

"The tariff is paid by the foreigner," say the advocates of this system; yet we have a "drawback" on foreign importations entering into the manufacture for export. It does not raise prices, we are told, yet after the Chicago fire a Republican Congress took the duty off building materials to cheapen them. Then came the "reciprocity" proposition as a denial from the leading protectionist of his time of the good claimed for it—"free trade on the half shell," as the late Kate Field happily called it. Thus has an anonymous scribbler lampooned the theory in doggerel:

The reciprocity proposition,

Says the farmer, suggests me to ask  
Why wait to get rid of a tax by treaty,  
When we might remove the tax?

"I will give you," says the protectionist to the laborer, "a system that will raise your wages; to you, the manufacturer, a system that will increase profits; and to you, the consumer, a system that will lower prices." Wages and profits are to be increased, and these are to be drawn from lower prices to the consumer. Yet cheapness, the protectionist will tell you, is not to be desired, for did you not hear long ago that "a cheap coat makes a cheap man?"

Many years ago the writer examined some of the humors of the tariff and printed the results. Some of these absurdities have been changed in subsequent revisions, but most remain:

"Wood bears a heavy duty, but burn it into charcoal and it comes in free. Earth may be sent in at a penalty of \$1.50 per ton, but let it not be ochre or ochery earths, for it is then subject to a duty of one-half of one cent per pound; pour oil on it and grind it fine, and the duty is increased to one cent per pound. Whalebone comes in free, but stick it in a corset and it bears a duty. Fresh fish may be sent in free, and ice may be sent in free, but be careful not to put your fish on ice, for it is then subject to a duty as preserved fish.

"If anyone has a bell which he wishes to bring into the United States he can get it in by breaking it, since 'broken bell metal' pays no duty. If a man has a few pet birds he can get them in by killing and stuffing them.

"The importation of life-saving apparatus is to be encouraged

when undertaken by societies incorporated or established for the saving of human life. Life-saving on the part of individuals is therefore to be discouraged. Sea weed, moss, and vegetables used for bedding are free; but let not the thoughtless wrap these in tick, for they are then subject to duty as mattress.

"If a vessel's cargo should be sunk and remain under water for two years, it could then be admitted duty free. This provision, if generally availed of, would certainly lower wages to the European standard.

"A necessary precaution, though not strictly protective of American industry, is that which places on the free list 'wearing apparel in actual use.' This wise provision enables the foreigner to enter our ports and walk to the nearest hotel with his nakedness entirely covered."

Truly the reason for the continued existence of all these crazy tax and tariff laws must reside in the absence of any genuine sense of humor in the American people. A people who boast of their Literature, Science and Art, and yet lay such burdens on all three; whose growth in Industry and Commerce are two causes for self-approval, who talk everywhere of "opening up new avenues of trade," yet who hamper industry and commerce by medieval restrictions, must be intellectually deficient at some point. Yet we are perhaps as intelligent as any people on earth. We should have made as much progress as the United Kingdom in tax reform, but we have not. Even Japan in 1873 abolished over 1,000 miscellaneous taxes, an exemplification of advancing civilization more important than To-go's victory in the Japan sea. Are we too busy making wealth to stop to consider the laws that conserve it, among which those of taxation are not the least important?

The abolition of all taxes whatever ought not be considered an impossible thing. In fact, the inauguration of such an era may be regarded as the dawning of the thousand years of peace, and not at all an unlikely event. Two things are said to be certain—death and taxes. But this is not so. We can really get along without taxes. To think otherwise is

merely a superstition. For the state is rich in revenue from its own domain. There were no taxes in feudal times, yet all that was needed for such public purposes as were necessary, and for defense, was forthcoming. Montesquieu, who saw things clearly enough, held it as the soundest of principles that governments ought to be supported from revenues drawn from the public domain. Both theory and ancient practice make this clear. Our methods of taxation, infinite as they are confused, harsh, impolitic, extravagant, cruel, may be superseded by a mere charge by the public for the use of their valuable domain.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NEW YORK.

Special telegram to The Public.

New York, Nov. 9.—After one of the most remarkable campaigns ever held in this excitable city, William R. Hearst must, in the belief of every unbiased person here, be adjudged elected; and the offer of Thomas W. Lawson of \$10,000 at three to one that Hearst will take the mayoralty seat at the City Hall on January 1 as mayor of New York, represents a wide and intensifying feeling. Not only are all Wall street bets as to whether Hearst or McClellan is elected held up, but likewise all subordinate bets; since it is quite within the possibilities that the whole election may be thrown out by the Supreme Court on the ground of general fraud, and a new election be ordered. For, not since the mayoralty campaign of 1886, when my father was counted out by Tammany, has there been such intimidation, violence, corruption and false voting in New York.

A feeling against boss rule, a quickening perception of the evil workings of natural monopolies in private hands, a burning resentment against the Wall street powers excited by the insurance revelations, and a confused social discontent piled up behind Hearst evidences of power that threatened a political landslide and utter destruction to the Tammany Hall machine. Nothing was clearer than that with Hearst's election all patronage, the life-blood of the Tammany political feudal system, would be shut off from that machine at the City Hall for four years, the newly fixed term of the mayor. It was moreover quite evident that Hearst would at once start to reorganize the Democratic party in this city, and also through the State. The Tammany leaders were, therefore, thoroughly frightened. And back of them the great pub-

lic franchise magnates were frightened, for in Hearst's election they saw the Municipal Ownership party established in monopoly's citadel. Hence monopoly's purse strings were loosed and money was poured into the Tammany exchequer. With this money the slugger element took command. Murphy, the nominal Tammany leader, was thrust aside by the Martin Sullivan strong-arm element, and brutal desperation undertook to carry by physical force an election which it was perceived could be carried only by extremity measures, if at all.

