

JUL 21 '11

The Public

**A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making**

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR

ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
LINCOLN STEFFENS, Connecticut
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HALL, New York
FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware
HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
W. G. EGGLESTON, Oregon
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. CALLIE, England
JOSEPH FELS, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1911.

No. 694

Published by Louis F. Post
Elmworth Building, 337 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Price of this Double Number, TEN CENTS

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Our Tom L. Johnson Memorial.

It has seemed to us that The Public could offer its readers no better tribute to the memory of Tom L. Johnson, than an issue of which his service and personality should be the theme; and that there could be no more appropriate occasion for such an issue than the anniversary week of his birth. "Thank God for those forty years!" exclaimed a loving mother, as she turned from the coffin of a son who had died at forty. She wished to remember with joy what he had been to her rather than with sorrow that he had gone. And so would we have our readers think of Tom L. Johnson. Not of the death of him, which marks the end of a career of public service, but of his birth, out of which that service grew—and though it be recalled only by the circumstances of his death.

†

We have tried to reproduce for this purpose all the thoughtful editorial tributes, whether of praise or blame, which the news of his death drew out. For reasons elsewhere explained, however, this has been impossible. Even when reduced to the narrowest compass, the selections and quotations from an avalanche of editorial recognition have necessitated a double number, enlarging the size of The Public for this occasion from its usual 24 pages to 96. And yet we have not the space for much material of many kinds that we should like to use.

CONTENTS.

PART ONE.

EDITORIAL:

Our Tom L. Johnson Memorial.....	673
Three-Cent Fares in Cleveland.....	674
Tom L. Johnson in Politics.....	675
History in the Telling.....	676
Hazy Convictions, Though Honest.....	676
Tom L. Johnson—Man of Principle.....	676

EWS NARRATIVE:

La Follette on Taft.....	677
The National Educational Association.....	678
Land Value Taxation Movement in Oregon.....	679
"The Singletax" Fight in New York.....	679
Reforms in Mexico.....	680
Commutation of Sentence.....	680
The Lords' Veto.....	681
News Notes.....	681
Press Opinions.....	682

RELATED THINGS:

The Dead Dreamer (D. H. Ingham).....	683
Tom L. Johnson's Moral Capital (Chas. R. Grant).....	683
The Vision of Tom L. Johnson (Peter Witt).....	684
Tom L. Johnson's Full Day's Work (Harris R. Cooley).....	685
A Singletax Substitute for the Income Tax (Tom L. Johnson).....	687
Tom L. Johnson (E. V. Cooke).....	690
The Dead (Adelaide Guthrie).....	692

BOOKS:

Tom L. Johnson's Own Story.....	691
An Outside View of Tom L. Johnson.....	691
Periodicals.....	692

PART TWO.

Introductory Note.....	697
Editorial Tributes to Tom L. Johnson.....	698

Of Johnson's public life and general character we have already written and others whom we quote in this double number have written better. We shall say no more of that beyond adding in a further paragraph a fact about him, one of those large facts of character, which is not generally understood. At this point we purpose recording a word about his relations to The Public. From its first issue to its last, Tom L. Johnson was one of the men to whom The Public's readers have been indebted—those of them who care for it especially—for its existence. There would have been no such relationship, of course, unless he had been in sympathy with its general policy and trustful of its editorial management. Honest men do not otherwise support periodicals as he supported The Public; and Tom L. Johnson was an honest man profoundly. But from beginning to end, not by word nor sign nor hint nor suggestion nor in any other way did he ever attempt to guide the policies of The Public, either in general or in particulars, nor even in respect of persons regarding whom he and The Public were at variance. This was characteristic of the man. The writer of these lines can testify to like effect with reference to the Cleveland Recorder, a daily paper which depended upon Johnson's support for nearly two years, as long as he could give it, from 1895 until the latter part of 1897, but which he never in the slightest degree attempted to influence, although it often trampled ruthlessly upon his personal friends and his business interests. As with the Cleveland Recorder, so with The Public; there was but one consideration for his support. It is indicated in this remark of his to a friend when he was in the heat of the Cleveland street-car fight: "You know that in all I am doing I have but one ultimate purpose, and that is to bring about the object that Mr. George worked for." So long as The Public also had this for its purpose—and the same was true as to the Cleveland Recorder—Tom L. Johnson neither troubled himself nor embarrassed the editorial management with efforts to influence the paper's decisions.

+

The paragraph promised above about certain large facts relating to Tom L. Johnson's character is this one. We do not think it fair to his memory to preserve silence upon a personal experience of his that may account largely for biographical facts which, to shallow or unsophisticated observers whose moralities are only conventional, are puzzling. The fact of which we are about to speak needs an introduction, and here it is. Before Tom L. Johnson fell under the influence of Henry George, he was a mere money-maker, a plutocrat,

like scores of others who are successful and millions more who fail. The ethics of Big Business, as we call it now, were his ethics; he had no other. But under the influence of Henry George's teachings Johnson got saturated at first with those large moralities which your conventional moralist of pulpit or forum sees no more clearly than you see distant suns with the naked eye. "Progress and Poverty" was the telescope with which Johnson swept the moral heavens. He still realized, however, that he lived among men on the earth, among men like those of his ante-George days, among men who "play the game," and that if he would accomplish results for the bigger moralities, he must do it by "playing the game" for them as shrewdly as he had played it for himself. This was about his outlook when he became Mayor of Cleveland. Spoilsmanship and political intrigue were necessary in the game. So he yielded as of old to the Salens of politics where they were strong and apparently necessary to his larger purposes. But there came a time—and now we pass from our introduction into the fact of which we wish especially to speak—there came a time in the course of Tom L. Johnson's moral growth when he turned his back upon all that. He could not be static. No man can be. Unless we go forward, we slide backward. Tom L. Johnson went forward, continually forward, from the day when he first came under Henry George's influence. His last leap occurred about 1903 and 1904. That was about the time when he definitely abandoned every attempt to excuse to himself the "playing of the game," and became the fundamental, thorough-going and all around moral force in politics that made those who know him best love him so much. Of course, this regeneration threw into the scale against him conventional moralists, preachers of petty platitudes, workers for skin-deep righteousness, practical business men, practical politicians, labor skates, and candid crooks of every degree of candor. Perhaps for this reason it did more to defeat him in 1909 than anything else. But what of that? This very defeat was probably one of his greatest victories for what he wanted. Even now, after his defeat and after his death, the influence of his career as a courageous moralist in politics survives as no influence of political victories through uncanny bargains and tainted compromises could. At any rate none of Tom L. Johnson's friends would have had him do otherwise than as he did.

+ +

Three Cent Fares in Cleveland.

It is a curious fact that most of the tributes to Tom L. Johnson which are reproduced in Part

Two of this number of The Public mention his three-cent fare fight as if it had either wholly or partly failed. There must be some common source for so general a misapprehension, and that source is in all probability malicious. But an editorial from the Cleveland Press, reproduced on page 747 of Part Two, which evidently suspects deliberate misrepresentation from New York or Cleveland, gives the facts so as to leave no one any room hereafter to question it, unless he wishes to, and not then if he takes the pains to read what the Press says.

Better perhaps than any form of statement as to the success of Johnson's 3-cent fare fight, is the fact that although the charge of one cent for transfers has been abolished, and fares are three cents flat all over the city, the price of the stock of the company on the local exchange is higher than ever before. On the 12th, says the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 14th, the shares advanced to 99 1/8. This may be due to temporary booming by insiders for some temporary purpose. The unaccountably low prices heretofore have doubtless been due in a measure to similar pressure reversed. But normal upward influences also are at work. That fares have been forced down to 3 cents flat, because the company management were unable to prevent the accumulation of the surplus of \$200,000 which Tom L. Johnson wrote into the ordinance as the point at which charges for transfers should cease, is a factor in values which would alone be sufficient to account for the rise of a 6 per cent stock to par.

Tom L. Johnson in Politics.

Mr. Johnson's first candidacy for office was in 1888 as Democratic candidate for Congress from the 21st Congressional District of Ohio, one of the two Cleveland districts. He was defeated by Theodore E. Burton, Republican, now United States Senator from Ohio.

In 1890 Mr. Johnson defeated Burton, and again in 1892. He accordingly sat two terms in Congress—1891-93 and 1893-95—becoming intimate with Jerry Simpson, John DeWitt Warner, James G. Maguire, and William Jennings Bryan, who were Congressmen when he was. Along with the first three and two others he voted for the Maguire Singletax substitute for the income tax, after making the speech we quote in full in this issue of The Public.

In the anti-Cleveland landslide of 1894, caused by the affiliation of President Cleveland with J. Pierpont Morgan, and which swept the Democratic majority in Congress out of sight, Mr. Johnson was defeated for re-election by Mr. Burton, although he ran far ahead of his ticket. For seven years thereafter he took no part in politics except as one of the managers of the Henry George campaign of 1897 for first mayor of Greater New York.

Meanwhile Johnson had lost one fortune and gained another; and having adjusted the latter so that he could not be financially intimidated he became, through radical elements in the Democratic party, the Democratic candidate for Mayor of Cleveland. William J. Akers, Republican, opposed him, but Johnson was elected. This was at the spring election of 1901.

