OFFICIAL JOURNAL

International Association

Heat and Frost Insulators

and Asbestos Workers



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ISSUED MONTHLY

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THE DELEGATES TO THE EIGHTH CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
Held at New York City, August 5-6

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Official Organ of International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers

DIGEST OF TRADE CONDITIONS.

Being well into the latter half of the year 1912, we are more and more impressed with the wonderful progress business has made since the first of the year. It was to be expected that the Presidential campaign would retard business progress, but the multiplication of candidates, parties and issues has brought about a political condition which is really helping the business situation. A clearly defined contest between two candidates or two parties on one or two issues of vital importance might have seriously hampered business activity. While some business may be more or less affected by the political situation until November first, even politics cannot prevent the gradual but persistent expansion in most lines which is now taking place, and which bids fair to continue through the year.

Aside from the labor situation, the largest cloud in an otherwise clear business sky, has been the number and size of **Business Failures.** Failures for July were 1153 against 1013 for the previous month, and 1027 for the corresponding month of last year. The total liabilities were one-half million dollars more than in June, and nearly 6 million dollars more than in July, 1911. This was the largest number of failures ever reported for July and the largest total liabilities for that month, with the exception of July, 1908. It is believed that these figures indicate a cleaning-up and a wiping out of weak concerns. The next two or three months will show whether or not this is the case.

Immigration for June was much less than for May, but considerably heavier than June of last year and heavier than the five-year average.

Bank Clearings for July for the United States set a new record at 14 billion dollars while clearings, exclusive of New York City, also set a new July record at 6 billion dollars.

The activity in the **Building** line continued through July, a total of 89 million dollars worth of buildings being under construction in 125 cities reported as against 83 million dollars for the same month last year. The gain over 1910 was more than 30%. Twenty leading cities, including New York, show a decrease of nearly two million when compared with July of last year, which was largely accounted for by the fact that Manhattan showed a decrease. Three-fifths of the cities reporting showed an increase over last year, which is gratifying.

For the month of June, 410 railroads operating nearly 200 thousand miles, showed **Gross Earnings** of 203 million dollars, an increase of 14 million dollars or 7½% over the previous July. The same roads reported net earnings of more than 65 million dollars, a gain of three million dollars, or more than 6% over July of the previous year. The gains shown are good indications, but in considering them we must remember that earnings last year were unsatisfactory and a considerable gain was necessary to the successful conduct of the leading roads.

Gross earnings for the first six months of 1912 are reported at 1329 million dollars against 1278 million dollars for the corresponding period of 1911, making a gain of 51 million dollars, or 4%. This offsets the 26

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million dollar decrease shown for the first six months of 1911, as compared with the previous year, and when compared with the situation for the past ten years, is a fairly satisfactory showing in gross. For the month of July roads reporting operations on 90 thousand miles show a gain of 9% over last year, or nearly six million dollars.

While 56 thousand **Freight Cars** were idle on the first of August, these cars are in immediate demand for crop moving, and it is at present impossible to get cars at some points. The car shortage will probably be more acute as the season progresses, and any considerable advance in grain prices causing a large movement to market would cause a congestion. Higher average live stock prices are increasing shipments.

The **Steel** and **Iron** business is still the vital and uplifting factor in the business world. This activity is making business for everyone. The big iron production for the first half of 1912, which is reported at 14 million tons, was never equaled in the first half of any year except 1910, when it was nearly one million tons larger. The production for the first half of 1911 was less than 12 million tons. Should the present rate of production continue, a new record will be set for the output of a calendar year. Nearly all branches of the steel business show a healthy condition and an output far above average and almost up to capacity. The best feature is that better prices prevail.

Shipments of **Anthracite Coal** for the first six months of this year were only 26 million tons against 35 million tons for the same period last year. July shipments added 6285 thousand tons to these figures, an increase of 1481 thousand tons compared with last July. Anthracite prices are higher and prepared sizes are scarcer, but no real famine is expected.

The production of **Gold** from the Transvaal during July totaled 766 thousand ounces, which figure has been exceeded by only two individual months this year and was never equaled previous to the year 1912 by any month's production. The daily production of the Rand Mines so far for this year stands at almost 25 thousand fine ounces, compared to 22 thousand last year, and slightly over 20 thousand the year before. The total production of these mines for seven months was 5309 thousand ounces.

