided to move to New York City. He worked briefly for the *New York Evening Post* as a typesetter, before establishing *The New York Morning Post* in 1833. The newspaper proved unsuccessful though, failing not long after its establishment. The printery itself continued, however, and after entering into a partnership with Jonas Winchester in 1834, the two established *The New Yorker*. During this time, Greeley also wrote for various other newspapers and journals, including the *Daily Whig*.

Later in 1838, Greeley would be made editor of the weekly Whig Party campaign organ, the *Jeffersonian*. Greeley's efforts helped to elect the prominent Whig statesmen William H. Seward to the New York Governorship, and this also helped Greeley to establish a political alliance with Seward and Thurlow Weed, the latter of whom was Seward's advisor. Later in 1840, Greeley would establish another Whig newspaper, *The Log Cabin*, which would aid William Henry Harrison's successful presidential campaign. The following year, on April 10, 1841, Greeley would establish his most important newspaper, *The New York Tribune*, which became the most widely circulated newspaper in the country. *The New York Tribune* was strongly Whig, but not blindly so. Greeley would allow a broad array of alternative

viewpoints, even employing Karl Marx as a foreign correspondent during the 1850s and 1860s. After the demise of the Whigs, Greeley would help found the Republican Party in 1854. Greeley would remain a committed Republican until 1871, when he defected from the Party in opposition to the alleged corruption of the Grant Administration. Greeley would then run for President of United States on the ticket of the newly formed, yet short lived, Liberal Republican Party, but would lose to Grant in a landslide.

During his life, Greeley would author numerous works on the subject of political economy. His first work was a small compilation entitled *Tracts on the Tariff* which appeared in 1840. In 1843, he would publish a periodical entitled *The American Laborer, Devoted to the Cause of Protection to Home Industry*, which consisted of twelve issues. Then, in 1844, in support of Henry Clay's presidential campaign, Greeley would publish *Protection and Free Trade: The Question Stated and Considered*. Later in 1858, he would also produce a pamphlet entitled *Labour's Political Economy; or the Tariff Question Considered.* Greeley's most important and theoretically sophisticated work would appear, however, in 1870. This was his *Essays Designed to Elucidate the System of Political Economy*, which was dedicated to Henry Clay. Two years after the publication of this work, Greeley would pass away near his home in Chappaqua, New York on November 28, 1872.

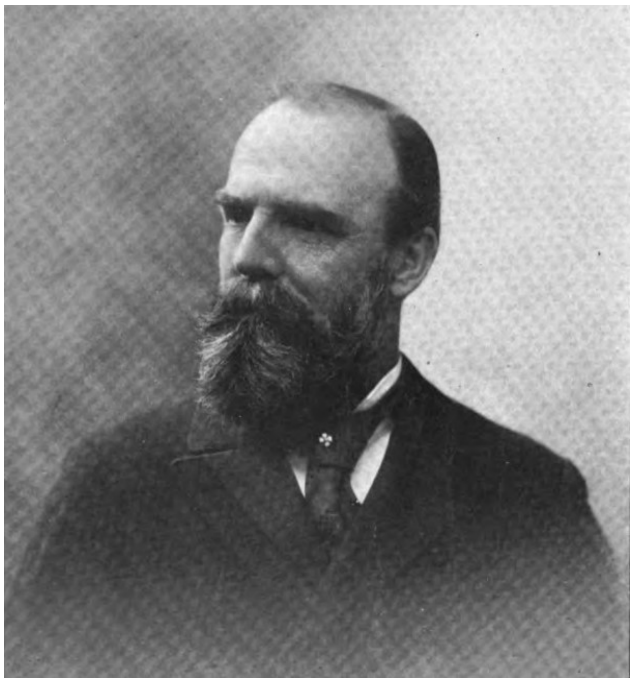
William Gregg

William Gregg (1800-1867) was born on February 2nd, 1800, in Monongahela county, Virginia. He was the son of William and Elizabeth Gregg. His ancestry can be traced to Scotland, with his great grandfather arriving in the Americas with William Penn in 1682. William was largely bought up by his uncle Jacob Gregg, who was a watchmaker and manufacturer in Alexandria, Virginia. This early association with manufacturing work likely influenced Gregg's later economic views. Gregg would move further South in 1810, with his uncle Jacob, who established a cotton mill in Georgia. Gregg would later relocate to Lexington, Kentucky, where he learnt the trade of silversmithing and watchmaking. Gregg would eventually return to the South in 1821, now residing in South Carolina. There he would purchase a stake in a cotton mill in Vaucluse but would abandon the venture due to ill health. Gregg would then move to Charleston in 1838, and would purchase a stake in a jewelry and watchmaking business, which became Hayden, Gregg, and Company. Gregg acquired considerable wealth through this venture, and this allowed him to establish his own manufacturing business, known as the Graniteville Manufacturing Company, which was a manufacturer of fine cotton clothing. He was regarded as one of the pioneers of manufacturing in the State of Carolina. Whilst a Southerner, politically, William Gregg was also affiliated with the Whig Party, and was, at one point, the chairmen of the South Carolinian branch of the Whigs.

It is not clear exactly when Gregg converted to protectionism, but his thinking was clearly informed by a tour of several manufacturing districts which he undertook during a visit to the Northern States. Gregg observed that the United States was destined to become a

manufacturing power but thought that the South was at risk of being left behind by the North. Unlike the other Southerner within the School, Nathanial A. Ware, who published his writings anonymously, Gregg would ascribe his own name to his works. Gregg's main work was *Essays on Domestic Industry: or, An Enquiry into the Expediency of Establishing Cotton Manufactures in South Carolina.* This was published in Charleston in 1845. Gregg would also publish other articles on manufacturing, including a series of articles in *Hunt's Merchant Magazine* entitled "The Condition and Prospects of American Cotton Manufactures in 1849." Typical of most Southerners of the time, Gregg accepted the institution of slavery, but was more or less critical of the South's plantation system. Gregg, for instance, argues that so much of the South's capital and enterprise is tied up in the direction of slave-labor, that white workers, as a result, suffer from idleness and their talents lay dormant and unutilized. By fostering a diversity of employments through protective tariffs, in addition to altering the South's attitude towards manufacturing, this will "set in motion" the means through which "our miserably poor white population [will] at once rise from their ignorance and degradation." On September 12, 1867, Gregg would pass away in Kalmia, South Carolina, near Graniteville.

George Gunton



George Gunton (1845-1919) was born on September 8, 1845, in Cambridgeshire, England. He was the son of Matthew Gunton, who was a poor agricultural laborer. This family situation meant that the young George Gunton had limited opportunity to receive a formal education. From a young age, Gunton would also work as an agricultural laborer. He would later move to Lancashire, which was then a center of British cotton manufacturing. There, he would work in the textile mills. During this time, Gunton would also become involved in union activities within the mill. Being interested in politics, Gunton was considered a liberal radical, supporting such movements as granting suffrage to agricultural workers and the nine-and-a-half-hour workday. He would, however, gravitate towards the theories of free trade, having grown up in the atmosphere of the Manchester School of economics.

After a decade of working in the English textile mills, and getting by at bear subsistence, Gunton and his family migrated to the United States in 1874. He would then reside in Fall River, Massachusetts, where he would gain employment at the local cotton mills. After taking an active part in a labor strike at the mill in 1876, however, Gunton would be blacklisted by the owners of the mill. He would then cease manual work and pursue a career in journalism, initially contributing to the union orientated *Labor Standard*. It was through this position that Gunton became acquainted with the union leader and self-taught economist Ira Steward. Steward was not a socialist, but he was a staunch advocate of the eight-hour workday, and this was a view later adopted by Gunton. Steward wrote several articles and pamphlets in support of the eight-hour workday and sought to write a larger theoretical treatise on the question. Shortly before his death, Steward entrusted Gunton with the

unpublished manuscript. The work, however, was far less developed than Gunton had anticipated, with him noting that Steward's "papers when examined were found to consist of disconnected matter, made up of more or less extended notes, none of which were in a condition to be used." In any event, Gunton had completed the manuscript in 1887. This represented Gunton's first major work and was published under the title *Wealth and Progress*.

Prior to the publication of *Wealth and Progress*, Gunton had left Massachusetts and arrived in New York in 1885. Here, he became involved in an economics society which operated out of a local church. The church fellowship was so impressed with Gunton that they made him the organizer of the society. The economics society eventually evolved into the Institute of Social Economics. In addition to running classes and lectures, the Institute would also begin publishing its own journal in 1890, known as *The Social Economist*. It would be rebranded sometime later as *Gunton's Magazine.* It seems that it was around this time that Gunton became acquainted and subsequently adopted many of the ideas of the American Protectionists. In 1891, Gunton produced his more sophisticated and more distinctly Protectionist treatise entitled *Principles of Social Economics*. In addition to his various articles, Gunton would also write a volume in 1899 entitled *Trusts and the Public,* and would also co-author two other works with Hayes Robbins entitled *Outlines of Social Economics* (1900) and *Outlines of Political Science* (1901). Despite his earlier orientation with the labor movement and even though he remained steadfast in his commitment to the eight-hour workday, Gunton can be better seen as a compromiser between labor and capital, and essentially affirmed the harmony of interests espoused by the broader American Protectionist School. Politically, Gunton would also be aligned with the Republican Party and would serve as an advisor to William McKinley. George Gunton would die on September 11, 1919, at the age of 74.

Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton (1755 or 1757-1804) was among the first of the great American Protectionists with his famous *Report on Manufactures* forever immortalizing him in the history of American protectionism. The influence of Hamilton's report on later American Protectionists is unquestionable. Mathew Carey declared, for instance, "that Alexander Hamilton was the real founder of the American System," and was so impressed with Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures*, that he declared that if "all those works [in the corpus of political economy] were annihilated," this document "alone would be sufficient to enable a statesman to trace the route that leads… his nation [to] the highest degree of prosperity and happiness." Similarly, in 1820, Daniel Raymond also declared that "the only American book that has the semblance of a treatise on political economy, is Hamilton's reports, as Secretary of the Treasury." Even as late as 1892, the Boston-based Home Market Club remarked how "Alexander Hamilton is generally recognized as the father of the protective system in America, [and] it is well for all students of this branch of political economy to go to the fountain-head. His famous Report on Manufactures."

Hamilton accomplishments, however, extend well beyond his contributions to the theory of protection. Aside from George Washington, Hamilton was perhaps the most important figure in the history of the early republic. Hamilton was a decorated soldier during the Revolutionary War, serving as Washington's aide-de-camp. Hamilton then served as a representative for New York at the Confederation Congress between 1782 and 1783. This experience further confirmed Hamilton's opinion that the Articles of Confederation were wholly inadequate for the successful execution of government. Hamilton would later attend

the Constitutional Conventions in Annapolis in 1789, and Philadelphia in 1787, where he partook in the drafting of the Constitution of the United States. And although many his proposals were rejected at the convention, Hamilton would later become the Constitution's chief advocate. His famed *Federalist Papers*, which he wrote along with James Madison and John Jay, served as an unparalleled defense of the Constitution and later became one of its leading interpretations, and is quite possibly America's most important document after the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself. Though the scope of the *Federalist Papers* are broader in scope than economics, several of the Federalist essays also offer keen insights into Hamilton's economic thought.

On September 11, 1789, Hamilton was appointed by President Washington as the Secretary of the Treasury in the first federal cabinet. Hamilton's influence within the Washington Administration was considerable. As one Hamilton historian has commented, "[Hamilton] assumed an influence in Washington's cabinet unmatched in the annals of the American cabinet system… He was more than merely Secretary of the Treasury. He was in fact Washington's prime minister." It was during this time that Hamilton produced his major state papers; these being the two *Reports on Public Credit*, the *Report on the National Bank*, *The Report on the Mint*, and *The Report on Manufactures* (the latter of which was co-authored with Tench Coxe).

John L. Hayes

John Lord Hayes (1812-1888) was born on April 13, 1812, in South Berwick in the state of Maine, and was the eldest of his twelve siblings. His family descended from a long line of Scottish Puritans who had settled in New England from the 1680s. His father, William Allen Hayes, was a prominent lawyer and was for some time a Judge of the Probate. His mother was Susannah Lord Hayes, who also descended from old New England stock. John Hayes was well educated. He attended school at the Berwick Academy, before attending Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1831. Hayes would then study law at his father's law practice as well as at Harvard Law School. He would then be admitted to the bar in 1835. Hayes then moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he opened his own law practice. It was here that he met his wife, Caroline S. Ladd, and had five children. He was then appointed clerk of the United States Courts for the District of New Hampshire in 1841. During this time, Hayes also became involved in a number of scientific associations, including the American Association of Naturalists and Geologists, the Boston Society of Natural History, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, among others.

In the 1840s, Hayes would be made the general manager of the Katahdin Iron Works in Maine. The iron works would close, however, after the passage of the free trade tariff bill of 1846. This caused Hayes to devote more of his attention to the debate over free trade and protection, and would also lead to his first work on the question through his *Memorial of the*

Iron Manufacturers of New England, Asking for a Modification of the Tariff of 1846. This appeared in 1850 and would be presented to Congress. Hayes would subsequently move to Washington and would eventually be made Chief Clerk of the Patent Office. It was through this role that Hayes became acquainted with Erastus B. Bigelow, who Hayes would be closely associated with for the rest of his life. Hayes would be responsible for overseeing the case of extending Bigelow's patent for the carpet power loom. After meeting and establishing a friendship with Bigelow, Hayes would later move to Boston in 1865, and would be appointed as Secretary of the newly established National Association of Wool Manufacturers.

As Secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Hayes would also take on the editorship of the *Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers*. The bulk of Haye's writings on political economy would appear in this publication. Indeed, although Hayes never produced a full book sized economic treatise, his other contributions, including his memorials, addresses, pamphlets, and his articles in the *Bulletin*, would constitute a vast amount of literature. The most theoretically significant of Hayes' works would arguably be his 1870 piece *The Solidarity of Industries*, and his two articles, *The Nationalistic and Cosmopolitan Schools of Political Economy*, and *Customs Duties on the Necessaries of Life and Their Relations to the National Industry*, both of which appeared in 1884. In addition to the editorial and literary efforts mentioned above, Hayes would also be picked by the then President of the United States, Chester A. Arthur, to serve as President of the 1882 Tariff Commission. This Commission informed the Tariff of 1883. Hayes would continue in his role as the Secretary and Editor of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers for the remaining twenty years of his life. After several months of ill health, Hayes would die in his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 18, 1888.

