

merciless competition of indiscriminate rivals. And it is herein that Mr. Morgan displays his real scope of mind. While many other less secure and more weakly planned combinations will sooner or later go to the wall, the Morgan properties all contain additional elements of strength which, in the worst of times, will add vastly to their security. For instance, the United States Steel Corporation owns and controls enormous sources of supply; its competitors, in many cases, do not. The 55,000-odd miles of railroad with which Mr. Morgan is identified control rights of way, coal lands, terminals, competing lines, steamship connections and the like. Thus, in addition to their essentially able management, they all stand on a broad and solid foundation of special advantages which would seem to make their future in many respects doubly secure."

HOW TO ABOLISH THE LOBBY AND THE BOSS.

Two years ago the Illinois legislature enacted what is known as "the Crafts law." This law, proposed by Allen Ripley Foote and introduced in the legislature by Clayton E. Crafts, provides for an advisory vote by the people upon any question that may be submitted in accordance with the law.

To submit a municipal question, a petition signed by 25 per cent. of the voters of the municipality is requisite, while only 10 per cent. of the voters of the State is necessary for a State question. When a petition is legally filed, the questions it proposes, not to exceed three in number, must be put upon a separate ballot, which the election officers at the ensuing election are required to give to each voter. The result of the vote is without legal effect. No one is bound by it. But it serves admirably as an indication of public opinion, which is the object of the law.

The first experiment under this law was made in Chicago last Spring, with startling and most encouraging results. The next is to be made

throughout the state of Illinois at the general election next November.

The petition for this purpose was filed with the secretary of state on the 4th of September. It contains in round numbers 150,000 signatures, or 30,000 more than the law requires. The questions proposed for submission to popular vote are stated in the petition as follows:

1. Shall the next General Assembly enact a statute by which the voters of the political subdivisions of the State of Illinois may be enabled to initiate desired local legislation, by filing a petition therefor, signed by eight per cent. of the legal voters in said political subdivisions, and to have referred to the voters any legislation enacted by the several local legislative bodies, by the filing of a petition therefor of five per cent. of the legal voters of any such political subdivision; the action of a majority of those voting to decide in each case?

2. Shall the next General Assembly submit to the people of the State of Illinois, at the next State election, a constitutional amendment providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the initiative and referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of eight per cent. of the voters of the political divisions affected; and for the reference of legislation upon a petition of five per cent. of the voters of the political subdivisions affected, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the constitution?

3. Shall the next General Assembly take the necessary steps under article 5, of the constitution of the United States, to bring about the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people?

Reduced to general terms these three propositions ask the voters in November to advise the legislature of Illinois, to be chosen at the same election, as to whether it shall or shall not—

1. Adopt the initiative and the referendum for local purposes in the several political divisions of the State—counties, cities, towns, villages, etc.

2. Provide for a constitutional amendment adopting the initiative and the referendum for State purposes.

3. Take the necessary steps for bringing about an amendment to the Federal constitution requiring the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people.

Nothing more important than these propositions, especially the first two, demands the action of the Illinois electorate this year. In com-

parison with them, the question of whether one man or another shall hold office is of trifling importance except to office seekers.

To consider the third question first, the lower house of Congress has several times passed a constitutional amendment requiring senators to be elected by direct popular vote; but the Senate has every time either defeated or pigeon-holed the measure. It is evident, therefore, that the only way in which this reform in Federal legislation can be secured is by action of the States over the head of the Senate. This is provided for by section 5 of the constitution, which requires Congress to call a convention for proposing amendments whenever the legislatures of two thirds of the States demand it.

If the proposition now under consideration were adopted at the ensuing Illinois election, the legislature would not be thereby compelled to petition Congress for a constitutional convention, but the sentiment of the people in favor of electing senators by popular vote would be manifest. It could no longer be said, so far at least as Illinois is concerned, that the people do not want this reform.

The merits of the question would require too much space to discuss them fully. Perhaps all the facts which indicate the necessity for changing our method of electing senators are epitomized in the one fact that the Senate has become "a club of millionaires." Rich men who could not be elected governor of their States, who could not be elected mayor of their cities, are sent to the Senate. The inference is obvious. They can buy legislators when they cannot buy the people. This kind of corruption has become so common, that elections of United States senators are almost invariably signals for scandals at the State capitals. The obvious remedy is to make senators no longer elective by legislatures, and to restore this power, democratic fashion, to the people themselves.

A vote for the third proposition to be submitted to the voters of Illinois this Fall will count one in favor of that change.

The other two propositions have

to do with the initiative and the referendum—one for State purposes and the other for local purposes. Whoever believes in one must believe in the other. They may, therefore, be discussed together as a single proposition.