The average price of all **Commodities** stands to-day at a figure which was equaled in April, 1910, and in May of this year, but aside from these two months has not been equaled since the Civil War. Careful study of this situation by economists has brought about a general acceptance of the belief that increased gold production means increased commodity prices. While these two may not increase in the same degree, as commodity prices are affected by many other conditions, a comparison of gold production with commodity prices for a period of years, by months, shows that heavy gold production has always been accompanied by higher prices.

The only thing which will assist materially in bringing about lower prices for **Foodstuffs** within the next few months is the promised tremendous farm output. An average of several hundred reports made by the best crop authorities indicates a crop of 3050 million bushels of corn, including silage; 1200 million bushels of oats; 35 million bushels of rye; 200 million bushels of barley; 990 million pounds of tobacco; 70 million tons of hay; 12 to 13 million bales of cotton, including linters; 24 million bushels of rice; 370 million bushels of potatoes. These crops, if they are successfully harvested and housed, coupled with the unusually good fruit and vegetable crops, will set a new figure for one year's farm production for this country. The crops of sugar beets, onions, tomatoes, cabbages and lima beans will be above the average, which is also true of apples, pears, peaches, grapes, cantaloupes and watermelons. The few fruit and vegetable crops which are below average are only slightly below, and good crops in general are practically assured.

The new spirit of "live and let live" between employer and employee has gained considerable headway during the past few weeks. Difficulties which might have resulted in serious strikes have been settled in numerous instances, while several important difficulties are now being arbitrated. Conditions are such that a year or two without serious labor disturbances would mean a great deal ultimately to the people of this country. It is to be hoped that present methods of settling difficulties will grow in favor.

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GENERAL PRESIDENT JOSEPH A. MULLANEY

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GENERAL PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Members--

Greeting:

In this, my initial report, let me say at the very outset that though our Official Journal is, as it should be, the medium through which we exchange trade views, and mould both sentiment and opinion, it is already my adopted policy to deal as briefly as possible with the ordinary happenings and incidents occurring during the performance of my official duties. My objects in this are twofold. It will enable me to leave unsaid many things in reference to the overzealousness or misdirected energy of some now numbered among our membership. It will also enable me to withhold anything which in my opinion will do no more good by its appearance than choke our Official Journal with critical literary effusions, protests, advice, and the usual one hundred and one things incident to trade controversies that have their beginning in honest, but much too detailed, officers' reports, for let it be well understood that many conversations, meetings, conferences and incidents both conducive and imperative to our general betterment along clean, honorable trade union lines should never appear in print, for be it remembered that "everybody's business is nobody's business." So much for the deed. A word on the thought. Those among you who give to the general membership a suggestion contribute something of much more value than dues and assessments, as it is a well known fact that money can build the ship, but a dollar cannot steer her. My own suggestions shall be found in each succeeding issue of our Official Journal under different, separate headings.

My efforts since Convention follow:

On August 13th, I attended and addressed the meeting of Local No. 14, and arranged the details necessary to furthering the final adoption of the initiation fee as agreed to, and understood, by both employers and Local No. 14. At the request of the Local, I acquiesced to a time extension of two weeks, making August 30th the rate of introduction for the twenty-five dollar initiation fee.

August 17th to 23rd was spent by me at our General Office, St. Louis, where in conjunction with Secretary-Treasurer McNamara, I arranged for the transferring and proper re-depositing of the funds. The issuing of new stationery, Official Journal, and other general office dtails were taken up and many changes introduced. While there I attended and addressed the meeting of Local No. 1, and also conferred with President Grob, Convention Delegate Weiss and Business Agent McNamara, in relation to local trade conditions upon which a plan of action was outlined and agreed upon.

It may be worth mentioning that St. Louis is 100 per cent union for our craft and that Local No. 1 enjoys a flat minimum five dollar rate of wage.

August 30th found me in Philadelphia, at the special meeting of Local No. 14, held to ratify the trade agreement and Local Constitution and Bylaws. As I had previously contributed my mite towards the rehabilitating of Local No. 14, it afforded me much personal pleasure to preside on this occasion, and when I took the train for New York City I left behind a Local with exclusive closed shop recognition, and trade agreements signed by all employers that call for a fifteen cent daily wage increase.

