

in deep sympathy with the plain people, the common man, and understanding the economic falsities of present conditions, yet calm, unemotional, just; more a man of intellect than of the emotions, he could better Bryan or Roosevelt as a champion for the Right. With that constant aim at a government of the people by the people for the people, and his ceaseless humor—suggestive of Lincoln—he makes the best combination of reformer, scholar and practical politician (in its highest sense) I have seen. He is a man of perfect poise—well balanced.

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WAGES AND THE TARIFF.

Portions of Speech Delivered by Hon. William Hughes of New Jersey in the Lower House of Congress. From the Congressional Record of June 19, 1911.

I want to say a few words about a subject which seems to cause great concern to our friends on the other side of the aisle, and that is the effect of this legislation upon the laboring classes of the country. I have worked myself in the factories of the country, and I have worked for very low wages, and I do not think that all of the time I was employed in factories in the city of Paterson that I averaged a dollar a day, taking into account the time that I lost. I want to tell you something else. Your campaign book in 1905 published the amount of wages paid to the silk operatives throughout this country and the number of operatives engaged in such industry, and one day, having nothing else to do, I divided one into the other, and I found that, although this industry is protected to the extent of 50 per cent or more ad valorem, the wages received by the operatives in that particular industry amounted to the munificent sum of \$335 per year. Now, think of it! I will tell you something else. The fiercest competition that the silk manufacturers in the city of Paterson ever met did not come from abroad. It came from the State of Pennsylvania, where these gentlemen come from who are inveighing against a revision of the tariff for fear of injuring the laboring man. The situation existing up there in Pennsylvania was absolutely ideal for their purposes. Why, there the big brawny men were working in the mines and the little boys were picking slate out of the coal as it shot down the chutes. Oh, I have seen them with their hands bleeding—little fellows who ought to be at home being attended to and taken care of by their mothers—I have seen them with their nails bleeding from the constant impact against the sharp corners of the slate. The men were employed and the boys were employed. There remained only to find some way of employing the infant girls. Suddenly some genius thought of the silk business—that was the thing. They came to my town and they enlisted

the services of the manufacturers and showed them what a world of cheap labor there was to be had—a part of the miner's family which was not now being used. They induced the manufacturers to go up there; they built them their factories for nothing; they gave them coal at \$1 a ton the year around; they remitted their taxes for 10 and 15 years; and they put these little girls to work. Took them out of the fields and off the hills, away from the schools, the prettiest and nicest little girls a man ever looked at. I have seen them up there, red checked, healthy, happy-eyed children, doomed for the future to pass their lives within the four brick walls of the silk mills of Pennsylvania. I saw them there working, and I saw the pay rolls. I saw girls doing work in one mill in the State of Pennsylvania for \$4 a week, and the scale in the city of Paterson then being paid was from \$15 to \$21. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. J. M. C. Smith: Do you think that removing the tariff would be a benefit or better the condition of the laboring men in this country?

Mr. Hughes: I am coming to that in a moment, because I have been under the impression always, and I am still under the impression, that the tariff has nothing to do with wages. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. J. M. C. Smith: And state, if you please, if there is any country that the sun shines on when it goes from east to west around this globe where the laboring man is so well fed, clothed, so well paid, and so happy as in the United States of America. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Hughes: The gentleman can get time to make his speech. I have heard that statement so often it makes me tired. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Mann: The truth generally hurts—

Mr. Hughes: Mr. Chairman, I am not prepared to say now there is any country where the condition of the laboring man is better than it is here, for, unfortunately, his condition is bad in a great many countries; but I will say, just as did the gentleman from Wisconsin on yesterday, that the wages and condition of workmen are fixed by a great many different contributory circumstances; and as he justly said, and as the father of Henry George said before him, the land values in this country are one of the controlling things in fixing the wages in this country. But you take the stand that you are doing something for the American laboring man when you enable his employer to plunder the people. You say to him, "I will give you part of the plunder," but he does not get it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I do not deny that the protective tariff, if carried to its logical conclusion—a combination or monopoly formed to take advantage of it—I do not deny that that will enable these gentlemen to pay high wages. But it does not compel them to

pay these wages. If the billion or nearly dollars' worth of watered stock of the Steel Trust, that it now compels us to pay dividends on, had not been issued and that money was in the treasury of that company instead of going out in dividends on that watered stock, why of course they could pay tremendously high wages. I say while it enables them to pay high wages it does not compel them to pay high wages [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Sloan: I would like to ask the gentleman if he indorses the taxation system of either Henry George, or his distinguished father?

