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Tom L. Johnson's triumphant reelection as mayor of Cleveland must have jarred the political nerves of those Republicans and Democratic "reorganizers" who had fondly hoped that he was "snowed under" last Fall. It must seem to them like a resurrection.

But the truth is that Johnson was not "snowed under" last Fall. Newspaper reports to the contrary were inspired by desire, not by knowledge. Although his candidate for Secretary of State of Ohio, Herbert S. Bigelow, suffered defeat by an adverse plurality of 93,939, this was about the same as the Republican plurality for governor in 1895, and 43,000 less than the plurality of 137,087 that had been rolled up against the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State in 1894. And, what is of most importance, Bigelow gained wherever Johnson spoke (with the single exception of Cincinnati), the gains in the 19 northern counties in which he made his campaign tour aggregating 10,000 votes.

Notwithstanding those Democratic gains, however, the plurality against Bigelow in the whole State did rise to 26,000 more than that polled against the Democratic candidate for governor in 1901. This is the reason Johnson's enemies said he had been "snowed under." But that increase in the Republican plurality of the State was due entirely to the corrupt combine in Cincinnati between the Republican machine of Boss Cox and the Democratic ma-

chine of Boss Bernard—John R. McLean's political manager. The same combination has now defeated Melville E. Ingalls, the Democratic candidate for mayor of Cincinnati, by a majority only about 10,000 less than that cast against Bigelow in the same city last Fall, although Ingalls had what Bigelow had not, the nomination and support of a powerful non-partisan Citizens' Association. Mr. Ingalls had the additional advantage—or what Republicans and "reorganizing" Democrats call the advantage—of being "uncontaminated with Bryanism." Yet he lost none of the benefit of the Bryan vote, for Bigelow loyally supported him and Johnson personally endorsed his candidacy. Under these circumstances, Ingall's defeat in Cincinnati by 16,000 plurality, when compared with Johnson's election in Cleveland by 6,000 plurality, is a sufficient indication that whatever may have been "snowed under" in Ohio last Fall it was neither Johnson nor Johnsonism.

So far from his having been "snowed under," Tom L. Johnson's political career, since he undertook to rescue Ohio from the rings of both parties and began with Cleveland two years ago, has been one of steady advance. He was elected mayor of Cleveland in the Spring of 1901 by 6,000 plurality. In the Fall of 1901 he advised the nominations of his party in Cuyahoga county for the legislature and secured the election of the candidates by good majorities—3,000 to 6,000. This was the first time in many years that the Democrats had been able to elect a legislator from that county. In the Spring of 1902 Mr. Johnson advised the local nominations and won at the election by majorities ranging from

a few hundred to 6,000. His next success was to wrest the machine of the Democratic party of the State from John R. McLean's Cincinnati ring, and to bring to the front as the party candidate for head of the State ticket that brilliant speaker and profound thinker, Herbert S. Bigelow, who will yet make his mark upon a wider field. In the campaign that followed, the rings of Cincinnati "stabbed" Bigelow, as might have been expected; but Johnson increased the vote for him in all the northern counties, and carried Cuyahoga county by 2,500 and its city of Cleveland by 5,000. This series of successes that Johnson has made in the past two years he has now supplemented with his own reelection as mayor by a plurality of 5,985, and the election of his entire party ticket by pluralities ranging from 10,436 down. Nor that alone. He has secured the election of a city council in which 23 members out of a total of 32 are supporters of his municipal policy and the candidates of his choice.

Let no one suppose that these successes have been easily won. Johnson is in a fight against plutocracy, and plutocracy fights hard. In the campaign he has just won, it fought with especial vigor and the ferocity of desperation. Johnson's administration in the past, and all his declarations for the future, gave warning that with him there was to be no compromise; and every wire was pulled to defeat him. Street car money from all over the country was poured like water into the campaign by the Hanna managers. Labor "fakirs" were brought into requisition, and one of them (a professed Democrat less than six months before) was nominated for the second highest place on the Republican ticket. This ven-