I postponed a previous engagement in order to be again in Philadelphia on September 10th, where I was called by Local N. 14 over a question of trade agreement interpretation as to clause covering improvers. Conferences between certain employers, the Business Agent and myself during the day, and with the Executive Board in session before the meeting succeeded in settling the matter to the entire satisfaction of all concerned as per resolution adopted at Local meeting that followed.

Fraternally submitted,

Joseph A. Mullaney

General President.

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OF

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GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER REPORT

Complying with the request of the Pittsburg Local to visit their city on my way to the convention and attend a special meeting called for that purpose, I favored them with their request.

Said meeting was well attended, and from all accounts received at that meeting and from assurance of the officers of the Pittsburg Local, in the near future the Pittsburg Local will be one of the best organized locals affiliated with the association.

Leaving Pittsburg, I arrived in New York City to attend the convention, which you will note in my report of the Proceedings of the Convention.

After the convention adjourned, I proceeded to Buffalo, N. Y., as per arrangements with Chas. Rice and others, and attended a meeting called for the purpose of re-organizing. After a lengthy session in regard to same, I practically reorganized that town.

Am glad to state that since that time a new Charter has been issued to them and from accounts received at the meeting that night and from reports which they are sending in, the organization will soon be back to what it was some few years ago, viz., one of the best organized locals affiliated with the association.

After leaving Buffalo, I went to Detroit, Mich., and met the officers of the Detroit Local and had their assurance that with a little assistance from the Association, their organization would be back to what it was a few years ago, viz., one hundred per cent organization.

I also wish to report that besides Buffalo being re-organized, I have issued Charters to Dallas, Tex., and Indianapolis, Ind., with a prospect in view of organizing Montreal, Quebec, Rochester, N. Y., and Minneapolis, Minn.

Nothing of much importance was brought before the Executive Board, with the exception that the Charter of Local No. 29, New Haven, Conn., has been revoked for the non-payment of per capita tax.

In the last month I have received word from the Boston Local, stating that their initiation fee has been raised to $100.00, to take effect October 1, and for a new wage scale of 50c per hour for the year of 1913.

Have also received a report from Pittsburg, Pa., that they have increased their initiation fee to $150.00.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. J. McNAMARA,
Secretary-Treasurer.

ABOUT MONEY.

If money made the birds sing any sweeter,
Or made the skies a brighter, better blue;
If money made a summer day completer,
Or added to the sunset's gorgeous view;
If money made a meadow more entrancing,
A shady lane a better place to stroll;
If gold could add one bit to my romancing,
On money then I'd strive to feed my soul.

"I wish your slippers had asbestos soles!" howled the child who was being corrected.

"Why?" said the child's maternal parent—"on account of the warmth?"

"No," sobbed Billy, "but because they couldn't burn so!"

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American Federation of Labor News

BOILERMAKERS, PRUDENT AND FORESIGHTED.

Washington.—The Boilermakers enacted the following progressive provisions at the tenth convention recently held at Little Rock. Per capita tax to Grand Lodge increased from 50 per cent to $1 per month for journeymen, and 60c per month for apprentices and helpers. 50 per cent of this amount will go into the strike benefit fund, 30 per cent for general expenses; 11 per cent for disabilities and deaths; 7 per cent for the Journal and 2 per cent for transportation of delegates to convention. The death benefits were increased from $100 to $250 and a disability benefit of $800 in cases where both eyes, both hands or both feet are lost. The Journal will be made free and sent to each individual member. Special Grand Lodge assessments will be abolished. All strikes in future must be sanctioned by the Executive Council in order to secure strike benefits. The Grand Lodge will bond all the financial officers of local and district lodges. The Journeymen Boilermakers and Helpers' lodges are to be consolidated. The new laws will take effect January 1st, 1913.

UNION MEN FOR CONGRESS.

