

South Carolina are less than twelve years old, and in another factory twenty-five per cent. are of the same tender age.

A committee of five South Carolina mill-owners—one of them a member of the United States Industrial Commission—went to the legislature and protested against any legislation which should prohibit child labor, saying that such legislation would be a recognition of the labor unions of the State, and therefore not advisable! Hugh Kavanaugh, in the *San Francisco Star*, tells of one town he visited where among 400 children less than 100 attend school. "The mill calls all the children whenever it needs them," the school teacher told Mr. Kavanaugh. Some of these work at night in the mills. Who would not rather see the children of the nation chattel slaves in the average condition that prevailed before the war?

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Perhaps Mr. Mark Hanna is sincere in his sudden interest in the labor question. It is not necessary to think him a liar when he speaks in behalf of labor; nor a hypocrite when he protests his willingness to consider the demands of labor unions. It is true his conversion comes rather late, and the example of Tom L. Johnson in Ohio naturally attracts imitators. But though appearances are suspicious, let us not impute motives. If Mr. Mark Hanna has something of importance to say, let us accept it at its face value.

In his Chautauqua address the distinguished Republican Senator said:

"I know the tendency in this country and the world over has been to selfishly appropriate the larger parts of the benefits of industry to capital."

There has been no such tendency. If there were, we should find that capital was growing richer, but as a matter of fact, monopoly is growing richer, and (relatively to the increase in production) both capital and labor are growing poorer.

Speaking, too, of the laboring masses, he says, "We must give them a larger share of the profits of industry which they helped to create." There is something offensive—perhaps unconsciously so—in that word "we." And this insistence upon the Golden Rule! What has it got to do with the question? If it is true that, as Senator Hanna says, "Labor is not getting its own," why should those who are now appropriating the larger fruits of labor generously turn over a part of it to the laborers and felicitate themselves on the practice of Christian Charity. When a man is robbed it will not do to urge the practice of the Golden Rule upon the thief, and ask him to restore a portion of the stealings—it is a case for the police. And though the analogy is not in all things perfect, since the system by which Labor is robbed of so much of its own is a social, not an individual crime, it is obviously a call for repression, and not for preachments upon the Golden Rule between individual capitalists and laborers.

Yet for society as a whole, we may well invoke the Golden Rule. Would Mr. Mark Hanna accept its provisions in the matter of land tenure where each man should be treated alike in the laws? And would he still favor it if we should adopt the Golden Rule in matters of taxation? And what about public franchises, by which Mr. Hanna has grown so enormously rich? Is he willing that society shall adopt the practice of doing for John Smith and every individual of the community equally what in the matter of such privileges it has done for Mark Hanna? We fear he would shrink from the logic of his own preachments.

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United States Commissioner of Labor Carrol D. Wright, in his address on "Labor in Law" at the New York Chautauqua Assembly, after referring

slightingly to the single tax and other reforms, declared: "The question is not how to kill or remove the cause, but to soften the struggle—for there is to be a continual struggle." Let us preserve at all hazards the cause of this degrading, brutalizing struggle. Let the House of Have continue side by side with the House of Want; let the exploitation of labor by monopoly go on, but do not disturb the foundations upon which this social injustice is built. For then the countless quakeries, the nostrums and palliatives that "soften the struggle" will become useless, and with them the office of Commissioner of Labor, or at all events of those unjust privileges which the Commissioner has so diligently served by his elaborate presentation of statistics.

For Mr. Wright has been a faithful servant of those who profit by things as they are. So far as figures may be marshalled to the support of existing institutions, figures are marshalled; so far as facts may be wrenched from their connection to support injustice, facts are wrenched; all this Mr. Wright does, and his service is worth to his employers all it costs. It is natural he should want the struggle to "continue," that he should speak slightingly of all attempts to end it, for that would be to make an end of Mr. Wright.

Such men as Mr. Wright find their supporters, curiously enough, among labor and trade unionists who will not look beyond their own narrow aims. When the International Typographical Union at its recent convention voted down the following resolution it sustained the position of Mr. Wright, and rendered a service to the oppressors of labor.

These are the resolutions:

Whereas, Labor organizations in New York, Colorado, and other States are agitating or changes in the present system of taxation; and, whereas, taxation has a vital effect upon the demand for labor and the rate of wages;

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed to investigate the relation of wages to taxation and report to the next Convention of the International Typographical Union.

Commenting upon this action the *Unionist*, one of the brightest little papers devoted to the printing trades, has this to say:

Taxation has been the potent cause of discontent and constant irritation the world over. It has incited to revolution probably oftener than any other cause. It has divided nations and contributed to their overthrow. Its importance to the welfare of a nation makes it a subject that should be thoroughly investigated. A workingmen's convention would seem to be a most proper place to discuss the subject of taxation, and at least make an effort to find a solution of the problem that will be just in its operation to all conditions of men.

The International Typographical Union failed to grasp the importance of the subject, and the bearing it has on the welfare of those in whose interest it legislates. In this respect the organization discredited the intelligence of its members and failed to show the progressiveness that the age demands.

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History repeats itself. Now as in pro-slavery days, when the slave owner spoke of himself as being divinely selected for the protection of the helpless black race, so the Baers and the Olyphants of to-day pretend to regard themselves as trustees of wealth for the great army of those who live by labor—their own, not that of others. But as the first superstition gave way, so must the second. It may give way peacefully, or it may be broken upon the rack of revolution. But broken it must be.

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The movement in Ohio is intensely gratifying. The State Democratic