In the spring of 1903 Mayor Johnson was re-elected over Harvey J. Goulder, Republican; and in the fall of 1905 (the Republican machine having abolished spring elections) he was re-elected over William H. Boyd, Republican, who afterward co-operated with him in the traction fight. Theodore E. Burton tried to defeat him for re-election in 1907 but failed. In 1909, however, he was defeated by Herman E. Baehr, Republican, the present Mayor.

Six months after his re-election in 1903, Mr. Johnson ran as Democratic candidate for Governor, and was defeated by Myron T. Herrick, his most intimate friend in his Big Business days, but one of his most virulent enemies when his path diverged from the money-grabbing direction. Mr. Herrick was defeated at the next gubernatorial election by his own party, the rest of his ticket being elected. It will be noticed from the editorial extracts appearing in Part Two, that Tom L. Johnson is supposed to have run for Governor in pursuit of personal ambition. It is a natural inference, for editorial writers to make who see so little disinterested public spirit in public life. But personal ambition wasn't a factor. Johnson ran for Governor of Ohio in order to protect the City of Cleveland. He had found that cities are so hampered by State laws, instigated by political and business rings, that control of the State was necessary to the freedom of the city. Of election he had no expectation, and was neither disheartened nor disappointed at the defeat. The campaign was a most useful campaign of education,

the beneficial influence of which is not likely soon to be dissipated. That was Johnson's object. And just as Herrick's victory that year was in its later effects a sore defeat for him personally and for the plutocratic interests he represented, so Johnson's defeat that year was in the end his and his city's victory.

+ +

History in the Telling.

Collaborating before the Lorimer investigating committee, Senator Lorimer's lawyer and Governor Deneen have turned out a pretty interesting inside history of Illinois politics.

+ +

Hazy Convictions, Though Honest.

The Oregonian professes to have given its "honest convictions" on land value taxation, to the effect that under "readjustment of market values" there would "ultimately be no change in the amount of taxes paid by improved and unimproved property." If that is one of the Oregonian's "best convictions" at present, a little common sense in the editorial attic might give it better ones for the future and could by no possibility give it worse.

+ + +

TOM L. JOHNSON—MAN OF PRINCIPLE.*

One of Rudyard Kipling's stories—maybe it is somewhere in his first Jungle book; and maybe it isn't his at all, but that is no great matter—tells of a very rich man of India who gave up his riches and became a beggar. He was an Idealist, and Truth was his ideal. But he could not find Truth in the midst of riches, though he hunted diligently. This may have been because he didn't take notice of the difference between unearned riches and earned riches, for that very difference is a footprint of Truth.

However, this rich man found none of Truth in the associations with which his riches surrounded him, and for that reason it was that he decided to give up his riches and become a beggar. So he passed from the most luxurious associations of unearned riches to the extreme hardships of undeserved poverty. And there I leave him, for it is not of this Eastern rich man and his Oriental ways that I wish to write. I recall him only to illustrate the story of a rich man of our own country who did the same thing, but in the Occidental

instead of the Oriental way; and the Occidental way is better for practical purposes, I think, even if not so good for purposes of Asiatic allegory.

When our Civil War broke out in 1861, the man I am writing about was a little boy, son of a rich slave owner in Mississippi; and when the war ended in 1865, he was still a little boy, but his father's slaves were free and the family poor. A new way opened to him, however, of turning riches into his own pocket, unearned. He got a railroad conductor to allow him to sell newspapers on that conductor's train, and to allow no one else—and this is the point, mind you—to sell papers on the same train.* That special privilege, or monopoly, enabled this boy to make large profits out of his newspaper sales, for he could charge his own prices—"all the traffic would bear."

It did a great deal more. It taught him the secret of the new kind of slavery and he got more unearned riches in only a few years out of monopolies than his family for generations had got out of slaves.

He was not conscious of any wrong in all this, neither in the unearned incomes of his slave-owning ancestry, nor in his own unearned income from monopolies. Like the Oriental rich man who became a beggar in order to find Truth, he saw no difference between earned riches and unearned riches. But unlike the Oriental, he was not hunting very hard for Truth, probably not at all. Truth was hunting for him though, and one day she faced him, right in his money-making pathway and in a blaze of light.

Of course, that is a figure of speech. Truth never stands in anybody's pathway literally, nor does she ever blaze forth light in a literal sense. But figuratively she does both to everybody, again and again, unless he refuses her company and she sees it isn't any use.

The particular way in which Truth faced the boy I am writing about wasn't very dramatic. She showed herself to him through a book which he happened to pick up in a railroad car. At that time he was a man of 30 or a little more, and very rich. The book startled him, just as Truth herself would if she had blazed out literally in the aisle of the car. It told him that his riches were largely unearned, that he was living in the sweat of other men's faces as truly as if he owned them as slaves. And he could think of no answer. So

*By Louis F. Post, editor of The Public. Written for "Life and Labor" (Chicago), national magazine of the Women's Trade Union League, at the request of the editor, Alice Henry, and published in the issue of that periodical for June, 1911.

*The exact privilege accorded the boy consisted in giving him exclusively the opportunity to bring papers into a railroad town. He thereby had a monopoly of sales in that town while the privilege lasted. The story is told by Mr. Johnson himself in Hampton's Magazine for July, 1911.

he asked his lawyer to read the book and tell him where its reasoning was wrong.

His lawyer wanted a fee, but that was only a joke. Yet he probably got the fee when he collected his bills for other work. Anyhow, the rich young man used to tell him so; but that, too, was a joke.

The lawyer did read the book, however, and at the first reading he noted its "fallacies" with a pencil as he read along. And many were the fallacies he noted. Then he read the book a second time, rubbing out a large share of his previous notes, for he had discovered that these were due to his own misunderstanding and not to the author's bad logic. On a third reading he rubbed out all the remaining notes, and when he reported to his client, he said: "There is nothing wrong with the logic of that book, but its bottom facts are false." The rich young man replied: "I know as much about the facts as you do; the bottom facts of that book are not false, they are true, and if you advise me that the reasoning is sound—for I never went to college and you did—I accept the conclusions as true."

And he did so. Not in words alone, but in conduct throughout all the rest of his life; and he came thereby to see what the Oriental rich man turned beggar did not see, that you may find Truth in the midst of riches. He recognized the great difference, which the Oriental did not recognize—the difference between riches earned and riches unearned. So he followed the example of the Oriental in spirit, but in an Occidental way; not by uselessly giving up his riches and begging for a livelihood, but by devoting his business faculties as well as his hunger for truth to uprooting the unfair conditions that make possible unearned riches on the one hand and undeserved poverty on the other. The remaining 25 years of this rich young man's life were given over to the work of abolishing monopoly. He wanted everybody to get what they earn themselves, and not what others earn.

Through that book this rich man learned that the monopoly of monopolies is monopoly of the globe on which we live. Not that there are no other monopolies, but that the others are secondary, and that this monopoly would take the place of all others if they were abolished, and that the abolition of this one would make the abolition of all others easier. Once he said, in answer to a question from an audience he had talked to: "I would rather leave my children penniless in a world where land cannot be monopolized, than millionaires in a world where land monopoly ex-

ists; for I know that their millions might take wings and leave them economically helpless in the world as it is; but if there were no land monopoly, everybody could earn a good living and therefore nobody would be economically at the mercy of anybody else."

The book in which Truth faced that rich young man was "Progress and Poverty,"* its author was Henry George, and the rich young man was Tom L. Johnson, whose body was laid last April by the side of Henry George's in Greenwood Cemetery, New York. Tom L. Johnson's memory and influence, like Henry George's, cannot but grow as the things they stood for, and their devotion to them, come better to be understood by the disinherited classes they felt for and thought for and worked for—not as dictators, but as brothers.

Whether that Oriental found Truth in a life of beggary, need concern us of the Western world but little. It is not our way, and we cannot understand it. But Tom L. Johnson's way we can understand. He did not search for Truth, either in riches or in poverty. He did better than search. When Truth came to him and beckoned, he followed her. When she commanded, he obeyed. As a practical man, he realized the importance of expediency; but he was an Idealist to whom expediency was a means and not an end. In the best sense in which we use the word, Tom L. Johnson was a man of principle.

*The book Mr. Johnson first read was "Social Problems" by Henry George, but this led to his reading "Progress and Poverty," which caused all that is described in the text as having followed. An account of this experience also is given by Mr. Johnson himself in Hampton's for July, and by the Hon. Henry George, Jr., in the Twentieth Century for July.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, July 18, 1911.

La Follette on Taft.

Senator La Follette reviewed, in the Senate on the 12th, act by act, the administration of President Taft, declaring that the contest between the Administration and the Progressives is a "fight between the plain people and confederated privilege." [See current volume, page 625.]



Mr. Taft's Canadian reciprocity agreement was denounced by Senator La Follette as violating

every tariff principle of reciprocity heretofore expressed in the platform declarations of the Republican party and recommended by former Republican Presidents. In the beginning, he said—

it was heralded as a blessing to consumers. So was the tariff bill of 1909. It promises to reduce duties for the benefit of the people. It reduces no duties the effect of which can ever reach the people, but it does reduce duties for the millers, the packers, Standard Oil, the brewers, the coal combines, and in some measure, for the already grossly protected interests.

The La Follette indictment of President Taft is thus summarized by Sumner Curtis, Washington correspondent for the Record Herald:

Heir to the Roosevelt policies, as a Presidential candidate, Mr. Taft was a pronounced Progressive and the leading and most enthusiastic Roosevelt champion from the first to the last day of the campaign.