John W. Hinton

John W. Hinton (1817-1901) was born in London, England, on November 30, 1817. He would receive a thorough education in England. It is not clear when Hinton made the move to the United States, but when he did, he would settle in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Hinton would then gain employment at the newspaper *The Evening Wisconsin*, where he would eventually become the editor. He would also be, at one point, the editor of the Wisconsin *Sentinel*, and for several years, he would also contribute protectionist tracts to the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. Hinton began writing and speaking in support of the American System during the 1840s and would eventually establish the Northwestern Tariff Bureau in 1879. This organization seems to have been affiliated with the American Protective Tariff League, and operated as a local protectionist advocacy organization which published and circulated its own protectionist literature.

Hinton never produced a major treatise on political economy, and was instead more of a pamphleteer, with most of his pamphlets being published by the Bureau. Hinton produced numerous pamphlets and articles on the subject, but some of the more notable ones included *Workingman and the Tarff* (1880), *The Humanity of the American Protective Tariff* (1886), *American Protective Tariff and American Political Economy* (1886), and *The Past, Present and Future Mission of the American Protectionist* (1887). In addition to his written works, Hinton also conducted lectures on protectionism and would regularly engage in debates with free traders. As legend has it, Hinton created such a stir during one debate in 1883 with the economist John Barber Parkinson at the University of Wisconsin, that Parkinson's students burned Hinton in effigy. On April 20, 1901, at the age of 84, Hinton died in his residence in

Milwaukee. Prior to his death, Hinton donated $100,000 to fund an addition to an old-aged home ran by the local Protestant Church.

Roswell G. Horr

Roswell Gilbert Horr (1830-1896) was born on November 26, 1830, in Waitsfield, Vermont. His parents were Roswell and Caroline Horr. The younger Roswell G. Horr and his twin brother Rollin A. Horr, were the eldest of their eight siblings. When Roswell was the age of four, the Horr family purchased a farm and moved to Avon, Ohio. Then, when Roswell was the age of ten, his father would pass away, and this meant that Roswell and his eight brothers would be responsible for working the farm. Roswell Horr would also attend a local country school during this time, and he would ultimately become a teacher. By 1851, Horr had saved enough money to attend Oberlin College, whilst continuing his teaching profession. He would then switch to Antioch College to finish off his college education and would graduate in 1857. Horr would then be elected as Clerk of the Lorain County district court in Ohio in 1858, and in 1864, Horr would be admitted to the bar. The following year, Horr would move near to St. Louis, Missouri, where he established a mining business. He would remain there until 1871, when he moved to East Saginaw, Michigan, where he became a cashier at the city's Second National Bank. He would eventually become president of the bank.

In 1878, Horr would be elected to the House of Representatives on a Republican ticket. He would serve in Congress for three terms but would be defeated when he recontested a fourth term. In terms of his contribution to American Protectionist thought, Horr can be viewed as a popularizer. In November of 1890, Horr would move to Plainsfield, where he became a journalist for *The New York Tribune*, which was established earlier by Horace Greeley. This is where the bulk of Horr's protectionist editorials would appear. A selection of these editorials would be later compiled and published in book format in 1891 and 1894. The 1891

publication would appear under the title *Big Issues of An Off Year: Ex-Congressmen Horr's Comments on Current Issues*, and the 1894 publication was published under the title *A Tribune Textbook for 1894: The Tariff, Principles of Government, and the Silver Question Discussed.* Horr would continue to give speeches and lectures on economic questions throughout this period. One particular talk which attracted a lot of attention was his 1894 debate with William H. Havery on financial questions. After the debate the transcripts of the debate were compiled and published in 1895 as *The Great Debate on The Financial Question*, which ran over 500 pages. Horr would continue writing for the *Tribune* until his death on December 18, 1896.

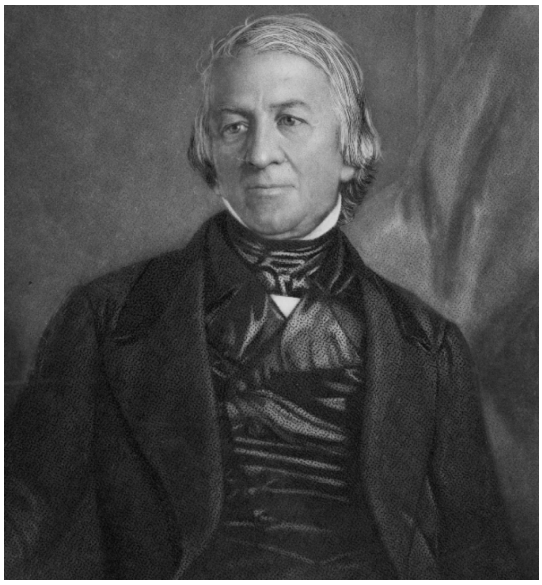
Henry M. Hoyt

Henry Martyn Hoyt (1830-1892) was born on June 8th, 1820, in Kingston Pennsylvania. His ancestry in America can be traced to Simon Hoyt, who emigrated from England to reside in Salem, Massachusetts in 1628. The young Henry Hoyt grew up on his father's farm until the age of fourteen, at which time he entered the Wyoming Seminary. He would then attend Williams College, where he would graduate in 1849. The following year, he would return to the Wyoming Seminary, this time serving as a Professor of Mathematics. Hoyt would remain there for two years, before deciding to pursue legal training. He would undertake this training in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and would be admitted into the bar in 1853.

It was around this time that Hoyt started to become active in politics. In 1855, he ran an unsuccessful campaign on a Whig ticket for district attorney for Luzerne County. In the following year, he would be active in the unsuccessful Republican Presidential Campaign for John C. Fremont. These political ambitions would be put on hold in 1861, however, with the outbreak of the Civil War. Hoyt would become Captain of the Wyoming Light Dragoons, and would serve in various operations during the war, eventually reaching the rank of Colonel. After being captured by Confederate forces, Colonel Hoyt would eventually be freed in a prisoner exchange and would be honorably discharged in 1864. After this, Hoyt would return to his law practice, and would continue his involvement in the Republican Party. In 1878, Hoyt would run for Governor of Pennsylvania on the Republican Ticket and would be elected by a large majority. He would serve in this capacity for four years, before retiring to his law practice, which he relocated to Philadelphia.

It was in the 1880s that Hoyt would turn his attention to the cause of protection. In 1884, he would be asked to deliver an address at Swarthmore College entitled *Protection and Defensive Duties*. Then, in 1885, Hoyt and several other likeminded graduates would appeal to their alma mater, Williams College, on account that the college's economics Professor, Arthur Latham Perry, taught exclusively French and Manchester *laissez-faire* economics, as evidenced by the college receiving the 'Cobden Club Prize.' In response, the college would approve a series of lectures on the merits of protection which would be conducted by Hoyt, so as to provide students with a more balanced education. It would be in 1886, however, that Hoyt would produce his major treatise on economics entitled *Protection versus Free Trade*. This work comprised 436 pages, and went through four editions, with the last being published in 1888. The expressed aim of the work is that of dismantling the claim that free trade economics represents a scientifically sound system. The work is intricate and contends systematically with the assumptions and arguments put forth by free traders. In addition to his literary and academic efforts, Hoyt would also assist the cause of protection in other capacities. In 1888, Hoyt would be elected as General Secretary of the American Protective Tariff League, and, in the same year, he would also assist Benjamin Harrison's presidential campaign. After a life of serving his community, Henry Hoyt would die on December 1, 1892, in his home in South Franklin, Pennsylvania, at the age of fifty-seven.

Samuel Jackson



Dr. Samuel Jackson (1787-1872) was considered by some to be the best physician in United States in the mid-19th century, but far less is documented about his interest in political economy. Samuel Jackson was born on March 22, 1787, in Philadelphia. In 1808, he would receive his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He would eventually become a professor at the University of Pennsylvania in 1835, where he taught physiology and medicine. Jackson would remain a professor at the university until his retirement in 1863. Jackson's economic writings would appear in 1819 and were a product of his collaboration with Mathew Carey through the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry. Only two of Jackson's essays are known today. It is possible that he wrote more which were never published or others which have been lost over the years. The first of his essays was entitled a *General View of the Subject of Political Economy* and the second was *Proportion of Persons who Raise the Necessaries of Life.* Both essays were published as part of Mathew Carey's *Essays on Political Economy.* Jackson died on April 2, 1872, at the age of eighty-two.

William C. Jarvis

Little is known about the life of William Charles Jarvis (unknown-1836). What is known is that Jarvis was born either in or near Boston, Massachusetts, though the date and year of his birth is unknown. He would later be admitted into the bar in Suffolk County, New York in 1811, and then in 1815, he would move to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he would enter the State Legislature as a representative for Pittsfield. He would remain there as a representative between 1821 and 1824, during which time he would also serve as Speaker of the House. Afterwards, he relocated to Woburn, Massachusetts, where he was appointed as the director of State prisons. During the same time, he also served as a custom official, but was subsequently removed from the position following the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828. Jarvis would then enter the State Legislature again as Senator for Essex county. It was in 1820 that Jarvis published his main work entitled *The Republican*. Although the work as a whole represents more of a collection of essays on republican society and good governance, than one chiefly focused on political economy, the third section of the second part of his work consists of five essays devoted to economic questions. These essays are also distinctly protectionist in nature, and even features several passages from Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures*. Later in life, Jarvis would suffer from a mental illness, and would commit suicide in 1836.

William Jennison

William Jennison (1757-1843) was born in Mendon, Worchester County, Massachusetts, on August 4, 1757. It appears that the young Jennison received a thorough education in his youth. Jennison's father, also named William Jennison, enlisted a private tutor to instruct the younger Jennison. This appears to have paid off, as the young William Jennison would enter Harvard University in 1770, and would graduate 4 years later, with highest honors.

Jennison would then relocate to Providence, Rhode Island, where he studied law for a period of six months. It was around this time, however, that the War of Independence began, and Jennison subsequently returned home to Massachusetts in the spring of 1775, where he would enlist in the Continental Army. He later joined the Continental Marines in 1776, before serving on board the Continental frigate, the *Boston*. In December of 1777, he would be promoted to the rank of Full Lieutenant of the Marines. Jennison was later posted to Charleston, South Carolina, during 1780, but was captured by the British in the Siege of Charleston.

Jennison was subsequently released and was able to return home to Massachusetts. After the war, Jennison became a schoolteacher and assisted in the establishment of several schools across the United States. It was in 1828, however, that Jennison published his small treatise on political economy. This was entitled *An Outline of Political Economy*. Jennison's *Outline of Political Economy* represents a fairly standard work for the time. It endorses the American System, espouses the harmony of interests between agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce, and devotes a sizeable discussion to internal improvements. Jennison would pass away in Boston, on December 24, 1843, at the age of 86.

William D. Kelley

William Darrah Kelley (1814-1890) was born in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia on April 12, 1814. His grandfather, John Kelley, was a Major for the Continental Army during the War of Independence, and his father, David Kelley, was a jeweler and watchmaker. During the financial crisis which followed the cessation of the War of 1812, however, David Kelley's business would fail. Financially destitute, David Kelley was found dead in a street of Philadelphia, when young William Kelley was only two years old. William's mother, Hannah Darrah Kelley, was left to raise William and his three siblings herself. William Kelley attended school until he was the age of eleven. He would then work as an errand boy in a local bookstore, before becoming a proofreader for the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*. Having saved money from these roles, Kelley would then follow in his father's footsteps and would undertake an apprenticeship in a jewelry store. He would finish his apprenticeship at the age of twenty. He then decided to move to Boston in 1835, where he worked as a journeyman jeweler. He would return to Philadelphia in 1840 and then decided to undertake the study of the law. The following year he was admitted to the bar. His reputation as a lawyer quickly garnered attention, so much so that the Pennsylvania Governor appointed him Prosecuting Attorney of Philadelphia. In 1846, he would then be made a Judge on the Court of Common Pleas, a position he held until 1856.

Kelley originally began as a member of the Democratic Party, though he never ran for office as a Democrat. In 1854, however, he switched his allegiance to the newly established Republican Party and would run unsuccessfully as a candidate in 1856. In 1860, he would be selected as a delegate to the Republican National Convention and would be elected to the

House of Representatives in the same year. In Congress, Kelley developed a reputation as a staunch tariff man, and eventually earned the nickname "Pig-Iron Kelley" for his support of protective tariffs on iron and steel. Between 1867 and 1873, Kelley would serve as chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures. He would then be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee between 1881 and 1883, and between 1889 and 1890, he was chairman of the Committee on Manufactures. The latter two positions gave Kelley considerable influence over tariff policy.

Kelley's contribution to American Protectionist thought mainly comes via his congressional speeches and his other addresses. Two of the more important of these are his 1866 congressional speech *Protection to American Labor,* and his 1871 address entitled *Reasons for Abandoning the Theory of Free Trade and Adopting the Principle of Protection to American Industry*. In 1872, his key speeches would be compiled into a volume entitled *Speeches, Address, and Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions*, which spanned almost 600 pages. Some of the speeches would also circulate separately as pamphlets. In addition to these, Kelley would also write various articles on political economy, including an important article in the *International Review* entitled "A Science Based Upon Assumptions." In 1888, Kelley would also produce a book entitled *The Old South and the New*, which investigates social and economic questions concerning the Southern States. Kelley would remain a member of Congress until his death in Washington, DC, on January 9, 1890. At the time, Kelly was both the oldest member of Congress, as well as the longest continuously serving congressmen.

Friedrich List

When one thinks of the leading arguments for protectionism, they typically arrive at the German economist Friedrich List (1789-1846). Due to his German nationality, however, List is not often associated with the American Protectionist School, and this comes despite the fact that his system of thought was, in many respects, a product of his association with the leading American Protectionists of the time. Indeed, List himself was under no illusion that in advocating what he called the 'National System', he was in fact advocating the 'American System.' List's first major work was entitled *Outlines of American Political Economy*, and in the opening passage of the work he declares it to be his duty to defend the American System from the criticisms of free traders. In the words of List:

> I believe it to be a duty [for myself and others]… to lay an axe to the… system of Adam Smith and Co… by declaring war against it on the part of the American System… The last work of Dr. [Thomas] Cooper shows pretty clearly the necessity of such measures on the part of the supporters of the American System. According to [Cooper's] work… you and I… and all the [other] supporters of the American System, are nothing else than idiots.

