

the treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay, subject to the provisions of this title out of any moneys not otherwise deemed the property of the syndicates and corporations, to the owner or owners of any dray, wheelbarrow, farm wagon or dump cart owned by a citizen or citizens of the United States, and being engaged at the time in hauling, transporting or carrying any old thing between points within the United States, one cent per hundred pounds for each one village or city block so hauled.

That compensation under this title shall not be allowed in respect of any of the following named vehicles:

A vehicle that is so badly greased that it squeaks.

A vehicle that has not been painted at least once during its whole existence.

A vehicle that has neither shafts nor tongue.

A vehicle that has been foreclosed under chattel mortgage.

A vehicle which is driven by any other person than a white man, black man, brown man, yellow man, sun-burned man, a blonde man, or brunette man or a wife or daughter of said man in case the aforesaid man is too lazy to work for his own living.

That the blockage to be decided on under the title shall be determined by the nearest direct route around all mud holes, chuck holes, stumps and hog wallows. If during the trip the vehicle shall be stopped at two or more points to permit the driver to secure liquid refreshments or give the motive power of said vehicle a bag of oats or a wisp of hay, said stops shall be counted as a part of the distance traveled.

Section 2. That any vehicle, before receiving compensation under this title, shall have with it on each trip at least one spotted purp for each cubic yard of vehicle bed capacity and any other kind of a purp for each additional half yard cubic measurement of said bed.

Section 3. That the owner of said vehicle, before receiving compensation under this title, shall agree in writing to turn over said vehicle to the government of the United States whenever it is deemed necessary for the government's safety.

**TITLE III.—Any Old Kind of Fishing.**

Section 1. That from and after the 1st day of June, 1902, the secretary of the treasury is hereby authorized and directed to pay out of the public treasury any money not already

mortgaged to J. Pierpont Morgan or the Standard Oil Company, bounties as follows:

To any owner of said vehicle who shall carry friends to the nearest fishing resort, two dollars per passenger, provided that each passenger furnishes his own bait and gives bond to tell the truth about his catch.

**TITLE IV.—General Provisions.**

Section 1. The president of the United States shall from time to time enforce this act if he is not too busy changing his cabinet.—The Com-moner of April 4.

**"THE BEST GOVERNED COMMUNITY IN THE WORLD."**

**THE AMBITION OF MAYOR TOM L. JOHNSON FOR CLEVELAND, O.**

By Frederic C. Howe, of the Cleveland City Council, in the World's Work for February.

Walter Bagehot, with his keen insight into democratic institutions, has observed, in speaking of Sir Robert Peel, that the successful constitutional statesman is the man of "common opinions and uncommon abilities." He is the sort of man whose opinions are those of the street; who does not stray too far in advance of the current of popular opinion. He is a man of whom the average person will say that he is safe and sound. In much the same way Lord Palmerston once commented on a member of the English ministry—that he did something that he was not compelled to do, a most uncommon proceeding in a statesman.

Mr. Tom L. Johnson, the mayor of Cleveland, is not this type of man. His opinions are as uncommon as his abilities, and most of the things he does are things he is not compelled to do. And he does not wait for public opinion. He makes it, and, if necessary, breasts the waves which break about him.

Some time ago in a public meeting he resented being termed a "reformer." A reformer, he said, was like a crab, because he goes backwards. And under whatever name he may bear, Mr. Johnson is not going backwards. His ideas and achievements are revolutionary, radical, or just, according to the temperament of the onlooker.

Like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Mr. Johnson became a successful politician after he had become a successful business man, and the career of the present colonial secretary of England as councilor and mayor of Birmingham offers many analogies to the mayor of Cleveland. Mr. Johnson frankly admits that his wealth came from special privileges; that

these privileges were public franchises, government patents, and the protective tariff, and that he does not believe in any of them. The protective tariff he strove to abolish while in congress; and as for public franchises, he would tax them, and, eventually, bring them under public ownership. As to the special privilege of private ownership in land, he would destroy this by the single tax. In his opinion, the present inequalities of wealth are largely traceable to special privileges, privileges acquired as free gifts from society and used under the powers thus acquired for personal profit. With these abolished, the worst economic evils of the day would remedy themselves by the free and unrestrained power of competition, and the country would adjust itself to a higher industrial and social plane.