Three months before he was inaugurated Roosevelt's cabinet seemed certain of being retained by Mr. Taft. Three months after he was inaugurated he seemed to have forgotten that there ever had been any well-known Roosevelt policies.

He had no sooner taken his oath of office than he sacrificed the Progressive cause for the support of the Aldrich and Cannon and other reactionary program.

Rebuked at the polls in the election of 1910, he foolishly tried to buy back with postoffice appointments the support of the Progressives in Congress, which he had lost when he abandoned Progressive policies.

In the same spirit he is now seeking to regain the lost confidence of the public by cabinet changes, in the hope that the people will forget.

His conduct on the pending legislation is of the same kind and quality as that which has marked his whole course as President. Reciprocity is a popular catchword. The President seized upon it.

He made an Executive compact the basis not of a reciprocity treaty, but of a tariff bill. Upon this false basis he seeks to force it through Congress without amendment or change.

It is nothing that it pretends to be, and professes to be nothing that it is. It is a little brother to the Payne-Aldrich bill, the greatest legislative wrong inflicted upon the American people in half a century.

[See current volume, pages 626, 659.]

✦ ✦

The National Educational Association.

Under the leadership of Dr. Ella Flagg Young, superintendent of schools at Chicago, a second victory for the educational forces, as opposed to the self-perpetuating ring, was secured at the convention last week at San Francisco. The victory a year ago at Boston resulted from the nomination from the floor of Mrs. Young for president in opposition to the "regular" nomination by the committee. This victorious nomination was made by Katherine Devereaux Blake of New York. At the San Fran-

cisco convention last week the final victory resulted from the nomination from the floor of Miss Blake for treasurer in place of the renominated "regular" treasurer. [See current volume, page 659.]

✦

The convention at San Francisco opened on the 10th. In her address as president on the 11th, Mrs. Young declared the principle of the new regime, which seems now to be fairly under way. It received an enthusiastic response. Following her discussion of the principles of democratic education, it was stated by Mrs. Young as follows:

The National Educational Association should set its mark for progress along with education. It is no longer a small body made up of leading educators. Its meetings no longer are little gatherings of the leaders, but conventions of the main teaching body of the country. For years the idea has prevailed that this great organization should be a moneyed body. For some reason it has been thought that it should have a great fund; that its main mission is to send various sorts of reports and literature to its members throughout the country—the reports of the technical work of committees. To my mind this is not the true object of this organization. Its mission should be the bringing together of the members who compose the teaching army for the discussion of their practical, every day problems. It is for the teacher first, and for the educational theorist to a less degree, that this organization should conduct its work. Our ideal should be to increase its numbers, to spread its influence, to make more practical its work, and to inspire it with a broader, more free spirit of democracy.

✦

The first test of strength came on the 13th when the nominating committee reported the name of Carroll G. Pearse of Milwaukee for president and that of Durand W. Springer for re-election as treasurer. Mr. Pearse was acceptable to the democratic elements, but Mr. Springer was not. He had co-operated with Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University in opposition to the democratic policies of Mrs. Young. Instantly upon the reception of the nominating report several motions were made to accept the report, except that the name of Katherine Devereaux Blake be substituted for Mr. Springer's. The motion carried 4 to 1; whereupon Mr. Springer got the floor and exclaimed:

I do not believe in this democratic way of electing officers of the Association from the floor. I withdraw.

His withdrawal was accepted, and Miss Blake's election without opposition followed. The same vote elected the following vice presidents:

First vice president, Ella Flagg Young of Illinois; second, George H. Carpenter, Texas; third, C. C. Philbrick, Arizona; fourth, Mrs. Helen Marsh Wilson, Colorado; fifth, Dr. Samuel Andrews, Pennsylvania; sixth, Superintendent R. H. Willson, Okla-

homa; seventh, F. F. Stockwell, Wyoming; eighth, E. D. Wressler, Oregon; ninth, W. C. Phillips, Massachusetts; tenth, Edward Hyatt, California; eleventh, James G. Joyner, North Carolina.

Francis G. Blair of Illinois addressed the convention on the day of adjournment, the 14th, calling upon the Association to begin a campaign in States and municipalities to secure larger revenues for public school purposes; and Katherine D. Blake of New York urged the formation of a children's peace society in the schools to counteract the influence of the "boy scout" movement in fostering a military spirit.

+

The false minutes of the illegitimate special meeting of the board of trustees of January 23rd last, at which Nicholas Murray Butler was recognized as chairman and which President Young had refused to attend, were expunged on the 15th by the new board of trustees and the action of the illegitimate meeting rescinded as invalid. [See current volume, page 83.]

+ +

Land Value Taxation Movement in Oregon.

Active work under the county option tax Amendment adopted at the Oregon election last fall has begun in that State. The Amendment in question, submitted under Initiative petition, has inserted in Article IX of the State Constitution, between sections 1 and 2, and as section 1a, the following:

No poll or head tax shall be levied or collected in Oregon; no bill regulating taxation or exemption throughout the State shall become a law until approved by the people of the State at a general election; none of the restrictions of the Constitution shall apply to measures approved by the people declaring what shall be subject to taxation or exemption and how it shall be taxed or exempted whether proposed by the Legislative Assembly or by Initiative petition; but the people of the several counties are hereby empowered and authorized to regulate taxation and exemptions within their several counties, subject to any general law which may be hereafter enacted.

[See vol. xiii, p. 1233; and current volume, pages 650 and 651.]

+

In illustration of the petition work in the counties of Oregon now being done pursuant to the foregoing Amendment, we quote in full the form of Initiative petition in circulation in and for Clackamas County:

Warning.—It is a felony for anyone to sign any initiative or referendum petition with any other name than his own or to knowingly sign his name more than once for the same measure, or to sign such petition when he is not a legal voter.

Initiative Petition.—To the Honorable Ben W. Olcott, Secretary of State for the State of Oregon: We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters of the

State of Oregon and of the County of Clackamas, respectfully demand that the following proposed bill for a local law for the County of Clackamas, shall be submitted to the legal voters of said County of Clackamas, in the State of Oregon, for their approval or rejection at the regular general election to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, A. D. 1912, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the State of Oregon and of the county of Clackamas; my residence and postoffice are correctly written after my name.

A bill for a local law for the County of Clackamas, to exempt from taxation all trades, labor, professions, business, occupation, personal property and improvements on, in and under land, and to require that all taxes levied and collected within the said Clackamas County shall be levied on and collected from the assessed values of land and other natural resources, separate from the improvements thereon, and on and from the assessed value of public service corporation franchises and rights of way.

Be it Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon in and of the County of Clackamas:

Section 1. That all business, labor, trades, occupations, professions, and the right to conduct, work at or practice the same; and all forms of personal property; and all improvements on, in and under all lands shall be and hereby are exempted from taxation for any purpose within Clackamas County, and no tax shall be imposed upon any trade, labor, business, person, occupation or profession under the pretext of a license or the exercise of the police power within said county; but in its application to licenses and permits this is intended only to prevent the raising of revenue from such licenses and permits, and to prevent exacting of fees therefor greater than the cost of issuing the permit or license, and is not intended to impair the police power of the county, city or State.

Section 2. All taxes within Clackamas County shall be levied on and collected from the assessed values of all lands, water powers, deposits, natural growths and other natural resources, and on and from the assessed values of public service corporation franchises and rights of way. This act does not affect corporation license fees and inheritance taxes collected directly by the State, nor such lands as are used only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes, already exempt from taxation by law.

+ +

"The Singletax" Fight in New York.

Opposition to the Sullivan-Shortt bills before the New York legislature appears to have intensified public feeling in their behalf. These bills, one introduced in the Senate by State Senator "Big Tim" Sullivan of New York City, and the other in the House by Assemblyman Shortt, also of New York City, provide for reducing taxes on real estate improvements to half as much (value for value) as taxes on land, the change to be by an annual reduction for five years of the tax rate on buildings until the proportion noted above shall have been established. This plan was recommended

by Mayor Gaynor's commission on congestion of population, of which Benjamin C. Marsh is executive secretary. The Commission recommended that "the rate of taxation upon buildings be made one-half the rate of taxation upon all land by five equal reductions in five consecutive years." Literature and information may be obtained of Mr. Marsh, Room 506, No. 320 Broadway, New York City. [See current volume, page 635.]

Opposition comes especially from speculative real estate interests led by Allan Robinson. They denounce the bill as an entering wedge for the Singletax of Henry George.

Before the Senate committee on cities on the 8th, Mr. Robinson appears from the New York dispatches to have been the only important adversary of the bills. Those who spoke for them were Mr. Marsh, Raymond V. Ingersoll (chairman of the Congestion Commission), Dr. William Jay Schieffelin (president of the Federation of Churches), Walter Laidlaw (secretary of the Federation of Churches), and Charles James (representing the People's Forum and the Bowery Mission). Dr. Schieffelin quoted from the last report of the American Real Estate Company that an inevitable increase in the value of land is due to the constantly growing population of New York City, and he read this list of organizations that have approved the Sullivan-Shortt bills.

Brooklyn Central Labor Union, Tenants' Union of New York, the Federation of Churches, the Wyckoff Heights Taxpayers' Association, the South Brooklyn Board of Trade, the City Club of New York, the People's Institute, the Women's Trade Union League of New York, the Church Association for Improving the Condition of Labor, the Neighborhood Workers' Association, the East Flatbush Taxpayers' Association, the People's Forum, the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York, the United Hebrew Trades, the Central Federated Union, the New York State League of Savings and Loan Associations.

