GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

VOLUME XXV

JULY—DECEMBER

1903

NEW YORK
THE GUNTON COMPANY
41 UNION SQUARE
of the government should have appointed him to the office of Postmaster-General has been explained as due to the President's eagerness for the nomination next year and his real or fancied need of such practical party workers as Payne and Clarkson. No one, however, has ever questioned the honesty of Mr. Payne in his business affairs, and there is no doubt that an actual instance of money corruption in his department must lead him to a relentless investigation and prosecution of the guilty. Only this development could prevent him from attempting to make light of the scandal of collusion between officials and contractors, the appointment of unfit persons to places because of their party work, the carrying of the relatives of politicians on the pay rolls without exacting service from them, and the like. The scandal has now reached a stage where it must hurt the party more to attempt to blind the people than to make a full revelation and prosecute all who are concerned in it.—Philadelphia Record.

It is manifestly in evidence that Postmaster-General Payne is not the right man in the right place. Friends of this member of the cabinet assert that he is an honest man, desirous of doing the right thing, but in poor health and so handicapped for the sharp handling of the important work that he has in hand. To say so much is to confess judgment. Mr. Payne's explanations, and repeated but wholly insufficient dismissals of charges that have led to revelations important and unsavory, are no longer convincing, if they ever were. Things do not stay where he essays to put them, and have not done so from the start. Mr. Tulloch's charges will not down. They were the lead which has proved "rich." Those who impartially consider the developments and the fulminations of Mr. Payne long ago saw that they do not jibe.

Nothing short of a full, clear and resolute demonstration that the bottom of the irregularities and corruption has been sought and reached, will now satisfy the country. There is disappointment in Mr. Payne. He should be stiffened up and reinforced by the President, or put out of the way for a more resolute investigator, one who can command the confidence of the country.—Springfield Republican.

Perils of Trade Unionism

Labor has caught the fever of trade unionism, and, without knowing what it means, or realizing how it may be of real service to the world, has turned its power and energy in the direction of building up organizations. Unless this force is turned to substantial meth-
ods of bettering industrial conditions, rather than to gaining temporary or personal advantages, then all this great movement must be for naught.

When all is said and done, the power of public opinion is the one controlling power in the world. A sufficient public opinion will preserve trade unionism. A strong enough hostile public opinion will destroy it. Trade unionism has fought its long battle and won its well-earned victories because it stood for something more than individual selfishness; because it really meant the upbuilding of the race. If it should lose its moral force and descend to pure selfishness it is bound to fall to pieces."—Clarence S. Darrow, in Speech to the Henry George Association of Chicago.

Mr. Darrow's address is the earnest remonstrance of a thoughtful man against the follies into which workingmen have drifted and which menace them and the social structure with disaster. It needs courage for a friend of the laborer to rebuke his selfishness, ignorance and recklessness, and only a true and wise friend, an unselfish friend, could dare so much and speak so plainly. A crisis in the life of organized labor in the United States is impending. It is foreshadowed in aimless strikes, in irrational unrest, in the seething turbulence of masses of men who can give no lucid reason for their turmoil, in the defensive drawing together of harassed employers in the growing hostility of public opinion to purposeless disturbers of business. The need for sane counsel, sharp rebuke and earnest remonstrance against foolish action is great and the man who supplies that need takes his courage in both hands if he values the friendship of those whom he would save from their own folly. Clarence Darrow has dared greatly. Will organized labor understand him and heed him? Will its leaders stand by him and tell their followers that "faithful are the wounds of a friend"?—Philadelphia North American.

No one expects altruism in business affairs, nor is it to be supposed that Mr. Darrow had in mind any notion of a Utopia in which employer and employee shall devote their energies to any one's welfare except their own. What he meant and what is obvious to all observers of present tendencies is that in the greed which has caused the strife which he deprecates there is danger of self-destruction rather than promise of self-betterment. As greedy combinations of capital are foredoomed to failure, so greedy labor unions are bent on ruin of their own interests. Already on both sides there are signs that this element of weakness is making itself
felt. If the warning is not soon heeded while the machinery of business is still going the lesson will be learned in bitter suffering when it is too late to avoid serious and lasting consequences.—New York Commercial Advertiser.

Mr. Darrow rendered a very great service to organized labor in his conduct of the case of the anthracite strikers, and is rendering it a scarcely less important service in warning it against radical and destructive action, and the disregard of the public welfare. Mr. Henry White, one of the most eminent labor leaders, has uttered a similar warning to his followers. Some of the labor leaders have done their cause great harm by inciting general attack on the trade of a whole community, and the members of the organizations will do well to reflect on Mr. Darrow’s statement that in the long run public opinion controls, and movements hostile to the interests of the community as a whole can not succeed, whatever may be the forces back of them.—Philadelphia Record.

Child Labor in North and South

The widespread agitation against child labor in the South has reopened the discussion of this very important problem throughout the whole country. It has been found that the work of the children in the textile mills in the South is reduplicated not only in other industries in the South, but in the Middle States, and in more than one northern state, notwithstanding many years of child-labor legislation. The tobacco factories of Virginia and Kentucky, for example, are known to employ children under almost as injurious conditions as obtain in the cotton states; the slaughter houses, tobacco shops, and bakeries in Chicago are employing children below the age of fourteen years under equally sordid conditions, and by night as well as by day; the enormous glass industry of New Jersey is employing children below the legal age under the most injurious conditions; the mines of Pennsylvania are using thousands of boys on the breakers, a large part of whom are known to be below the legal age; and the office boys, messenger boys, delivery boys, newsboys and bootblacks of New York, as well as those of other large cities, are totally without legal protection.

Child labor in the North does not take place, as a rule, at such an early age as it does in the South; but its very much greater extent in this section makes it an even more important public issue. Besides the thirteen thousand children under sixteen employed in the factories of New York, there are thousands in the stores, thousands on the street, and other thousands scattered throughout the offices of the city. The