

man for nothing! And especially 'as rich a man as he is! Now if he were a poor man there might be some—"

"Oh, if he were a poor man, I couldn't afford it. He has a number of extravagant habits, and I don't propose to keep him for a lot of tradesmen to grow rich in plundering him. I make them divide with me, or they don't get to see him. The man who is the most liberal with me gets admission when Mr. Knickerbocker is in good humor, and gets warned when he is cranky. His wines, his cigars, his books, his clothes, everything that he uses, costs him more than it used to, but he does not notice the fact. In the early days of his stay with me, I was reduced to such desperate straits to keep him that I went into his room when he was asleep and got as much money as I wanted out of his clothes. Another time—"

"But, my dear Mrs. Hamilton, do you think this is honest?"

"At this question Mrs. Hamilton grew visibly angry.

"What do you think I am running—a Sunday school for my health, or a boarding house for profit? If Knickerbocker hasn't sense enough to know that he can't be supported for nothing, or has such a lot of vanity that he thinks I am doing it because I am stuck on him, it's not my affair. Even if you went and told him all I have told you he wouldn't believe you; he would attribute it to jealousy. The best advice I can give you is to get into some 'get-rich-quick' scheme, for you won't get your old boarder again. The older he gets the more conceited he grows over the thought that it costs him nothing to live and he has broadly hinted that he will make me his residuary legatee. Last Sunday at church the minister read from the Bible about 'the children of darkness being wiser in their generation than the children of light,' and I thought it was the wisest thing I had heard out of the good book in a long time. It is much more to the point than talking about not setting the net in sight of the bird. Why, now-a-days the birds feel so flattered at your wanting to catch them that you need no nets at all. Well, I am sorry you have to go. Anything more you want to inquire about? Yes, I will probably try for some more boarders on my indirect taxation plan, as my son calls it. What! they'll find me out! Yes, ma'am, they may, but they will be so much ashamed of having been taken in they won't tell anyone of it."

JOHN J. MURPHY.

#### CHILD LABOR.

A contribution written by Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, for the American Federationist for May, the organ of the American Federation of Labor. Published here by special permission of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

One need not be familiar with the appalling details to have his wrath excited against what is known as child labor. All he need do is to imagine his own or a neighbor's child wearing its life away in the dust and racket of a coal breaker or the ceaseless din of a factory. Let his imagination seize upon the image of a real child, not the mere abstract idea which we spell c-h-i-l-d, but a little boy or girl with whom he is personally acquainted, whose features he recognizes in his mind's eye, and whose name he recalls with affectionate emotions—let him associate that image with a perpetual round of nerve-racking drudgery, and his education against child labor will be instantly complete.

No sane man or woman could bear the thought of turning their own baby friends into factory machines, no matter how proud they might be of the resulting commercial "prosperity." At such a cost commercial "prosperity" is all too dear. But what difference does it make if the immolated children happen to be some one else's instead of ours? They are nevertheless as human, and their suffering is as great as the suffering of our own would be.

Moreover, our civilization is to be tested in this respect not by the care that well-to-do parents give their children, but by its child life as a whole; and by that test how terrible is the indictment against it! No wonder the horrors of Moloch, the child-consuming god of the ancients, and of Ganges, the child-engulfing river of the Hindus, are recalled to illustrate the child-devouring "prosperity" of our own civilized time and Christian country.

Child labor is child sacrifice. No heathen rites, however wretched or cruel, for the pacification of vindictive gods, can be much more revolting to a reflecting mind than the destruction of the innocents for the profit of commercial promoters in this Christian land. Let me not be understood as opposing labor by children. Children are benefited by laboring. Every child, from the time it begins to play intelligently, should have responsible labors to perform. That is the natural way of develop-

ing physical skill and moral sensibility. But child labor, as the term is used, does not describe the wholesome normal tasks of childhood. It describes instead the drudgery of a monotonous toil which stunts the body and compresses the mind, which fatigues beyond endurance and degrades without compunction while it kills without mercy.

There should be no question about dealing instantly with such an outrage upon the children of our time and country. Even paternal laws, such as repressive acts against child labor undoubtedly are, may be tolerated as a temporary expedient for the sake of children whose rights are momentarily in deadly peril.

True, it is to be borne in mind at all times that the child labor iniquity is a natural result of an iniquitous institution more fundamental. If heaven were monopolized, there would be child labor or something oppressive quite akin to it in heaven itself; and it is unavoidable on earth so long as the earth is monopolized. Child labor is an evil without roots of its own. It is simply one of the manifestations of that social and industrial life which has its roots in land monopoly. This fundamental wrong would manifest itself in other ways if child labor were effectively prohibited. A fundamental social wrong is like migratory rheumatism. If by local treatment you subdue its manifestations in one place, you hardly have time to realize the relief before you are aware of them in another place. The only remedy for such industrial evils as child labor must be radical. It must be one that goes to the root. It must not merely allay, it must eradicate. And the root whence all such evils as child labor draw their sustenance is land monopoly. Abolish land monopoly and you abolish child labor, and only so. For, after all, it is the pressing needs of disinherited and impoverished parents, rather than the greed of factory owners, that make child labor possible. Where is the well-to-do family from which a single child has ever been dragged by capitalistic greed into factory service? Restore to parents full freedom to raise themselves above want and fear of want, and you can better trust the parental instinct than the instinct of a State official, to protect the rights of children.