Among the merchants, manufacturers and others who have endorsed the idea of halving the rate of tax on all buildings, Dr. Schieffelin cited the following:

V. Everit Macy, E. H. Outerbridge, A. Augustus Healy, Byron W. Holt, Horace E. Deming, B. W. Huebsch, John Moody, Frederic L. Cranford, Charles O'C. Hennessy, Mornay Williams, Edward T. Devine, Charles H. Ingersoll, Joseph N. Francolini, James C. Shevlin, John J. Hopper, James C. Mun, John T. Brook, George Foster Peabody, John W. T. Nichols, John DeWitt Warner, Thomas J. Skuse, Henry Holt, DeWitt Clinton, Jr.

At the time of the committee hearing, it was the general belief at Albany, according to the World correspondent, that both bills would be reported to

their respective Houses, if not for passage at any rate for discussion.

A local report in the New York World of the 9th quoted Dr. Henry Moskowitz, head of the Downtown Ethical Culture Society, as saying he believes the bills will go a long way toward solving East Side congestion, and in this view he was supported in the same report by Miss Mary E. Dreier, the president of the Women's Trade Union League, by Mrs. V. G. Zimkhovitch of the Neighborhood Workers' Association, and by Mrs. Florence Kelley of the Consumers' League. "Halving the tax rate on buildings," said Dr. Moskowitz, "will encourage the construction of healthy tenements, the consecutive development of the city from the centre out, and the demolition of firetraps and unsanitary buildings. The bill will reduce rents and break up land monopolies. It will encourage manufacturers to remain in New York city. They will make higher wages possible and will help the little man to own his own home. Men wish to live near their work, and the reduction of the tax on buildings will encourage manufacturers to put up better factories in localities where the operatives may live in their own homes, near the factories." The agitation for the change, so the World report concludes, is likened—

to the great movement now under way in England under the leadership of Lloyd George looking toward the breaking up of the big landed estates and the opening up of the land to small holders.

Reforms in Mexico.

Reports from Mexico indicate a general moral cleaning up and the advance of the interests of labor. Labor strikes from one end of the Republic to the other are said to be regarded by the Provisional Government as indicating the excellent fact that the country requires a new standard of wages, and that the working classes have simply adopted the most efficacious method for establishing it. "In a majority of cases," says a dispatch to the Chicago Inter Ocean, "the wage earners have been successful, and throughout the country their influence has been felt. The Government has in many cases voluntarily raised the wages of those employed on public works." Madero's platform in the coming Presidential campaign, is said to consist of but two planks—one against the re-election of a president to office and one against the trusts.

Commutation of Sentence.

The Canadian cabinet on the 14th commuted the capital sentence upon Angelina Neapolitano to imprisonment for life. [See current volume, pages 649, 659.]

News dispatches from Ottawa explain that the

commutation followed the "pouring in on government officials of hundreds of thousands of protests from the Dominion, the United States, and European countries," and that "the American protests were the most numerous and vigorous." According to the same dispatches (we quote from the Chicago Record Herald of the 15th)—

Mrs. Neapolitano killed her husband April 16 last. At her trial it was shown that she was driven to the act by Neapolitano's efforts to drive her to an improper life. It was represented that she was seeking to protect the name of her four children and of the one soon to be born. The husband, Pietro, had given his family a bare living, but Mrs. Neapolitano expected little and there seemed to be a fair measure of happiness in their poor home until he left her with the admonition to her to obtain money in a dishonorable way. When he returned three weeks later he repeated his demands. She refused, and Neapolitano stabbed her nine times. She fled, and in her desperation tried to drown herself in the river. She was rescued and sent to a hospital. That was last October. After her recovery she returned to the only place she knew as home. There was a reconciliation, followed by quarrels, and the husband renewed his sordid demands. Then, while he slept, Mrs. Neapolitano hacked him to death with an ax. She was arrested and confessed. The trial came quickly and resulted in conviction. Mrs. Neapolitano was sentenced to be hanged on Aug. 9.

+

A movement is now under way to raise funds to secure a new trial. Interviewed on this subject Anna E. Nicholes of the Neighborhood Settlement House, Chicago, is reported to have said:

We have read all the testimony presented in the trial of Mrs. Neapolitano and we are persuaded that she has not had a fair trial.

+ +

The Lords' Veto.

Having completed its committee stages in the House of Lords, the Asquith bill for abolishing the Lords' veto is to come up for third reading on the 20th. While it was still in committee of the whole, on the 13th, an amendment moved by Lord Cromer, the object of which was to prevent the tacking on of extraneous legislation to finance bills, was carried without division. Lord Lansdowne called the amendment vital, saying that "bills of far-reaching political and social consequences could be drafted in the guise of finance bills and would be entirely removed from the consideration of the upper house." Lord Newton moved an amendment providing that no bill for the further limitation of the legislative powers of the House of Lords shall be introduced until after another general election. This it had been expected would prove a basis of compromise between the Ministry and Tory peers, but Lord Morley declared that the Ministry would not accept it

because it reserved to the Lords too extensive powers in relation to the reference of rejected bills to a referendum, or to a general election. Lord Lansdowne gave it no support, and after adverse criticism by the Earl of Ancaster, Tory, the amendment was withdrawn. [See current volume, page 660.]

NEWS NOTES

—The French parliament has adjourned until October. [See current volume, pages 610, 661.]

—Asiatic cholera has appeared at the port of New York, with one death. [See vol. xiii, p. 1073.]

—Forest fires in northeast Michigan and in northern Ontario last week wiped out many villages and caused hundreds of deaths.

—Sir Eldon Gorst, British Agent in Egypt, died on the 12th, and Field Marshal Lord Kitchener has been appointed to the post in his place.

—In the Lorimer investigation, Governor Deneen testified last week and underwent a long cross-examination by Senator Lorimer's lawyer, Judge Hanecy. [See current volume, page 611.]

—The price of gas in Chicago was fixed by the City Council on the 17th for five years at 75 cents for the first, 70 cents for the second and third, and 68 cents for the fourth and fifth. [See vol. viii, pp. 760, 762, 766, 796; current volume, page 517.]

—The center of population in the United States has shifted from six miles southeast of Columbus, Ind., in 1900, to four and a quarter miles south of Unionville, Ind.,—thirty-one miles westward and seven-tenths of a mile northward from the former point. [See vol. xiii, p. 1189.]

—By a vote of 17 to 16 the New York Senate in committee of the whole on the 12th refused to advance the Stillwell woman suffrage resolution from general orders to order of final passage, thus killing it. A motion to disagree with the report of the committee was lost by a vote of 15 to 19.

—A Congressional committee has begun an investigation of the case of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, food expert of the Agricultural Department, accused last March of authorizing illegal compensation to Dr. H. H. Rusby of the college of pharmacy of Columbia University. Attorney General Wickensham, after investigation, has advised President Taft to give Dr. Wiley an opportunity to resign.

—Governor Hoke Smith was elected United States Senator from Georgia on the first ballot taken by the House and Senate in joint session at noon on the 12th. He succeeds Joseph M. Terrell, who was appointed by Governor Brown to fill the unexpired term of the late A. S. Clay. Senator Terrell immediately telegraphed the Senate directing that his name be stricken from its rolls.

—Evelyn Arthur See, founder of a religious cult called "Absolute Life," was convicted of abduction at Chicago on the 13th. The trial involved a young woman. It appears from the news reports to have grown out of a quarrel between her mother and her

father, and to have turned upon the question of whether the mysticism of the book of the cult was a disguise for immorality. The verdict implies that it was so regarded by the jury.

—Mayor Harrison appointed as members of the Chicago school board on the 17th Mrs. John MacMahon, former president of the Catholic Woman's League (the only woman appointee), and John C. Harding, business representative of the Typographical union, one of the members of "the Dunne board" whom Mayor Busse removed and the Supreme Court reinstated. The Mayor made five other appointments. [See vol. x, p. 997; vol. xii, p. 680.]

—The Governor of Indiana was asked on the 16th by the Chicago Federation of Labor to make formal demand on the Governor of California for the return to Indiana of J. J. McNamara upon the ground that he was extradited fraudulently. The Federation requests all "interested labor unions, civic societies and good citizens of the United States in general, and of the State of Indiana in particular," to join in its petition to the Governor of Indiana.

—Newspaper dispatches of the 17th report as follows the death and burial of Senator Owen's mother: "Funeral services for Mrs. Narcissa Chisholm Owen, mother of United States Senator Owen of Oklahoma and Major W. O. Owen, U. S. A., retired, of Washington, were held on the 16th at Lynchburg, Va., in St. Paul's Episcopal church and at the grave in Spring Hill cemetery. Mrs. Owen, who was 79 years old, was a daughter of the hereditary chief of the Cherokee Indian nation. She died on the 12th in Guthrie, Okla.

—A national corrupt practices act was adopted by the United States Senate on the 17th. It was based on a House bill but was made more drastic. As it passed the Senate this bill limits expenses of candidates for Senate and House to 10 cents for each voter in the State or district, and to not more than \$10,000 in both primary and general election for a Senator and \$5,000 for a Representative; all expenditures must be published before election, and all promises of patronage must be published. Other limitations upon expenses and promises are made.

