

end to that conflict until this kind of property is completely destroyed.

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Just one fact to illustrate with.

On the American side of Niagara Falls three private power companies take all the water for power purposes that the United States government has allowed to be taken. Yet, though water power is the cheapest power known, the rates for electricity for ordinary consumers in Buffalo are so high that many large concerns find it cheaper to develop their own electricity by steam and gasoline, while nearly all the private houses are still lighted by gas.

But on the Canadian side the Ontario government has created the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which buys cheap power at the Falls from a power company, and has built transmission lines to many cities for the delivery of electric energy at cost, the cities owning their own distributing plants. The first power was turned on at Berlin, October 11.

Thus we have *robbery* on one side of the Niagara river, and *service* on the other side.

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This country has a long and rough road to travel before her political education reaches the level of many other countries. But the road lies before us and must be traveled. It is inconceivable that we should sink back into despotism. Special privilege must go.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICS IN AND ABOUT NEW YORK.

New York, Dec. 7.

Those who would follow the game of big politics should keep eyes on New York and New Jersey these days. Very interesting is the situation created by the election of Democratic legislatures in these States for the first time in many years.

In New York there will be a United States Senator to elect in the place of that choice representative of the old but fast passing order of things, Chauncey M. Depew; and the New Jersey voters have decreed the retirement to a well-merited oblivion of John Kean, a gentleman who never strayed far from the Aldrich reservation in the Senate, and is proud of it.

Both retiring Senators are now very rich men, and it would be hard to find two gentlemen in public life more insensible than they to the progressive spirit of the politics of to-day.

And, since the common interpretation of the recent political upheaval is to recognize in it a popular protest against men and things as they are, one

should say that in this situation the victorious Democracy of New York and New Jersey would quickly recognize both an opportunity and an obligation.

Let us first look at New York.

To what service shall her Democracy put the great opportunity that has come to it? Shall it be demonstrated again that Big Business can win even when it loses, and that party names mean nothing to it? Or shall it be that the party leaders, if able to resist the sinister pressure that the Interests bring, will yet make some choice that will prove their incompetence to measure the greatness of their opportunity for service to the party and the people. Either of these results is feared at this writing, although potent forces in and out of the official Democracy are working earnestly and enthusiastically for a Democratic Senator whose intellect and character are of the highest type.

This man is Edward M. Shepard.*

Seldom in the interest of a candidate has there been an expression so wide and sincere as that which has found publicity since election day in favor of Mr. Shepard. When he was defeated for the Democratic nomination for Governor at Rochester, chiefly because of the attacks made upon him by the friends of rival candidates with regard to his relations with the Pennsylvania Railroad,* it was declared that this was the end of Mr. Shepard as a conspicuous factor in our politics, and I have reason to know that his most intimate friends so regarded it. A Democratic legislature was at that time a hope rather than an expectation.

But when Democrats found themselves confronted, after election day, with the great opportunity and responsibility of matching Elihu Root in the United States Senate with a Democrat, the one name that suggested itself to most people was that of Shepard. If two men in New York got into a great contention at law, in which money was no object, and one of them hired Root to represent him, the other, if he was well advised and desired a Democrat for a lawyer, could not fail to select Shepard as the most conspicuously fit of all the great practitioners at the bar of the State to match in scholarship, in legal learning, in logic and in pleading power, the man who has been selected by the President as the permanent representative of the United States before the International tribunal at the Hague. Root is perhaps the most able, subtle, resourceful and plausible promoter and defender of his party's policies in New York. Shepard matches him in ability and intellectual resourcefulness, and in devotion to the opposite cause.

To Shepard, Democracy means something more than a badge and an empty name. He has expounded Democratic doctrines and defended Democratic policies in many a great speech during the last twenty years, and those who have been closely associated with him in political activity, know that there is conscience and feeling behind the splendid rhetoric in which it is his habit to give expression to his thought. I believe him sound in his view of the larger politics, and that he apprehends unerringly the fundamental democratic aspect of all public questions, often exhibiting a courage that appears

*See The Public of October 7, page 933.

to disregard the question of personal political expediency. Not a radical in any sense, he nevertheless seems to see to the bottom of things more clearly than any other man who is conspicuous in New York's Democracy. It is for these reasons that sincere Democrats of many different shades have enthusiastically fallen in behind Mayor Gaynor in giving endorsement to Mr. Shepard's candidacy.