Friedrich List was born in August of 1789, in Reutlingen, Württemberg, now a state of Germany. List's father was a tanner and public official. Limited information exists on List's early life. What is known is that List would enter the civil service in 1805, where he first worked as a probationer in the local government. Over the course of the next decade, List would move in and out of various roles within the civil service. In 1817, List would then successfully apply for the newly established Chair of Public Administration at the University

of Tubingen. He would then become the secretary of the Union of Merchants in 1819, an organization which advocated for a uniform customs union and the abolition of internal tariff duties between the individual German states. Taking on this position led List into a confrontation with the administration of the University, which led to List resigning from his academic post. Later in 1820, List would be elected to the *Württemberg* General Assembly. As an assemblyman, List would advocate the privatization of state-owned enterprises, the abolition of state-sponsored monopolies, a reduction in taxation, and a downsizing of the civil service. This created such as stir, however, that List would eventually be charged with sedition. He would be convicted in 1822 and sentenced to ten months in prison. Learning of his verdict, List fled the country and travelled throughout Europe, where he remained a fugitive for the next two years. List eventually returned to Württemberg in 1824 and would have to spend five months in prison. List was then expelled from his homeland and made the decision to move to the United States.

List arrived in New York City on June 9, 1825, and then made his way to Philadelphia. Via a mutual contact, List had managed to establish a relationship with the Marguis de Lafayette, and subsequently joined Lafayette's entourage, which allowed List to become acquainted with prominent statesmen, such as John Quincey Adams, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. List would eventually settle in Pennsylvania, becoming a journalist for the German newspaper, the *Reading Adler*. During this time, List also became involved in Mathew Carey's Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry. It is through his involvement with this organization that List was presented with the opportunity to attend the 1827 Harrisburg Convention, and this eventually motivated List to write his first work, *Outlines of American Political Economy*. List's *Outlines* first appeared through a series of letters in the *National Gazette* in 1827, and would be published in pamphlet format later that year. List had planned to write a subsequent treatise, which was to be titled *The American Economist*, but due to List's attention being devoted to his private business ventures in railroads and anthracite coal, the work never materialized.

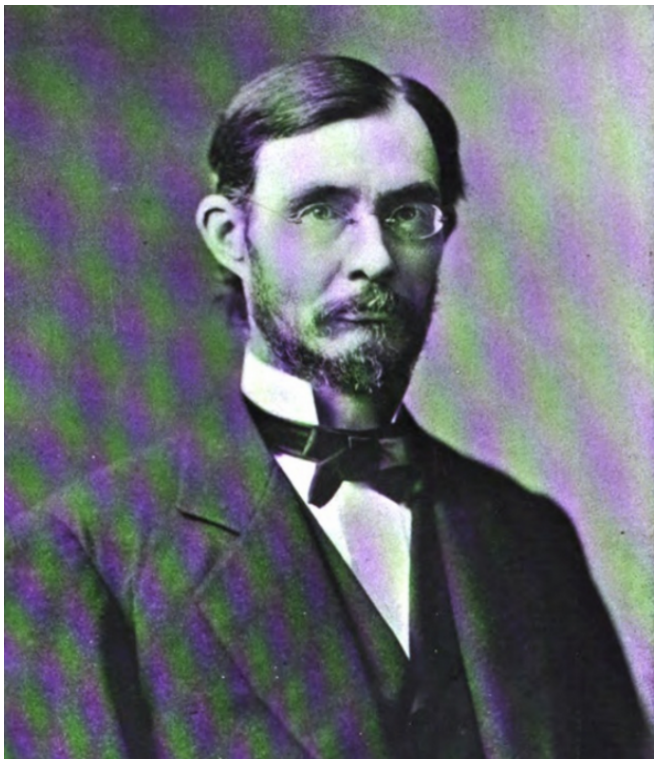
When Andrew Jackson ascended to the Presidency in 1830, List, who had befriended Jackson's Secretary of State, Edward Livington, sought a diplomatic post. List briefly returned to Europe in 1830 to serve as the American Consul to Hamburg, but this post was ultimately denied to him. Eventually, however, List would be appointed American Consul to the Kingdom of Saxony in July 1832, and this ended his life in the United States. List would remain in Saxony until 1837. He briefly returned to Württemberg, where he pleaded to have his citizenship reinstated, but this request was denied. List then proceeded to France. In was during his time in France that List produced his magnum opus *National Systems of Political Economy.* This was

published in 1841, with the first American edition (which was also the first English translation) appearing in 1856. This edition was edited by fellow protectionist Stephen Colwell.

List grew increasingly anxious and depressed later in life. On November 30, 1846, List left the inn which he was staying at in Munich. Later that night List's body was found outside the city covered in snow. He had taken his own life earlier that morning. List's other major work, *The Natural System of Political Economy*, would not be discovered and published until 1927, some ninety years after List's death. List had written this work in 1837 for a competition ran by the French Academy for Moral Political Science. The Academy ultimately rejected all twenty-seven manuscripts submitted in the competition. Disheartened by the result, List shelved this work, and proceeded to pen his *National System of Political Economy*.

Author's Note: Some accounts take issue with treating Friedrich List and Henry C. Carey as members of the same tradition, noting the distinctive differences between the two. There is some truth to this position. Whereas Carey's analysis revolves around individuals coming together at local centers of association and industry, so they can find employment and careers suited to their individual talents and abilities from which they can trade with others on a complimentary basis, the starting point of List's approach is the nation as a political body which possesses rights and needs that transcends the individuals composing it. Robert Ellis Thompson (in "Economic Literature", *The American*. 16, no. 415 (1888) 214-215) makes this distinction explicit, explaining that, unlike Carey, "it is not the local centres of association and industry, but the nation and its collective rights, possessions, and needs, that List starts from." Yet, in spite of these differences, by the second half of the 19th century, most American Protectionists largely followed a more comprehensive and synthesized American Protectionism which captures the ideas of both List and Carey. This approach can be seen most explicitly in the writings of William Elder, John L. Hayes, and Van Buren Denslow. In fact, in other instances, Thompson (Political Economy for High Schools and Academies, Boston, Ginn & Company, 1895, 7) even refers to "the National school of List and Carey", so the claim that they are two distinct varieties of economic thought is contestable. Afterall, both thinkers were still products of the intellectual movement which descended from Alexander Hamilton. Moreover, Friedrich List (In *Outlines of American Political Econom*y, Philadelphia: Samuel Parker, 1827, 5-6) clearly saw himself as a member of School, entitling his first work *Outlines of American Political Economy,* and going so far to declare "war" against "the system of Adam Smith and Co… on the part of the American System." List also cites Mathew Carey's *Addresses of the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of National Industry*, Nile's *Register*, and the speeches of the American Protectionists statesmen as influences. In addition, writing in a letter to his wife in 1838, List also indicated that he "still found" the works of Daniel Raymond, Mathew Carey, and Hezekiah Niles to be "highly useful." See, Michael O'Connor's *Origins of Academic Economics in the United States* (p. 33f). Finally, although Henry Carey Baird's work *Carey and Two of His Recent Critics* (reprinted from *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 29, no. 136, 1891, 8,) stresses the limited influence of List on Henry Carey, this appears to be due to the fact, that unlike Carey, List never created a system of economic laws "interlocked and interwoven into one grand and harmonious whole." Whereas List tended to lay down principles, Carey was more of a system builder.

David H. Mason



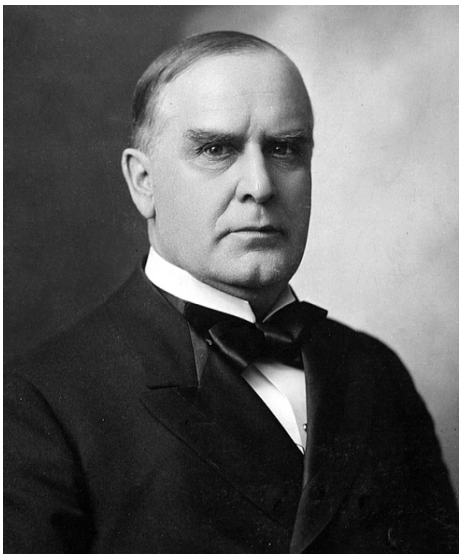
David Hastings Mason (1829-1903) was born on January 8, 1829, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His father, also named David Mason, was a partner in a manufacturing firm which made instruments for engraving textiles. The elder Mason was apparently a man of invention, who owned several patents in the industry. In 1837, the elder Mason was made a chief coiner for the United States Mint in Dahlonega, Georgia, and subsequently moved his family down South. There were no schools in Dahlonega at this time, but the younger Mason was an avid reader and showed a passion for literary pursuits. Indeed, while still in his teens, Mason began contributing to a local newspaper. In the 1840s, Mason would be admitted into Yale but could only complete two years of study due to the death of his father and a lack of finances.

In 1849, Mason would partake in the goldrush and would leave for California. He would remain in California for two years. When he was not mining for gold, he would teach at a school in San Jose and write for a local newspaper. In 1851, Mason would then move to New Haven, Connecticut, where he would meet his wife, Margaretta Woodward, who was the daughter of a well-known Whig editor in that state. Mason and his wife would move around a lot for the next several years, while Mason pursued his career in journalism. They would eventually settle in Chicago in 1867, however, where Mason would write for the Chicago *Tribune*, the *Republican*, and the *Journal of Commerce.* Eventually in 1869, Mason would be made editor-in-chief of the *Republican*. Then after developing an interest in the tariff

question, he was made the tariff editor of the *Journal of Commerce*. In 1872, the *Republican* would be absorbed into the newspaper, the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. From then, Mason would also be tasked with writing articles on protection for the *Inter-Ocean.* Due to his articles proving tremendously popular with readers, he would be appointed as the main tariff editor of the newspaper in 1875.

In 1876, several of his best articles would be compiled and published in a sizable pamphlet entitled *How the Western Farmers are Benefitted from Protection*. In 1880, Mason would resign his post at the *Inter-Ocean.* Then, in 1884, after thirteen years of investigating the tariff question, Mason would publish his main treatise on the topic. This work was entitled *A Short Tariff History of the United States*, and within five years, it had sold around 12,000 copies. Mason would also continue to write articles on protection for newspapers and journals, with various articles appearing in *The Protectionist*. From 1898 until his death, Mason would work for the United States Post Office. He passed away on June 17, 1903, from pneumonia.

William McKinley



William McKinley (1843-1901) was born in Niles, Ohio, on January 21, 1843. He was the son of a small-scale iron manufacturer, who also went by the name William McKinley. The younger McKinley would attend school in Poland, Ohio, before receiving an education from Allegheny College. McKinley would then teach at a rural school, before enlisting in the Union Army. During the Civil War, he would serve in the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Regiment, which was under the command of Rutherford B. Hayes, who would later serve as the 19th President of the United States. McKinley would eventually earn the rank of Major. After the war, McKinley decided to pursue a career in law. He undertook his study of the law at Albany Law School, and by 1867, he had established a legal practice in Canton, Ohio.

In 1876, McKinley would commence his run for public office, campaigning primarily on the question of protection. He would be elected to the House of Representatives as a Republican later that year. In Congress, McKinley formed an intimate friendship with fellow protectionist William D. Kelley, with both of them being regarded as two of the leading spokesmen for protection. In 1880, McKinley would be appointed to the Ways and Means Committee, and then by 1889, he would run for Speaker of the House, but would lose out to Thomas Brackett Reed. As consolation, Reed, also a prominent Protectionist, would appoint McKinley as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. As committee chairman, McKinley would be responsible for framing the Tariff Act of 1890, which became known as the McKinley Tariff. In the 1890 election, however, McKinley would be unseated, primarily due to electoral redistribution. He would then run successfully for the governorship of Ohio in 1891, a position he would retain until 1896. In 1896, McKinley would secure the Republican presidential nomination, and would go on to defeat William Jennings Bryan in the presidential election.

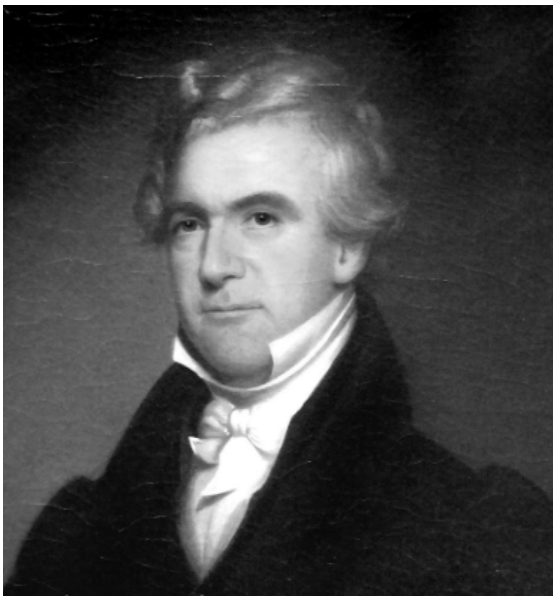
McKinley would contribute to the doctrine of protection through his speeches as well as several written works on the topic. These speeches are too numerous to give an extended commentary, but some of his more important congressional speeches include his speech on *The Wood Tariff Bill* delivered in 1878, which was also his first speech to Congress; his *Tariff Commission* speech of 1882; and his speech on *The Tariff of 1890*. McKinley also made numerous speeches and addresses outside of Congress. Some of the more valuable of these include an address given in 1888 entitled *Protection and the South*; his 1889 campaign speech *Protection and Revenue*; and his 1892 speech *The Triumph of Protection*. In addition to his speeches and addresses on the topic, McKinley also produced a major treatise in 1896 entitled *The Tariff in the Days of Henry Clay and Since*. This work was prepared in connection with the 1896 republication of Calvin Colton's *Works of Henry Clay,* and it provides an exhaustive review and commentary of the tariff legislation of the United States. A second edition of the work would appear posthumously in 1904, under the title *The Tariff: A Review of Tariff Legislation of the United States from 1812 to 1896.* McKinley would also write various articles on the question of protection. One of the more significant articles was "On the Value of Protection," which appeared in *The North American Review* in 1890. William McKinley would go on to successfully recontest another term as President, defeating William Jennings Bryan for a second time. On September 6, 1901, six months into his second term, McKinley would be shot twice in the abdomen, whilst attending the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. He would later pass away from the injuries on September 14, 1901.

John Melish

John Melish (1771-1822) was born in Glasgow, Scotland on June 13, 1771. The formative years were difficult for Melish, as he was orphaned at a young age. In spite of these adversities, however, Melish would become an apprentice at a leading Glasgow textile manufacturer, and in his spare time, he would study at the University of Glasgow. His talents and abilities were eventually rewarded when he was made a full partner of the textile manufacturer where he worked. Soon after, his work in the textile business afforded him the opportunity to travel to the West Indies in 1798, where he would remain for eight years, before travelling to the United States. Upon arriving in the United States, Melish would undertake a five year tour across the country, and would eventually settle in Philadelphia. Melish's journal from his tour would form the substance of his two-volume treatise *Travels through the United States of America.* This work was originally published in 1812, and would go through several editions which included corrections and additions. Included in this work was an abundance of economic and geographical information. One keen admirer of Melish's *Travels* was Thomas Jefferson, who convinced by Melish, reversed his long-held belief of letting the workshops remain in Europe. Melish would then establish his cartography and mapmaking business in Philadelphia, which was the first of its kind in the United States. In 1816, he would also be responsible for producing the first map that captured the full territory of the United States.

