

"Give the friends my love, and tell them that the next fight will begin to-morrow." Those who are singing requiems over his political grave do not know the man nor the principles which guide him. Senator Hanna declared on the stump that he was a man of "morbid ambition." I know he is a man who holds certain political principles in his heart with all the force of religious conviction. It is no more possible for him to acknowledge defeat for those principles than it would have been for Garrison to have given up the struggle for abolition.

It is not likely that Senator Hanna would dissent from Mayor Johnson's explanation of the result. Senator Hanna, in his canvass, repeated this declaration: "The result of the election in Ohio this fall will absolutely and beyond question of a doubt determine whether the present condition of prosperity in this country is to continue or not." Mayor Johnson says it was this kind of talk, coming from a man who could speak with authority as one of the "captains of industry," and coming at a time when there was almost universal dread of an approaching panic, that led many to ignore local issues in order to prevent the shock which might come through the defeat of a man so prominent in the national councils.

This is an explanation not at all uncomplimentary to Senator Hanna, and if it is correct it justifies Mayor Johnson's hope for next year, which he expressed in the following declaration: "The ultimate success of the principles of the Democratic platform is but postponed by this defeat, and I urge the people of Ohio to begin now the campaign for the election of the next legislature, the selection of which will not involve the election of a United States senator or any other national question, but which can be chosen with reference to the questions of home rule and just taxation in which an overwhelming majority of the people of Ohio now believe."

On the Democratic side it was a "penniless" campaign. On the Republican side nothing was left undone which money could do. The last candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket spent \$10,000 in Cincinnati. Mayor Johnson did not give a penny to the Cincinnati organization. That the use of money would have brought out a large vote, there is no question. That Mayor Johnson could have afforded to have spent the money, there is no doubt.

But he says that if the power of money is to be relied on in elections

no victories can ever be won by the people, for privilege and monopoly can always contribute the largest campaign fund. By the use of money in politics temporary gains may be made. But permanent victories cannot be purchased. They come only through the aroused sentiment and the changed thought of the masses. If Mr. Johnson's ambition had been to become governor, he suffered defeat. If his ambition was to do an educational work certain of bearing fruit in the future, he has not been defeated in his purpose; on the contrary, he has succeeded magnificently. Mayor Johnson believes it is better to make ten converts to a just cause than to get a thousand unreliable votes by the customary methods. The cynicism of the public is so great that many will not believe it possible that any man in politics will do as he has done, namely, to sacrifice his hope of a personal victory for the nobler ambition of advancing among thoughtful men the truth which he believes. The man who takes this course in politics will have to look for his reward, very often, to the silent approval of his conscience, while his enemies jubilate with the blare of horns. But he who believes in the power of truth and the teachableness of the people can well afford to wait; patient in the face of passing defeat, and happy in the confidence of final and abiding victory.

To those who, with a mighty truth in their hearts, can be discouraged by adverse majorities, forgetting both the fickleness of the multitude and the endurance of the truth, the following parallel may be instructive:

In October, 1903, Mark Hanna said: "The insidious doctrine championed by Henry George is as venomous as the fangs of a snake."

In May, 1850, James Gordon Bennett said: "Never in the time of the French revolution and blasphemous atheism was there more malevolence and unblushing wickedness avowed then by this same (William Lloyd) Garrison."

Within two years from the date of Gordon Bennett's utterance the name of the then dominant Whig party was blotted from the pages of American history, and with the largest electoral vote ever cast for a president, the slave party returned to power. The voice of the multitude was Bennett's. But the voice of God was Garrison's. Within 13 years the voice of the people became the voice of God, and Lincoln in his immortal proclamation gave effect to the teachings of Garrison.

The generation that has been on the

eve of great changes, has never been conscious of it. The triumph of abolition did not seem more preposterous to Bennett than the triumph of the Single Tax now seems to Hanna in the flush of victory.

Hanna is the Gordon Bennett, George is the Garrison, and Johnson is the Lincoln of the battle that is now on for industrial freedom. Hanna stands for the ideas that are dominant; Johnson for the truths that are vital. Hearts that know the truth are like the stars that hold serenely to their course, unmindful of the changing clouds.

#### A CITY "FINDING ITSELF."

Extracts from an article in "The World's Work" for October, 1903, by Frederic C. Howe, on the City of Cleveland.

The average community is deficient in the cooperative spirit. Politically, our cities are still looked upon as places in which to live and make a living. Probably Cleveland has come nearer to "finding itself" than any other large city on the continent. It is becoming organized. It is acquiring a capacity for political sacrifice. It is learning to think as a municipality. It has come into possession of belief in itself wholly aside from the spirit which delights in large figures, increased bank clearances and splendid tonnage. It has already developed powers of defense. As time goes on this power will become aggressive as well. . . . Cleveland is a center of political and industrial unrest. It has been looked upon as a Republican center. It is now a Democratic one. For years the Democratic party was moribund. Two years ago Mr. Johnson became a candidate for mayor and was elected. His two-years' term of office ending May 4, 1903, was one of the most strenuous in the annals of American cities. He is not only a Democrat, but probably the leading exponent in America of the philosophy of Henry George. Further than this, he is an advocate of the public ownership of all public utilities, local, State and national, and would include in the programme not only street railway, gas and electric lighting properties, but steam railroad service as well. He has conducted a campaign for the taxation of such utilities at their franchise value, according to the principles of the Ford franchise tax enacted by New York while President Roosevelt was its governor. He has also sought to introduce competing street railway lines on a three-cent fare basis. Further than this, he has aimed to secure, through legislative action, a larger degree of home rule in municipalities, making the city the unit and

giving it power to formulate its own charter and to determine its own activities. True, none of these things have been accomplished, but the hands of the city were tied by quo warranto proceedings, which destroyed the charter of the city and incidentally brought down to ruin every other city in Ohio. Thirteen injunctions were brought against the actions of the administration, by which tax reforms, street railway legislation and many other similar changes were prevented, and local government was for the time being paralyzed. . . .