Washington.—Information is coming in to headquarters with reference to a number of union men who have either been nominated for Congress or are aspiring for the nomination. Timothy F. Healey, President of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, has been nominated for Congress in the Sixteenth New York Congressional district by the Progressive party. Harry J. Skeffington, a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, and for many years active in the labor movement, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress in one of the districts adjacent to Boston. David J. Hanvey, of Englewood, N. J., a stone cutter, is a candidate for the nomination to Congress. Cornelius J. Ford, a union printer, of Hoboken, N. J., is a candidate for nomination on the Democratic ticket for Congress. Charles A. Sumner, of Kansas City, a union stereotyper, is a candidate for Congress on the Progressive ticket. T. P. Fahey, of Cheyenne, Wyo., a union coal miner, has been nominated for Congress on the Democratic ticket. Ed. Keating, of Colorado, member of typographical union, has been nominated for Congress on the Democratic ticket.

73,209 UNITED STATES EMIGRANTS TAKE $110,000,000 THERE.

Ottawa, Ont.—United States settlers entering Canada during the first five months of the current year, according to a statement issued by the government, exceeded the arrivals last year by 10 per cent.

There were 73,209 arrivals in the Western provinces this year. They brought with them in cash and property upwards of $110,000,000.

GRANITE CUTTERS SCORE.

Washington.—Organizer Flett, of the American Federation of Labor, reporting from Quebec, Canada, states that an agreement has been secured by the Granite Cutters' Union with a large contracting firm now engaged in the construction work on the Quebec bridge, whereby members of the Granite Cutters' Union only will be employed, the eight-hour day established as well as other union conditions. Prior to the settlement mentioned the job was nonunion and the ten-hour day was in vogue.

IRON WORKERS VICTORIOUS.

San Francisco.—The Iron Workers of San Francisco and Oakland have won a signal victory. After a strike of a few days, the Erectors' Association of the Pacific jurisdiction conceded all the demands of the Structural Iron Workers, which includes an increase of $1 per day and double time for overtime. There were involved in the controversy approximately 350 iron workers. In the face of prevailing sentiment, the victory is a notable one, and emphasizes the solidarity of the Western Coast unionists.

REPORT ON McNAMARA FUND.

Secretary Morrison has forwarded to every contributor to the McNamara

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defense fund an account of all moneys received and expended. The itemized statement covers eighty pages, and the correctness is vouched for by double audit, the first occurring in April, while the second was made in August. It shows that $236,105.25 was contributed to this fund, and that $227,911.85 has been expended. There is a balance remaining of $8,996.54. In regard to this unexpended balance Secretary Morrison closes his report by saying "that a further statement will be mailed to all contributors, informing them of the disposition of the balance of the fund, to whom paid, etc., and such other information as may be received pertaining to the receipts and disbursements of the fund."

A fight between the Coopers' Union and Standard Oil ought to be quite a contest. Though Standard is pretty well fixed, the coopers themselves have a barrel.

One of the Boston amateur teams has a pitcher named Asbestos. That fellow can't be fired, nor will he ever falter in the heat battle.

If you think you are right stick to your opinion, but don't get the idea that the fellow who differs with you is a fool and not entitled to consideration. His opinion may be just as good as yours, and some better.

Don't discuss the business of your union on the streets, in saloons or any place where your local does not meet. Come to the proper place and discuss the different questions.

Two classes of people worry about money—those who have too much and those who have too little.

If charges are true, William M. Wood of the American Woolen Company planted dynamite in order to pull the wool over the public's eyes.

VALUE OF A UNION.

The telephone girls of Boston and vicinity have formed a trade union and have secured shorter hours and more pay, both of which were badly needed. It does not make much difference what kind of work one is engaged in. The only way to improve wages and conditions is for all the workers in that occupation to get together in a bona fide trade union.

You are herewith advised that at the session of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, A. F. of L., held in Atlantic City, N. J., August 12th, 1912, the following action was taken on the subject under the title of:

REVOCATION OF CHARTER, AMALGAMATED SOCIETY CARPENTERS & JOINERS BY A. F. OF L.

"Report was made to the Executive Council to the effect that the American Federation of Labor had, in accordance with the Atlanta Convention, revoked the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners, due to the refusal of the latter organization to accept the plan of amalgamation with the Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners as outlined by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and on motion the officers of the Department were instructed to take similar action and eliminate the jurisdiction claim of the latter Organization from the official publications of the Department."