Melish's *Travels,* although pro-manufacturing, mostly dealt with the topic in a tangential manner. Between 1818 and 1820, however, Melish would write two pamphlets addressed to President James Monroe, which dealt exclusively with the topic. The first of these pamphlets was entitled *The Necessity of Protecting and Encouraging the Manufactures of the United States,* and the second was *A Letter to James Monroe, Esq. President of the United States, on the State of the Country: With a Plan for Improving the Conditions of Society.* Melish's first pamphlet was well received by fellow protectionist Hezekiah Niles, who considered it "an interesting little work, and, so far as we are judges of what is true political economy, [it is] a very excellent one." John Melish would pass away on December 30, 1822.

Hezekiah Niles



Hezekiah Niles (1777-1839) was born in Jefferis Ford, Chester County, Pennsylvania, on October 11, 1777. Niles' parents were both residents of Wilmington, Delaware, but they sought refuge in Jefferis Ford due to British occupation of Delaware during War of Independence. Once the war ended, the Niles family would return to their Wilmington residence. Being of Quaker descent, Niles attended the Friends Grammar School, and it was here that Niles developed a competency for writing which would assist him later in life. In 1794, at the age of seventeen, Niles left Wilmington to pursue a career in journalism. He ended up in Philadelphia, where he began an apprenticeship at a local printing office. In 1797, Niles would return to Wilmington, and equipped with the skills he acquired in Philadelphia, he would establish a publishing partnership with another local from Delaware in 1799. This business would eventually fail, however, which subsequently led Niles to seek out employment elsewhere.

Niles would eventually relocate to Baltimore, Maryland, and, in early 1805, Niles established *The Apollo or Weekly Magazine*, but this venture was also short-lived and would fail not long after. Later that year, Niles would take on the editorship of the Baltimore *Evening Herald*. This was a partisan Democratic-Republican newspaper, as opposed to a Federalist one. Given his family's background with British occupation, Niles was distrustful of the latent Anglophilia of the Federalists and thus became a devout follower of Jefferson. Niles remained as editor of the *Evening Herald* until 1811. In the same year, Niles would establish the *Niles Weekly Register*, which would prove far more successful than his earlier ventures. Whilst the newspaper was staunchly in favor of the American System, it would operate in a non-partizan manner, and would not endorse either political party. Even though his

newspaper would maintain an image of neutrality, Niles himself would be a devout follower of Henry Clay. Niles would join Clay's National Republican Party in 1828, before joining the Whig Party in the 1830s. Sometime in the 1810s, Niles would also form a business relationship, and eventual lifelong friendship, with Mathew Carey.

Niles' economic writings are voluminous, albeit quite scattered, mostly comprising his editorials published in the *Niles Weekly* and *Niles National Register*. His two most important works, however, include his *Address at the Harrisburg Convention*, which was a statement made on behalf of the delegates at the 1827 Harrisburg Convention; and the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Friends of Domestic Industry General Convention*, which represents an account and summary of the views arrived at the 1831 Friends of Domestic Industry General Convention held in New York. Both of these Conventions were attended by the leading American Protectionist writers of the time, each for the purpose of drafting a memorial to Congress. Niles was one of eight representatives from Maryland sent to the Harrisburg Convention and would be Secretary and Chairman of the Committee at the Convention held in New York. Later in life, Niles would sell the *Niles Register* to his oldest son and would return to Wilmington. He would later pass away on April 2, 1839, after suffering from a paralytic stroke.

Jacob Harris Patton

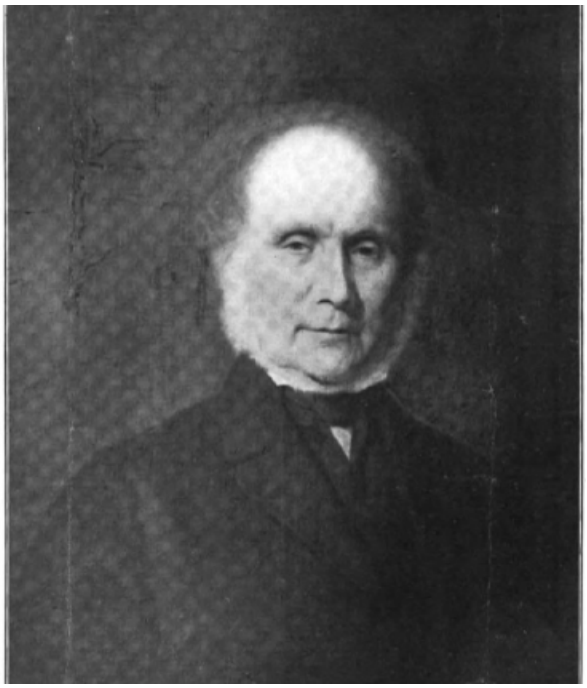
Jacob Harris Patton (1812-1903) was born on May 20, 1812, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. He was the son of Thomas and Anna Harris Patton. He received his bachelor's degree from Jefferson College, graduating in the class of 1839. In the following year, Patton became the principal of the Marshall Academy, a private college preparatory school, in Mississippi at the age of twenty seven. As principal of the academy, Patton's conduct was described as "gentle and persuasive" and "of the strictest moral character." Patton held this position for one year, before becoming a tutor at the University of Nashville, Tennessee, a position he would occupy from 1840 to 1843. He would then enroll at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, where he graduated in 1846. In the same year, Patton also received his license to preach from the Presbyterian Church, but decided to return to his teaching career instead. He then became a principal at a private classical school in New York, a position he held for thirty-six years.

Patton eventually retired in 1882, and afterwards devoted his time to private instruction and to the authoring of books and other literary works. In 1884, he received his PhD. from the Washington and Jefferson College. It was around this time that Patton turned to the subject of political economy. His first work on the subject was a ninety-page booklet commissioned by the American Protective Tariff League entitled *Our Tariff: Why Levied and Why Continued*. This booklet was hugely popular with the entire run of 10,000 copies having been placed in circulation. It even caught the eye of the Republican campaign committee who circulated it as part of Benjamin Harrison's 1888 presidential campaign. In 1888, Patton published his next work entitled *Natural Resources of the United States,* which sought to survey and

provide “a concise narrative of the resources of [the United States], in *all* their numerous forms.”

The most important of Patton’s economical works would appear in 1892. This was his textbook entitled *Political Economy for American Youth*. The purpose of this work was to provide a clear and concise textbook written from an American Protectionist perspective for the instruction of young students of political economy. The only other texts of this nature were Robert Ellis Thompson’s *Political Economy for High Schools and Academies*, and George M. Steele’s *Rudimentary Economics for Schools and Colleges*. In addition to his writings on political economy, Patton also wrote lengthy works on other subjects, including on politics, literature, American history, and Christianity. Jacob Harris Patton died on November 24, 1903, at the age of ninety-two.

Willard Phillips



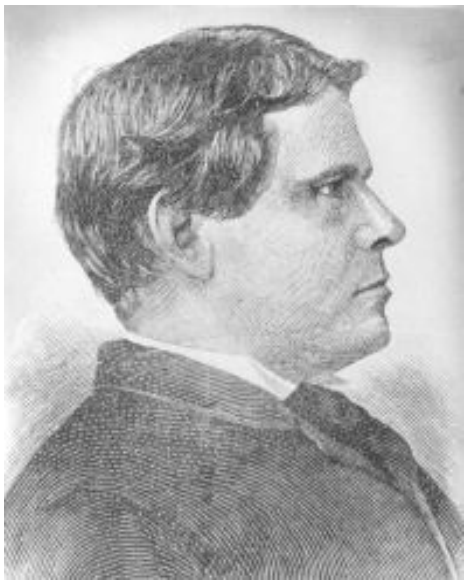
Willard Phillips (1784-1873) was born on December 19, 1784, in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, some forty kilometers south of Boston. He would then attend local primary and grammar schools in Bridgewater. After finishing school, Phillips worked as a bricklayer where he was able to save enough money to fund his college education. Phillips would then enter Harvard at the age of eighteen and would later graduate in 1810. It can be concluded that Phillips was a productive and hardworking student during his time at Harvard. He would be proficient in Latin and Greek, and, for a period after graduating, he served as a tutor in mathematics. Phillips would then study law in Boston in the office of the respected lawyer William Sullivan. Phillips' intense devotion to his studies would afflict him with sight problems, however, with his physician instructing him to suspend his studies and to go on a sea voyage. Phillips would then sail to Cuba, where he stayed for several months at the estate of John Moreland, the Consul-General of the United States to Cuba at the time. With his sight problems being relieved, Phillips returned to Boston to continue his studies in law. Then in 1815, Phillips would be appointed as the first editor of the newly established *North American Review*, which was one of America's first and most popular literary magazines. Phillips would later retire from this position in 1817, but he would continue to be a contributor.

Phillips started off as a free trader, and during the Panic of 1819, he would continue to defend freedom of trade against calls from protectionists. He would later remark that, during his youth, he was "imbued with that [Classical] economical creed which is taught in our public seminaries… against… protective legislation." He would later realize, however, that "the science… consisted very much of groundless postulates and sophistry."All of Phillips' major

economic works were published after his conversion to protectionism. The first of these would be his treatise *A Manual of Political Economy*, which appeared in 1828. This text was of a general nature and covered all the major aspects of Phillips' system of thought. Phillips' next major work entitled *Propositions Concerning Protection and Free Trade*, would not appear until 1850. In this work, Phillips provides a systematic refutation of seventy fallacies and sophisms committed by free traders.

Phillips literary efforts also extended outside political economy. In 1823, Phillips would write a treatise on insurance law, and in 1837, he would produce another work on patent law. Both of these works would earn him a reputation as a legal authority, and in 1839, the Governor of Massachusetts Edward Everett, who was also the brother of fellow protectionist Alexander Everett, would appoint Phillips as Probate Judge of Suffolk County. Phillips would remain in this post until 1843, when he would retire in order to take over as President of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, a company he helped found in 1835. Phillips would later retire from this role in 1865, at the age of eighty-one. He would pass away eight years later, on September 9, 1873.

Robert P. Porter



Robert Percival Porter (1852-1917) was born in Marham Hall of Northfolk, England on June 30, 1852. His parents were the well-educated Jane Harvey and the English gentlemen James Winearls Porter. It is said that he inherited his literary ability from his mother and a splendid physique from his father. Porter received an early education at the prestigious grammar school of King Edward in Norwich. There, Porter developed a keen interest in American history and followed closely the events of the American Civil War. Upon the death of his father in the mid-1860s, which coincided with the close of the Civil War, Porter would seek out a new life in the United States. Upon his arrival, Porter established himself in northern Illinois where he worked in a branch of a business which was owned by relatives on his father's side. After a few years of study, he found his calling as a journalist. Porter would start his journalism career off by writing for a local county newspaper, but would eventually become a contributor to the *Chicago Tribune*, *Times,* and *Inter-Ocean*. *The Inter-Ocean*, in particular, was staunchly protectionist, and by 1877, Porter would join the editorial team. In 1879, Porter would then work with the Census Bureau, where he would contribute to various reports. This was followed up with another government appointment in 1882, when Porter was selected to work for the Tariff Commission. Porter would then travel across Europe on a fact finding mission to aid his investigation into the effects of free trade and protection on European nations. This would form the substance of his 1885 treatise *Bread-Winners Abroad*.

Upon his return from Europe, Porter, in conjunction with E. H. Ammidown, founded the American Protective Tariff League in 1885, as a rival to the British Anti-Corn Law League, a free trade lobby group, which was founded by the Manchester economists Richard Cobden and John Bright. Later in 1887, Porter would then work for a Republican newspaper in New York, through which he would aid Benjamin Harrison's 1888 Presidential Campaign. With

Harrison proving triumphant, Harrison would then appoint Porter as Director of the Eleventh US Census. Porter would also later serve under President McKinley as Special Commissioner to Cuba. In addition to his *Bread-Winner's Abroad*, Porter would produce numerous other pamphlets, books, and reports, including *Free Trade Folly*, *Free Trade and Protection To-Day*, *The West*, and a *Report on the Manufacturing Industries in the United States*, among others. In addition to his works on political economy, in 1896, Porter would also publish a 500 page biography on *The Life of William McKinley*. While visiting England later in life, Porter would be struck by an automobile. He would die on February 28, 1917.

Oliver Putnam

Limited information exists on the life of Oliver Putnam (1777-1826). What is known is that Putnam was born in Newberry, Massachusetts, in November of 1777. He was the son of a blacksmith, who also bore the name Oliver Putnam. Through his early commercial speculations, the younger Putnam gained financial independence at an early age and had the chance to travel widely across both America and Europe. He apparently did not have fixed employment, but he did at one point write for the *United States Literary Gazette*. Putnam's first work was initially published anonymously as *Summary of the Practical Principles of Political Economy* in 1826, but it was later expanded upon and published posthumously as *Tracts on Sundry Topics of Political Economy* in 1834, with the later edition bearing Oliver Putnam's name. Upon Putnam's death on July 11, 1826, at the rather young age of forty-nine, he left part of his estate and sizable fund of $50,000 to establish the Putnam Free School at Newberry. This would be a public school devoted to the instruction of English.

John Rae

John Rae (1796-1872) was born in a suburb of Aberdeen, Scotland, on June 1, 1796. Later, in 1815, Rae would attend the University of Edinburgh, where he would study medicine, although it appears that Rae never finished his degree. In 1822, at the age of twenty-five, Rae and his wife, Eliza, who Rae had married some years earlier, would leave Scotland for Canada. Rae would initially reside in Montreal, seemingly because his sister emigrated there in the period prior. Later, in the spring of 1822, Rae would move to Williamstown, Glengarry County, where he became a schoolmaster. During this time Rae would also work as a medical practitioner, and eventually a coroner, to supplement his income. While in Williamstown, Rae also became closely allied with the Presbyterian Church, and would subsequently act as a virtual spokesman of sorts for the Church, which eventually caused him to be viewed as an agitator by the Church of England.