Mr. Johnson does not discuss the fundamental principles of his philosophy. Possibly he has none, save a devotion to the principles of the single tax; and to the adherents of this idea the philosophy of Henry George alone is enough. But if it is possible to gather his political religion from his public utterances, it would seem to be the religion of justice. His attitude on privileges, as well as on the question of taxation, is but a corollary of this principle. For special privileges are a derogation of the equal rights of all in favor of a few.

Mr. Johnson is a strong man and he has overcome the greatest obstacles to success. To him the struggle for existence is natural, and it seems easy. The means of relief is greater freedom in the operation of nature's laws. And by conviction he has become the foremost exponent in America of the teachings of Henry George. Because of his belief, his life to many is a paradox. Identified by tradition and class instincts with wealth and conservatism (for he was born of an old Kentucky family), his political views have always been opposed to the means by which his wealth was created. In his youth he was employed in a subordinate capacity by a street railway company in Louisville. From that position he became an operator in similar properties in Indianapolis; and while still a very young man became an important factor in the Cleveland Street Railway situation. There he acquired a controlling interest in railways of apparently little value, which he developed by shrewd maneuvering into

a system of commanding importance to the other urban lines. When the time for consolidation arrived, he was so fortified as to secure a large interest in the consolidated properties, and to be an influence in the management of what is known as the Big Consolidated Railway. Since that time, with his brother Albert, he has operated railways on a large scale in the city of Brooklyn and the city of Detroit, and through the reorganization of street railways in these cities he has become a rich man. It is with this intimate knowledge of the street railway situation that he became mayor of Cleveland upon a platform of lower fares and ultimate municipal ownership. Even on the basis of private management, Mr. Johnson is a believer in low fares; and he says that he demonstrated while operating the railroads in Detroit that as much money can be made out of three-cent as out of five-cent fares; for a corresponding increase in traffic follows any reduction in rates, and any loss is made up by the great increase of short hauls and the wider dispersion of that portion of the population which now either walks to its work, or lives, through necessity, in the neighborhood of its employment.

Cleveland has always been a storm center in political matters. Probably no city in America contains a constituency more radical on industrial lines. The voting population is inclined to be independent, and a long agitation of franchise management has awakened the public to a full appreciation of the values of such properties. When Mr. Johnson declared in favor of municipal ownership, he adopted a platform with which the public were already familiar and which sounded in no sense revolutionary to the less conservative members of the community. By that he does not mean the acquisition of these properties at their present market value, which is many times the figures represented by the actual investment or the physical property. Ohio is fortunate in having limited franchises, and those of the street railways in Cleveland have but from three to thirteen years to run, some of them maturing in 1904. The immense volume of "water" in the stock of these companies must first be reduced by taxation and a lowering of fares. When that is done, or on the expiration of the franchises, the city can step in and take possession of the property at a fair valuation. Ulti-

mately, Mr. Johnson thinks that the street railway service should be free. Years ago toll roads were almost universal, and the highways of the country were obstructed by keepers who exacted a tax for permission to use them. Advancing civilization has seen their abolition. So, as time goes on, the railways will be maintained and supported by public taxation as a means of facilitating transit throughout the community. They are but part of the highway, an accessory existing for the same purpose as the streets themselves.

For the present, however, Mr. Johnson believes the chief object of municipal concern should be to see the equitable and proper taxation of such properties, the acquisition of the roadbeds, and, if advisable, the operation of the roads themselves for the municipal well-being. He does not believe in exacting profit from such industries, but the service should be rendered at cost.