The argument that defeated Shepard at Rochester is being used to defeat him for the senatorship. This relates to his connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad as its special counsel in New York. No charge is made that Mr. Shepard's great talents have been used to procure for his client any privilege for which the city has not been adequately compensated, and it is also conceded that whatever have been the relations of this great corporation with the politics and politicians of Pennsylvania, its dealings with this city in connection with the establishment of its vast tunnel and terminal system here have been conspicuously free from scandal or imputation of unfair dealing. It was no doubt because of the prestige he had earned by extraordinary talents and unblemished character that the railroad sought him for its special adviser in New York, and it seems to me that it is for these very qualities that the people should engage him for their service at Washington.

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The name most frequently mentioned besides that of Mr. Shepard for the Senatorship is that of William F. Sheehan.

Although only about fifty years of age, Sheehan is a veteran in every department of machine politics. He was making a record in the legislature for shrewdness, nerve and insensibility to enlightened public sentiment before he was twenty-five years old. He became Assembly leader, Speaker of the House, and Lieutenant-Governor, all within ten years after his entrance into politics in Buffalo. He was a trusted and resourceful lieutenant at different times, of men of the type of the late David Bennett Hill, William C. Whitney and Roswell P. Flower.

It was Flower that took Sheehan to New York and made a rich lawyer out of him by putting him into the street railway business. He is there now as the chief adviser of the vast traction interests of the city.

His law partner is Alton B. Parker, one time a Presidential candidate. Mr. Parker is also occasionally named as a senatorial possibility, but is on record as having stated that he does not wish to go to the Senate.

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These two, Shepard and Sheehan, represent the opposite tendencies of Democracy to-day.

Shepard, I believe, professes the Democratic faith because he believes in it, and seeks in politics the opportunity to put his faith in practice for the greater good of his fellow man.

Sheehan is neither a pretender nor a sentimentalist. He has a cynical contempt for progressive politics. He has never concealed his affiliation with New York financiers of the kind who mix politics with business, and get their privileges never in the limelight. He has grown rich by the affiliation. If he

has ever in public said or done a really democratic thing, it has got by unnoticed. He treads lightly and works in private, and he has a political cunning and capacity that would make him just as fit a representative of the people in the United States Senate as the cleverest plutocrat on the Republican side of the chamber.

If Sheehan goes to the Senate, the common comment of New York will be that Thomas F. Ryan made Murphy do it. For the power of deciding the senatorship question undoubtedly rests with Charles F. Murphy, who is now generally recognized as the State leader, as well as the undisputed master of Tammany Hall. Those who watched Mr. Murphy dealing with the complex and discordant situation at the recent Rochester convention, out of which came the candidacy of the honest and unpledged, if undistinguished Mr. Dix, say that Mr. Murphy displayed the patience, tact and penetration of a real leader in bringing harmony and unity out of a somewhat chaotic situation. He worked as if he wanted Democratic party success primarily.

Despite the sinister intimations that Sheehan, or a man of his type will be the chosen one later on, Mr. Murphy professes to be keeping an open mind, and some of his close friends say he has not committed himself against the candidacy of Mr. Shepard. They say, too, that Mr. Murphy is disposed to be respectful of public sentiment in these days to an extent greater than ever before, and that he is not unmindful of how sensitive the public has grown to be over the intimacy between politics and the financial interests represented by Mr. Sheehan.

In the meantime, Democratic members of the legislature, both Senate and Assembly, are very dumb these days; and in advance of their meeting in joint session by and by, we are not likely to find out what they are going to do about this question of such great importance to the Democracy of New York and the nation.

That is, unless Mr. Murphy lets us know.

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The New Jersey senatorship question is worth a story by itself. There a plutocratic Democratic State boss in the person of James Smith, Jr., a democratic Democrat named James E. Martine, and Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Governor-elect, are the chief actors in a political drama of unusual interest.

Much more than the senatorship is involved.

The making or breaking of an odious and rotten State machine, and the elucidation of the highly interesting question as to whether Mr. Wilson owns himself or is just owned,* like much other New Jersey political furniture, are among the things involved.

A man with good political eye-sight can discern the outlines of the future picture more clearly in New Jersey than in New York. Therefore, I may predict that it will be discovered that Mr. Wilson owns himself, that Mr. Smith will not go back to the Senate seat in Washington where he once betrayed his party, and that James E. Martine—

But this is another story.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

*See this Public, page 1179.