

dends to the Consolidated, it had laid aside a surplus of \$8,000,000 by last January."

The Tribune in another issue utters the warning that "the fundamental principle of the municipal ownership men is the ownership by the national government of the steam railroads;" that "along with the ownership of the steam railroads goes that of the express and telegraph companies; that "it will be a hand to hand fight, in which the bayonet will be used freely on both sides"; that "the farmers, who have been the conservative force in this country heretofore, will have a strong inducement to throw their votes in the direction of the ownership of railroads by the federal government. What is going to come out of it no man can tell, or even fully imagine. Yet we must remember that the proposition for the ownership of the mines arose from the oppressive, unjust, unrighteous, and almost criminal conduct of the railroads and other companies operating them, which put up prices and cut down wages without any reference to the equities of the case, and without any consideration for either the pockets or feelings of the people."

The New York World can scarcely find words strong enough to express its impatience with existing conditions: "The American people have been patient and long-suffering, but they are tired of being exploited. They are tired of having their heritage stolen. They are tired of having their servants corrupted and their government debauched. They are tired of seeing public interests forever sacrificed to the interests of organized capital. There may not be much 'economic theory and practice' about the remedies they propose, but an outraged public sentiment is not likely to concern itself with political economy. It strikes with the first weapon on which it can lay its hands."

Under the heading, "The Revolt," that journal goes on to specify the forms of opposition in various states: "It is a revolt that is spreading with amazing rapidity. In Wisconsin, where LaFollette has been battling against railroad domination of the state, the people sustained him by unprecedented majorities and the legislature elected him to the United States senate. In Kansas, where the people are struggling with the Standard Oil monopoly, the legislature voted to establish a state refinery. The federal commissioner of corporations is making an investigation of the Standard Oil company in Kansas, and half a dozen states have taken repressive measures against the trust. Folk in Missouri represents first of all the public uprising against the debauching of government by the agents of corporations. In Michigan a movement is under way to compel the legislature to submit an amendment to the state constitution permitting municipal ownership and operation of street-railway lines. In New York the legislature has undertaken an investigation of the gas monopoly of the metropolis, which may result in returning to the people the expired franchises of that outlaw corporation. In spite of the threats of Wall street a tax has been imposed on stock transfers. The city of New York is engaging in the ownership and operation of ferries, and the municipality will escape some of the exactions of the gas trust by doing its own public lighting. President Roosevelt's policy of federal regulation of railroad rates has been received with enthusiastic approval in many western and southern states, while the question of establishing public slaughter-houses has been seriously proposed as a counter-move against the beef trust. There is hardly a city of any size in the union which is not considering a project of one kind or another for extending public control over general utilities. There is hardly a state in which there are not signs of a revolt against the exactions in one form or another of great corporations."

**INDICTING THE UNITED STATES SENATE**

There has been such abundant proof in late years of the necessity of revolutionary reform in the United States senate that it may be taken as granted; but this recent testimony of the Chicago Tribune, the greatest republican newspaper, re-enforces the general plea:

"We know how it is in Illinois. No man can go to the senate from this state unless he has a complete understanding with certain powerful interests—the railroads, the steel trust, the stock-

yards. The most powerful backers of Mr. Hopkins in his late campaign were John W. Gates, John Lambert, and Isaac Ellwood. They are the barbed wire magnates, and Hopkins has been closely identified with some of them, or with members of the family of some of them, as an attorney. He is, or has been, close to the beef trust in all its operations, and Mr. Lorimer, whose candidate he was, was the appointed champion of the oleomargarine interests on the floor of the house. Yet Mr. Hopkins as a member of the house represented the greatest dairy district in the United States or the world. How was it in New York when Mr. Chauncey Depew was re-elected to the senate? Mr. Harriman, now the biggest railroad man in the world, was with Governor Odell on every other proposition, but on this one he was with Mr. Depew. He believed that Mr. Depew would be a more faithful representative of railroad interests on the floor of the United States senate than any other man who possibly could be chosen. Mr. John Kean of New Jersey was re-elected senator by acclamation, and it is notorious that New Jersey is owned by the railroads. He celebrated his re-election by introducing a railroad bill so avowedly framed in the interests of the roads that even the most unblushing advocates of their cause are unwilling to support it. Senator Elkins of West Virginia is a railroad man himself, up to his eyes in railroads, and he put through the Elkins bill, which removed from the interstate commerce law, the penalty of imprisonment as well as a fine for the violation of its provisions. You might go through the whole list and scarcely miss a majority of senators whose affiliations with great corporations are particularly close, although not necessarily reprehensible."

