

word its address to the candidates that they shall be asked, irrespective of their personal opinion concerning the initiative and referendum, whether or not, if elected, they will vote to submit a constitutional amendment, and thereby give the people of the State a chance to express their opinions. Be it further resolved, that whenever any legislative candidate ignores the communication of the committee or declares himself opposed to permitting the people to vote on such an amendment, it shall be the duty of the committee to so inform all labor organizations within the district of said candidate, to the end that the members of organized labor may not be betrayed, by their negligence, into the support of their enemies.

People's campaign in Toledo.

The successor of the late Mayor Jones, as non-partisan leader, is Brand Whitlock, one of Mayor Jones's closest personal and political friends. Having been selected as the independent candidate for mayor, he accepted on the 6th, and in publicly defining his position he said:

This campaign has become a critical one, and the cause of non-partisanship to which Mayor Jones devoted his life is menaced as never before. The real issue is whether the government of our city is to be administered by representatives of the people or by representatives of some boss, some coterie or some corporation. We must not surrender the fruits of Mayor Jones's great work; that work must not now be allowed to fall; the people must carry this work on to completion, and when it is finished we shall have a republican government, a government of all the people, and this means good government.

The Cleveland contest.

A debate between Mayor Johnson and his Republican adversary, William H. Boyd (p. 406) began the municipal campaign in Cleveland. Over 4,000 were in attendance at Gray's armory, this large auditorium being literally filled. The two candidates and their immediate friends met at Mayor Johnson's house and went together to the hall. C. W. Collister, a supporter of Mr. Boyd, presided. The second debate took place at the Coliseum Theater on the 6th, with Judge Babcock, a supporter of Mayor Johnson, presiding. There were from 3,000 to 3,500 people present. The debate turned altogether upon questions of local administration and local interest.

New York city politics.

Aside from nominations by minor parties, three sets of municipal nominations have been made—(Tammany) Democratic, Republican, and Municipal Ownership—in the city of New York.

That Mayor George B. McClellan would be the Tammany candidate for reelection has all along been expected. He was nominated on the 5th at a Tammany convention which praised President Roosevelt for bringing about peace between Japan and Russia, and with reference to municipal ownership declared:

Municipal ownership of important public utilities has long been accepted Democratic doctrine and has been repeatedly recommended in Democratic State and local platforms. The most serious obstacle to its realization has been the reckless and corrupt granting by State legislatures of perpetual franchises without compensation to our city and in disregard of its interests and charter rights. The present and previous Democratic administrations, in the face of such difficulties and restricted by the constitutional debt limit, have municipalized many public utilities with a just regard for private rights involved. Public ownership is no longer a campaign watchword, but a principle applied and in operation in this, the greatest of American cities. The ferry to Staten Island has been bought, and with the equipment and dock accommodations for which provision has been made, its further extension is already guaranteed. One electric plant for lighting the Williamsburg bridge and its approaches is about completed. For another, illuminating all our present streets, parks and public buildings, \$600,000 has been appropriated for the purchase of a site, in accordance with accepted plans involving a total expenditure of \$7,500,000. An intelligent, conservative and responsible Democratic administration may be intrusted with the continued application and the ultimate triumph upon safe lines of the principle of municipal control of public utilities.

Efforts to make a fusion of all anti-Tammany elements were under way during the Summer and early Fall (p. 117). The principal organized bodies concerned were the regular Republican organization, the Citizens' Union, which has participated in previous fusions, and the Municipal Ownership League (p. 22). The Citizens' Union had selected District Attorney Jerome as its choice for mayor. This choice was accepta-

ble neither to the Republicans nor to the Municipal Ownership League, and under the circumstances Mr. Jerome forbade the use of his name. In his place the names of Judge Gaynor and Judge Seabury, both Democrats, and ex-Senator John Ford, a municipal ownership Republican, were suggested, but to these the supporters of Mr. Jerome in the Citizens' Union objected. The controversies culminated on the 14th of September in the withdrawal of the Citizens' Union from further fusion negotiations. A fusion conference was held, however, on the 18th; and on the 25th, at the request of this conference, the Citizens' Union resumed negotiations. But harmony was not established. On the 30th the Municipal Ownership League, in a conference with municipal ownership members of the Citizens' Union, and with the German-American League, decided to take steps to nominate a municipal ownership ticket; and action was precipitated on the 4th by the nomination (p. 427) at a municipal ownership mass meeting, of William Randolph Hearst for mayor. Mr. Hearst accepted on the 10th, in a letter to Judge Seabury, chairman of the committee of notification, in which he said:

I have felt absolutely unable and unwilling to accept the nomination you have offered me, but I have at length decided to defer to your wishes and not to shirk a task that presents itself to me as a public duty. . . . The machinery of government in this city is in the control of a boss whose fortune is based on contracts awarded by corporations in return for special favors and illegal privileges. The subway, which was owned and built by the city, has been given away. . . . An organization for plunder has planned to secure and exploit all new subways and all other remaining franchises, and has arranged a political combination to make it impossible for the people to protect themselves. And, bad as the situation is to-day, it is as nothing to the four years' riot of corruption that would follow an apparent indorsement of such dishonesty at the polls. . . . Under these circumstances a man asked by his fellow citizens to represent their interests and the honor of the city has no right to refuse.