—In the old Welsh castle of Carnarvon, on the 13th, King George V. invested his oldest son, Edward, with the title of Prince of Wales. This is the first time the investiture of the heir apparent of an English king with this title has occurred within the borders of the little ancient principality, since that day back in the 13th century when Edward I. presented to the conquered Welshmen, in this same castle of Carnarvon, his new-born son as the "Welsh-born" prince he had promised them. [See current volume, pages 601, 608.]

—New York adopted the income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution on the 12th, by 91 to 42 in the lower House, the Senate having already acted favorably. This makes thirty-one States in the affirmative, namely: Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, New York, Nevada, North Carolina, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Washington and Wisconsin. The Governor

of Arkansas has vetoed the measure adopted by the legislature of that State, which raises a constitutional question; but even counting that State, four States are still lacking. [See current volume, page 443.]

—The Federal High Court of the Commonwealth of Australia, corresponding to the Supreme Court of the United States, decided on the 31st of May that the land tax of the Commonwealth is constitutional. The decision was in the case of a land owner of the name of Osborne, who was selected by Australian landowners to oppose the tax on the ground that it is a tax only in appearance, being in reality a measure of land tenure policy which the Federal Parliament has no power to enforce. The adverse decision of the highest court was unanimous.

PRESS OPINIONS

Part of That "Favorable" Balance of Trade.

The (South Bend, Ind.) New Era (ind.), July 8.—William Waldorf Astor, who at one time was one of the "Four Hundred" of New York City, and who later renounced his allegiance and became a British subject, has recently been buying more real estate in New York City. His land holdings in that city alone now foot up to over \$300,000,000. The natural increase will add another \$150,000,000 in the next ten years. The rents paid for this property by Americans support this aristocratic family in royal style in the old world. It goes without saying that if the single land tax issue becomes strong in this country one of its chief opponents will be this esteemed Britisher, who is now each year taking away from this country unearned increment in amounts that would make a Croesus turn green with envy.

+ +

The Moral of Madison Square.

The (Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (ind.), July 8.—New York, it seems, cannot have Madison Square Garden as a publicly-owned place for indoor assemblages and recreation—a sort of roofed public park. That such a roofed park would be an exceedingly pleasant and valuable thing for the people to possess is quite obvious; but they cannot have it because the tremendous growth in the city's population—which is exactly what makes the Garden so desirable as a public place for indoor gatherings—also makes the land so enormously valuable that the city cannot afford to own it. The people of New York created this tremendous land value by coming to the city and living there. Having created the value, they must turn the Garden over to Mr. Morgan or somebody else who can afford to pay the price, which is quite beyond their reach. Meanwhile, in rainy weather, they can assemble in small bunches in the subway entrances or under awnings—if the police will let them. Everybody has heard of the sumptuary laws of long ago which judiciously forbade mere artisans to wear the cloth that their own hands had made because it was too expensive for them. We get the same admirable result in a different way.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE DEAD DREAMER.

For The Public.

Alas, that he who so lately
Went his rounds with buoyant tread,
Upheld by visions as stately
As the poise of his handsome head,
Should be counted now with the dead.

Our listening souls still burning
With the fire of his fervent word,
And our eager fingers turning
Some page of his story unheard,
For the day of our dole deferred.

In his fine air hopes were kindled
That had lain like smouldering wood;
By his magic, evils dwindled
That in many a boding mood
Overshadowed a dawning good.

A democrat, true to the meaning,
Regardless of class or of clan,
Or ways, time-honored, of screening
The power holding under its ban
The heritage born with the man.

He was met with that lofty scorning
That in every age has come
To the prophet's word of warning
Arousing the blinded and dumb,
And the conscience quiet and numb.

They called him a foolish dreamer,
Yet feared lest his dream prove true;
They called him a cunning schemer
With but ends of his own in view,
When he told of the wiles he knew,

Learned in the ranks of the spoiler,
Where our laws had given them leave,
'Round the unsuspecting toiler
A tissue of wrongs to weave,
While they laughed in the silken sleeve.

Too heavy they made the burden
On his shoulders cheerfully laid,
By a soul that craved no guerdon
Save right of a brother to aid
In a cause unjustly delayed.

At length, when his footstep faltered
In its ever triumphant pace,
They joyed in plans to be altered
When a man was out of the race,
And a pliant tool in his place.

Mayhap 'twas by fortune's favor
He went in his genial prime,
Ere warring weakened its savor,
Or ruffled its rhythmical chime
That made him the man for the time.

Yet the heart has quick misgiving
When we think of this leader, gone

From his old place with the living,
Though his soul with a host moves on
In the glow of his dreamed-of dawn.

D. H. INGHAM.

+ + +

TOM L. JOHNSON'S MORAL CAPITAL.

Address of Judge Chas. R. Grant, Delivered at
Akron, Ohio, April 30, 1911.

Men and Brethren: The great storehouse of the English tongue has been ransacked to find apt words with which to appraise Mr. Johnson's value to the world in which he lived and for which he wrought. As these words are largely a lip-service, I shall not repeat them. Hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue, and in this coin Mr. Johnson's memory is strangely rich. I shall only say that "he has run his course and sleeps in blessings; he shall have a monument of orphans' tears wept over him."

He was an enthusiast, a dreamer—an agitator, if you will. The tornado purifies the atmosphere; intelligent dissatisfaction, lawfully translated into conduct, is the condition of all progress, the hope of the race. The enthusiast, from the dawn of time has been the true world-betterer. The promise of the day of Pentecost was this—"And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." Alfred the Great dreamed of a saved kingdom before the peasants' fire and let the oat-cakes burn, and as the old song ran—even—

Our own immortal Washington
Built castles in the air.

Tom L. Johnson knew the worth of an ideal. The real business of the world, more or less, says Carlyle, is "to find your Able man." Behind the personality of every great man lies the consciousness of an unspent reserve force. Men cannot see it, cannot translate it into words, but they feel it and appraise it by intuition. This elusive but very real surplus of life is power. It was Tom L. Johnson's moral capital.

This power that makes for righteousness does not die with the body. When John Brown in his cell, waiting for the doomsman to knot the rope, said he was worth more for hanging than for anything else, he stated a truth so profound that had the South been wise to interpret the signs of the times we should have had no Civil War and chattel slavery might have been alive among us today. Edmund C. Stedman wrote a poem then, called "Virginians, Don't Do It," in which he said—

Old Brown,
Osawatimie Brown,
May trouble you more than ever when
You've nailed his coffin down.

But the Virginians did it. They learned a couple of years later, when the New England regiments came pouring over their hills and through their valleys, singing their way down to the Gulf to the tune of "John Brown's body,"—then they learned how strong a dead man may be—if he dies in the right and for an idea. Dead, Tom L. Johnson's power is even now regnant for good in the hearts of millions.

Mr. Johnson's visions were practical—always exchangeable for race-betterment. "Hitch your wagon to a star!" says Emerson. While his wagon was thus hitched, always, Johnson never lost control of the team, nor allowed the glare of the star to blind him into stumbling over obstacles which always also are on the ground and which yet must be overcome. His edifice of character was of the highest, but he knew that the blocks for character building often lie right about our feet. The Commodore of the ship of progress may walk the quarter deck in serene quiet, but, as Wendell Phillips used to say, "There's always a fanatic down in the hold feeding the fires." Mr. Johnson never underrated the worth of the humble stoker down below.

It is proposed to build a memorial to Tom L. Johnson. It is well, and a noble gratitude. Sculptured shaft or labored dome will perpetuate a memory greatly worthy of an immortality. But it is a memory already enshrined in the hearts of the people. If ye do no more than this, what thanks have ye? Do not even the pharisees so? Even Andy Squire, the brains which in the last analysis Tom Johnson always had to fight in his campaigns for common welfare, will contribute to a memorial. Even the Cleveland Plain Dealer will show forth its purely platonic love for the people and testify its academic civic righteousness, by doing the like. The incense most acceptable to Tom L. Johnson and the most fragrant to his memory, will be to do as he did, to fight his fight, and as far as in us lies complete his labors.

If any of you suppose as he supposed, that you have been called by Henry George to the mount of vision and to tread its sublime heights in the pathway of the Singletax, to such I say, Work for the Singletax, agitate for the Singletax, and when the time comes that you can, vote for the Singletax. Such of you as believe, as Tom L. Johnson believed, that to the people belong their own streets and the fullness thereof, I ask you to work for that end till the people shall come to their own again in the shape of better street car service, at a price—and no more—which shall fairly pay those who furnish it. And this work is to be done by voice and influence, and—better than all else—by vote. To you exhorters for the open door of equal opportunity, and its twin brother the square deal, I advise a square deal by you. On the bench see that the relief which a court of conscience can give is not measured by the length of the Chancellor's foot but by the equity of the case. At the bar

let the advocate be eloquent and the lawyer be cunning to give every man his own—no more, and certainly no less. In every walk of life let the tread of man be straight. In each field of human endeavor let the husbandman come in joy, bringing the sheaves of justice with him. This is what Tom L. Johnson would say were he and not I now speaking.

His creed, do you ask? He better than I knows what it is, now that the problem of life is unriddled. But I cannot think it much different from that of Victor Hugo:

You say, "Where goest thou?" I cannot tell,
And still go on. If but the way be straight
I cannot go amiss. Before me lies
Dawn and the day; the night behind me; that
Suffices me; I break the bounds; I see,
And nothing more; believe, and nothing less;
The future is not one of my concerns.

+ + +

THE VISION OF TOM L. JOHNSON.

