

his ultimate aim: to abolish involuntary poverty and to give everyone on this earth all that was destined for each.

"Therefore, much against his wish but because he looked upon it as an easy way to propagate the thoughts he believed in, he stood as a candidate for Congress in 1888. His letter accepting the nomination at that time gave his creed—to create conditions whereby the producers of wealth—the people—could be made the enjoyers of the product of their toil."

"He was defeated by a few votes, which of course meant nothing to him. In 1890 he was elected to Congress, and immediately upon taking his seat commenced to battle against the established order of things. Two years later, although he had been gerrymandered into a Republican district, he was re-elected. It was in this next session of Congress that he attracted so much attention. Pleading guilty to being a monopolist and showing just how he was a beneficiary of unjust laws himself, he announced that he stood ready to repeal every one of them. In fact the Congressional Record shows that for four days he pleaded with the Democrats to answer the roll as their names were called in order that they might proceed with the business of making good the party's platform declarations.

"The betrayal of the people by the victorious Democrats caused a complete Republican landslide in 1894, and although Johnson ran thousands ahead of his ticket, he went down to defeat. Opposed to silver, he remained loyal to the cause of Bryan in 1896, for while he believed the party to be in error in this one phase, he knew it was correct in the other doctrines it enunciated, especially in those regarding the making of an onslaught on special privilege.

"In 1897 Johnson left for New York, and spent the next three years in the further accumulation of money; and then, at the age of 46, he returned to us in 1900—strong in body, keen in intellect, superior to most men and the peer of any—to devote the balance of his life and to give his fortune to the furtherance of the great cause he so fervently believed in, courageously fought for, and heroically died for.

"To Tom Johnson 'municipal ownership of natural monopolies' and 'equalization of unequal taxation' and 'three-cent fare' were but slogans—a means to an end. And this end was his dream—to bring the people one step nearer to that golden age he knew was in store for the children of this world. And how he struggled toward these things during those nine years into which were really crowded a lifetime!

"He knew the earth was bountiful—that there was enough and more than enough to go around—that this world should be a magnificent place to live in, a beautiful place to die in, and that the wrongs and cruelties practiced and perpetrated

upon the many were merely the results of man-made laws which bestowed privilege upon a favored minority at the expense of all the rest.

"With every beat of his heart he felt for those to whom life was merely a struggle for nothing more than existence from the cradle to the grave. To him the day was too short to complete the task he knew was so great, before that day of his dream could be ushered in when privilege and poverty would be no more.

"In addition to his great brain and his big heart, he had a personality which is hard to describe—beautiful, kind, thoughtful, considerate. No man could *know* Tom Johnson and not love him, and the greatest regret of all those privileged to be close to him is that they were not permitted to do for him that which he had done for them. Dead though he is, his spirit will dominate the affairs of this people. His beautiful memory will be the instrument to push forward thousands—to help us all to come nearer to that day his long vision saw—the day which he struggled for, which he gave his life for, and which, at the last, he came to die for."

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TOM L. JOHNSON'S FULL DAY'S WORK.

Rev. Harris R. Cooley in the Cleveland Press of April 10, 1911.

It is now nearly thirty years since Mr. and Mrs. Johnson came to the little church of which I was then pastor. He was in the full vigor of his youth, with a strong boyish face. I soon came to know him in the life of his home where many friends were made welcome.

He was in the midst of a successful and promising business career. His ancestors were of a vigorous type, with the kindness and genial hospitality of the Kentucky people. In his childhood adversity came to his father's house, so that he had felt the hardship of a struggle with poverty. His mother told me that there were times when she had not much besides hoe-cake to feed her hungry boys. At the age of twelve, Tom gave his aid to the support of the family by selling papers on the streets of a Virginia town. At sixteen he left school and entered the employ of the Louisville street railway. Before he was nineteen he was its superintendent.

When, according to the Southern custom, he asked Mrs. Johnson's father for the privilege of marrying his daughter, the father turned to him and said:

"And what have you with which to support and care for a wife?"

Lifting up his arms, Tom said to him: "I have these two hands."