The Tammany candidate, McClellan, a gentleman in breeding and bearing, had raised the cry of "saving society" against Hearst and destruction. He succeeded in frightening many ultra respectable Republicans to his support and away from the very able Republican mayoralty candidate, Ivins. On the other hand, the plug-uglies and strong-arm men were conducting things for McClellan in particular districts comparable only with the worst days of Croker, Tweed and the "40 thieves." One or two ballot boxes in the Borough of Bronx were destroyed; in one instance a bunch of Hearst ballots were perforated with a knife and thrown out as defective, and in several districts the mayoralty returns were not announced until more than 20 hours after the polls had been closed, although returns for candidates for the other offices had been made known. On the East side large numbers of men known to be for Hearst were scared away from the polls by thugs, and Tammany men were coolly voted in their names. But in spite of it all, Hearst carried the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, overwhelmingly electing the Municipal Ownership borough tickets there, and thereby destroyed two notorious local bosses and corruptionists—McCarren and Cassidy.

And now Mr. Hearst has set himself to the task of gathering evidence of fraud with the purpose of having ballot boxes opened and a recount made. To do this in any election district prima facie evidence of fraud has to be given and such evidence is now pouring in. The just reelected district attorney, Mr. Jerome, has declared that he will push such investigations regardless of whom it affects, while the Evening Post, which bitterly hates Hearst and loses no opportunity to denounce him, declares that "there can be no disagreement among honest men as to the duty of gathering every scrap of evidence and testing every step of the election and the count by the severest judicial process."

Tammany claims the election of McClellan over Hearst by less than 4,000 votes, a plurality that is likely to disappear quickly upon a recount of Tim Sullivan's great district, the ballot boxes of which are now in District At-

torney Jerome's hands. For the returns made for that district show a strength for McClellan out of all proportion to the vote cast for him in all the neighboring districts.

Hearst applied yesterday to the Supreme Court, before Judge W. J. Gaynor, for an order commanding all ballot boxes to be sent to the Board of Elections for a recount. The order was granted, and the Board has reluctantly accepted the responsibility. In consequence Tammany is now in a panic.

Mr. Hearst not only believes himself to be elected by a considerable plurality, and that he can prove it if he can get recounts in certain election districts, but he is bent on seizing this occasion to begin the work of reorganizing the Democratic party in New York. It is evident that his hope of a political future leaves no other course open to him. He must conquer the Tammany machine or himself go down and out. If he wins he will at once become one of the most formidable powers in national politics. And he will stand against boss rule and private ownership of natural monopolies. It is one of the greatest of political opportunities, and Mr. Hearst is seizing it. He has strong chances of being successful.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

CLEVELAND.

Special telegram to The Public.

Cleveland, Nov. 8.—Sixteen years ago Ohio went Democratic. In order that there might be no misunderstanding as to the plutocratic tendencies of the Democratic party of that day, the legislature sent to the United States Senate a resident of New York, the late Calvin S. Brice. This perfidy could have but one result and that was the return of the Republican party to power at the next election. At each of the succeeding elections the Republican majority grew larger and larger. Yesterday the people of Ohio decided to go Moral, and the 255,000 Republican majority of last year was wiped out and Pattison elected by 50,000.

How was it possible for Ohio to make this big change, which, on the face of the returns, seems to be the work of one year. Because the people of Ohio are not different from the people of Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Massachusetts. They were merely waiting for a leader. Three years ago he appeared. His name is Tom L. Johnson.

Johnson recognized after his election as mayor of the city of Cleveland that the first thing to do in order to insure real democratic success in Ohio was to drive the Democratic thieves and boodlers out of the party. Being as courageous as he is wise, he set out in 1902 to capture the Democratic State convention. In this he was successful. Herbert S. Bigelow at this convention

was nominated for secretary of state; and he, with "the best mayor of the best governed city in the United States," campaigned through the northern part of Ohio, preaching democratic Democracy. Although Bigelow was defeated by 90,000, a canvass of the votes showed that large gains had been made in Republican communities. The great losses came from Democratic localities. It was the 'boodlers' resentment at Tom L. Johnson.

In the Spring of 1903 Johnson was again elected mayor of the city of Cleveland. In the passage of the municipal code by the legislature in October, 1902, nine Democrats betrayed their trust and took the place of an equal number of respectable Republicans, who refused to vote for the "curative act." Tom Johnson left his home city and went into the communities where these black sheep were up for renomination and the Democrats, under his guidance, defeated every one of them.

He then became the candidate of the Democratic party for governor and carried his campaign into all parts of the entire State. It was a novel sight, indeed, to behold a great leader running for office denouncing the thieves within his own party and asking them not to vote for him. But it was the cause of his overwhelming defeat. Yet it was an inspiration for the honest voters of all political parties, for he convinced them that the Democracy was now standing for something other than office. His onslaught on the Democratic boodlers of Ohio in 1902-3 was crystallized into a great moral movement by Lincoln Steffens in his Ohio article, and through the great work of the independent papers of this State. Notable among these were the five Scripps-McRae papers, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and last but not least that great champion of Democracy, the Waechter und Anzeiger published here.

Johnson's own election as mayor for the third time was a foregone conclusion. Through his influence and ability the affairs of the city of Cleveland have been administered as the affairs of no other city in the United States are administered. It was something all citizens of Cleveland took just pride in and resulted in giving him the largest majority that was ever given here to a candidate for the office of mayor—more than 12,000 plurality. This is more than his two prior pluralities put together.

His aim is to give the people of Cleveland the best administration of any city in the United States. In this he has been so far successful. He will improve upon it in the future. His very mistakes will serve him, for he knows that the greatest secret of success is to admit your mistakes and profit by them.

PETER WITT.