

system minority parties are able to elect one candidate by "plumping" for him. It is usual, therefore, for the party which is in a minority in a senatorial district to name but one lower house candidate though three are to be chosen. This insures his election in most districts. But it appears from Mr. Schilling's disclosure that in some districts, the Democrats, though in the majority, and therefore able to elect two members, have nominated only one. In the First district, for instance, in which Mayor Harrison, Democrat, had 2,390 plurality, only one Democratic candidate is nominated. In the Second district, which Harrison carried by 969 plurality, there is also only one Democratic candidate. In the Third district, where Mayor Harrison's majority was 940, there is likewise only one Democratic candidate. The same is true of the 21st district, which was carried by Harrison by 191; and of the 27th which he carried by 7,745. In each of these districts the Democrats might win two members instead of one. But the bosses have confined the possibilities to one. The party will, of course, lose some of the candidates where it has named two, and as by this arrangement it could not possibly win more than 79—its total nominations—it is likely to win considerably less, even were the State to go Democratic. The Republicans, therefore, are assured a majority in both houses no matter if the popular vote should as a whole go against them.

Mr. Schilling suspects that this arrangement has been made by collusion between Republican and Democratic bosses for the purpose of defeating the measures for public ownership, primary nominations and direct legislation, to which the Democratic party is committed and the Republican party is not. He says:

The whole situation has the appearance of having been fixed up between both party bosses, in the back rooms of the Gas Trust and Traction companies. The Republican party not having declared itself in favor of these

issues, by mutual consent, is to be given a majority of both branches, so that the Democratic leaders may say, with apparent justification, that they were unable to make good their promise to the public, respecting the initiative and referendum, municipal ownership, etc., because they lacked the necessary votes in the General Assembly to enact into law the principles embodied in their platform.

This misuse of the Illinois system of minority representation is furnishing a pretense for urging its abolition. Such a movement is known to be now on foot in Chicago. Judged by the source whence it originates, however, the movement derives its impulse not from any reaction against the misuse of the minority system in the past, but from fears of its use in the future. Owing to such gross misuses of it as Mr. Schilling describes, efforts that have been too long delayed are now being made to utilize the system over the heads of party bosses. In one Chicago district, for example, where the Democrats are in the majority, but only one Democratic candidate has been named for the lower house of the legislature, and he a corporation creature, Clarence S. Darrow has been nominated by petition as an anti-machine Democrat. In another, where the Republicans are in the majority and their leaders are also in collusion with corporation interests, Frank S. Herdman has been nominated by petition as an anti-machine Republican. These instances illustrate one of the uses for which the minority representation system was intended; and it is because they are disturbing the calculations of spoilsmen and monopoly corporations that the movement to abolish the minority system has been started. This movement needs watching.

In an enthusiastic report on the prosperity of farmers in the West, Walter Wellman essays to prove that farmers are truly prosperous by the fact that "the price of farm land is rising steadily." He mentions instances of the doubling in value of farms since 1896. This is a queer way

of proving the prosperity of farmers. What it does prove, and all it proves, is the prosperity of farm owners. Now, a farm owner may or may not be a farmer. If he is not a farmer, the increase in the value of his farms is of course no evidence of the prosperity of farmers. On the contrary, it makes it harder for farmers to get farms. It is clearly evidence of the prosperity only of farm landlords. Nor does it make any difference in principle if the farm landlord happens to be a farmer. So much of his prosperity as is due to higher prices for farm land is not his prosperity as farmer but as farm owner. The test of prosperity for farmers as distinguished from farm owners, is the wages of farm hands and the profits of yearly tenants. When these are high, farmers are prosperous as farmers. When only farm land is high, they are prosperous only as farm owners. To regard the latter as agricultural prosperity, is like regarding the great value of President Baer's anthracite coal holdings, "with which, God has intrusted him," as evidence of the prosperity of the striking miners.

A sad passage in the confession of the St. Louis "boodler," Murrell, is that in which, after describing the "combine" among the members of the council for selling legislation, of which he was one, he says:

We did not look upon what we did as a serious crime, as it had gone on so long without interruption that it was not regarded by those who participated in it as morally wrong. Until the present circuit attorney took office no sincere effort, apparently, was ever made to punish what was being done, as a crime. I have lived in St. Louis all my life and have many friends here. I have been honest heretofore in all matters, and have done no man wrong, and thought I would not take a dollar from any person unlawfully, but the practice of the combine in the assembly taking bribes was so frequent that I went along with the tide and did not realize the enormity of the offense, and my conscience was seared in that regard. These boodle investigations have made me see the crime in all its hideousness.

It is impossible to read those words without pitying the man who uttered