

rise, either the consuming interest or the land-owning interest must suffer. Which it may be, depends upon which offers the least resistance. If higher prices would not seriously diminish production, production would go on as usual, though prices rose. In that case the consumer pays the higher wages. But if higher prices would check production to a degree sufficient to throw considerable land out of use, that land would compete for a job, and landlords would have to carry the rise in wages. It is precisely so with precious metal production, as with everything. In that vocation, however, the natural opportunities are more completely monopolized than in other vocations, and prices are as high already as demand warrants. To increase the price would correspondingly narrow the market. Consequently any rise in wages must come out of the mine-owning, as distinguished from the mine-operating, interests. But as the owning and the operating interests have a common treasury, higher wages seem to be at the expense of employers. That it is really at the expense of mine-owners would be obvious, if all royalties and other fixed payments for mining privileges were abrogated, and the owners' profits were kept in a separate till from the operators' profits.

The bitterness of the employers in the stockyards strike seems hardly less than that of the mine owners of Colorado. And it is the same plutocratic bitterness, characterized by the same beggar-on-horseback assumption of superiority, the same contempt for law and order, the same coldly calculating inhumanity, the same destructive spirit. Here are hardworking and by no means thrifless men and women, whose regular pay has been so small that within a week after their strike begins they are on the verge of starvation. Here are free-born American citizens forced by economic conditions to sell the products of their labor to the meat trust on terms that would have shamed any humane slave master

in the South before the war, and set in motion against him the protective machinery of the slave code. Here are men and women whom this trust employs upon more profitable terms than if it were to buy them outright as chattel slaves at a hundred dollars a head and care for them as masters in the South were compelled to care for their Negro slaves. Yet it drives them into a desperate strike in order to force still lower wages upon them; and at the first signs of disorder in this great writhing mass of humanity struggling for a chance to live, it yells lustily for the police. Law is what it wants when workingmen strike. Law! Law! Law! Don't you hear? Law! But law is not what it wants. It wants power, irresponsible power. This trust is a law-breaker by profession. It is a trust in flagrant violation of law. It is a thief caught in the act of stealing great volumes of water from the public mains. It is a tax dodger. It is a reckless violator of the sanitary code. By all means let the law be enforced. But let it be enforced impartially against it as well as in its favor. Of that "safe and sane" administration of the law which singles out one class for punishment and another for privilege, and for which the trusts have so great a liking, we have had enough.

It should be observed that the outcry against labor violence is not always well founded. The Governor of Nebraska has satisfied himself of this by personal investigation. There had been numerous reports of violence in connection with the meat trust strike, and troops were in demand from the offices of the trust. It was then that the Governor investigated. "Disguised as a common laborer," said the dispatches of the 1st from South Omaha, "Governor Mickey, of Nebraska, mingled this morning with the striking packing-house employes, listened to their talk, watched strike breakers run into different plants, and otherwise investigated for himself as to whether State troops were

necessary for the maintenance of order. Mr. Mickey had been in South Omaha only a few moments when it was reported that a carload of 'breakers' was coming. Scores of strikers made a rush, and with them went the Governor, but the crowd was orderly, and silently watched the strike breakers leave their car, and enter the Armour plant. There were forty of the non-union workmen. 'In the light of the reports of violence and disorder which have been spread I was agreeably surprised to see the strikers acting so well,' said Governor Mickey later." And so might other officials at other times and in other places be able to say if they were more solicitous for the good of society and less eager for the good opinion of men of money.

An illustration of the depth to which this notion that law is the luxury of the rich has sunk its roots, may be found in the Iron Age, a plutocratic trade paper. In its issue of the 4th this entertainingly ingenuous paper objects to labor organizations' heckling legislative candidates with reference to the kind of laws the candidates will vote for if elected. The American Federation of Labor having announced its purpose to question these candidates on government by injunction, the eight hour bill, and direct legislation, the Iron Age says:

It is simply another attempt to accomplish by force or duress that which the community has steadfastly refused to grant. The principle which actuates such a plan of procedure is precisely the same as the conception of sympathetic strikes to influence an impatient public against a hard headed employer or any of the other means employed to stir up wholesale trouble whenever a strike occurs that seems likely to fail. Candidates for office are to be threatened with defeat unless they yield to the dictates of those who assume to know the proper number of hours which should constitute a day's work, and who would also break down judicial obstacles to lawlessness in times of strikes.

