

as have been seen and heard, in the papers and on the streets, since Baer's unguarded language, discussions which evidently rest upon a growing public perception of the rights of all to the enjoyment of the advantages of Nature's gifts to mankind, were formerly confined within the covers of Progress and Poverty and the walls of single tax clubrooms. The fact that they are now the common talk of "the man on the street" is the best possible evidence of the progress of the single tax movement.

"Well, gentlemen, what do you want? A change? Nominate your poison. State the remedy for a general condition of prosperity probably unexampled in this or any other country?" That is the comment of a cynical editorial writer of the Chicago Tribune upon recent bladder-blown business reports in Bradstreet's and Dun's. If it is workingmen the Tribune is addressing, the "poison" they might fairly "nominate" would be a share in this unexampled prosperity. With their living expenses increased 40 per cent., and their wages increased only slightly or not at all—in most cases not at all—they might be less timid about a change than the classes that are monopolizing all the prosperity in sight.

When President Roosevelt was in the South on his recent campaign tour, he complimented that section upon its increased prosperity as indicated by the Southern factories that have sprung up within the past few years. The essential character of this boasted prosperity may be inferred from the somewhat more minute observations of Irene Macfayden, published over her signature in the American Federationist. She says:

Only a few weeks ago I stood at half past ten at night in a mill in Columbia, S. C., controlled and owned by Northern capital, where children who did not know their own ages were working from six p. m. to six a. m., without a moment for rest or food or a single cessation of the maddening racket of the machinery, in an atmosphere insanitary and clouded with humidity

and lint. A horrible form of dropsy develops among the children. A doctor in a city mill, who has made a special study of the subject, tells me that ten per cent. of the children who go to work before 12 years of age, after five years, contract active consumption. The lint forms in their lungs a perfect cultivating medium for tuberculosis, while the change from the hot atmosphere of the mill to the chill night or morning air often brings on pneumonia, which frequently, if not the cause of death, is a forerunner of consumption. How sternly the "pound of flesh" is insisted on by the various employers is illustrated by the case of two little boys of nine and 11, who had to walk three miles to work on the night shift for 12 hours. One night they were five minutes late, and were shut out, having to tramp the whole three miles back again. The number of accidents to those poor little ones who do not know the dangers of machinery is appalling. In Huntsville, Ala., in January, just before I was there, a child of eight years who had been a few weeks in the mills lost the index and middle fingers of her right hand. A child of seven had lost her thumb a year previously. In one mill city in the South a doctor told a friend that he had personally amputated more than a hundred babies' fingers mangled in the mill. The average wage in North Carolina of the children under 14 is 22 cents a day, and in Georgia 25 cents is a liberal estimate. A correspondent gives a sample pay roll, showing an average of \$1.43 a week in a certain spinning room for all children employed. I know of babies working for five and six cents a day. A girl of nine, working at night, when six years old, received 12½ cents a night. The two boys who walked three miles to their work received 12 and 15 cents a night.

This is a side of the prosperity question that does not interest the prosperity "touters."

Socialists have an idea that political power is in process of yielding to industrial power; and that the time is not far off, if indeed it is not already at hand, when the political magnate will bow meekly before the industrial magnate. Of the plausibility of this theory of social evolution the people of the United States had an impressive exhibition last week. The political magnate of one of the greatest States of the Union, Gov. Stone of Pennsylvania, approached a private citizen, the industrial magnate of the greatest combination of industries in the world, J. Pierpont Morgan,—ap-

proached him on public business with all the meekness of the king on his knees at Canossa. The fact cannot be blinked that our political system, from the President down, has become subservient to the industrial powers over which Morgan and men like Morgan preside. Whether this is due to the system, as socialists would have it, or to the incapable or worse than incapable political officials, remains to be tested.

John Moody, the publisher of Moody's manual for investors (35 Nassau st., New York), has issued a booklet on the "morganization" of industry, which makes an excellent pocket companion in these days of trust discussion. It appears from this handy little pamphlet, and the details are given, that the steam railroad interests controlled by the Morgan crowd aggregate 55,555 in mileage and \$3,002,949,571 in capitalized value; while the industrial trusts controlled by the same crowd are capitalized at \$1,734,330,956—a total for this Morgan combination alone of \$4,737,280,527. It is an interesting fact that the word "morganize," recently invented to designate J. Pierpont Morgan's methods when he "organizes business," and adopted by Mr. Moody as the title of his booklet, "The 'Morganization' of Industry," has long been used in another sense—"to murder secretly." This amounts almost to a coincidence, when it is considered how "morganization" really affects legitimate industry.

In describing "morganization" Mr. Moody calls attention to the real secret of its success, without which no possible degree of organizing ability could avail. "Mr. Morgan," he says, "is at the head of no industry which does not have some special element of security and strength, outside of mere ability in management. In other words, his corporations all have an element of positive advantage or strength which prevents them from ever becoming subject to the

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