But with the potency of the parental instinct checked by an institution the destructive nature of which

cannot be widely enough exposed to the public understanding to be uprooted in this generation, and with whole armies of children consequently deprived of the most elementary rights of childhood, immediate relief is demanded. Even the most consistent adversary of paternal legislation may well, in such circumstances, withhold opposition while temporary laws for the protection of children are enacted and enforced.

#### MAYOR TOM L. JOHNSON.

From The Commoner (Wm. J. Bryan, editor and proprietor) of May 8, 1903.

Among the prominent Democrats of the country who have been mentioned in connection with presidential honors none has been mentioned with more frequency than Mayor Tom L. Johnson, thrice elected mayor of Cleveland, O. He is a Democrat who has always been loyal, always a hard worker in the party, and always a virile leader in reforms demanded by the people. The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, one of the strongest Democratic dailies in the country, edited by Warren Worth Bailey, speaks of Mayor Johnson in the following words:

"If nothing more than ability to carry elections were to be the test of fitness, Johnson would measure up to the full standard. He is the only Democrat of national reputation who has in recent years been able to wrest victory from the clutch of hopeless conditions; victory, not for himself alone, but for his party also.

"Two years ago he became mayor of Cleveland. It was not by bargaining with the Republican politicians and corporation magnates of that Republican city, as his 'Democratic' predecessor had done, but by fighting them with radically democratic policies in an open campaign. He appealed to the people and won them over to his side. Six months later he secured a Democratic victory in Cuyahoga county, until then a Republican stronghold, and seated in the legislature the first Democratic delegation that had gone from that county in 40 years or more. When a year had rolled around he led the party to victory in a municipal election in Cleveland in which he was not himself a candidate. In another six months he was leading the State campaign for his party in northern Ohio, where he increased the Democratic vote by 10,000; without counting Cuyahoga county, which he carried for the State ticket by 2,500, the city of Cleveland responding with

a plurality of 5,000. And now, after only two years of leadership, he not only secures his own reelection as mayor, but establishes his party completely and overwhelmingly in power in a city which has never before been regarded as Democratic. On the mere basis of vote-attracting ability, no present aspirant for the Democratic nomination for president can compare with Johnson.

"But that is the least of his qualifications. Both his administration as mayor and his methods of party leadership have proved him to be a democratic statesman of the purest and ablest type. When he came into the office of mayor of Cleveland two years ago that city was under the government of what is known as the federal plan. It was the mayor's duty under this plan to appoint a cabinet consisting of heads of departments, and to supervise their work. There were but few men who had been tested in public office whom he could select for appointments. Most of the tried office holders of Cleveland of both parties had been found disgracefully wanting. Johnson was obliged, therefore, to reorganize the city government with untried men, trusting to his knowledge of human nature to pick out the honest ones, and to his business experience and judgment to select the capable. He did not fail. From top to bottom the administrative department was put upon a better business footing than that of any other city in the Union. All his appointees have won public confidence, both for ability and integrity. There is not a black sheep among them.

"In the legislative department Johnson was obliged for a year to work with a city council in which Republicans were in the majority, and each party was well represented with corruptionists. He brought the honest Democrats and the honest Republicans together, led them to unite in organizing the council by electing honest Republicans instead of crooked Republicans to the offices of that body, and by inspiring confidence in the honest councilmen of both parties was able to secure from the council the legislation he needed for faithful service to the city. It was with the aid of this council that he began his now famous and nearly successful fight against the street car monopolies. From the next council nearly all the crooked members were excluded in response to Johnson's appeal to the people; and with a Democratic majority in that

body his fight became easier, until the street car monopolists 'ripped' the city and tied his hands altogether.

"While fighting the street car monopolists Johnson did not overlook the inequalities of taxation by which the great corporations and the great landlords of the city had long profited at the expense of the masses of the people. Finding a moribund tax board in the legal equipment of the city government, he got rid of its useless members, reorganized it with new men, and began through them to reveal the inequalities and injustice of the tax system and its local operation. Among the discoveries of this rejuvenated board was the fact that small property owners were taxed on the basis of from 60 to over 100 per cent. of the true value of their property, while large property owners escaped with valuations ranging from 60 per cent. downward, and the public service corporations got off with valuations as low as 10 per cent. and even lower.

"Johnson's attempt to remedy this revealed injustice was cut off by the same 'ripping' process that tied his hands in the street car fight. The old-time tax board, no longer moribund, was legislated out of office; and the public service corporations were relieved by Republican officials of the increased taxes which that board had found they justly owed. But this was not a defeat for Johnson. His triumph at the Cleveland elections last week amply proves that it was but a factor in that fierceness of the battle which makes the victory that comes at last all the more complete and secure.

"The man who can and will make that kind of a fight for the people is the type of man the Democratic party needs for its presidential candidate. Nor has Johnson's political career in Cleveland anything in it of the nature of fireworks. It is simply an expression of the character and mental and moral equipment of the man. None who know him are astonished by it. They expect it. In business he has forged ahead from a poor boy, the son of a Confederate officer impoverished by the Civil War. He has played in the same game of business that the great captains of industry are playing yet, and he has won at it. His ability as a business man not even the best of them will dispute. Johnson is no weakling 'theorist.' He knows all the twists and wriggles in the diplomacy of plutocratic business with which the plutocrats so bewilder President Roosevelt, and he knows how to turn them to account for the