

life and character not a single voter in New York has a particle of sincere respect.

*A Deliberate
Choice.*

What Mr. Henry George just before his death was saying every day on public platforms about Mr. Croker did not misrepresent the prevailing opinion among all classes of people in the community. The people who voted to make Mr. Croker master of the city for the next four years were undoubtedly of the same opinion as Mr. Henry George. They rejected enlightened, decent, and progressive government because they did not want it; and they did not want it because their motives in the whole matter were selfish ones. It is not more feasible now than it was in the days of Edmund Burke to indict a whole community, and nothing could be farther from our meaning than that the voters of New York are prevailing vicious and depraved. Our assertion simply is that there is an immense body of voters in New York who do not prefer the best things, and who are willing to turn the city over to the tender mercies of Croker and Tammany for some reason personal to themselves. This can be better understood with concrete illustration. To begin with, there is in a great city like New York a large element who are positively vicious, belonging to the criminal and semi-criminal classes. These men, for obvious reasons, prefer Tammany government. Next, the Tammany machine itself, which has been built up by a long process, has a great body of men directly attached to it, who as petty politicians with little or no other means of support have a pecuniary interest in Tammany's success. Then comes the liquor interest, which went in a solid body for Tammany this year, as it has usually done heretofore. Even admitting that liquor selling is a legitimate and honorable business, it is not for a moment to be denied that the fifteen thousand saloons of the Greater New York are surrounded by vicious and law-breaking tendencies, that they are the supporters always of bad government, and that they are able to command a following, which reduced to its very lowest terms must mean from forty to fifty thousand votes on election day.

*The Truckmen,
for
Instance.*

When the reform administration of Mayor Strong temporarily took the place of the Tammany government the street-cleaning department found a great obstacle to its work in the trucks and wagons, some thirty thousand or more of which when not in actual use were left standing on the streets. At night and on Sundays the cross streets of New York were lined with these trucks. For many reasons the practice was seriously objectionable.

One of the best things accomplished by the reform administration was the removal of these vehicles, whose owners were accordingly obliged to pay for shed room or yard room. The objectionable practice had always been connived at by Tammany, which had found it both politically and financially profitable to "protect" the truckmen. Civilization makes some progress even in New York, and it is not likely that these truckmen will succeed again in appropriating the streets for their stable-yards. Nevertheless, they have their hopes, and of course they voted the Tammany ticket. The case of the truckmen gives a sufficient clue. There are various other private interests that wish to violate municipal ordinances or break the State laws, and that seek the connivance of public officials. These interests naturally vote for Tammany. The street railroad organizations, gas companies, and other franchise-using or franchise-seeking concerns are in position to control a great many votes, and the reasons why they should favor a Tammany government rather than a Citizens' Union government are too plain to require any explanation.

*Some Partisan
Bearings.*

The reasons why the great bulk of the voters who were expected to support the Henry George ticket resorted to Tammany after the death of their leader cannot be explained in a word. In any case, these men would never have voted for General Tracy and the straight Republican ticket. As between that ticket and Tammany, their preferences could not have been in doubt. Nor were their instincts in that respect other than sound, for Tammany represents a much greater capacity for a reasonably well-conducted municipal government than is represented by the local Republican machine. It must be remembered that New York has always been an overwhelmingly Democratic city. In the recent campaign the best Republicans, with a few exceptions, supported Seth Low and the Citizens' Union. What remained of the Republican party that rallied around Mr. Platt's ticket represented in New York City almost exactly what Republicanism has represented in some of the strongly Democratic Southern States. Mr. Henry George's movement had been launched not as an independent local effort to secure emancipated municipal government, but as the movement of the Simon-pure National Bryan Democracy, as against a Tammany which had refused to indorse the Chicago platform. The death of Mr. George seemed so clearly to foreshadow the dissolution of the "Democracy of Thomas Jefferson" that a great many plain Democratic voters of Bryan affiliations promptly decided that Tammany's, after all, was the only remaining Demo-