Mr. Hughes: I do not know if the gentleman has ever read any of the articles—

Mr. Sloan: I think I have read nearly all those of the elder and have heard some of the speeches of Henry George, Jr.

Mr. Hughes: I am sure the gentleman will agree with me, I find it very difficult indeed to disagree with the elder Mr. George.

Mr. Sloan: Do you agree with him?

Mr. Hughes: To a large extent I do.

Mr. Sloan: Does the gentleman's party agree with him?

Mr. Hughes: Oh, I am not speaking for my party.

Mr. Hardy: What has that to do with this question?

Mr. Sloan: Henry George and Henry George's father are noted for distinctive ideas on taxation—

Mr. Hughes: I suppose the gentleman is referring now to the Singletax?

Mr. Sloan: Yes.

Mr. Hughes: And I want to limit my answer to that.

Mr. Sloan: More particularly that.

Mr. Hughes: And so I say I find it very hard indeed to escape the conclusion drawn by Mr. George in such of his works as I have read.

I never heard a joint discussion between a Singletaxer and a man opposed to the idea. There may be a good many arguments to be made on the other side of the proposition with which I am not familiar and which might affect my mind. But I must say that he seemed, so far as I have been able to observe, to make it very difficult indeed, for a fair-minded man, with no preconceived convictions on the subject, to disagree with him.

Mr. Martin (of Colorado): I would like to know if, in the opinion of the gentleman, any tariff legislation will appreciably benefit the condition of the wage earners in this country?

Mr. Hughes: Does the gentleman mean tariff legislation now, or as a general proposition?

Mr. Martin: As a general proposition.

Mr. Hughes: As a general proposition, no. Why should the manufacturer be expected to share with his workmen?

Mr. Martin: Will the gentleman permit a word

further just there, rather in the way of explanation?

Mr. Hughes: Yes, sir.

Mr. Martin: My view being that no tariff legislation, in view of modern industrial developments and conditions, will tend appreciably to solve the economic and industrial problems confronting the wage earners in this country. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In other words, I think the tariff is very largely a sham issue and a humbug, whether it is high tariff, low tariff, or no tariff, in so far as it involves the welfare of the American wage earner and the solution of the great issues that are really pressing upon the American people for solution. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Hughes: It might be possible for the American workingman to benefit from the tariff if he could effect a close and compact organization. For instance, if he could protect himself against immigration, if he had the genius to organize all the different branches of the different industries so that he himself could become a monopolist, so that he could say to the other monopolists, "When you are stealing from the people, steal enough for me and give it to me." [Applause and laughter on the Democratic side.] It might be possible for him then to benefit. But as it stands now, you give a monopoly to the manufacturer. You say: "We protect you from competition," and the ten manufacturers, say, who were formerly operating independently, combine and raise the price and get the benefit, and simply refuse to carry out their compact and bargain. They go to the four ends of the earth to get cheap labor to enable them to evade the solemn obligations they entered into to pay part of their profits back in high wages to the American workmen. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

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A LOOK INTO THE GULF.

I looked one night, and there Semiramis,
With all her mourning doves about her head,
Sat rocking on an ancient road of Hell,
Withered and eyeless, chanting to the moon
Snatches of song they sang to her of old
Upon the lighted roofs of Nineveh.
And then her voice rang out with rattling laugh:
"The bugles! they are crying back again—
Bugles that broke the nights of Babylon.
And then went crying on through Nineveh.
"Stand back, ye trembling messengers of ill!
Women, let go my hair: I am the Queen,
A whirlwind and a blaze of swords to quell
Insurgent cities. Let the iron tread
Of armies shake the earth. Look, lofty towers:
Assyria goes by upon the wind!"
And so she babbles by the ancient road,
While cities turned to dust upon the Earth
Rise through her whirling brain to live again—
Babbles all night, and when her voice is dead
Her weary lips beat on without a sound.

—Edwin Markham.