You are herewith officially notified of the action of the Executive Council in the case above named, and that the local unions of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners are under the constitution ineligible for membership in local Building Trades Councils. You will please consider the information thus conveyed as official notification of the action taken and act in accordance therewith.

Fraternally yours,

WM. SPENCER,
Secy.-Treas, B. T. D.

S—E

INSULATORS AND A. W., LOCAL No. 15, WINNIPEG, CAN.

At the regular meeting of above, held on September 26th, the election of officers took place, and the following were elected for the ensuing term:

President—W. A. Rogers.

Vice-President—T. Feah.

Recording Secretary—Geo. W. Ellinthorpe.

Financial Secretary—W. J. Watts.

Treasurer—S. Richards.

Sergeant-at-Arms—S. Kerry.

Delegates to B. T. C.—T. Feah, H Morgan and S. Richards.

Auditors—W. A. Rogers and W. E Morgan

Fraternally yours,

GEO. W. ELLINTHROPE,
Secy.

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DEMAND A WORKABLE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

By Judson King, Field Secretary, National Referendum League.

In his timely and valuable article on the "Initiative, Referendum, and Recall" in the August *American Federationist*, President Gompers pointed out that the American Federation of Labor was the first organized body of men in the United States officially to endorse direct legislation and to demand that the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall be added to the political tool-chest of the people. That action was taken at the Philadelphia Convention on December 17, 1892, and ever since then organized labor has been the most powerful continuous force battling for these reforms. In 1892 Labor could not get the old party politicians within a mile of a pledge to support Direct Legislation, save in rare instances. In 1912 thousands of old party and new party politicians are imploring the voters to elect them to State Legislatures, or make them governors, presidents, or what not, *because* they are in favor of the Initiative and Referendum.

Organized labor in thousands of electoral districts is now questioning candidates how they stand on this issue, and whether they will, if elected, submit to a vote of the people amendments to their State constitutions providing for the Initiative and Referendum, and it is safe to say that in a majority of instances they will get an affirmative answer. The stone which the politicians once rejected has become the threshold of entrance to the political temple.

But it is of the utmost importance at this time to ascertain *what kind* of an Initiative and Referendum amendment the candidate favors. It is not enough to stop with gaining a mere assent to "the principle." It makes no difference how much a man shouts for "the rule of the people;" if he refuses to support an honest, workable, amendment which experience shows to be just and right, he must for practical purposes be regarded as unfriendly to the Initiative and Referendum.

An examination of the actual workings of the Initiative and Referendum in the States where it is now in operation, will demonstrate that it is one thing to have "the principle in the State constitution," and quite another to have a system which is workable and with which the voters can do business. The Initiative and Referendum is a piece of political machinery as easy to put out of commission as to "pi" a page of type. An ordinary statute law can be amended by the Legislature. To change the Initiative and Referendum requires an amendment to the constitution, and involves a fight as difficult as to get it adopted in the first place. Moreover it often takes many years to demonstrate the harm done by jokers and to remedy them. It has taken one hundred years to convince the American people that the "checks and balances" of the Constitution are responsible for much of the mis-representative government we have had. We are finding it out now to the distress of our health, happiness, and pocketbooks.

The clever corporation lobbyists do not ask that "checks and balances" be placed in the Initiative and Referendum. It is "safeguards and restrictions" which they want now, but they are playing the same old game under a new name.

The forces of organized labor, particularly the legislative committees, must look out for those "safeguards and restrictions." When a candidate states that he is "in favor of the 'principle' of the Initiative and Referendum, but has not made up his

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mind" as to the particular provisions, it is time to put a question mark after his name right on the spot, and at the first opportunity to have a heart to heart talk with him as to just what he means. If you want to get right at the real vital elements of a workable Initiative and Referendum with him, let me suggest

Five Initiative and Referendum Questions for Candidates.

1. Will you vote to apply the Initiative to constitutional amendments as well as to statute laws?

2. Are you in favor of the standard percentages on petitions—not more than 5 per cent for the Referendum, not more than 8 per cent for the Initiative, and with no distribution in counties? No State should require more than 50,000 for the Initiative and 30,000 actual signatures for the Referendum.