Peter Witt in the Cleveland Press.

"Tom Johnson's dream."

Peter Witt, erstwhile the irrepressible, bubbling, chuckling Peter Witt, let his eyes swim out over the roofs of high buildings and hotels until they rested on some spot far out on the horizon.

"Tom Johnson's dream," he repeated, and tears stood in his eyes—forgivable, unashamed tears. "Why, Tom Johnson's dream," he finally said, "was the most wonderful, beautiful dream a man could have—a dream of a wonderful age for us people of the earth. Indeed, so beautiful and so big a dream was it that even the fact that scarcely anyone could comprehend its vastness and that nearly everyone scorned its worth, could not embitter him. 'I can be patient,' he used to say, 'because it *will* come some day, Pete. It will *have* to come.'"

"Hardly a man understood Tom Johnson. And this, I guess, was natural, for it seems that believers in democracy are born, not made. History tells us that the world's greatest Democrats came from aristocratic environment, and we certainly know that at present some of the greatest plutocrats can't jingle a penny in their pockets. Tom Johnson came from aristocratic Southern stock, but was the greatest democrat of his day, for *his* democracy was always spelled with a small 'd.' He knew well what poverty was, for, through the misfortunes of war, he, as a child, was compelled to feel the bitter pangs of biting poverty. It was no wonder, then, when there was thrust upon him a copy of Henry George's 'Social Problems' that the great awakening took place, and that from that moment until his last breath his great mind, his big heart, his superb courage were all thrown into that great fight for abolishing involuntary poverty. For that really was Tom Johnson's great dream—

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."

* * *

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."

* * *

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

labor by those who do no labor. But the remedy is not by ignoring the equality of rights; it is by asserting that equality. It is by abolishing special privileges; and where that may not be done by taxing them. It is not by ignoring all distinction as to the source of income and jumping with shut eyes into communism!

You protectionists—you Republican protectionists and you Democratic protectionists—you are really but socialists, and that, socialists of the worst sort; for those who avow themselves socialists wish to have the state interfere with production and exchange for the purpose of improving the condition of the poor; but you want the state to interfere for the purpose of adding to the wealth of the rich.

You read political economy backward! You ignore its first and clearest principles. You assume that it is capital that employs labor, though the veriest child could tell you that capital could not be until labor was. You assume that it is from the store of the employer that the workman gets his wages, whereas if the workman did not render to the employer a greater value than his wages, and that in advance of receiving his wages, the employers of labor could not continue business, still less make a profit. You prate of preserving "our own home market," as if to the most ignorant woman who ever went marketing the goodness of a market did not consist in the abundance of sellers and the cheapness of goods, instead of in the scarcity of sellers and the dearness of goods. From first to last, you see things inverted, as though you stood on your heads and imagined the branches of the trees to be really their roots; and the sum and climax of your political economy is the assumption—agreed to even by the so-called Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee—that the rich must be taken care of, so that *they* may take care of the poor.

This income-tax bill is a twin brother of the protectionist-tariff bill which Democratic protectionists, with the aid of Republican protectionists, have imposed on this House by the stifling of the real Democratic sentiment.

Having kept up by your unholy alliance the special privileges of the rich, to the continued robbery of the poor, you now propose to take from the rich a little for the relief of the poor!

*Mr. Johnson of Indiana.** Does the gentleman really think that the single tax on land values would be far better than any of these schemes?

Mr. Johnson of Ohio: Of course I do. [Laughter.]

Mr. Johnson of Indiana: I knew you did. I only wanted to bring out that fact.

Mr. Johnson of Ohio: I have only fifteen

minutes or I would give you a lecture on the single tax. [Laughter.]

*Mr. Hendrix.** Why does not the gentleman decorate this measure with an amendment embodying his own ideas?

Mr. Johnson of Ohio: That will come further on. My friend from California [Mr. Maguire] proposes to offer to this bill a Singletax amendment. There may not be many of us who will stand up to vote for it now, but those who do will be proud of it hereafter, and some of you gentlemen may regret that you were not in the number. [Laughter.]

Mr. Johnson of Indiana: Does not the gentleman think that that is the logical result to which the present course of the Democratic party leads?

Mr. Johnson of Ohio: I hope so; but I may be hoping for too much.

Mr. Johnson of Indiana: But does not the gentleman believe so? Does not the gentleman believe that that is going to be the position in which the Democratic party must ultimately land? That, having destroyed the protective system, they must find something else to take its place?

Mr. Johnson of Ohio: Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether the present Democratic party will adopt it or not, but I am absolutely sure that some party, a real democratic party, will espouse the cause of the Singletax, which is the only solution of the labor question, and I will be a member of that party. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Johnson of Indiana: I only wanted to develop the gentleman's position.

Mr. Johnson of Ohio: Well, you will have no difficulty in doing that. [Laughter.]

I will vote for your income-tax bill if I must, as I will vote for your tariff bill; but, as a Democrat, I protest against the one, as I protest against the other—as anti-Democratic measures, involving an insult to labor! Labor is not a poor weak thing that needs protection or that needs to ask the rich to pay its debts. Labor! it is the producer of all wealth. All that it needs is justice; equal rights to all. Give it that; abolish your special privileges, and labor can take care of itself. It is your people who do not labor that will need to be taken care of.

Nor is an income tax necessary. There is a better mode of direct taxation open to us—a far more effectual way of striking at great fortunes. That is by way of the direct tax, resorted to, beginning in 1798, three times already—that is to say, with every great financial exigency in our history.

There is in my mind more than a doubt of the constitutionality of the income tax reported by the Committee of Ways and Means. It is true

*Henry Underwood Johnson of Richmond, Ind., member of Congress from the 6th Indiana District from 1891 to 1899.

*Joseph C. Hendrix, a Democratic member of the 53rd Congress, from Brooklyn, N. Y. Had been a writer on the New York Sun, and was postmaster of Brooklyn under appointment of President Cleveland from 1886 to 1890.

that the Supreme Court, under pressure of war necessities, drove a coach and four through the constitution and declared the income tax of 1861 unconstitutional. But the proposed tax differs from the income tax of 1861 in important details, and the Supreme Court, if disposed to—and it will be urged to this by the strong influence of aggregated wealth—can easily find good reason for declaring this measure unconstitutional. But the constitutionality of a direct tax, apportioned according to the population of the various States, is not open to question.

As to the substitution of the direct tax for the income tax, there will at once be made the objection that in proportion to their wealth it will fall far more heavily on the States of the West and South than on those of the North and East. We shall at once be told that Texas, with an estimated wealth of \$695,842,320, would under the direct tax have to pay only a little less than Massachusetts, with an estimated wealth of \$2,154,134,626; that Florida, with an estimated wealth of \$76,926,938, would have to pay a little more than New Hampshire, with an estimated wealth of \$252,722,016; that Washington, with an estimated wealth of \$124,795,449, would pay something more than Rhode Island, with an estimated wealth of \$321,764,503!

But the error in the conclusions drawn from these figures is seen at once when we note that this assumed valuation of real and personal property is made up largely of items that have no value in themselves, but are merely evidences of the ownership of things having value, or of obligations for the payment of value, such as stocks, bonds, promissory notes, and other evidences of indebtedness, titles to lands, buildings, and other improvements. The real things represented or called for by these documents, which so greatly swell the assumed valuations of the Northern and Eastern States, do not, in great part at least, really exist in those States; they in great part exist in or are called for from the Western and Southern States, which occupy to the North, the East, and Europe the relation of debtor to creditor, of tenant to landlord. Thus the great disproportion in assessed valuation would largely disappear on an estimate of the value of the things which the direct tax as heretofore imposed has been laid on; and the incidence of a direct tax apportioned in the constitutional way, according to population, while still unequal, would not show so glaringly unequal as these figures would make it appear.

Now, Congress has never yet committed the folly of attempting to tax mere evidences of value. The first tax, that of 1798, was levied upon "dwelling-houses, lands, and slaves." In 1813 it was levied upon "all lands, lots of ground, with their improvements, dwelling-houses, and slaves;" in 1861 upon "the value of all lands and lots of

ground, with their improvements, and dwelling-houses," with an exemption of \$500 to any individual who actually resides thereon.

While a tax upon the value of all lands and improvements, when apportioned among the States in proportion to population, might still appear unequal, there is an easy method of doing away with real inequality—that of striking out improvements and making the direct tax a tax on the value of land and lots alone.

Very much of the improvements of the South and West—for instance, practically all the railroads—are owned in the North and East and in Europe, and a still greater proportion of the land values.

Now, it is an accepted and indisputable principle of political economy, obvious to whoever will think of the matter, that any tax falling upon improvements must be borne by the users of the improvements. Thus a tax levied upon improvements must be paid by the residents of the State in which those improvements are located, no matter where the owners may be, for the residents of that State alone can be the users of those improvements.

But it is also an accepted and indisputable principle of political economy, obvious to whoever will think of the matter, that any tax on the value of land will not fall upon the user of the land, who must be a resident of the State; but upon the owner of the land, who may be—and to a very large extent in our West and South is—an absentee residing in the great Eastern cities or in Europe. Thus by striking out improvements in the direct tax and leaving it a tax upon the value of land alone we obtain a tax which, though apportioned to a State and collected in that State, is with regard to the South and West in large measure borne by absentee owners of the land of that State. Thus the seeming inequality is corrected. Texas might appear to pay a greater *pro rata* tax than Massachusetts, and Florida than Rhode Island, and Washington than New Hampshire; but this would be only seeming. Either in the shape of direct ownership or of mortgages an immense proportion of the land values of the South and West is really owned by residents of the North and East and of Europe, while the people of the South and West own practically nothing of the land values of the East and North.