To this general indictment the New York World adds a specific count:

"The World tells of the charges made at New Haven that \$150,000 was expended in the late senatorial contest between Mr. Bulkeley and Mr. Fessenden. It asks: 'Where did this huge corruption fun come from?' and then adds: 'Bulkeley was everywhere known as a railroad lobbyist and corporation agent. Fessenden was reputed his inferior only in point of success, not in political methods. Yet when it came to the republican caucus an honest and capable candidate like Representative Hill received only nine votes against Bulkeley's 153 and Fessenden's 73. Connecticut had auctioned off Senator Hawley's seat and the railroad and life insurance interests had bid it in for Bulkeley.'

The Kansas City Star asserts that, "The United States senate, which is largely owned by the trusts, stands in the way of effective new legislation for the regulation of monopolies and for the punishment of those who conspire to rob the people."

It is a very remarkable and significant fact that the senate is "catching it" from all quarters and from men of all sorts and conditions. A conservative college president in conservative Massachusetts is one of the last to speak out. In a recent address President Pritchitt of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said:

"The two things are so closely intertwined that they can not be separated and they operate today powerfully to limit the number of men who can enter or who can remain in political life. The senate of the United States is today the most powerful body in the government of our country. How long would a man remain a member of that body who advocated strongly and persistently a general measure which seemed to conflict with vested interests?"

The Kansas City Star sums up attempts to cure the senate evil:

"There has long been a prevalent sentiment in favor of popular election of United States senators. But for years it found merely formal expression in the constitutional amendment to that effect which was regularly proposed by the house and defeated by the senate. Of late, however, this feeling has developed rapidly and it has now resulted in a definite program which is becoming a live political issue. So long as senatorial primaries were held only in the south they were of comparatively slight significance because that region furnishes only minority members of the upper house. But within the last year the obstructionary tactics of the majority in the senate, and especially as hostility to the popular demand for governmental supervision of railroad rates, have forced the issue in the north. Wisconsin

has already adopted the senatorial primary in a direct attempt to send to the senate men who represent the attitude of the people rather than of the corporations in dealing with the railroad question. Governor Deneen is advocating the adoption of an analogous measure in Illinois. Bills to the same effect have been introduced in the legislatures of Washington, South Dakota and Minnesota. Now that the movement is well under way it may be expected to make rapid progress. At the legislative sessions two years hence there will undoubtedly be a wide attempt to secure the senatorial primary. The senate itself is solely responsible for the movement for its reconstruction. For that seems to be the only way to make it the representative body which the people have determined that it shall become."

The Chicago Record-Herald lately added ten counts to the universal indictment, thus:

"The house of representatives passed a pure food bill. The senate refused even to discuss it. Hence the plaint of the people still is: 'We know not what we eat.' But the whisky blenders and the makers of adulterated foods are glad. The house of representatives passed the railway rate bill, restoring to the interstate commerce commission the powers it was originally supposed to possess. The senate refused even to discuss the measure. And the shippers of freight and the consumers of goods that go by rail are sorrowful. But the railway king rejoices exceedingly. The house of representatives passed a bill to give the Panama canal a better administration. The senate slaughtered it in cold blood. Therefore the president and all friends of the president who want to see America show the world its great constructive powers in building the canal are regretful. But the senators' pets who hold fat places on the old canal commission pat their pockets and smile. The president negotiated arbitration treaties with eight European nations. The senate amended them to death. The senators can boast that their prerogatives remain unimpaired. But the friends of arbitration are in mourning. The president negotiated a reciprocity treaty with Newfoundland. The senate amended it to death. Many industrial interests of this nation suffer. But great is Salt Fish, and Lodge and Hale are its prophets.

"Oh, how we love our senate."

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