It is a significant thing that in Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit, wherever politics have been shaken down, the dominant note in campaign after campaign has been the relation of the city to the public service corporations. Wherever this is true, wherever these corporations are subject to the scrutiny of the public year after year and are made the issue in recurring municipal campaigns, it is safe to say that any adjustment which is not right will not stand, and that the only possible solution of the situation outside of municipal ownership is one that satisfies the people as to its fairness and honesty. And in Cleveland, as elsewhere, there is one issue that does not change. There is a third unknown party that is always active. Sometimes it works with one of the regular parties, sometimes with the other. It stands for private interests, against the public. Were the element of public franchise removed from local affairs, honest administration would be a much easier thing. The petty "grafts" of contracts, spoils and partisan advantage would sink before the innate sense of honesty and the growing desire for municipal reform were it not for the privileges worth millions of dollars which are to be had through machine organization, campaign contributions, the election of dishonest men, and the subversion of the city to private ends. And the insistent and growing belief in municipal ownership is largely due to the conviction that honest government is well nigh impossible because of the profits to be made through corruption in public grants.

Mr. Johnson has approached the street railway issue in a new way. Instead of attempting to regulate or reduce charges by legislative action, he has sought to bring about the same result by inviting competition. New street railway routes have been laid out and bids asked for a competing line on a three-cent fare basis. These advertisements brought forward last year a

bidder willing to construct and operate at this rate. But the city was not permitted to make use of its highways for this purpose. Injunctions and quo warranto proceedings were used to prevent it; for nearly a year the city was not permitted to move.

Cleveland enjoys a 75-cent rate per thousand for artificial gas, and a 30-cent rate on natural gas which is brought to the city from West Virginia and is largely used for fuel. At the same time, vigorous action is being taken by the city to erect a municipal electric plant to light the streets and furnish light and power for private use.

As a matter of fact, the question of municipal ownership has had for more than a generation a practical demonstration in the Cleveland waterworks, which has been owned by the city since 1856. At the present time the system is valued at \$10,000,000 and has a bonded indebtedness of only \$3,250,000. From this source the city enjoyed a revenue in 1902 of \$858,780 in addition to free water for all public departments. It yielded a net revenue, after the payment of all operating expenses and fixed charges, of \$483,900, which, if added to the free water supply, would show an annual net earning capacity of \$683,900. During the past two years the department has been free from politics and has been conducted on a merit basis. As a measure of reform, the administration has undertaken the universal metering of the city, by means of which all will pay according to their consumption instead of according to their waste. . . .

On the whole Cleveland is and has been, relatively speaking, a well-governed city. It has an inadequate police and health force, and is blackened with smoke. It has made some engineering mistakes, is governed by the spoils rather than the merit system, and is far from being a finished product. But its appropriations for these purposes are inadequate, and public service of an efficient sort requires large expenditures. The lives, property, health and well-being of a community of 400,000 people cannot be adequately safeguarded at \$16.75 per head. Little or no complaint is heard of police blackmail, so prevalent an evil in other cities.

It will probably be a long time before the people of America are convinced that municipal administration can be honest and efficient. There is such an accumulation of evidence against such an hypothesis. And yet, when one considers the array of forces against good government, the wonder is not that it is so bad, but that it is so good. And

many departments of Cleveland's life are conducted as honestly and efficiently as any business concern. This is now unquestionably true of the schools; it is and has been true of the libraries. The treasurer's and auditor's departments are beyond reproach. The waterworks is on a merit basis, and earns annually one-fourth as much as the total revenue from direct taxation. The fire department is efficient; the streets are now clean and well lighted. The parks are conducted to secure a maximum of enjoyment to the people, and small playgrounds and public baths are bringing the opportunity for healthful recreation to all the people. The police force has been reorganized; blackmail is almost unheard of, if it exists.

And the cost is lower than almost any large city in America. The per capita expenditure for all purposes was but \$16.68 in 1900. For New York in the same year it was \$30.35, and for Boston \$45.37. Cleveland stands seventh in size in American cities, and is somewhat below the average of the ten largest American cities in its net per capita debt.

It is not to be inferred from this that Cleveland has solved the problem of municipal administration. But it is a striving city, seeking by conscious action to correct one evil after another, and to enlarge the sphere of human life by offering greater opportunities for comfort and happiness. It is filled with an alert political and industrial sense, is aided by an independent press, and gives promise of being one of the great centers of the world from an architectural and industrial point of view. And in the matter of those great economic and political reforms centering about taxation, municipal ownership and home rule, it is likely to lead the way in demonstrating the possibilities of local cooperative political action, even at the point where American institutions seem to have most completely broken down.

#### ENGLISH ANTI-IMPERIALISM.

"Paragraphs" published in "The Positivist Review" (London) for October 1, 1903.

FROM FREDERIC HARRISON.

We shall have to go back to our history in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries for a record of government so blundering, so perverse and so evil as that which has afflicted our country for the last few years. Ministers of the Stuarts and of George III. may have shown equal folly, arrogance and bigotry. But even they did not rely entirely on a system of bluster and trickery. A great party, resolved to enter on a policy of grab abroad and clericalism