To the conservative mind such suggestions are revolutionary, but the cultivated and well-to-do classes have ever been as fearful of catching revolution as an old woman of catching cold. To the argument that municipal operation will offer increased opportunities for machine politics, Mr. Johnson replies by pointing to the Brooklyn bridge, which has been operated for years and been perfectly free from political or machine control.

And Mr. Johnson is a devoted advocate of the single tax. With the introduction of this system he believes many of the industrial ills of the day would disappear, while the inequalities of taxation would be eliminated and the entire burden of government would be laid upon that fund which is the creation of society and not of individual labor. It is probable that the campaign for tax reform which was carried on in Ohio last fall had this ultimate object in view. But it is to be achieved without violent alteration of existing conditions and through the avenue of local option in taxation. This is to be obtained by legislation permitting each county to raise its revenues in any way it sees fit. The revenues of the state are to be collected from enumerated sources, as corporations, licenses, fees and the like. With each community empowered to assess such property as it chooses for local purposes, the burden of introducing any single reform which is supported by a small body of determined men will be great-

ly simplified. And it is to the attainment of local option and the proper taxation of public service corporations that the present dramatic and vigorous campaign in Ohio was waged.

The local campaign in Ohio for the legislature was also waged along tax lines. National issues were ignored, and this issue together with that of reformed and direct primaries, municipal home rule and local option in taxation were the rallying cries. And the legislative campaign was carried on in a unique manner. The meetings were held in a large tent, which was moved about from one part of the city to another. To these meetings the Republican candidates were invited to defend their position. National politics were not discussed. By the adoption of such tactics public interest and curiosity were aroused and maintained. The county, though strongly Republican, went Democratic by a large majority.

Immediately after Mr. Johnson's inauguration a "Tax School" was inaugurated for the purpose of correcting the inequalities in real estate valuation. A number of experts were employed, and what is known as the Somers method of valuation was adopted. It was contended that taxation, like any physical force, follows the line of least resistance, and that the large corporations, being able to engage eminent legal talent, in large measure escape at the expense of the small property holder. It was to correct these inequalities that the work has been carried on. Just what the outcome will be is yet doubtful, owing to questions of a legal nature which have arisen, and which are now before the courts.

Mr. Johnson has been mayor for so short a term that his achievements can yet hardly be enumerated. For public changes come slowly. On his inauguration he announced a liberal policy toward saloons, but adopted a vigorous one toward those which were disorderly. Instead of raiding them a policeman in uniform was placed at the door, and the name of every person who entered was taken down. The result was that rough or disorderly places were closed up or the nature of their business was changed. Police raids have been discontinued. Only in rare instances have arrests been made, and these were for the enforcement of the policy adopted and not for the purpose of revenue. Police court fines in most cities are but a guarantee of

non-interference for a given time. They are so regarded by those who are fined, and aside from the unfortunate publicity given, the opportunity for blackmail and the like, they make the city a participant in vice and lawlessness.

In those administrative matters which are social rather than political Mr. Johnson's ideas are very pronounced—to some minds dangerous. Upon his accession to office he found the city workhouse, to which are committed all persons guilty of misdemeanors or petty offenses, filled with persons who had been committed because of the non-payment of fines. Many of these were first offenders. Others were detained from 30 to 60 days while working out their sentences. Mr. Johnson termed this imprisonment for debt a punishment for being poor. While the well-to-do were able to pay their fines and go free, a man who was merely a suspicious character, or who had been arrested for intoxication or some other minor offense, was separated from his family and kept in durance for a long time, with the strong probability that upon his release he would be less able to support himself and much more dangerous to society than at the time of his arrest. Since then there has been what many people consider a wholesale jail delivery. Great numbers of men and women (more than 300) have been released after an investigation of their offenses, and less than 20, a comparatively small percentage, have been recommitted, thus demonstrating that they were detained not because they were inherently vicious, but rather because of misfortune.