There is something pathetic about the political ignorance (if it is not sordid dishonesty) of a paper which abhors the pledging of candidates by their constituents, as

a "threat" to defeat them for office. A ten-year-old child might understand that unless those who make the "threat" are sufficiently numerous, it must be ineffective; and even a subsidized trade paper ought to know that if they are sufficiently numerous to make their "threat" good at the polls, they are exercising the right for the exercise of which the polls exist. The function of legislatures is to enact the laws that the people want; a function of the voter is to keep out of office legislators who are opposed to enacting the laws he wants. One might think the Iron Age was satirizing its own constituency, for of all brain-hardened creatures on this footstool, the worst is the average "business" man who has had his arrogant dignity ruffled and his arrogant temper ruptured by the arrogance of a union committee. But the Iron Age can hardly be suspected of satire. It is too serenely and smugly serious for that. What it says is really a fair expression of the spirit which prevails among the class upon which it depends for advertising.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF GAMBLING.

Although gambling assumes many forms and is rather difficult to define exactly, its chief varieties and characteristics are fairly well in our minds. Whatever else gambling may include, it always involves the getting of something of value without earning it. This increases the property of one person and decreases the property of another, as a result of what we call chance or of future developments which are not thoroughly known to all parties when the gambling transaction begins.

What is it that leads people to gamble?

While there may be some persons who do it simply for sport or from other motives besides the winning of the prizes, I am convinced that the hope of winning something of value is the chief inducement to the great majority of persons who engage in gambling. To eradicate gambling, therefore, we must destroy or neutralize this

principal motive—the desire to get value without creating it by labor or giving something in a fair exchange.

We cannot suppress it effectually by laws repressing this or that form of gambling, although these may be very desirable and may be of great assistance. The gambling spirit to a great extent defies the laws and invents new forms when old ones are denied to it. We must strike at the root and destroy or neutralize the principal motive, the desire and willingness to get value without a fair exchange.

To illustrate: This same desire, in the form of stealing, has been largely destroyed or neutralized. It has been destroyed in the truly honest man, who has no desire to appropriate his neighbor's property and would scorn to do it even in the absence of restrictions. This desire has been neutralized in most other men not strictly honest, by attaching to the conduct known as stealing, as a consequence thereof, a term in jail or prison or the contempt or disapprobation of society. To put it bluntly, the motive to gamble, like the motive to steal,—and it is the same motive,—must be either destroyed by making men strictly honest and honorable, or it must be neutralized by attaching to the conduct known as gambling, as a consequence thereof, the reprobation and contempt of society and possibly penalties known to the law.

Nothing is truer than the saying that primarily there are but three ways of getting property, namely, earning, begging and stealing; we are all of us, morally speaking, either laboring men, beggar men or thieves. In which class does the gambler belong? He certainly does not labor or beg. It is because society has not yet awakened to the fact that gambling is thieving and is dishonorable that it is still in many quarters fashionable and even considered respectable.

You may reply that it is the nature of men to get what will satisfy their wants with the least effort possible. Generally speaking that may be true. But many men have ceased to be willing to get value with little effort.

when the method is generally recognized as dishonorable or is dishonorable in essence. Ordinary begging and the vulgar forms of stealing have ceased to be respectable or popular; and, with right education and right thinking, the more polite form of thieving, known as gambling, may also be put under the ban.

Your ordinary boy or girl, with the education now commonly received, would scorn to beg or pick pockets. Our education must produce in the boys and girls an equal scorn to take another person's property on a bet or a wager and actually convert it to his or her own use. The taking of money or property as a result of gambling, is essentially a mean, low and vulgar thing to do. There is no element of dignity or manliness in it. Boys and girls should be taught this truth both practically and theoretically, just as they are given all other moral and ethical teachings. In the case of a youth who has a fair sense of the propriety and fitness of things, the money obtained by him upon his first wager should burn his fingers and make him so uncomfortable that he cannot rest until he has restored it to its rightful owner. He should find it beneath his dignity to take another's property and actually use it to satisfy his own needs and desires, just as much as he would if a stranger should approach him and offer to make him the object of charity.

Do not teach your child that it is wrong to gamble because it is a losing game. It may be inexpedient for that reason. But teach him that it is a disgrace for him to take and appropriate the value produced through no effort of his own. When individuals and society can be led to look upon gambling in its true light, as an undignified, mean and vulgar practice, the chief motive for gambling will be destroyed or neutralized.

We have now considered the nature of gambling and the general characteristics of the remedy. Are there any features in our economic and industrial system which hinder the application of this remedy and are therefore to be considered as causes of the prevalence of gambling? In my judgment there are such economic causes which contribute more than