3. Will you oppose an "emergency clause" which will permit the Legislature absolutely to deny the people the right of a Referendum vote on any law it sees fit to say is "necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety?"

4. Do you think measures should be adopted when they receive a majority of the "vote cast thereon," or would you vote to require them to have a majority of "all votes cast in the election?"

5. Will you favor a modern, efficient, economical system of informing the voters on the questions submitted, similar to the Oregon Publicity Pamphlet system, and give the people the right to include arguments for or against measures, they paying the actual cost of the space taken?

Each one of the points covered by these questions is necessary to the successful working of the Initiative and Referendum. There are other "jokers," but these are the most dangerous. In order to drive home their value, let me illustrate their significance by giving a few illustrations from recent experience of those States which have Direct Legislation in operation.

First Question. South Dakota, Montana, and Maine do not have the Constitutional Initiative. You have heard of nothing vital being done in these States, although South Dakota has had the Initiative and Referendum since 1898. If the people of Oregon had not had the Constitutional Initiative the tremendous progress made there would have been blocked. Out of the sixty-four questions voted on by the people since 1902, eighteen have been amendments to the constitution, of which eleven have been adopted and a big majority of these have been initiated by the people. These amendments constitute the backbone of Oregon's progress.

The States of Washington and Idaho will vote upon the adoption or rejection of the Initiative and Referendum at the November election, but the constitutional initiative is omitted from these proposed amendments. The corporations permitted the Legislature to grant the statutory initiative but refused it on amendments.

Second Question. Montana adopted the Initiative and Referendum in 1906. Never heard of even a statute law being voted on in that State, did you? Why? Because petitions must be signed by the required percentages *in each of two-fifths of the counties of the State.* That makes it costly and burdensome. The State Federation of Labor tried in 1907 to get an initiative petition for the direct election of United States Senators and some other measures and fell down. In 1911 they tried to get a referendum petition on the infamous Dick military law as enacted in that State, and failed—until helped out by the People's Power League of Montana, which completed their petition for them. They could have gotten the petition in the

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cities and towns, but when they had to go to the country it was too costly. A provision in the Missouri amendment distributing petitions in two-thirds of the Congressional districts has been found unexpectedly burdensome.

Next November the people of Nebraska will vote on an amendment which has this joker in it. These last cases are a little less severe than in Montana, but will be found burdensome. This "joker" is especially aimed at organized labor, because it compels the unions to pay the expenses of men to go out into the rural counties to get their petitions completed, when they could more easily do it in their own localities and in industrial centers. Do you see the point in this "safeguard?"

This fall the people of Wyoming and Florida will vote upon Initiative and Referendum amendments in which the petitions are fixed at 25 per cent for both the Initiative and Referendum. Mississippi votes on one which requires 20 per cent for the constitutional Initiative, 15 per cent for the statutory Initiative and 10 per cent for the Referendum all entirely too high. It is well to note at this point that this fall a large number of questions are to be voted on in Oregon and Colorado, due to the neglect of the Legislatures to attend to the business of the people, and that during the next two years these examples will be held up as excuses in all the Legislatures for requiring high petitions in future amendments. These questions are not on the ballot because it is easy to get petitions but because the people are determined to have these questions settled.

Third Question. In South Dakota, if the Legislature does not want the people to vote on a law, it "declares an emergency to exist, the law goes into eyect at once, and no Referendum can be had by petition of the people. About 40 per cent of the laws passeu in that State are removed from the power of the people in this manner. That is, the "Referendum" exists only at the will of the Legislature, which practically is no Referendum at all. This clever tricky method of suspending the Referendum is fixed in many of the amendments now in use. The "joker" is right here. In order to give time for Referendum petitions it is customary to provide that no law passed by a Legislature can go into effect for ninety days after the session ends. But at times it is necessary and proper that a law take effect *at once* in genuine "emergency cases" without waiting for the ninety days. The Legislature decides what is an emergency, and the trick lies in so framing the provision that an emergency denies forever a Referendum of the people, where it should simply allow the law to go into effect at once and remain in effect until repealed either by the Legislature or by a vote of the people. This latter form gives the people power to reject the law through the Referendum, if they so choose. The "jokered" form allows the Legislature to suspend the Referendum when it sees fit—and annuls the power of the Referendum.