Ex-Senator John Ford, whom the Republicans have favored for Mayor, but whose municipal ownership views make him objectionable to the plutocratic elements of his party, goes on the Municipal

Ownership ticket for comptroller, with J. G. Phelps Stokes as candidate for president of the Board of Aldermen.

Republican nominations were made on the 6th. The candidate nominated for Mayor was Charles E. Hughes, who has distinguished himself as counsel for the Armstrong legislative committee in the insurance scandal investigations (p. 427). The platform makes no further declaration regarding public utilities than this:

We believe that in the future development of the subways there should be secured the freest opportunity for competition in their construction and equipment, and that such subways should at all times be under the absolute control of the city government. The fact has been established by a legislative inquiry that it is permitted by the city authorities to operate franchises that have expired, and that the price of gas to the private consumer is extortionate. In view of the fact that the lighting trust is an absolute monopoly and of its failure to render to the people fair service at fair rates, we are in favor of the establishment of a municipal lighting plant for the use of the municipality and of its citizens, and of its operation by the city.

Mr. Hughes positively declined his nomination on the 9th, on the ground that he could not accept without betraying the trust reposed in him by the policy-holders of the insurance companies which are now under investigation. Frank Moss has been substituted.

New England politics.

At the Republican convention of Massachusetts on the 6th. Curtis Guild, Jr., was nominated for governor. Eugene N. Foss, of Boston, leading a tariff revision faction, demanded a declaration for free hides, iron ore, lumber and wood pulp, but owing to concessions in the platform he refrained from making a contest, giving notice however that next year his faction would expect the party convention to acquiesce in his demands. The tariff plank as adopted declares:

The Republican party of Massachusetts reaffirms its devotion to the principle of protection, and is opposed to tariff changes tending to depress or destroy any of our industries, or to lower the wages of American labor. But we recognize the fact, as declared by the national Republican convention at Chicago, that rates should be changed when conditions have so

changed that the public interest demands the alteration of schedules. The time at which revision of the tariff should be undertaken must be determined by the representatives of the party from all parts of our country. We approve the position taken by our senators and representatives at the last session of Congress in favor of present action, and we urge that they should continue to press upon their party associates in Congress from other States the wisdom of a consideration of the tariff for the purpose of revision and readjustment.

The Democratic convention followed, on the 7th, with the nomination of C. W. Bartlett for governor, Gov. Douglas having refused to be again a candidate, and adopted a platform declaring that—

the paramount issue at this time before the people of Massachusetts is relief from tariff restrictions. The effect of this policy, forced upon the dominant Republican party by the greed of great and selfish interests, has been to cut Massachusetts off from its natural markets of sale and purchase, and to push the State toward the danger line of industrial decline.

We believe that a sensible relief from these evils could be obtained without disturbance to business by placing upon the free list a number of raw materials of our industries, such as coal, iron, lumber, hides, wood pulp, and by the immediate enactment of a dual tariff law, which, while having the present tariff as its maximum, would give liberal reductions in duty rates to those nations that will accord to us favorable trade opportunities.

We believe that legislation should be enacted giving to cities and towns broader powers in the conduct and control of business which derives its profits from the necessities of the community, experience having demonstrated that under favorable conditions and proper management the business of public utilities can be conducted by municipal corporations with profit to the people, both in price and in service.

The Prohibitionists of Rhode Island nominated Bernon E. Helme for governor on the 7th.

The life insurance scandals.

Further exposures of embezzlement of life insurance funds for political purposes (p. 427) have been made before the Armstrong committee at New York during the week. Vice President Gillette of the Mutual Life, testified that with the concurrence of the president, Richard A. McCurdy, he had

contributed out of the treasury of that company to Republican campaign funds, \$15,000 in 1896, \$35,000 in 1900, and \$40,000 in 1904. At previous sessions of the committee, the associate auditor of the Equitable, Alfred W. Maine, was forced to reveal an alliance of many years' standing between the New York Life, the Equitable Life and the Mutual Life for the purpose of promoting favorable and opposing unfavorable legislation in the various States. The States were grouped territorially in three divisions, each company being responsible for a division, and large sums of corruption money were contributed jointly by the allied companies for the purposes of this alliance.

Pursuant to his announcement of a week ago (p. 427) the Superintendent of Insurance of Missouri, W. D. Vandiver, notified the New York Life Insurance Company on the 7th that the sum of \$148,702, which President McCall had confessed to having contributed out of the funds of the company to the Republican national campaign committee for the years 1896, 1900, and 1904, must be replaced in the treasury of the New York Life Insurance company within the next thirty days, and that—

unless this requirement is met, or assurance given that it will be met without unnecessary delay, I, as superintendent of insurance for the State of Missouri, will proceed under the provisions of section 8,022, revised statutes of Missouri, to cancel or revoke the license of the company to do business in this State. From the facts already disclosed it is evident that the interests of the policy-holders in the New York Life Insurance company, as well as the public generally, demand a change in the management of the company. This department will, therefore, insist that a new president and vice president and financial committee be put in charge of the affairs of the company as soon as the board of directors may be able to effect the change.

On the 6th Thomas W. Lawson took steps to organize representative men throughout the country to secure the restitution of funds embezzled by insurance officials and the punishment of those guilty. He telegraphed as follows:

Will you, with other governors and the strongest representative men of the country, serve on a policy-holders' pro-