cratic standard, and to that standard they flocked. This was made the easier for them by the fact that Judge Van Wyck, the candidate for mayor, had supported Mr. Bryan last year, while the army of Tammany workers throughout the great metropolis was, by direction from headquarters, set at work upon most conciliatory tactics. Taking round figures, the Tammany ticket received 230,000, the Seth Low ticket 150,000, the Platt Republican ticket 100,000, and the ticket headed by Henry George, junior, as a substitute for his father, 20,000. Mr. Low's vote, under all the circumstances, was a magnificent tribute to his high personal character and eminent qualifications. Further than that, it was a splendid object lesson to the machine politicians.

How the Machines "Live and Let Live." Up to the very last moment, Mr. Platt had assured President McKinley and the administration at Washington that the Tracy ticket would be elected beyond a peradventure, and that Mr. Low's vote would be the smallest cast for the four principal tickets. Mr. Platt most strenuously endeavored to implicate the McKinley administration in the local New York contest in such a way as to make it a sharer in the disgrace of the Republican defeat. The fact of course is that the Republican machine was not in ignorance of the facts of the situation. It was aware all the time that General Tracy did not stand the ghost of a chance of being elected. There has never been the slightest prospect that the Greater New York would fall into the hands of the Republican machine, and the Republican machine has always perfectly understood this. The separate Republican ticket, and the refusal of the machine to support Seth Low, were a part of the plan to make certain the success of Tammany. It is a great pity that so plain a political game should find the general public so easily imposed upon. What the Republican machine desires for itself is to maintain its control of the State government at Albany. So long as it can control the law-making power, which is always superior to the power of the municipal government in New York City, the Republican machine has the advantageous position in a trading bargain with the Tammany Democracy.

Again A Platt Legislature. After the election it was found that the regular or Platt Republican members of the Legislature would probably fall just short of a clear majority, and a great deal was said for a few days about the ability of six or seven anti-Platt or Citizens' Union members to virtually control the Legislature by reason of their exercising the balance of power between the large group of Democrats and the still larger

group of regular Republicans. The absurdity of this idea lay in the assumption that there was any honest and complete antagonism between the two large machine groups on matters involving profit and advantage to the political machines. The Republican side of the Legislature will have no trouble in drawing sufficient support from the Democratic side to insure easy success for machine measures. The trading basis is beautifully free from difficulties, and for the present moment the two machines have everything that they could reasonably have hoped for. To be sure, the spoils contingent of the New York City Republican machine would have been glad to have the offices that Mayor Van Wyck will distribute to Tammany Democrats; but since there was never any chance that these offices could go to Republican henchmen, there is no keen disappointment. Their reward comes to them in other ways; for the control of the State government makes the Republican machine rich and powerful enough to scatter crumbs of comfort among the faithful who keep up the fraudulent enrollments and manipulate the dishonest caucuses of the metropolis. The great corporations that are robbing the people of the city and State of New York will be quite amply protected this coming year, although they will have paid more handsomely for their protection than ever before. And the price of that protection will not be monopolized by a single political machine.

Progress Despite Politics. Meanwhile the general progress of the great community in the arts and methods of civilized life will not be completely checked by the success of Tammany. Public opinion will demand clean streets, and there will not be a complete lapse from the Waring standard. Sites for a number of additional small parks and children's playgrounds in the densest portions of the city were definitely announced last month, and there is good reason to expect that this programme will be carried through. Within a month the courts have secured a highly favorable report upon the feasibility of the proposed underground rapid transit line, which is to be constructed with municipal funds, and the prospects for that great enterprise are now altogether bright. The remarkable beginnings of educational reform that have been made within the past year are likely to suffer a great deal from Tammany's victory, for in nothing has Tammany administration in times gone by been so far below the average American standard as in this matter of schools. Nevertheless, the gains that have been made will not be altogether lost. There is much reason to believe that Mr. Richard Croker has advanced a good deal in his apprecia-