Rae's first known work on economics would appear during his time in Williamstown. This was his 1825 essay entitled "Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Manufactures and of the Policy which has Regulated their Legislative Encouragement in Great Britain and in Other Countries." In many ways, this work foreshadows the ideas which would be later discussed in his *New Principles*. Rae would leave Williamstown in late 1831. He would eventually settle in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1834, where he would become a headmaster of a local school. He would remain in this position until 1848. Rae's magnum opus would appear in 1834 under the title *Statements of Some New Principles on the Subject of Political Economy: Exposing the Fallacies of the System of Free Trade and of Some Other Doctrines Maintained in the "Wealth of Nations*". This treatise was sponsored by the Boston protectionist Alexander Everett, who had become acquainted with and impressed by Rae earlier in 1834. Although it was known within American Protectionist circles, Rae's brilliant treatise would remain in relative obscurity at its time of publication. In the late 19th century, however, it would receive praise from both John Stuart Mill and the Austrian economist Eugne von Bohm-Bewerk. Rae's final work with important implications for economic thought, albeit not chiefly an economics text, would appear in 1839. This was his essay entitled "Genius and its Application" which appeared in *The Literary Gazette*.

Rae was, by most accounts, a highly respected headmaster of the school in Hamilton, but his frequent quarrelling with the Church of England on behalf of the Presbyterian clergy, eventually led to his termination in 1848. Rae would spend part of 1849 teaching in Boston and New York. Rae's wife Eliza would pass away, however, in August of 1849. This ill-fated event, along with the California Gold Rush, caused Rae to seek out a new life in California. Little is known about Rae's life in California, but what is known is that by the

spring of 1851, Rae decided to leave California for the Hawaiian Islands. Rae arrived first in Honolulu but would eventually move to the island of Maui. After a smallpox outbreak in 1853, during which time Rae assisted in the vaccination of the native population, Rae would be appointed as a Medical Agent to the Board of Health. During this period, Rae would also become a farmer, would serve as the District Judge of Hanna, and would continue to write on various topics, including on geology and the Polynesian language. In 1871, Rae decided to return to the United States to live out the remainder of his life with a friend from Staten Island. Rae died in Staten Island the following year on July 12, 1872, at the age of seventy-seven.

Author's Note: It has also been correctly noted that Rae's treatise was neglected during his time, which may lead some to conclude that it is improper to treat Rae as a member of the American Protectionist School. Rae is, however, cited and even referred to as a member of the School by no less than eight other American Protectionists. Given that this is before the time that citations became common practice, this suggests that Rae's treatise was well known among American Protectionists. In addition, John Rae's *Statement of Some New Principles on the Subject of Political Economy* (Boston: Hillard, Gray and Co., 1834, ix, 365-366) quotes from Hamilton's Report, and in the preface to his work, Rae cites "the legislature of the United States, as affording the best practical illustration hitherto existing of the correctness of some of the principles I maintain," which is clearly referring to the American System. The eight American Protectionists who cite Rae include: Stephen Colwell, *A Preliminary Essay Prefixed to the American Edition of List's National System of Political Economy* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co, 1867), lxv; Robert Ellis Thompson, "Review of Protection versus Free Trade" *The American*, 11, no. 286 (1886), 234; George B. Dixwell, *The Premises of Free Trade Examined,* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1881), 3; Francis Bowen, *Principles of Political Economy*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1856), 104, 481, 487-491; Alexander H. Everett, "Rae's Political Economy," *The North American Review*, 40, no. 86 (1835), 122-141; Willard Phillips, *Propositions Concerning Free Trade and Protection*, (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850), 189; Henry M. Holt, *Protection versus Free Trade,* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886), 163, 258, 381; and Henry Carey Baird, P*olitical Economy,* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1875), 13. Stephen Colwell, in particular, singles out five key "American Political Economists who have left the beaten path," these being "Carey, Raymond, Colton, Rae, and E. Peshine Smith. At any rate, it is apparent via the analysis provided in *America's Neglected Protectionist Tradition* that Rae clearly falls within this School due to the clear similarity in emphasis and theory between him and the other writers in the American Protectionist tradition.

Daniel Raymond

Daniel Fitch Raymond (1786-1849) represents the first American economist and first American Protectionist to produce a systematic treatise which dealt systematically and comprehensively with economic theory. Indeed, Raymond himself even declared that prior to the publication of his work, "the only American book that [had] the semblance of a treatise on political economy [was] Hamilton's reports as Secretary of the Treasury." Daniel Raymond was born on September 12, 1786, in Monteville, Connecticut. He studied law at Tapping Reeve's Law School in Litchfield, before moving to Baltimore, Maryland, in 1814, where he commenced his law practice. Raymond first entered the public spotlight in 1819, with the publication of his controversial pamphlet, *The Missouri Question.* The question of Missouri's admission into the Union was a divisive issue at the time. If admitted, Missouri would represent the first state located west of the Mississippi River to allow slavery, and such a situation would upset the Congressional balance between Northern Free States and Southern Slave States. Although Raymond considered blacks to be inferior to whites, in *The Missouri Question*, Raymond advocated the gradual manumission of slaves.

Raymond's most important work would appear the following year in 1820. This was his *Thoughts on Political Economy* (1820), and it proved quite popular within certain intellectual and protectionist circles. President John Adam gave the work high praise, considering it "a proud monument of American literature." Frederick Beasley, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, commended Raymond as having a "profound comprehension of his subject" which he presented with "such neatness and perspicuity of style." The work also caught the eye of the two Protectionist publishers, Hezekiah Niles and Mathew Carey. In review of Raymond's work, Niles would write that "we recommend it to the consideration of those who are desirous of information on this important subject," describing it "as well worthy of an attentive perusal." By far the most enthusiastic reader of the work, however, was Mathew Carey, who declared "Raymond's political economy" to be "a work far superior to either" Smith's "Wealth of Nations and Say's Political Economy," and praising it as "a valuable work, containing more sound practical truths than I have ever seen in any book on the subject." Indeed, Mathew Carey was so impressed that he attempted to establish and fund a Chair of Political Economy for Raymond at the University of Maryland, but the proposal was subsequently rejected by the University.

Raymond's *Political Economy* would go through several considerably revised editions. The second edition would appear in 1823 under the title *Elements of Political Economy*. This was greatly enlarged and would now occupy two volumes. In 1836, a third edition would be published under the same title, with some further additions, including a chapter on the United

States Constitution, which emphasized the constitutionality of the protective system, and an additional appendix on the tariff. A fourth edition would then appear in 1840, now under the title *Elements of Political Economy and Constitutional Law.* As the names suggests, Raymond added some additional chapters on constitutional law, but he would also condense the sections on political economy which featured in the earlier editions. Later in 1845, Raymond would expand upon the chapters relating to constitutional law and would publish them as a separate publication entitled *Elements of Constitutional Law*. Raymond would also produce two other important works. The first of these would be his 1828 pamphlet *The American System*, which, as the names suggests, provides a defense of Clay's American System. His other, and seemingly his final work, was his article which appeared in the *American Whig Review* in 1848. This article was entitled *The President's Message, and the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, which provides a critique of Robert J. Walker's 1845 *Treasury Report*.

The details surrounding Raymond's later life are subject to some speculation, but it appears that in 1842, Raymond would relocate to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he would establish the political newspaper, the *Western Statesmen*, in addition to conducting a not too successful law practice. The *Western Statesmen* also struggled and seems to have only produced around sixteen issues before it failed, although the exact number is unknown. On July 13, 1849, Daniel Raymond would die in Cincinnati, Ohio, after contracting cholera during an outbreak in the city.

Thomas Brackett Reed

Thomas Brackett Reed (1839-1902) was born on October 18, 1839, in Portland, Maine. Reed would attend public school in Portland, and would later attend Bowdoin College, where he would graduate in 1860. Reed initially intended to become a Christian minister but decided to study law instead. He began his legal studies in Maine but moved to California in late 1861. He would be admitted into the California bar in 1863. He later returned to Maine, and after an eighteen month stint in the Navy during the Civil War, he would be admitted to the Maine bar in 1865. In 1867, Reed would then successfully run as a Republican for the Maine House of Representatives. He would be re-elected to the House of Representatives in 1868, before joining the State Senate in 1869. In the following year, he would be elected as the Attorney General for Maine, a position he would retain for the next three years. Reed would then run for Congress in 1876 and would be elected to the House of Representatives. Reed would rise through the ranks of the Republican Party, and by 1882, he was the effective leader of the House Republicans. When Republicans retook the control of the House in 1888, Reed would be elected as Speaker of the House, where he would oversee the passage of the McKinley Tariff. In 1896, Reed would seek the Republican presidential nomination, but lost out to William McKinley in the primary. He would return to the speakership role in 1895, but would later resign in September of 1899, after growing disgruntled with the more imperialist and expansionist faction within the Republican Party.

Reed's contribution to American Protectionist thought comes primarily from his speeches and addresses made as a Congressman. The two most impressive of his congressional speeches on the topic include *The Tariff,* which was delivered to the House of Representatives on May 18, 1888, and *Reed on the Tariff*, which was delivered on February 1, 1894. Both speeches would later circulate in pamphlet format. In addition to his

congressional speeches, Reed contributed numerous articles to *The North American Review, The American Economist* and *The Protectionist*. In 1896, Reed would also write the introduction to the republication of Calvin Colton's *Works of Henry Clay*. After his resignation from Congress in 1899, Reed would return to his legal practice, which he relocated to New York. During a business trip to Washington, DC, three years later, Reed would fall ill in his hotel room. He would be diagnosed with advanced kidney disease, and would pass away on December 7, 1902.

David Hall Rice

David Hall Rice (1841-1893) was born on May 6, 1841, in Penn Yan, New York. He would receive an early education from the New York common school system. He would then attend Genesee College, what is now Syracuse University, where he undertook a partial course, before being admitted to the bar. He would then move to Savannah, Georgia, to practice the law, and in 1867, he became a partner of the United States District Attorney in that state. He would later move to Lowell, Massachusetts, where he opened a law practice, which was later relocated to Boston in 1872. Rice was perhaps the most renowned patent lawyer in the United States at the time. His first major work was on patent law, a work which was subsequently adopted by the United States Patent Office. For this work, Rice earned an honorary Masters degree from Syracuse University.

It was after this that Rice produced his major work on economics. This was his *Protective Philosophy: A Discussion of the Principles of the American Protective System as Embodied in the McKinley Bill.* In addition, Rice also wrote numerous articles which were published in the *Home Market Bulletin* and the *American Economist.* He would also deliver several addresses on the subject, that were later circulated in pamphlet format, including a notable speech given at Brown University. In addition to these literary efforts, Rice was also an executive member of the fiercely protectionist Home Market Club. Later in life, Rice would also be elected to public office, having won a seat in the Massachusetts Governors Council for the Republican Party in 1892. This service was cut short, however, with Rice falling ill during a voyage on his yacht. He died on October 14, 1893, before his term expired.

Ellis H. Roberts

Ellis Henry Roberts (1827-1918) was born on September 30, 1827, in Utica, New York. His parents, Watkin and Gwen Roberts, were originally from Merionethshire in North Wales, but emigrated to the United States either in 1816 or 1817, and would eventually settle in Utica. Having lost his father whilst still a child, Roberts was reliant on his own efforts from a young age. At the tender age of nine, he gained employment at a local Utica printing house, and by the age of twelve he would be promoted to typesetter. Roberts had higher ambitions, however, and would eventually save enough from this job to pay his way through college. Roberts first attended the Whitestown Seminary and was then admitted into Yale in 1847. He would graduate in 1850 with second class honors.

Roberts would then commence his literary career in 1852, when he became partial owner and editor of the Utica *Morning Herald*, which was a leading Whig (and later Republican) journal. By 1854, he would become full owner of the journal, and he would continue there as chief editor until 1859. This position as owner of a major Whig and Republican journal made him active in the political debates of the country and brought him into contact with leading members of the Republican Party. This elevated him onto the New York delegation for the 1864 and 1868 Republican National Convention, and in 1866, he was also elected to the New York State Legislature on the Republican ticket. Then, in 1871, Roberts would make the shift from state to federal politics, being elected to the United States Congress, where he would serve for two terms, during which time he would also serve on the House Ways and Means Committee. Having a strong reputation for sound judgement and knowledge on financial and

economic matters, Roberts would later be appointed as the Assistant Treasurer of the United States in 1889 by then Republican President Benjamin Harrison. After the election of the Democratic President Grover Cleveland in 1893, Roberts would leave this position, and would be made President of the Franklin National Bank in New York. However, with the election of William McKinley in 1897, Roberts would be called back to public service and would assume the role of Treasurer of the United States.

During his time in Congress, Robert's made several important speeches on protection and other economic questions, several of which would be published and circulated in pamphlet format. Two of the more notable of these speeches include *The Revenue and American Labor: Necessity and Growth of Home Production* (1872) and *The Treasury and the Taxes* (1874). His most important economic work would appear, however, in 1884. This was his 400 page treatise entitled *Government Revenue: Especially the American System, An Argument for Industrial Freedom Against the Fallacies of Free Trade,* which was based upon a series of lectures which he gave at Cornell and Hamilton College a year earlier. In this work, Roberts approaches the subject of protection mainly from the standpoint of revenue, and advances the view that if state interference, including taxation, is to be permitted anywhere than it should be in the service of promoting domestic industry. On January 8, 1919, Roberts would pass away in his home in Utica at the age of ninety-one.

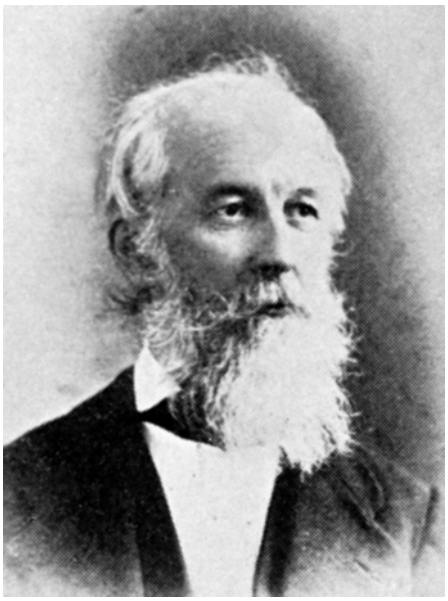
Ezra Seaman

Ezra Champion Seaman (1805-1879) was born in Columbia County, New York, on October 14, 1805. He would later study law in Ballston Springs, New York, and would be admitted to the Supreme Court as an attorney in 1831, before moving to Detroit, Michigan, in 1839. As a prominent Whig, Seaman relocated to Washington, DC., in 1849, where he served as Chief Clerk and then First Comptroller of the Treasury, during the Taylor and Fillmore Administrations. Upon his return to Detroit in 1853, and subsequent move to Ann Arbor in 1854, Seaman became the Inspector of State Prisons. Later in 1858, he would also edit the *Arbor Journal*, where a series of protectionist essays would appear. He would also write several important articles for *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*. One of the more significant of these articles would appear in 1858. This was entitled "Human Progress: Its Elements, Impediments, and Limits." Seaman's main treatise on political economy was his *Essays on the Progress of Nations*, which first appeared in 1846, and went through several editions, including a heavily revised edition in 1852. Seaman's work would receive high praise from the Whig President Millard Fillmore, who declared that "it is a very valuable publication, and that it brings within the reach of every man a vast store of useful information as to the progress of agriculture and the arts among mankind, which can be found no where else in so condensed and cheap form… [I] wish a copy might be placed in the hands of every enlightened citizen." Seaman died on July 17, 1879, from a strangulated hernia following an unsuccessful operation.