Fourth Question. This covers the most dangerous joker of them all. In Oklahoma not a single measure initiated by the people or submitted by the State Legislature has been adopted at a regular election since the admission of the State in 1907. Why? Because such measures to be adopted must receive a majority of all the votes cast "in the election." It makes not a whit's difference how big a majority of the vote cast *on the measure* is in its favor, if you do not get a *MAJORITY OF THE TOTAL VOTE CAST*, you are lost and have all your hard work for nothing. The substance of this "joker" is that every man who votes for some candidate and fails to vote on your measure is in *effect counted as voting against it.* Examine the election returns and you will find that in all States having the Initiative and Referendum, an average of 25 per cent of the voters who vote for candidates do not vote on questions submitted. This 25 per cent is made up of ignorant, careless, or

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doubtful voters. Is not that a load to hang around the necks of the progressive workers for better conditions? In Oklahoma five important measures which got large majorities of the votes cast *thereon* in their favor and should have become law, were *lost* because of this requirement. In the amendments to be voted on in November in Wyoming, Idaho, and Mississippi this fatal joker has been slipped in. It is strenuously advocated by every apologist for special privilege in the country under the hypocritical cry of "majority rule." *Look out for it!*

Fifth Question. Even opponents of Direct Legislation have been compelled to admit that the voters of Oregon, in deciding questions have shown "rare discrimination." Do you know why? It is because the State of Oregon sends to every voter before election a Publicity Pamphlet, called by the people "The Voters' Text Book," in which are printed in clear type the laws and amendments to be decided by them, *and, also,* arguments both for and against these measures written and submitted by the friends and opponents of the various questions, they paying the exact cost to the State of the space taken. Thus every voter is given a chance to know exactly what he is voting on—and the measure is explained in simple language in the arguments. This Publicity Pamphlet has practically killed the power of the corrupt corporation newspapers and special privilege politicians. It is necessary as a part of the Direct Legislation system. The old method of advertising measures in favored political newspapers is frightfully expensive and utterly inadequate. Up to date, out of the fourteen States which have adopted some form of direct legislation, only Oregon, Montana, and South Dakota have adopted the pamphlet system, and South Dakota did it only last year. It is the game of Special Privilege and the politicians who serve Special Privilege to keep the people confused and in ignorance. Hence, they oppose every means of enlightenment while they slander the people by claiming that they lack intelligence enough to vote on laws.

If you will examine the Oregon pamphlet you will find in every one splendid arguments signed by the officers and legislative committees of the State Federation of Labor, the Portland Labor Council, etc., favoring or opposing legislation of interest to labor. Organized labor has in this way an opportunity to state its case to every voter in the State. It was because of this right and the intelligence so carried to the farmers that they were able to have enacted their Employers' Liability law, and other laws, which they joined the State Grange and Farmers' Union in securing.

Our chief danger in the future will be from "jokered" abortive amendments. We must be on our guard, else, when we think we have won the victory for the rule of the people we will find ourselves cheated. The Initiative and Referendum is sometimes called a "club" which people hold over the heads of reluctant legislatures; but unless we are careful on the detailed provisions, we will find we have a "saw log" which we cannot wield. Already the list of defeats in victory are enough to constitute a grave warning.

Out of fourteen States which have some form of the Initiative and Referendum embedded in their constitutions, over *one-half* are either worse than nothing, or have one or more vicious jokers. Out of eight proposed amendments which will be voted on this fall, only *one* can be commended as free from jokers, that of Nevada, which provides the Initiative feature omitted from the direct Legislation amendment adopted in that State in 1905.

If I were an enemy of the Initiative and Referendum, I would profess to be its friend, proclaim the "rule of the people," the "restoration of popular government," and then, when it came right down to the brass tacks of framing an amendment I would talk wisely of "safeguards and restrictions"—for the benefit of the people themselves, of course—and frame an amendment having the Initiative and Referendum in box-car letters on the front, and a lot of clever "jokers" *inside* which would prevent any effective use of the instrument by the people after they had got it. This is the method by which despots like Caesar, Napoleon, and all the rest of them, have first gained the confidence of the masses and then delivered them into the same old bondage of the few which has cursed the world and delayed the day of genuine democracy—economic and political.

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