A like liberal spirit has characterized his administration of the park system. Several play grounds have been established in the most thickly congested portions of the city, while in the parks themselves, golf, baseball, tennis and all sorts of manly sports have been encouraged. "Keep-off-the-grass" signs have been abolished, and the children have the fullest and freest access to the turf. The idea of public baths has received his indorsement, as well as the extension of the small park idea into the crowded portions of the city.

In the public works department a system of cleaning the streets by direct labor, by the "white-wings" system, has been adopted, while a radical departure has been inaugurated in the water works department of reducing rates and installing universal me-

ters. By the latter plan it was urged that great economy in the consumption of water would be brought about and the city saved millions of dollars in extensions to the pumping machinery, water mains and the like.

It is a fortunate thing for a large city to have an executive who can think in large figures. The average public official becomes embarrassed when his mind is called upon to contemplate sums in more than four units. His experience has been limited, and public matters involving large expenditures and large ideas find him wholly at sea. Mr. Johnson's experience has been with big things. In consequence, it is possible for him to adopt and carry out plans, which, to other men, would seem too large, or too hazardous for a city to undertake. The city of Cleveland is about to erect a number of large public buildings. The opportunity was appreciated by many of so grouping and harmonizing these structures that a splendid architectural effect would be produced. This involved the expenditure of large sums of money, and after the public committees appointed to report upon the subject had reached the limit of their own ideas, Mr. Johnson advocated a larger and more comprehensive plan which would lead to the destruction of a considerable area between the business center of the city and Lake Erie, and the development there of a magnificent court of honor which would be a standing monument to our civic institutions. This matter has been energetically taken up, and if legislative aid is secured, it may be carried to a successful completion.

Mr. Johnson is a man of genial personality. If life has been a serious business with him, he does not show it. He seems able to encompass great results with little effort and to be wholly indifferent to obstacles. In fact, he does not seem to know what obstacles are. Somehow they vanish before his logic or his engaging manner. His firmness is the firmness of persuasion rather than of force, and his achievements are the result of a generous graciousness towards others and of a willingness to seek and to accept the cooperation of anyone who will work in harmony with him.

He can hardly be said to possess a style of oratory, although he is a graceful, forceful speaker. It has been said that you might as well try to extract a nail by hitting it on the head as to convince men by argument. Mr. Johnson convinces men by suggestion, by the Socratic method of

drawing an idea out of another man's mind as his own.

Altogether, the chief executive of the city of Cleveland is one of the most interesting figures in contemporary political life. He has appreciated that the great field of present political endeavor lies in our cities; that this is the weakest part of our political system; and that in this arena the greatest good can be achieved and the surest political preferment secured. But if the latter ambition is his, he has been indifferent to ordinary political traditions. National issues have been consistently ignored by him, and every platform which he has suggested has confined its declaration to local and state issues. The county democracy at its last convention declared in favor of the taxation of franchises and the reform of our state taxing system; local option in taxation and municipal home rule; a reformed primary law and the direct election of senators by the people. All of these are suggestive of the new ideas which are making themselves felt throughout the country. They are alien to national issues and affect the people at home. And there are many who think that Cleveland will be pioneer in showing that American cities, manned by American genius and force, will be the best governed communities in the world.

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#### KICK HIM.

If you see a fellow down,

Kick him;

If he has no friends in town,

Kick him.

When you see him, look askance;

If he struggles to advance,

And falls, trying, there's your chance—

Kick him.

If he ever has done wrong,

Kick him;

If he tries to move along,

Kick him.

Though his punishment has been

Ten times greater than his sin,

Hell's his portion—shove him in—

Kick him.

—Nebraska State Journal.

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Up to the time when this issue of Life went to press,

No relief had yet been afforded to Cuba;

Nothing else had been done to Gen. Miles;

The Boers had not yet captured Gen. Kitchener.

Events always seem to move slowly when one is waiting.—Life.

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Whenever anything in the nature of tariff reform was proposed in Congress, the Trusts shuddered.

"What do these rude men know of