Orrin Skinner

Limited Information exists on the life of Orrin Skinner (unknown-1896). It appears, however, that he lived for some time in Springfield, Massachusetts, before moving to Chicago. In Chicago, Skinner would become a lawyer and was seemingly well respected in the community. In 1873, Skinner would move to New York, and it appears that he was admitted to the New York bar the same year. He would then establish the law firm Goudy, Chandler, & Skinner. It was also around this same time that Skinner married the daughter of the prominent Whig and Republican Politician, Orville Hickman Browning, who at one point served as the US Secretary of the Interior under Andrew Johnson. Skinner was more of a political scientist than an economist. His main treatise appeared in 1873 and was entitled *The Issues of American Politics.* As the name suggests, this work was not devoted specifically to the subject of political economy but was instead a general treatise on politics. Skinner does, however, devote a significant portion of his work to economic questions. His approach to economics is also distinctly along American Protectionist lines and is quite in-depth theoretically. Skinner was, however, a man of extravagant tastes, and in 1778, he would cease his law practice to undertake ventures in mining. When this failed, he then resorted to various other schemes to fund his spendthrift lifestyle and would later be exposed as a conmen and swindler. Using a variety of different aliases, Skinner would defraud various banks both in the United States and internationally, and would eventually be arrested in London in 1886, attempting to use a forged letter of credit. It appears that he was then extradited to New York, where he would be sentenced to Auburn prison for grand larceny in the second degree. Skinner would later die in prison on September 19, 1896.

E. Peshine Smith

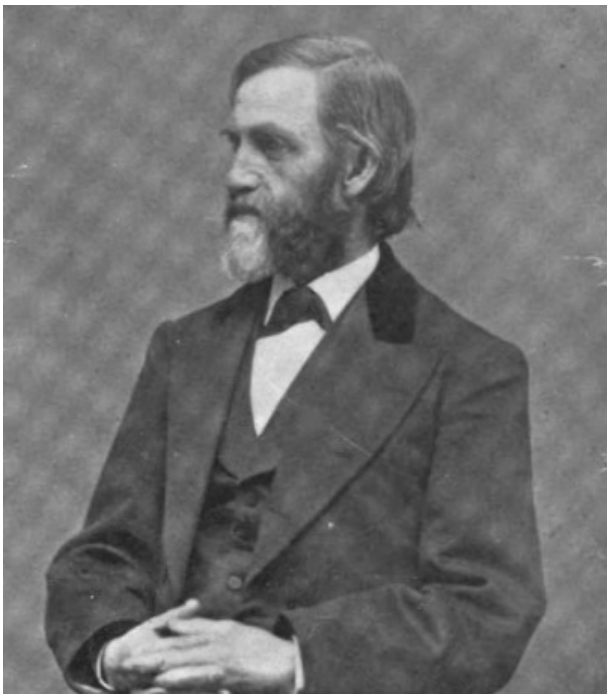


Erasmus Peshine Smith (1814-1882) was born on March 2, 1814, in New York City. His ancestry in the United States can be traced to Puritan and Huguenot settlers, who fled from Europe due to religious persecution. Shortly after the birth of Peshine Smith, his family moved to Rochester in upstate New York. Later, Smith would attend Columbia College and would graduate in 1832. In 1833, Smith would then undertake a law degree at Harvard. After graduating, Smith would return to Rochester, and would commence practicing the law. He would eventually join the law firm of the prominent Whig William H. Seward. This relationship with Seward would have a lasting impact on Smith's life. Smith would continue working in Seward's legal practice until 1849, when he decided to pursue a career in journalism. Smith would then become editor of the *Commercial Advertiser* in Buffalo.

Smith's lifelong friendship with Henry Charles Carey would commence in 1850 after Smith read and became inspired by Carey's *The Past, The Present, and the Future*. In the following year, Smith would write a review in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* praising the work. He would then seek out academic work in the field of political economy, but was only able to obtain a temporary position as a Professor of Mathematics at the University of Rochester, which he filled for two years. Smith's major work on political economy would appear in 1853. This was his *Manual of Political Economy*. In 1859, Smith would then obtain employment as a reporter of the New York Court of Appeals. After Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and made Seward his Secretary of State, Smith would then be called to Washington in 1865, to work under Steward in the State Department as a solicitor. Smith remained in the State Department until 1871, at which point, he was selected to be an international law advisor to the Japanese emperor. Smith would then travel to Japan later in

1871, and he would remain there for six years. Smith's final economic work would appear in 1877, prior to him leaving Japan. This small work was entitled *Notes on Political Economy Designed Chiefly for Japanese Readers*. Each chapter was published as a separate tract in the *Tokio Times*. Upon his return to the United States, Smith had planned to write another work on the topic designed for the use in high schools, but this work never materialized. At the age of sixty-eight, Smith passed away on October 21, 1882, in Rochester.

Giles B. Stebbins



Giles Badger Stebbins (1817-1900) was born June 12, 1817, in Springfield, Massachusetts. His father, Eldad Stebbins, served for over twenty years as a paymaster for the Springfield Armory. The Stebbins family resided on the Armory grounds, where they received free housing from the United States government. The elder Stebbins would later resign from his position in the Armory due to ill health. In 1832, around the age of fifteen, Giles would become a clerk at a hardware store in Springfield. It was here that Stebbins first began to take an interest in American industry. Having noticed that almost all the tools and other supplies sold at the store were English made, Stebbins questioned why these tools could not be produced in the United States.

In his youthful years, Stebbins would become engrossed in transcendentalism, and mingled briefly with the communes based upon the ideas of the utopian socialist Charles Fourier. One such commune was Brookfield Farm, located in Northampton, Massachusetts, not far from where Stebbins resided. Although Stebbins never became a member of the commune, he occasionally attended educational classes by several notable teachers there. Stebbins would later recall that in spite of it working for a short while, the commune eventually unraveled due to poor management and systematic inefficiencies. Stebbins recollected how one member joked that "in [an] association you must learn to work for lazy folks," and his own observation drew similar conclusions. Reflecting on the failure of the association, Stebbins wrote that "one of the best things for a young man sometimes is to find out how little he knows. It takes down his self-conceit and settles him into deeper thinking. At the association I had that lesson."

Even though Stebbins was inclined towards protection early in life, it would not be until the outbreak of the American Civil War, that he took more of an interest in the matter. Being an abolitionist since his youth, Stebbins had already taken issue with the Confederates States for their support of slavery, but increasingly, Stebbins saw free trade as the second pillar of the Confederacy. This prompted Stebbins to investigate the matter more thoroughly, and in 1865, he would produce his first protectionist pamphlet entitled *British Free Trade Delusion*. It was also around this time that Stebbins became involved with the American Iron and Steel Association, having befriended the Association's founder, E. B. Ward, in 1863. In 1866, Stebbins would be elected as the Assistant Secretary of the Association. In this capacity, Stebbins continued to produce numerous pamphlets on protection, which would be circulated by the Association. Stebbins' more scholarly works on political economy would not appear until quite later. The first of these was his 1887 work *Progress from Poverty*, which was a critique of Henry George. His more important and significant work would then appear in 1893. This was his treatise *The American Protectionist's Manual*, which was designed "to present the leading principles and facts" on the question of protection in a "readable and useful" way. In 1892, Stebbins would also become the editor of *The American Economist,* which was the journal of the American Protective Tariff League. This was a position which he would occupy for two years. At the age of eighty three, Stebbins would pass away in his home in Detroit in early November 1900.

George M. Steele

George McKendree Steele (1823-1902) was born in Strafford, Orange County, Vermont, on April 13, 1823. He would go on to attend Wesleyan University in Middleton Connecticut, where he graduated in 1850. Later in 1863, Steele would become president of Lawrence University at Appleton Wisconsin. Steele would remain there until 1879, before transferring to Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, where he served as principal. After 17 years at the Wesleyan Academy, Steele would resign to take up a position at Lasell Seminary in Auburn, also in Massachusetts. At the Lasell Seminary, Steele would serve as both a chaplain and a teacher, where he taught political economy, in addition to ethics, bible studies, and psychology. It was during this time that Steele published his major work on political economy, *Outline Study of Political Economy,* which was later enlarged and retitled, *Rudimentary Economics for Schools and Colleges.* As the title suggests, this treatise was designed to assist high schools and colleges in the teaching of political economy from an American Protectionist perspective. The work draws heavily upon the ideas of Henry Charles Carey, but also Peshine Smith and Francis Bowen. In addition to his academic pursuits, Steele was also a prominent clergyman with the Methodist Episcopal Church for more than fifty years. Steele would pass away on January 14, 1902, at his son's residence in Kenilworth, Illinois.

Andrew Stewart

Andrew Stewart (1791-1872), affectionately known as "Tariff Andy", was born on June 11, 1792, near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. He received his education from the public school system, and from a young age, he would work as a farmhand and as a teacher at a local country school. He remained in these roles until the age of eighteen, when he undertook the study of the law. He would be admitted into the bar in 1815 and would establish a practice in Uniontown. In the same year, he was elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, where he would remain until 1818. He would then be appointed as US District Attorney for the western district of Pennsylvania later that year and would remain there until 1820. It was in 1820 that Stewart's career in federal politics began. He would be first elected to the House of Representatives as a Democratic-Republican and would then successfully recontest the 1823 election as a Democrat. He would then abandon the Democratic Party in 1828 for the National Republicans due to the tariff question, and would openly oppose the election of Andrew Jackson. He would later join the Whig Party and would serve in the House of Representatives between 1843 and 1849. He would not seek renomination for Congress in 1849, choosing instead to contest the Vice President spot in the 1848 Whig primary, but lost out to Millard Fillmore. When the Whigs won the 1848 presidential election, Steward was asked to serve as Secretary of the Treasury, but was compelled to decline the offer due to illness.

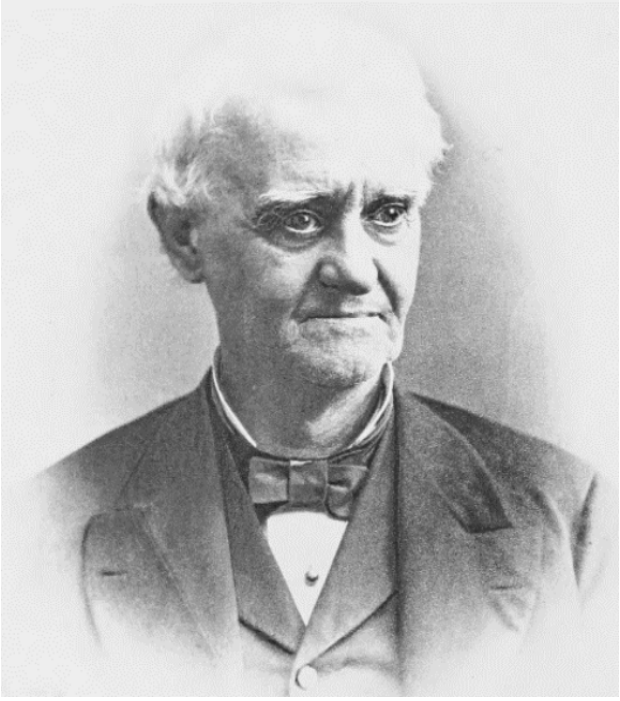
As a Whig Congressmen, Stewart was an earnest follower and contemporary of Henry Clay. During his time in Congress, Stewart would serve as Chairman of the Committee on the Tariff, as well as on the Committee on Internal Improvements, both of which constituted the two planks of Clay's American System. Stewart would contribute to the American

Protectionist doctrine through his numerous congressional speeches on the topic. Later, in 1872, these speeches would be compiled and published in a volume entitled *The American System: Speeches on the Tariff Question and on Internal Improvements*, a work which ran over 400 pages in length. After the collapse of the Whigs, Stewart would join the Republican Party, but would remain out of politics for some time, choosing instead to devote his time to private business, mostly in construction and real-estate. He would run for Congress, however, in 1870, but was unsuccessful. At the age of eighty two, Andrew Stewart died at his residence in Uniontown on July 16, 1872.

David Stirrat

Little is known about the life of David Stirrat (1776-1857). What is known is that he was born in Scotland, where he descended from Scottish nobility. In 1799, Stirrat migrated to the United States, where he became a grocer in Baltimore, Maryland. In the 1820s, Stirrat was inspired by the works of his fellow Baltimorean, Daniel Raymond, and in 1824, he attempted to prepare a short and poetic version of Raymond's economic doctrines. This appeared in his work entitled *A Treatise on Political Economy: or the True Principles of Political Economy in the Form of a Romaunt.* Stirrat's *Treatise* is mainly a work of romantic prose and can scarcely be said to provide any real instructional or theoretical value. The text takes the form of a series of poetic letters from the fictional philosopher Aristander to his companion, Aristippus, evoking him to consider and examine particular questions of political economy. Stirrat would remain in Baltimore for the rest of his life and would eventually pass away in November 1857.