Statistics on this subject are generally unreliable, but it is often assumed that the farmers of the United States pay half of the total taxation, local, municipal, State, and national, both for revenue and protection. Of land values the farmers own but a small proportion—probably not over 10 per cent. We must remember that more than one-half of the people of the United States own no land or interest in land whatever and are mere tenants. But to be entirely safe let

us assume that 20 per cent of land values is owned by farmers. A proposition to transfer the burden of taxation to a species of property of which they only own one-fifth would be greatly to their advantage when, under the present system, they are paying half of all the taxes.

Land value is greatest in the cities. Farmers own no land worth ten million dollars an acre. They have no valuable mineral rights and forest and water privileges, and of the value of the property they do hold by far the largest part is really the value of improvements. For, when we speak of a good farm being worth \$50 an acre, we are including the value of the clearing, draining, fencing, and buildings, a value that is due to the application of labor to the land. But when we speak of city land being worth \$10,000,000 an acre, we speak of the land alone, and have no reference to the value of the improvements on it. Now, a tax on the value of land exclusive of improvements, would exclude all the farmer's improvements, and if an exemption of \$2,000 of the value of land in the hands of the actual user were made it would relieve all small home-owners, and 95 per cent of all owning-farmers, from paying any of the tax, while the immense and constantly increasing non-land-owning class would be entirely exempt.

Understand me; I do not favor such an exemption in itself. We Singletaxers, who would put all taxes, national, State, county, and municipal, on the value of land, irrespective of improvements, ask for no exemptions for small holders. But in proposing this tax as a substitute for the income tax it is only fair to it that it should be put in the same form and given the same extraneous advantage. As between a tax on incomes without exemption and a tax on land values without exemption there is no question which the masses of our people and especially the masses of the West and South would prefer. If there is to be an exemption in income tax, then let us propose the same exemption in this direct tax, that the people may fairly choose between the two.

But it will be said you are proposing now what you objected to before. You declare the taxing of the few by the many to be undemocratic and unjust. Now, you are proposing another tax, that will fall only on the owners of valuable land, already but a minority of the people of this country, and that with the exemption will fall only on a very small minority, and they in greater part non-residents.

The difference, however, lies in this: In the income tax it is proposed to make no distinction as to the source of income. The only distinction is in amount. It is proposed to take the income of the man who has earned it by his exertion as fully as that of the man who has merely appropriated what belongs to the community.

In the direct tax that I advocate, and that my

friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. McGuire], will introduce, we will not take one penny from the earnings of labor or of capital. We call on no one for anything that the individual has added to the common wealth. We take for the use of the people what the people themselves have created. As a matter of equal rights, as a matter of common justice, we ought to take it all. Since we are not now going to take it all, but only some little portion, we have a right to discriminate by taking at first from those who have most profited by the injustice which robs the many for the benefit of the few.

Who created the land values of Texas, so largely owned in the East and in Europe? Who created the land values of Florida, a State which is said to be "owned" by half a dozen great millionaires living in the East? Who created the land values of Washington, whose forests, to say nothing of farm land and town sites, yield millions annually to the residents of great cities and European capitals? Was it not, is it not, the people resident in those States? What was the value of those lands before settlement began? What would it be if settlement were to disappear? Who give their enormous values to the land of New York city? What would be those land values if all but the land owners were to leave Manhattan Island?

No; in this simplification of the direct tax by striking out the value of improvements we will be recurring to the only true and just basis of taxation, to a tax which is only in form a tax, and which is in reality but a taking for the use of society what the growth of society has produced. And the effect of this mode of taxation may be readily seen. What will your income tax do to open avenues of employment to those now suffering from the want of employment? Nothing whatever but to create places for a few more tax gatherers. But even the little measure which I advocate in the direct tax would at once, and perceptibly in the new States, operate to check and choke speculation in land, to open to that great army now rapidly becoming chronic tramps the natural opportunities for the employment of their own labor, and to restore that state of things which prevailed in our West before the land had been so monopolized, when "want of work" had never been dreamed of.

+ + +

TOM L. JOHNSON.*

By Edmund Vance Cooke.

A Man is fallen. Hail him, you
Who realize him stanch and strong and true.

*This poem in its original form appeared for the first time in *The Public* of January 7, 1910, at the close of Mr. Johnson's last term as Mayor of Cleveland, and was republished in the same form in *The Public* of June 3, 1910, at the time of the banquet given to Mr. Johnson in New York, May 30, 1910, on which occasion the poem

He found us dollar-bound and party-blind;
 He leaves a City with a Civic Mind,
 Choosing her conduct with a conscious care,
 Selecting one man here, another there,
 And scorning labels. Craft and Graft and Greed
 Ran rampant in our halls and few took heed.
 The Public Service and the Public Rights
 Were bloody bones for wolf and jackal fights.
 Now, even the Corporate Monster licks the hand
 Where once he snarled his insolent demand.
 Who tamed it? Answer as you will,
 But truth is truth, and his the credit still.

A Man is fallen. Flout him, you
 Who would not understand and never knew.
 Tranquil in triumph, in defeat the same,
 He never asked your praise, nor shirked your blame;
 For he, as Captain of the Common Good,
 Has earned the right to be misunderstood.
 Behold! he raised his hand against his class;
 Aye, he forsook the Few and served the Mass.
 Year upon year he bore the battle's brunt;
 And so, the hiss, the cackle and the grunt!
 He found us striving each his selfish part.
 He leaves a City with a Civic Heart,
 Which gives the fortune-fallen a new birth,
 And reunites him with his Mother Earth;
 Which seeks to look beyond the broken law
 To find the broken life, and mend its flaw.

A Man is fallen. Nay, no demigod.
 But a plain man, close to the common sod
 Whence springs the grass of our humanity. Strong
 Is he, but human, therefore sometimes wrong,
 Sometimes impatient of the slower throng,
 Sometimes un mindful of the formal throng.
 But ever with his feet set toward the height
 To plant the banner of the Common Right,
 And ever with his eye fixed on the goal,
 The Vision of a People with a Soul.
 And is he fallen? Aye, but mark him well;
 He ever rises further than he fell.
 A Man is fallen? I salute him, then,
 In these few words. He served his fellow-men
 And he is passing. But he comes again!

He comes again! not in that full-fleshed form,
 Which revelled in the charge, which rode the storm,
 But in that firm-fixed spirit, which was he,
 That heritage he left for you and me;
 Before no Vested Wrong to bow the knee,
 Before no Righteous Fight to shirk, or flee,
 Before all else to make men free, free, free!

BOOKS

TOM L. JOHNSON'S OWN STORY

The personal reminiscences of Tom L. Johnson begun in Hampton's Magazine for July, are to

was read by the author. The poem was still again printed in The Public of April 7, 1911, at the time of Mr. Johnson's death. We give it here with seven final lines which have been added by the author since its first publication.

be supplemented with a connected narrative of his life, under the title of "My Story." The publisher is B. W. Huebsch (225 Fifth avenue, New York), and the book is to appear in September. In this book Mr. Johnson tells of his childhood, his recollections of events connected with the Civil War, his early business enterprises, and the influences that made him a beneficiary of the System; his relations with Mark Hanna, his inventions, the lessons of the Johnstown flood, his friendship with Henry George, his Congressional experience, and his co-operation with Pingree in Detroit. In his own charming style the Story is a complete autobiography from the beginning to the latter days of his life; and in an Introduction and the final chapter Elizabeth J. Hauser brings the narrative down to the day of Mr. Johnson's death. It is to be hoped that other biographies of Tom L. Johnson may be written, but it is doubtful if any others can have quite the charm, the intimate touch, the human interest of this one. A story his friends will cherish, it will help other readers to understand one of the biggest and best among the public men of the generation in which he lived.

* * *

AN OUTSIDE VIEW OF TOM L. JOHNSON.

Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland. By Carl Lorenz.
 Published by The A. S. Barnes Company, New York.
 Price, \$1 net.

There were two general types among those who truly knew Tom L. Johnson. They were such as, knowing the good in him, loved him for it, and those who, knowing the good in him, hated him for it. This book will be liked by neither. Yet it is a book that both may read to advantage.

It has general usefulness for its connected narrative of official facts; and friends and enemies of the distinguished Mayor may find it a fair picture of the man as he must sometimes have appeared to well meaning persons who did not understand him. It is a snap shot by a journalist with the journalist's dramatic feeling for events and lack of feeling for their significance. The author knew Tom L. Johnson, but was evidently never in his confidence nor capable of estimating either his purposes or his motives, whether to like them or to dislike them.