His rise in the business world was as rapid as it was brilliant. Transportation companies in the

East and West sought his expert judgment and offered high salary for his services. Every financial success seemed to open many other opportunities for larger achievements.

In the very midst of such a career, while on his way from Indianapolis to Cleveland, he bought of a train boy Henry George's "Social Problems." The cause of the dire poverty, wretchedness and misery among his fellowmen and the possible remedy for it came to him as a revelation. The simple truth of George's philosophy—that all men have equal birthrights in God's full bounty of the earth, the light, the air, the coal, the iron, the free gifts of nature, made for all His children—this truth made it appeal to his mind and heart.

He saw that the gaining of privilege, which was so profitable, involved on the other side the denial of equal opportunities for all; that a privileged class involved an unprivileged class of wretched, wronged human lives. Like the seers and prophets, he saw the possibility of this earth becoming a place of opportunity, freedom and comfort for all, a vision of the kingdom of God coming into this world with a chance for a full human life for every child of man. And he "was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision."

In the midst of the fascinations of business successes he heard his call of duty with such gladness and cheerfulness—it was such a willing sacrifice—that many would not believe his public service was given from other than selfish ambitious motives.

His ultimate aim was the cure of involuntary poverty, the opening of opportunities to all to earn a comfortable living, but he was broad enough to be interested in those movements which mitigate and relieve present unjust conditions. He was a support and inspiration in the starting of the boys' home at Hudson, in the development of the great colony plans for the sick and poor at the farms in Warrensville.

He wanted to give a better chance to the men and women who were down and who were in prison. He was more interested in curing crime than in punishing criminals. When, in the early days of his first administration, we were paroling from the house of correction more than twelve times the former number, I suggested to him that our policy would probably raise a storm of protests, he said to me: "If it is the right thing to do, do it anyway!" His answer to the charge that we were not making as much money as formerly at the workhouse was: "We are not trying to make money out there. We are trying to make men."

To his practical mind the next step in making Cleveland the home of a free and happy people was the elimination of the control of the public service corporations. He saw that the injury done by the unjust tribute which monopoly takes is small compared with the possible development and improvement which privilege always stifles and

prevents. He went deliberately and gladly into the desperate struggle with privilege and monopoly. He was

Waiting to strive a happy strife,
To war with falsehood to the knife,
And not to lose the good of life.

The people of Cleveland think they know how long and bitter a conflict it was, but they can never realize it all. He stood willingly in the front of the battle, and those of us who were near him looked with wonder at his calmness in the midst of every kind of attack and abuse which the resourcefulness of privilege could devise. He felt that it was the nature of the system of private monopoly to gain and hold its advantage by misrepresentation and injustice. He maintained that the men individually and personally would not do the wrongs in which they would acquiesce as the beneficiaries of a corporate privilege. His heart was free from revengefulness. He was the most generous man to his enemies that I have ever known. Only a great soul could have had that attitude, and no man could have maintained that attitude and not become great.

Mr. Johnson possessed a most wonderful mind. He seemed to be able to comprehend almost instantly a financial proposition, a municipal problem, or a question of sociology. What other men had to think out by laborious processes, he seemed to see and feel almost intuitively. He rendered his judgments quickly and with great frankness and clearness.

He once said to me: "When I make a decision I lock the door to it and throw away the key." Consequently, there was no wavering and no vain regretting. He was ready with his full powers for the next question. Only in this way could he direct and advise in so many situations.

His heart was big and brave. No man accused him of being afraid. He was always tolerant of the feelings and judgments of others. He was human and liable to err, but his purposes were high. He was willing to be misunderstood. His ambition was not for money or for glory, but to do a full day's work for the world before the sunset of his life. If this had not been true, he would not have sacrificed his health and fortune for the cause to which he gave himself.

His services to our city will not be measured by material benefits, great as they are, but he has hastened the development of a civic consciousness, a civic mind and heart, which will not be satisfied until Cleveland is made the best city in the land in which to be born and to live the common human life.

Words cannot express the joyousness, the tenderness and the inspiration of his companionship with his intimate friends. David's lament is ours: "How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle! I am distressed for thee, my brother; very

pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women."