Richard W. Thompson

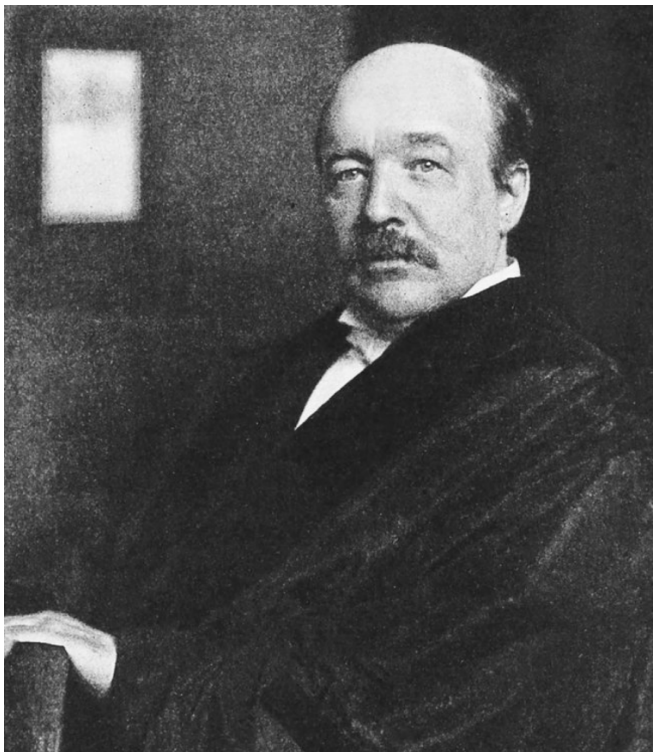


Richard Wigginton Thompson (1809-1900) was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, in June of 1809. Thompson descended from a line of patriots. Both his grandfather's fought in the War of Independence, and his stepmother was a great niece of George Washington. In 1831, Thompson moved to Indiana, where he became a schoolteacher, worked as a clerk in a dry goods store, and studied law in his spare time. He would be admitted to the bar in 1834. In the period that followed, Thompson would become active in the Whig Party, and would be elected to the Indiana House of Representatives in 1834, before serving in the State Senate from 1836 to 1838. In 1841, he would then be elected to Congress. He chose not to recontest the following term but decided to run again in 1847 and was subsequently re-elected. When the Whig party began to collapse in the 1850s, Thompson would switch his allegiance to the Know Nothing Party, before joining the conservative Whig offshoot, known as the Constitutional Union Party. He would eventually switch over to the Republican Party and would support Abraham Lincoln. In return, President Lincoln would appoint Thompson as Judge of the Court of Claims in Washington.

Thompson would remain active in Republican politics and would serve in a variety of capacities in the 1868, 1872, and 1876 Republican National Conventions. Thompson's efforts would not go unrewarded, with President Rutherford B. Hayes appointing Thompson as the US Secretary of the Navy in 1877. After retiring from the post in 1881, Thompson would then be made chairman of the American Panama Canal Committee. Thompson would then produce his major economic treatise in 1888. This work was entitled *The History of*

Protective Tariff Laws. As the title suggests, Thompson's treatise was primarily one of economic history, but the work also contains relevant commentary on theoretical and practical questions regarding international trade and protectionism. Thompson would pass away on February 9, 1900, at the age of ninety-one, following a long period of sickness.

Robert Ellis Thompson



Robert Ellis Thompson (1844-1924) was born on April 15, 1855, near Lurgan, Ireland, to Samuel and Catherine Ellis Thompson. The young Thompson and his family emigrated to the United States in 1857, where they settled in Philadelphia. Thompson would eventually undertake study at the University of Pennsylvania. It was under the instruction of his moral philosophy professor Daniel R. Goodwin, who utilized Henry Carey's *Principles of Social Science* and Francis Bowen's *Principles of Political Economy* as textbooks, that Thompson became a convert to American Protectionist thought. Thompson would graduate in 1865 with first class honors.

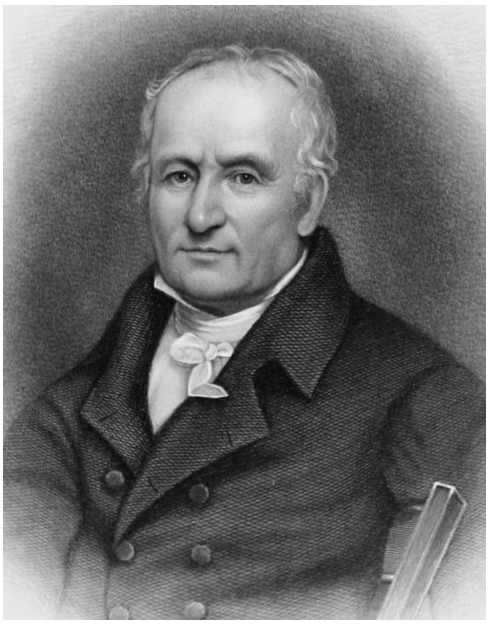
Upon graduation, Thompson studied theology and became a preacher (he would be later ordained as a minister in 1874) with the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Around 1868, however, Thompson returned to the University of Pennsylvania, where he completed a Master of Arts, and was even selected to deliver the Master's speech at the 1868 Commencement Ceremony. The following year, the University offered Thompson an instructor's position. This was initially in mathematics and Latin, but the Provost of the University was so impressed by several articles which Thompson penned on economics, that he was promptly transferred to political economy. In 1875, Thompson was then chosen to fill the newly established chair of social science. In the same year, Thompson's first major work on political economy would appear. This work went by the name *Social Science and National Economy*, but would be subsequently revised and retitled in 1882 as *Elements of*

Political Economy. Thompson's treatise would become a staple of American Protectionist thought, with even Alfred Marshall commenting that the work largely superseded Carey's *Principles of Social Science.*

In 1881, Thompson was handpicked by the Philadelphia industrialist Joseph Wharton to serve as both the Dean and the Chair of Social Science at the newly founded Wharton School of Business. Thompson would teach from his *Elements*, as well as Peshine Smith's *Manual*. In addition to lecturing on a broad range of economic topics, he would also oversee original research undertaken by students. Later in 1885, Thompson would also deliver four lectures at Harvard University, seemingly at the request of Francis Bowen. The substance of these lectures was then published in his treatise *Protection to Home Industry*. Between 1885 and 1887, he would also deliver a series of lectures at Yale, including a ten part lecture series in 1887, and in subsequent years, he would also give lectures at Cornell, Amherst, Princeton, and Swarthmore College. Throughout his life, Thompson would engage in other literary activities. Between 1870 and 1881, Thompson would be the editor of the *Penn Monthly*, and then between 1881 and 1921, he would be the editor of *The American Magazine*. He would also regularly write articles for *The American Economist* and *The Protectionist*. In addition to political economy, Thompson also wrote numerous works pertaining to religion and Christianity, including a 460 page work on the history of the Presbyterian Church in America.

Thompson would eventually be forced out of the Wharton School in 1892, after a long-running dispute with Edmund James, who was made Director of the School earlier in 1883. After his termination, Thompson became head of the Central High School in Philadelphia, where he also taught classes on ethics, political science, and economics. This role also led to the creation of his last major work on economics which was entitled *Political Economy for High Schools and Academies*, which lays out his system of economic thought in plain and simple language. During this time, Thompson also continued writing articles on protection and political economy, including a short critique in 1920 of John Maynard Keyne's use of the Ricardian method. In 1921, Thompson was forced to retire as president of the high school due to Pennsylvania state law imposing a seventy-year age limit on school presidents. At the request of alumni, however, Thompson continued to teach at the school on ethics and political economy. On October 19, 1924, Thompson died in his residence at Philadelphia, at the age of eighty.

George Tibbits



George Tibbits (1753-1849) was born in Warwick, Rhode Island on January 14, 1763. He was the son of John Tibbits and Waite Brown and was the eldest of his ten siblings. When George Tibbits was around five years old, the Tibbits family would move to a farm near the town of Cheshire, Massachusetts, before eventually settling in Lansingburgh in 1780, when George was seventeen. It was during this time that George Tibbits undertook classical studies. In 1784, Tibbits successfully established a dry goods business, after being acquainted with a local merchant who could supply Tibbits with produce at reasonable prices. Tibbits would remain a sole trader until 1787, when he entered into a partnership with his brother Benjamin, under the name G. & B. Tibbits. In 1897, Tibbits would relocate from Lansingsburgh to Troy, what is now known as Fall River. There he would establish a corner store as part of G. & B Tibbits. After the death of Benjamin in 1802, George's brother Elisha Tibbits, would enter into the partnership. George Tibbits would eventually retire from the business in 1804. Around this time, Tibbits also began to take a more active involvement in politics. As a member of the Federalist Party, he would serve in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1800 and 1820, the Federal Congress between 1803 and 1805, and in the State Senate between 1815 and 1818. In 1816, he would also run as Rufus King's deputy on the Federalist gubernatorial ticket for Massachusetts, but the two were unsuccessful. Later, between 1830 and 1836, Tibbits would also serve as the Mayor of Troy.

Tibbits was a staunch advocate of the protective doctrine with his emphasis placed primarily on the home market argument. His first work, *A Memoir on the Expediency and Practicability of Improving or Creating Home Markets*, would appear in 1825. This was originally an address given before the New York Board of Agriculture earlier that year.

Tibbits followed up the same topic in 1829 with his *Essay on the Expediency and Practicability of Improving or Creating Home Markets.* In 1827, Tibbits would also attend the Harrisburg Convention as the delegate for New York. Later, in 1831, he would also serve as a delegate to the Friends of Domestic Industry General Convention held in New York, where he would be selected to serve as a member of the committee. In addition to the subject of protection, Tibbits also wrote on the subject of internal improvements. In 1829, he produced *Finances of the Canal Fund of the State of New York Examined*. Later in 1836, Tibbits would also serve as chairman of a committee which was appointed to commission a document relating to the enlargement of the Erie Canal. At the age of eighty six, Tibbits would pass away on July 19, 1849.

Nathaniel A. Ware

The details surrounding the life of Nathaniel A. Ware (1780 or 1789-1854) are rather uncertain. It appears, however, that Ware was born near Abbeville, South Carolina on August 16, 1780. He seems to have been a schoolteacher in South Carolina for some period of time, while studying and perhaps even practicing the law. He would eventually journey to the Mississippi Territory in 1811, where he would become an attorney. In the following year, he would join the United States militia to take part in the War of 1812, and would eventually be promoted to the rank of Major. Ware would then be elected as a member of the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives of the Mississippi Territory, serving at different times between 1813 and 1817. This was in the period prior to the territory being admitted into the Union. During this time, Ware would also serve as the secretary of the territory, and for a period between 1815 and 1816, Ware would also serve as the acting Governor. He would then attempt a run at Congress after Mississippi's admission to the Union, but this proved unsuccessful. Nevertheless, Ware had apparently gained a considerable amount of wealth due to his dealings in land speculation.

It appears that Ware sold his land in Mississippi around 1820, but it is difficult to know the exact nature of his movements beyond this point. For a period in 1822, Ware would serve in Florida as the commissioner for the adjudication of land claims. He would then reside in Philadelphia for some time, and this is presumably when he became acquainted with the ideas of the American Protectionists. In October 1823, Ware would be made a member of the American Philosophical Society, which was located in Philadelphia. During this time, the Society's membership also included the likes of Tench Coxe, Samuel Jackson, as well as Mathew and Henry C. Carey. Sometime after, it appears that Ware relocated to Texas, and sought to establish a cotton manufacturing plant, but this venture never materialized. Ware would later appear in Cincinnati, Ohio, and there is also some evidence that he may have lived in France for a year. It then seems that Ware returned to the South, first in Natchez, Mississippi, then in Texas. It appears that he was a banker during his time in Mississippi, and then a plantation owner during his later years in Texas.

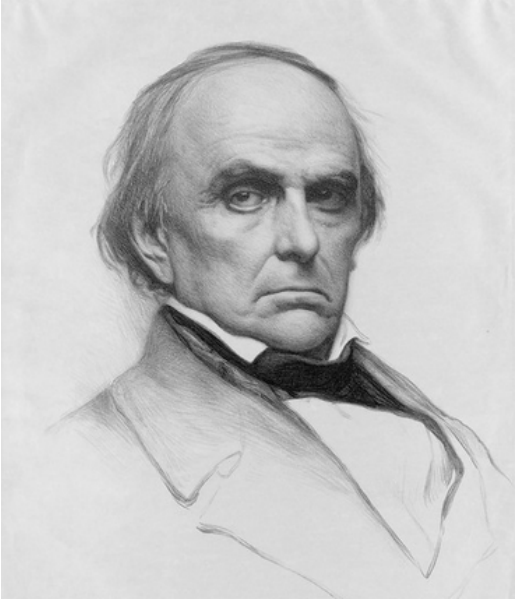
Ware wrote at least four books during his life, but it is difficult to know the exact number because he published under pseudonyms. His main work was his economics treatise, *Notes on Political Economy*. This appeared in 1844 under the pseudonym "a southern planter." The following year, his next work appeared under the title *An Exposition of the Weakness and Inefficiency of the Government of the United States of North America*. Then in 1846, he wrote *A Treatise on the Natural Method of Education.* Later in 1848, Ware would produce a novel entitled *Harvey Belden: Or a True Narrative of Strange Adventures*. Although no portraits or

images of Ware have survived, a biographical sketch of Ware's wife, Catharine Ann Warfield, contains a graphic description of this fascinating and obscure economist:

> [He was] a man of profound learning and well versed in science… but a man full of eccentricities and naturally very shy and reserved in character… He was a philosopher… a fine scholar, with a pungent, acrid wit, and cool sarcasm, which made him both feared and respected… He was a handsome man, his features marked – his nose aquiline, his mouth small and compressed, his eyes of bright blue, his complexion pure and fair as a young girl's, his cheeks freshly colored, his brow white as lily – a very venerable looking man.

In 1854, Nathaniel A. Ware would contract yellow fever and would pass away in Galveston, Texas.

Daniel Webster



Daniel Webster (1782-1852) was born on January 18, 1782, in Salisbury, New Hampshire. At the age of fourteen, he would attend Phillips Exeter Academy, before entering Dartmouth College. He would graduate from Dartmouth in 1801 and would then commence the study of the law. He would be admitted to the bar in 1805, and would establish a law practice in Boscawen, New Hampshire, which he would later relocate to Portsmouth. Webster's entrance into public life began in 1813. Running in opposition to the War of 1812, Webster would be elected to the House of Representatives as a Federalist. He would remain there until 1817, when he declined re-election. Webster would have another successful run at Congress in 1822, again for the Federalists, but now as a representative for Massachusetts. With the decline of the Federalists, he would eventually join the National-Republicans around 1827. In 1827, Webster would be elected to the United States Senate, and would be re-elected as a Whig in 1833, and then again in 1839. Webster would also run unsuccessfully as the Whig presidential candidate in 1836. He would later be appointed as Secretary of State in the administrations of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. In 1845, Webster would again be elected as a Whig for the Senate. He would remain there until 1850, at which time he became the Secretary of State under Millard Fillmore.

Webster originally began as a free trader, and as early as 1808, Webster had produced the pamphlet, *Considerations on the Embargo Laws*, which was a critique of Jefferson's non-importation acts. He would remain a free trader for his first several years of Congress where he spoke ably in support of free trade. The most notable of his free trade speeches was one delivered to Congress in April of 1824. By 1828, however, Webster had converted to protectionism and would eventually become one of its most reliable advocates. Webster's

first speech in favor of protection was his 1828 address concerning the Tariff of Abominations. His more significant Congressional speeches would come later. These include his speech entitled *General Effects of Protection*, which was delivered on March 3, 1840, and his speech against the Walker Tariff delivered on July 25 and 27, 1846, which was subsequently titled *The Tariff*. Webster also gave numerous addresses outside on the matter of protection. Some of the more significant of these include his speech at the 1843 Andover Whig Convention, and his 1844 speech at the Whig Convention in Philadelphia. In addition to these, Webster would also give a valuable lecture on political economy to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1836, which enunciated the view that invention exhibits a tendency towards diffusion which benefits society as a whole, a view that would become a staple of American Protectionist thought. Daniel Webster would continue to serve as Fillmore's Secretary of State until his death on October 24, 1854.