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ture of Hanna's proved unprofitable, however, for the nomination had no other effect than to lift the plurality for the second highest place on the Democratic ticket some 4,500 higher even than Johnson's own plurality. But that blunder of Hanna's was not unnatural, and others brought less obvious punishment. The number of lucrative offices to be voted for had been multiplied by his legislature eight times, thus enormously increasing the difficulty of a straightforward campaign. A select lot of pharisees was lined up, so as to make Johnson appear to be out of harmony with the religious element. The Municipal Association, professedly a non-partisan civic body, but really a collection of stock investors and Republican tax-dodgers, who feared Johnson's just taxation policy, marched out against him with a pronouncement so manifestly partisan that he had no difficulty in tearing it to tatters. The temperance element was set on him because he hadn't closed all the saloons during all the "dry" hours; and the saloon element was rallied because he had closed them as well as the limited police force at his command enabled him to. Civil service reformers were set on edge with stories of spoilsmen in one department; and spoilsmen were reminded of the perfect merit system he had established in another. And so it went. Hanna himself came out into the open, and before the campaign closed the Republican candidate had been forgotten. The contest settled down to a test of strength between Hanna and Johnson—between plutocracy and democracy.

Inasmuch as Mayor Johnson received a plurality of 5,985, while Mr. Lapp, the candidate for vice mayor, received a plurality of 10,436, the inference is natural that Mr. Johnson ran considerably behind his associate. But that is not so. With the exception of Mr. Lapp's vote, Mr. Johnson's was the highest cast; and Mr. Lapp's was only 1,417 more

than Mr. Johnson's. The reason Mr. Lapp's plurality is so much larger is because his adversary was Senator Hanna's "labor" candidate—the labor leader who tried to make it appear that organized labor in Cleveland is opposed to 3-cent fares on street cars, and got the second highest nomination on the Republican ticket in consequence. He polled the lowest vote cast. Some of the Republican voters who "scratched" him gave their votes to Mr. Lapp; the others didn't vote at all for vice mayor. Mr. Hanna's "marriage of capital and labor," in the persons of Goulder for mayor and Sontheimer for vice-mayor (as one of his principal spellbinders called it), was a disastrous nuptial failure.

That Johnson should have won so signal a victory under circumstances so adverse as those that prevailed in Cleveland this Spring is a tribute not to his fidelity and abilities alone, but also to the loyalty of the masses of the people when their confidence is won. Johnson had proved himself to them. Upon the basis of radical and far-reaching democratic principles he had just begun a crusade for 3-cent fares on street cars immediately and municipal ownership ultimately, and in fiscal concerns for just taxation. His policies were opposed by traction company lawyers and obstructed by "gray wolves" in the council, by judges on the bench, by a corporation lawyer in the attorney general's office, and finally by the Supreme Court of the State, which overturned every Ohio municipality and for nearly a year has governed Cleveland by injunction, all for no other purpose than to save Senator Hanna's street car investments from the competition of cheaper lines and to shield rich tax dodgers from the equal operation of tax laws. But through it all Mayor Johnson has proved himself a leader who is both able to lead and worthy the confidence of all good citizens. He has been trusted accordingly, and now the day of the

realization of his plans for municipal improvement, real improvement, begins to dawn.

The reelection of Mayor Jones of Toledo—"Golden Rule" Jones as he is sometimes sneeringly but more often affectionately called—is another tribute to the loyalty of the masses to leaders in whom they believe. Mr. Jones has served three terms as mayor of Toledo, and the genuine democracy of his administration has attracted national attention and inspired local confidence. The political machines are powerless either to control his official conduct or to keep him out of the office.

In the recent campaign he went before the people of his city upon a nominating petition. He was literally what he calls himself, "a man without a party." Worse than that—if such things ever are bad, worse and worst—he had no newspaper support. The local papers (excepting one German paper) refused even to publish his brief address to his constituents, which was reproduced in these columns (p. 810) two weeks ago. Some of them refused to publish it even as a paid advertisement, though others did admit this piece of news, interesting and important to thousands of people, upon those commercial terms. And all through the campaign, both the local press of Toledo and the Associated Press at that point were as silent as the grave about Jones's candidacy. Though he is a man of national fame, it was no fault of the news agencies if anyone knew he was a candidate until the day after election, when his reelection was announced. The papers were in a conspiracy of silence, but the people were on the alert.

Toledo is to be congratulated upon this evidence of civic virtue, though it cannot be congratulated upon its civic prospects. For Mayor Jones will have no support in the city government. As mayor his power is very limited under the new municipal