of their dividends, interest payments, surplus, etc. The difference is not greatly less than the Townsfolk now pay in real and personal taxes.

Thus this auditor tries to make one see that this hospitality to these corporations costs the Smart Town, over and above the cost of their work properly done by and for the public, as much as would run the schools, parks, streets, and what not, of the Town.

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Where is the man of us who, wanting Life Insurance, goes forth, to "buy it over the counter" instead of waiting for the Agent to "talk an arm off" him, a service which he well knows will add a huge commission to the cost?

And the Custom House, priceless Incubator of Infants, so managed that while it collects a dollar for the General Coffers, it turns ten over to Carnegie and his Confederates! How blind were the Fathers when they failed to provide for the picketing of State Lines with Collectors as well! Then might he who would accomplish his own support escape the thought or even the dream of sloth.

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If Toby's insistent hospitality is a mistake, surely he will learn no better from his Betters. THE PERPLEXT ONE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN NEW YORK.

New York. Oct. 1. Judge Gaynor, long noted for his outspokenness, loomed up early in the year as the most available candidate for mayor.

In March, the Municipal Democracy, consisting of Democrats who tried last year to infuse a little sincerity into the perfunctory campaign which the regular Democracy waged in New York State, practically nominated Gaynor at a meeting of its city committee held in the Hotel Knickerbocker. Tammany Hall, the dominant factor of the Democratic party in New York city, was in a demoralized condition due to causes that it would be unnecessary to enumerate; its leaders felt that in order to win, it was necessary to nominate a man who could command the support of that independent sentiment which grows yearly stronger. No party hack would do; and disagreeable as it was to contemplate turning over the power and patronage of the mayor to a man whom they could not control, they determined to take the step, in order to assure success. It now seems likely that the intimation that he would be called on to run was conveyed to Judge Gaynor early in the summer.

Hearst, too, offered Gaynor his support unconditionally, even after the Judge's return from Europe, but for some reason, not now clear, he went into the fusion conferences and opposed him.

The fusion conferences which were attended by representatives of the Republican party, the committee of One Hundred, the Independence League (Hearst) and several smaller bodies disintegrated apparently over a sordid scramble for office. This was after the leaders had individually tendered Judge Gaynor the nomination provided he would decline the Democratic nomination—an extraordinary demand to proceed from a supposedly non-partisan body.

The long roll of Tammany misdeeds has created a jaundiced condition of mind in many citizens. who would rather defeat Tammany Hall than work affirmatively for real reform. Indeed to many. who do not look deeply into the economic causes of poverty and crime, Tammany seems the fountain head of all the evils that afflict humanity—in New York. Hence, to them, the defeat of Tammany is the one thing needful to usher in the millennium.

The present alignment of forces in New York, may be described as follows. On the one side, we have the Republican party dominated by Root. who has prevented the nomination by fusion of any candidate not known to be friendly to the Belmont-Ryan interests which are seeking further franchise extensions. With it will probably line up the Committee of One Hundred or such remnants as may remain after Gaynor's friends have seceded. On the other side is Tammany, for once supporting a candidate for mayor in whom the people have confidence. The Municipal Democracy, now called for the purpose of avoiding certain possible difficulties in the election law the Municipal Party, nominated Gaynor. but its attitude to the rest of the ticket on which he will run is problematical, depending finally upon its estimate of the relative desirability of the candidates nominated by all parties, from which it may make up a ticket of its own, if such action shall seem desirable.

Of the outcome there can be little doubt. All observers are agreed that there is small prospect of Gaynor's defeat by any combination that can be made against him. He has said little as yet as to his policies, but no one who knows him doubts that he will be sufficiently explicit when the proper time comes. It is the consensus of unbiased opinion that his personality and fighting qualities will dominate his administration. He probably knows the intricacies of municipal politics better than any man who



has yet filled the mayor's chair. He has been an outspoken advocate of municipal ownership, and his record is the best guarantee of his fidelity to his belief. He is a democratic Democrat, who has supported Bryan and who presided at a meeting held in honor of Gov. Altgeld, when such action required a high measure of political courage on the part of a Justice of the Supreme Court.