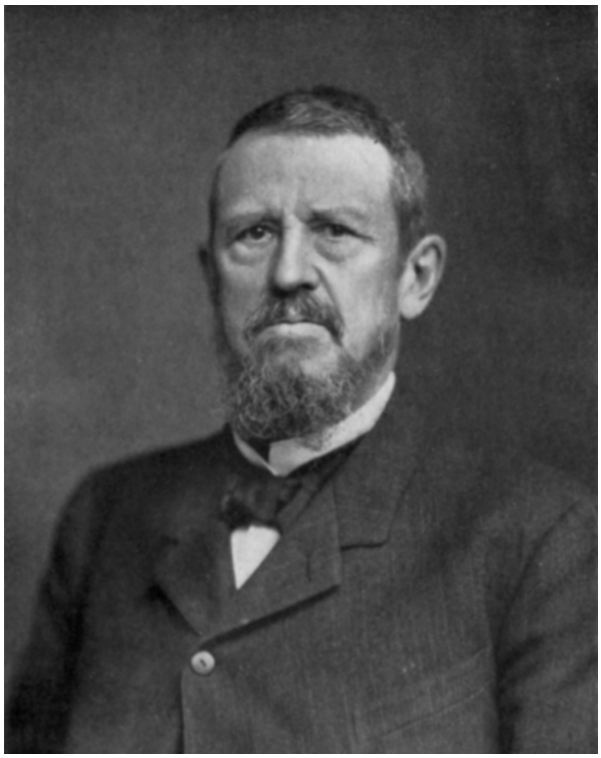
John Welsh

John Welsh (1805-1886) was born on November 9, 1805, in Philadelphia. His ancestry can be traced to early Swedish and English settlers in North America. His father, who also went by the name John Welsh, was a prominent merchant originally from Delaware, but who later settled in Philadelphia. The early education of the younger John Welsh consisted of the public school system, combined with training in his father's mercantile house. Continuing in this line of business, Welsh would enter into a partnership with his two brothers, William and Samuel. Their business was S. & W. Welsh, which was later renamed S. & J. Welsh. At one point, this represented one of the largest mercantile houses in Pennsylvania. Politically, Welsh was also a committed and active Republican. Although he was never elected to office, on October 30, 1877, Welsh would be appointed as the United States Ambassador to the United Kingdom by President Rutherford B. Hayes. He would stay in this position for two years, when he resigned on August 31, 1879.

Welsh was also known for his philanthropic work. In the mid-1870s, he would endow the University of Pennsylvania with a Professorship, which became the John Welsh Centennial Chair of English Literature and History. The Chair would be later amalgamated into the Wharton School of Finance and Political Economy and would eventually be filled by fellow protectionist Robert Ellis Thompson. Welsh would also be a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania for twenty years, and in 1878, the University would confer him with an honorary degree. In terms of his contribution to American Protectionist thought, Welsh

produced several small works on the subject. These works include *Protection Under the Guise of Free Trade* (1880), *Free Trade and Protection* (1880), *English Views of Free Trade* (1882), and *England and Our Tariff* (1882). Welsh would also write on financial questions including a pamphlet on usury laws entitled *A Few Practical Comments on the Usury Law*, and another monetary tract in the *Penn Monthly* entitled "A Few Thoughts on Subject of Present Interest." Welsh would pass away in Philadelphia on April 10, 1886.

Joseph Wharton



Joseph Wharton (1826-1909) was born on March 3, 1826, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He was of Quaker ancestry and descended from the first settlers that arrived in Pennsylvania with William Penn. His parents were both Quaker ministers in the Society of Friends. The young Joseph Wharton was educated in a few different schools until the age of fourteen, including both private and one ran by the Society of Friends. He then received private tutoring from a Harvard graduate until the age of sixteen. After his schooling, Wharton decided to pursue his interest in farming. He thus went to live on a farm owned by a fellow quaker by the name of Joseph S. Walton in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Wharton remained there for three years, but then decided to pursue other interests.

At the age of nineteen, Wharton return to Philadelphia and entered the Waln and Learning accounting house, where he learnt the art of bookkeeping. He would remain there for two years and would then establish a lead manufacturing plant with his eldest brother, Rodman, in 1847. Between 1853 and 1863, Wharton would also manage the Lehigh Zinc Company, of which he was a part owner. In 1863, Wharton would then undertake the manufacture of nickel and cobalt in Camden, New Jersey. He was also a founder and principal shareholder of the Bethlehem Iron Company, which was established in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1861, and was the first company to manufacture steel plate armor for the United States Navy. Later, between 1900 and 1905, Wharton would also be the sole owner of the Andover Iron

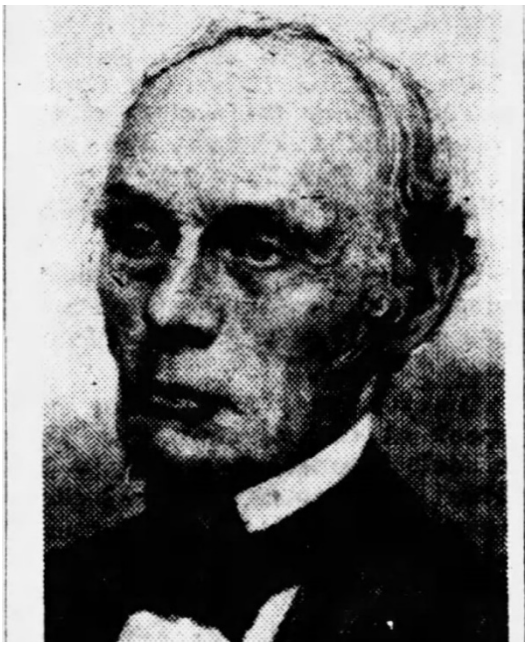
Company, at Phillipsburg, New Jersey, which was the largest manufacturer of pig iron in the world at the time.

Wharton wrote three main works on political economy, in addition to various smaller tracts and pamphlets. The first of these was a paper entitled *International Industrial Competition* which was first read before the American Social Science Association in October of 1870. It was subsequently published as a book in 1872. His next work entitled *National Self-Protection* would first appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1875, but would then be expanded upon, and published separately by the American Iron and Steel Association later that year. His last work was entitled "The American Ironmaster" which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Convention of the Iron and Steel Manufacturers and Iron Ore Producers*, which met at Pittsburgh on May 6, 1879. Wharton's efforts to the Protectionist cause also extend well beyond his written works. In 1868, Wharton assisted in the establishment of the staunchly protectionist American Industrial League, and would then serve as its first president. Wharton would also serve as Vice President of the American Iron and Steel Association from 1875, and then as President of the Association from 1904 until his death. In addition, Wharton would also endow the University of Pennsylvania with $530,000 to establish the Wharton School of Finance and Political Economy in 1883, with the explicit intention of teaching the American Protectionist doctrine. After a suffering a prolonged illness resulting from a stroke, Joseph Wharton would pass away in his home in Philadelphia on January 11, 1909.

William D. Wilson

William Dexter Wilson (1816-1900) was born in Stoddard, New Hampshire, in 1816. Later, in 1835, he would attend Harvard Divinity School, and would graduate in 1838. Upon finishing his studies, Wilson would become a Unitarian preacher for three years before joining the Episcopal Church. Then, in 1850, Wilson would become a professor at Geneva College, remaining there until 1868. Then in 1868, he would be made Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy at Cornell University. This was done at the request of the institution's cofounder, Andrew D. White. It was in this capacity, that Wilson first began to teach political economy. Wilson would produce his main treatise on political economy in 1875. This work was entitled *First Principles of Political Economy*. In addition to his own work, Wilson also recommended that his students read Henry Carey's *Past, Present, and Future* and his *Principles of Social Science,* List's *National Systems*, Bowen's *American Political Economy*, Peshine Smith's *Manual of Political Economy*, and Elder's *Questions of the Day*, as well as several Classical texts. While teaching at Cornell, Wilson would also serve as the registrar of the University, as well as the editor of the Cornell's annual *Register.* Upon retiring in 1886, Wilson would be made an Emeritus Professor at Cornell. After his retirement, Wilson would be appointed as head of Saint Andrew's Divinity School in Syracuse. Wilson would continue to write on scholarly topics late into his life, with his last major work being a philosophical treatise entitled *Theories of Knowledge Historically Considered with Special Reference to Scepticism and Belief* which appeared in 1889. In the following year, on July 30, 1900, Wilson would pass away in his Son's home in Syracuse, New York.

Andrew W. Young



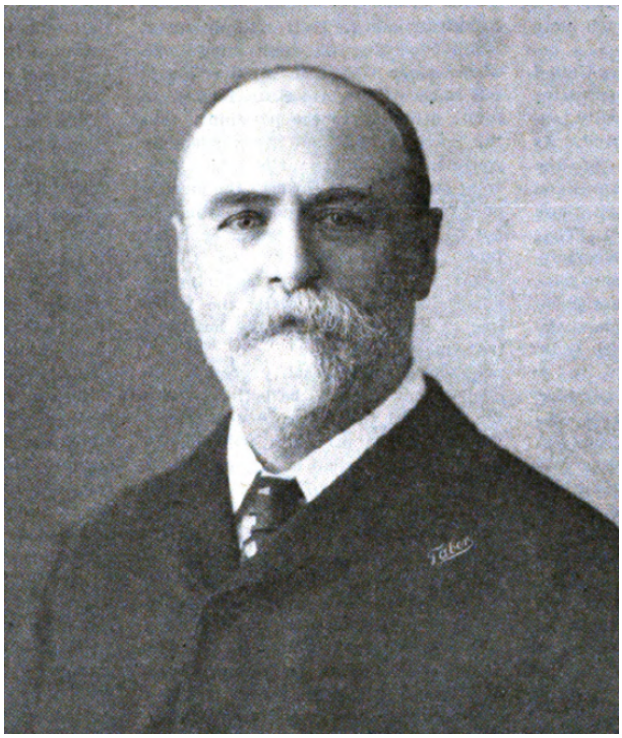
Andrew White Young (1802-1877) was born in Carlisle, Scholarie County, in upstate New York in 1802. He was of Dutch and Irish ancestry. His education consisted of a few years in the common school system and half a term at the Middlebury academy when he turned nineteen. While still in his youth, he would alternate between working as a farm laborer and a schoolteacher. He would eventually cease working as a teacher at the age of twenty, when he gained employment as a clerk at a mercantile business. Later, in 1830, Young would establish the newspaper *The Warsaw Sentinel*, before purchasing the *Republican Advocate* in 1832, with the former newspaper being merged with the latter. Young would remain as the editor of the *Advocate* for three years, before selling the newspaper in 1835.

It was around this time that Young started writing literary works of a more scholarly manner. In 1835, Young produced his first work, entitled *Introduction to the Science of Government*. This was a general work on law and governance designed for the instruction of youth. It would go through numerous editions and expansions with the third edition of the work containing Young's first contribution to political economy. This third edition contained "a brief treatise on political economy" of approximately ninety pages. This work also represented the first elaboration of Young's protectionist views. Young would continue to produce works on political science. In 1848, he would produce his *Principles of Civil Government*. He would then follow up this work in 1855 with his monumental treatise, *The American Statesmen*, which ran over a thousand pages. Although primarily a work on political history, it does contain various commentaries on economic questions. Young's next work would be on political economy and would appear in 1864. This was his treatise

National Economy: A History of the American Protective System. Whilst primarily a history of protective legislation, it also contains various theoretical arguments and commentaries.

In addition to his business and literary pursuits, Young would also be active in politics. As a committed member of the Whig Party, he would represent Wyoming County in the New York State Legislature in 1845 and 1846, where he would also participate in the 1846 Constitutional Convention in that state. In the 1860s, Young would also be active in the American Iron and Steel Association, where he would be commissioned to produce several pamphlets which were circulated by the Association. These pamphlets included *Protection vs. Free Trade: Letters to the American Voter*, and *The Doctrine of Protection, Familiarly Explained*. At the age of seventy, Young would pass away in his home in Warsaw, New York, in February of 1877.

John P. Young



John Phillip Young (1841-1921) was born in Philadelphia on August 8, 1849. An adventurous life preceded Young's later literary pursuits. At the age of sixteen, Young ran away from home and enlisted in the United States Navy, but would be later picked up by his parents. He instead took on a job in a Philadelphia mercantile house. Soon after, Young moved to Arizona, where he appears to have worked in some capacity with native American tribes. Young would then move to San Diego where he worked as a business manager for the *San Diego Union*. This was a fortuitous event in Young's life, as Young never intended to pursue a career in journalism. He was instead thrusted into an editorial position due to the editor suffering a recurring illness. In 1873, Young would then move to Washington D.C., to take a job at the *Washington Daily Chronicle*, where he would remain for four years. It was in this capacity that Young began to publish his first Protectionist articles. Fortunately, Young was also in charge of writing on the United States Senate, and through this, he became acquainted with some of the leading protectionist statesmen, including the likes of James G. Blaine and Samuel J. Randall, figures who would greatly influence Young's economic thought.

After this stint in Washington, Young would return to the West Coast in 1877, and would now reside in California. It was here that Young became the managing editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a position which he would occupy for forty-four years. Young consistently maintained the *San Francisco Chronicle's* protectionist position with some even

crediting him with turning California into a dependable Republican state. Although Young produced many popular protectionist articles as a journalist, his most important work would come in 1900 with the publication of his treatise, *Protection and Progress*. The central theme of this work is that protection, as opposed to free trade, eliminates economic waste by allowing nations to utilize the full scope of their economic resources. This is made possible through industrial diversification, since only diversification can allow for the most productive employment of highly varied and heterogenous resources and mental faculties.

During his life, Young also produced several other monographs on economic issues, including *The Development of the Manufacturing Industries of Japan* in 1896, and *The Growth of the Modern Trust System* in 1902. Young's literary interests also extended outside economics, with him producing other notable works, including *San Francisco*, *a History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis*, and *Journalism in San Francisco.* At age seventy-one, Young's life would come to an end on April 13, 1921, due to a stroke. This was three months after the American Protective Tariff League bestowed Young with an honorary membership for his efforts for the cause of protection.