The initiative and the referendum, modes of direct legislation, would make no change in present methods of law-making, so long as the law-making bodies remained true to their obligations. Those bodies would continue to draft, consider and enact laws, ordinances, etc., precisely as they do now. No reference to popular vote would be made if they performed their duties—pigeon-holing no good measures, and enacting no bad ones.

But if the legislative body were to enact a bad law, five per cent. of the voters affected could interfere and demand that the bad law be submitted to popular vote. If they did so, the bad law would not be operative until the people had voted on it; and if a majority voted against it, it would not be operative at all.

Or, if the legislative body were to pigeon-hole a good law, then eight per cent. of the voting population could demand that it be taken out of the pigeon-hole and submitted to popular vote. If a majority voted against it, it would remain in the pigeon-hole; but if a majority voted for it it would be a law whether the lobby liked it or not.

The initiative and referendum would abolish the lobby and abolish the boss.

One of the strong points about this reform is that it would often be effective without being used.

So long as there is no such means of keeping legislatures and local governing bodies honest, they pigeon-hole good bills and pass bad ones with impunity. It usually depends upon what the lobby wants or some boss demands. But if eight per cent. of the voters could pull good bills out of the legislative pigeon-holes and submit them to the people, and five per cent. could stop the operation of bad bills until the people had voted directly on them, legislators would hesitate about pigeon-holing good bills, and be very

timid about passing bad ones. Though an initiative and referendum law has been in operation in South Dakota for several years, it has never yet been appealed to. This fact is urged against the utility of the law, but is in fact a strong argument in its favor. For though the law has never been publicly appealed to, it has more than once been held over the heads of legislators like a Damocletian sword and with excellent effect. At least one most vicious bill which the bosses of the Democratic party in the South Dakota legislature demanded, was defeated because the minority threatened to appeal its passage from the legislature to the people. When that threat was made, the majority yielded and the bill was killed.

If the initiative and the referendum were in operation in Illinois, no bad law could be passed by the legislature if a majority of the people opposed it, and no good one could be pigeon-holed if a majority of the people favored it; no monopoly franchise could be granted by any city if a majority of the people of that city objected, and no municipal reform could be strangled if a majority of the municipal voters really wanted it.

Whoever wishes to see this wholesome regulation of legislation in force in Illinois, will take the pains to vote "Yes" to the first two propositions quoted above. Though a majority vote in the affirmative will not in itself enact the law, though it will be only advisory, it is not likely that the legislature next winter will be indifferent to advice of that kind if expressed with the emphasis of a heavy majority.

For legislators are politicians, and politicians know that if they would succeed in politics it is more important to obey the people than a boss. If they are usually more obedient to bosses, it is because they always know what the boss wants them to do and are not always certain about the wishes of the people.

Let the voters of Illinois make their wants clearly and emphatically known by voting in the affirmative on these questions, and the legislators may be depended upon to do the rest—boss or no boss, lobby or no lobby.

NEWS

The most exciting political event for months, one which may well prove to be of the utmost moment in its influence upon national politics, is the declination of Speaker David B. Henderson as the Republican candidate for re-election to Congress from the Third district of Iowa. Mr. Henderson's action is especially important because of his position as speaker of the lower house of Congress, of the critical circumstances under which he declines re-nomination, and of the significant reason he gives for declining.

His decision was announced to the President, at Oyster Bay, by Chairman Babcock of the Republican Congressional committee, on the 16th. The President had just closed a political conference with Senators Allison of Iowa, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Hanna of Ohio, Spooner of Wisconsin, and Lodge of Massachusetts, together with Postmaster General Payne, and had agreed with them upon a policy for the campaign. According to the special report of the Chicago Tribune of the 17th, the leading Republican paper of the middle West, this agreement embraced five propositions: (1) The President's policy regarding trusts was to be approved and he was to emphasize it in his further speaking; (2) the lawsuits instituted by him against the beef trust and the railroad merger were to be made the basis of an appeal to the people to patiently await the decisions of the courts, which would show whether further legislation or a constitutional amendment is necessary to check the power of trusts; (3) the President was to stand on the record he has made by those lawsuits, and refrain from proposing tariff revision as an anti-trust policy; (4) Cuban reciprocity was to be approved; and, (5), as to the tariff the position was to be taken that the party is committed by the platform of 1896 to the principles of protection but not to particular schedules, and that tariff rates are to be regarded as details to be settled by Congress from time to time. As the Tribune's report sums up the decision of the conference with reference to the tariff and trusts, it was—

agreed by all that there will be no adherence to the theory that the tariff can be or should be reduced merely because certain articles were produced