One probable result of the political situation is likely to be the final removal from public life of New York's most discredited charlatan-Jerome. His present political plight would be pitiable, were it not an example of tardy retributive justice. He made to himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness with a fatuity little short of insanity. His contempt for the public which he had twice deluded was so great, that he believed he could get away with the trick a third time; but even public gullibility has its limits, and he passes into unhonored retirement, amid the execration of his dupes. He administered a staggering blow to independence in politics, by showing that a man may advertise himself as the foe of political bosses and yet be susceptible to the same abhorrent influences which form the corner stone of their power.

JOHN J. MURPHY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news aarrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, October 5, 1909.

The Cleveland Traction Question.

Last week's local papers of Cleveland indicate that the traction question there (p. 926) is virtually settled, with a substantial victory for Mayor Johnson. This extract from the leading editorial of the Plain Dealer for the 1st says of the pending settlement that while it "will not be wholly in accordance with Mr. Johnson's personal preferences, will not embody all he has contended for," yet that—

in yielding some points to the popular demand, in accepting terms that the majority of Clevelanders deem just and reasonable, the Mayor is none the less the victor in the long struggle. Patient in the face of the most tedious and discouraging difficulties and delays, persevering through innumerable setbacks and temporary defeats, Mayor Johnson has brought the city a same and sensible street railway arrangement that will long be considered the best attainable. Neither his most ardent supporters nor his bitterest enemies can with justice deny him the honor of accomplishment and victory.

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The circumstances of the pending settlement

differ but slightly from the last reported offer by Mayor Johnson to the traction company (p. 897), when the only remaining question in dispute was the maximum rate of fare to be allowed. On the 13th the company had replied to the Council's letter of the 8th (p. 898), but owing to Mayor Johnson's absence their letter was not officially received until the 27th. It offered to submit to Judge Tayler for final decision and together, the two questions (1) of valuation of the traction property and (2) of the maximum rate of fare to be allowed. At a caucus in the Mayor's office on the 29th, the supporters of the city administration decided by a divided vote to recommend acceptance of the company's proposal, the proposed franchise to go to referendum when adopted by the Council. Λ meeting of the committee of the whole was thereupon held and the acceptance agreed to with but one dissenting vote. The letter of the committee of the whole to the traction company, dated the 30th, accepted the company's proposal with the understanding that Judge Tayler's valuation shall be by items to the extent that the City Council or the company shall request. To this letter the company replied on the 1st, insisting that the questions of valuation and maximum rate of fare shall be arbitrated by Judge Tayler without restriction or limitation in ascertaining the value of their property, and saying that as there are some other provisions of the proposed ordinance upon which they were not agreed, they suggest that these also be submitted to Judge Tayler for arbitration. On the 2d the Council adopted its reply as follows to the foregoing letter of the company:

Replying to your letter of Oct. 1, we understand that you do not object to the itemization of the values of the property. We believe that it would be impossible for the people to vote intelligently at a referendum election upon a valuation not itemized. We have, therefore, modified the form of letter submitted to include the idea of itemization. In your letter you refer to other questions undisposed of. There are two, dealing with language only, the result to be achieved in both cases having been agreed to. One of these is language making the public safeguards as good as the grant. This is referred to Judge Tayler, Judge Lawrence, Mr. Tolles and the City Solicitor. The other is language to give the company a preference without destroying competition under the licensee provision. We suggest that this language be drafted by the same gentlemen. The Administration and the Council share the hope of the company that the completed ordinance will settle the controversy between the company and the city, and the Council and Administration have agreed to pass and present to the people at a referendum election the ordinance when completed. This is the second time that the Council has removed all obstacles to an immediate submission of a settlement by accepting conditions imposed by the company. We remain ready to proceed and trust that the company will not again delay progress by introducing new