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A SINGLETAX SUBSTITUTE FOR THE INCOME TAX.

Speech of Hon. Tom L. Johnson of Ohio, in the United States House of Representatives, January 30, 1894.

Mr. Chairman: I am for any kind of a direct tax in preference to any kind of a tariff tax. As I have said before, any tax on what men have is better than a tax on what men need; and so I am willing to support this income-tax bill. But I shall do so under protest and as a choice of evils.

As a measure for collecting revenue from income this is a very poor measure. The only thing about it that is not bad, is that it is not a bad companion to the tariff bill emanating from the same committee. It is marked by the same want of clear principle, the same indecision, and, if I may use the word, the same slouchiness. If you must have an income tax, the bill presented to the Ways and Means Committee by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman of New York, and which I have, at his request, laid before this House, is a much clearer and better one.

But since, to my regret, the time for our discussion of this question has been cut so short, I shall not take up the few minutes that have been accorded me with any discussion of the weakness of this bill as an income-tax measure. I prefer to take higher ground—that of objection to any income tax.

I am for any income tax as opposed to any tariff tax, for the reason that no income tax will enlist moneyed interests in opposition to its repeal, which any tariff tax inevitably does. I would gladly support any income tax, however bad, if offered as a substitute for the whole tariff. Not only would the country gain enormously and immediately from the freedom that would thus be given to production and exchange, but the great obstacle to further improvement would be removed. When we came to reform or abolish it we should find no powerful interests, representing millions filched annually from the masses, besieging Congress, filling the newspapers, and getting up petitions in the name of workingmen against reducing or abolishing such a beneficent tax.

But in itself, and for itself, and by itself, I am opposed to any income tax. I am opposed to any income tax, because all income taxes, even the best of them, are wrong and undemocratic in principle, because they involve another horde of official tax-eaters and require inquisitorial methods. It is better to tax men on what they have than on what they need, but in itself it is wrong to tax men on what they have. The true principle is to tax men,

not on what they have, but on what they have that belongs to all—to tax them, not in proportion to what they may have honestly earned or saved, but in proportion to the special advantages which they are suffered to enjoy. There is an enormous difference, a difference in kind, between what a man gets by his own exertions without any advantage over his fellows, and what a man gets by reason of special advantages accorded him over his fellows. This bill and all similar bills make no such discrimination.

But a discrimination is made in this bill—a discrimination as to the amount of income. The whole strength of the proposition depends on that. There is no one here who would venture to support for its own sake a bill which proposed to tax all incomes, or even all incomes above so small an amount as to bring the great body of his constituents under its provisions. The strength of this bill lies in its exemption of incomes up to \$4,000. It is not consistent in this, for it ruthlessly taxes, without any exemption, the little incomes of widows or orphans or aged people drawn from corporate stocks or bonds, but they are few and have but little political power. The great feature of the exemption is that it is purposely made high enough to exempt the great mass of voters. It is an attempt of the many to tax the few; of the majority to impose special burdens upon the minority, and that without any claim of right, without any assumption that there is any difference save amount in the incomes that are to be taxed and the incomes that are to be exempt.

Mr. Chairman, this is not democracy; it is communism! I am willing to accept communism for a while, as a relief from protectionism, which is a one-sided communism plus cant; but I shall not shut my eyes in doing so. The only clear principle in this bill is that the rich should be taxed *because* they are rich. If we admit this principle as right in itself, where shall we end? Such a road leads on to the social condition of those semi-barbarous countries where no one dare show any sign of the possession of wealth unless he heavily bribes government officials.

I protest as a Democrat and as a Democrat of Democrats, a Singletax man, against any discrimination against the rich, as I have protested and do protest and will protest against any discrimination against the poor. Democracy means justice or it means nothing. It means equal rights to all, and in this it means equal obligations on all.

Mr. Chairman, I am not arguing for the rich. I am arguing for the principle of equal rights. No one can see more clearly than we Singletaxers see that few can be rich, and none very rich, save by some unjust special privilege. No one knows better than we do that the great fortunes that have been and are being so rapidly accumulated in this country mean the appropriation of the fruits of