The minor facts are often submerged in mistaken guesses. A trip to England, where Johnson had an impromptu private reception by radical members of Parliament, becomes a "trip to England to take part in a meeting of Singletaxers;" and his reluctance in purchasing Henry George's "Social Problems" in the early '80s was because "cash in those days was not plentiful with him," although in fact Tom L. Johnson could not at that

time have been in such financial stress as to be embarrassed by the expenditure of a dollar or two. The author who could say that the beauties of nature never aroused Johnson's enthusiasm, could hardly have been with him ever as a friend in the presence of any of the great beauties of nature. That some of Johnson's friends cherished hopes for him as a Presidential possibility is doubtless true as the author says; but none who knew Johnson well would credit the author's suggestion that Johnson "cherished the same hopes." He wouldn't have swapped the Mayorship of Cleveland for a certificate of election to the Presidency. That Johnson said: "I do not like to be an ex," may well be true; but it was wholly uncharacteristic of the man to say so in the spirit attributed to him. If he ever said this, it was not as a despondent candidate yielding to defeat, but as a tireless crusader cheering his followers while planning for victory in another battle. And superficially indeed must Johnson have been known to an author who writes that "as a politician he made of his enemies a pack of wolves, of his friends a herd of sheep." No one as fair as this author evidently intends to be, could have written that picturesque contrast, if he had been present at even one political consultation of Johnson and his friends. If Johnson's enemies appeared as wolves to a distant and short-sighted observer, it was because they were crooks with whom Johnson would not compromise and who had to fight him bitterly or stand aside; if to such an observer his friends seemed like sheep, it was because they had been in full conference with him, and instead of helping meekly to carry out arbitrary plans of his were co-operating to carry out plans they themselves had helped him to make.

One notable illustration of the author's lack of equipment for taking the measure of a man of Johnson's character is his estimate of Johnson as of a "multiplex nature." No man's nature was ever more simple. This was really the confusing fact about Johnson to observers who expect multiplexity instead of simplicity in great principles, great facts and great men. They are fooled by the simplicity much as liars are fooled by the truth, because they are not looking for it. Another illustration is the author's attempt to explain why Johnson was not a socialist. Johnson understood socialism too well to meet it with threadbare objections that no longer fit if they ever did.

It is difficult to figure out, as the author seems to have done at page 73, how Johnson could have come "out the victor in a glorious struggle with an inglorious end," but this peculiarity may be "scrapped" with the other defects of the book and yet leave a residuum of value. It is a book to be owned and read, but not to be accepted without a great deal of critical consideration and of comparison with better sources of knowledge and judgment.

PERIODICALS

Twentieth Century.

Henry George, Jr., Congressman from New York, opens the July number of the *Twentieth Century* (Boston) with a study of "Tom L. Johnson: the Man and His Work." It is a story of Johnson such as Congressman George alone of all living men could tell at first hand.—Mr. Flower writes rationally of Christian Science in the same issue of the *Century*, and Louis F. Post gives an account from personal recollection of the notorious "Morey Letter" of the Garfield campaign.

+ +

Henry George in Catholic Setting.

The *Catholic World* (New York) for June begins a philosophic dissertation upon "Henry George and Private Property," by John A. Ryan, S. T. D., a priest whose economic qualifications for the work are considerably above the clergy grade. In this article Dr. Ryan clears ground and lays foundations; his discussion is to follow. Although not stated as Henry George might have stated it, Dr. Ryan seems to have outlined George's position intelligently and fairly and not unlikely in better form and phrase for the audience he addresses.

+ + +

THE DEAD.

Adelaide Guthrie in The Outlook.

Who are the Dead?

Are they the souls who, questing, forth have fared
Through the loose doors of their frail tenements?
Who tarried not for staff, nor wine, nor bread?
Who to the stress of Night their bosoms bared,
Despite our bitter tears, our fond laments?
Are they the Dead?

Who are the Dead?

Are they the souls who, from their larger view,
Regard with quiet eyes our foolish ways?
Marvel that we should seek to stay, instead
Of speeding them to their environs new?
And smile to see the sepulchers we raise?
Are they the Dead?

Who are the Dead?

Say, rather, are not we in full-sensed life,
Bound by our sickly fears, our outworn creeds
That strangely speak of faith,—we, who are led
Apart from Love, by selfish aims and strife,
Stifled, enslaved, undone by our misdeeds,—
Are not we Dead?

+ + +

Man receives his life from the earth, which is the source of all that is necessary to his existence. The alienation of the land, then, is the first attack upon the rights of man. No one can pretend to fix imprescriptible rights upon the soil. It is in violation of Natural Right that it has been done. * * * To permit land to lie fallow, or to use it for unproductive purposes, or for purposes injurious to general interests,

is equivalent to destroying it, or to monopolizing elements necessary to the life of the people. * * * The financial science of our age is well able to teach the lesson that the right of property rests as solidly upon values as upon actual things.—Godin's "Social Solutions."

+ + +

The Assyriologists were puzzled. They had evolved a complete key to the cuneiform inscrip-

tions, and had read all of the tablets except one. This one baffled all their efforts.

At this juncture an ordinary-looking man appeared and offered to decipher the tablet. Glad of any help, they begged him to try it.

"Why, it's simple enough," said he. "It's an account of a chariot-race and reads like this: 'As they came into the home-stretch, Sardanscrappicus the Scorchers began to close up the gap between himself and Assur-go-like-sin who was in the lead. In

FOR SALE

A complete set of all the issues of The Standard, published by Henry George, Editor and Proprietor (1886 to 1889 inclusive), bound in four volumes.

Condition first class.

ADDRESS WILSON FERGUSON

1430 South Penn Square
Philadelphia, Pa.

3 Annual Subscriptions for 2 Dollars—two of them new

4 Dollars pays for six;

6 Dollars pays for nine subscriptions.

Give the new subscribers the benefit of the reduction, if you choose.

OUR FILING BINDER For 75 Cents

will hold 52 numbers of The Public. The binder is made specially for The Public, cloth sides and back, name stamped in gold, and is handy for putting away each copy as it arrives—always handy for reference and reading.

At the end of the year take out the 52 copies for permanent binding and use the Filing Binder for next year's file. It will last many years.

Every year adds to the value of The Public as the "best current history in America." Send 75 cents and ask for Filing Binder.

Address: THE PUBLIC, 205 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Tom L. Johnson Memorial at Cleveland

Over eight thousand dollars has been already contributed to establish a memorial to Tom L. Johnson at Cleveland, though as yet no effort has been made to collect a fund. Persons who desire to share in this expression of gratitude for the life of a great citizen may remit to F. H. Goff, treasurer, at Cleveland.

Outside members of the memorial committee have not yet been appointed, but the following constitute the local committee: Newton D. Baker, E. H. Baker, Rev. H. R. Cooley, H. D. Coffinberry, Thomas Coughlin, Samuel Doerfler, A. B. du Pont, E. W. Doty, Thos. Fitzsimons, Dr. A. V. Fried, Rev. Stephen Furdek, W. B. Gongwer, F. H. Goff, Judge Alexander Hadden, Prof. A. R. Hatton, Peter Hassenpflue, Rev. Gilbert P. Jennings, D. E. Leslie, Otto I. Leisy, E. Lowith, Rev. S. Margolies, C. W. Maedje, H. C. Muckley, Carl Nau, Thos. P. Schmidt, Charles W. Stage, Herman Schmidt, Rev. Worth Tippy, Peter Witt, Otto Zinner.

The Officers are as follows: Newton D. Baker, Chairman; Herman Schmidt, Vice-Chairman; F. H. Goff, Treasurer, Charles W. Stage, Secretary.

front of the grand-stand Sardanscrappicus passed his opponent and won the heat by a neck."

The wise men turned to the decipherer and said: "You are the ablest man among us. Where did you amass your knowledge of Assyriology?"

"Oh," said the man, "I don't know anything about such things, but I have always made a practice of reading the accounts of the baseball games,

so anything like this is simply pie for me."—Walter G. Doty, in Puck.

+ + +

Old Gent: "Pon my word, madam, I should hardly have known you, you have altered so much."

Lady: "For the better or for the worse?"

Old Gent: "Ah, madam, you could only change for the better."—Judge.

IN OUR BOOK DEPT

Progress and Poverty.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Anniversary Edition. Dark blue cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Our Land and Land Policy.

By HENRY GEORGE.

This volume includes some of Mr. George's contributions to periodicals and addresses, as: "Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thy Kingdom Come." Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

The Land Question.

By HENRY GEORGE.

This volume includes "Property in Land: A Passage at arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George" and "The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII." Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Social Problems.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.10, postpaid. Paper, 55c, postpaid.

Protection or Free Trade.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

A Perplexed Philosopher.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

The Science of Political Economy.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Dark green cloth, \$2.50, postpaid.

The Life of Henry George.

By HENRY GEORGE, Jr.

Anniversary Edition. With eight illustrations. Dark blue cloth, \$1.10, postpaid.

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George.

Compiled by EDMUND YARDLEY.

Dark blue cloth, 40c, postpaid.

Natural Taxation.

By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Light green cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Paper, 50c, postpaid.

Bisocialism: The Reign of the Man at the Margin.

By OLIVER R. TROWBRIDGE.

Dark blue cloth, 60c, postpaid.

Labor and Neighbor.

By ERNEST CROSBY.

Stiff drab paper cover, 25c, postpaid.

Garrison, the Non-Resistant.

By ERNEST CROSBY.

With portrait of Garrison. Blue cloth, 50c, postpaid. In stiff drab paper cover, without portrait, 25c, postpaid.

Ethics of Democracy.

By LOUIS F. POST.

With portrait of author. Blue cloth, \$1.25, postpaid.

Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce.

By LOUIS F. POST.

Blue cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

Social Service.

By LOUIS F. POST.

Blue cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

The Confessions of a Monopolist.

By FREDERIC C. HOWE.

Green cloth, 65c, postpaid.

The Tariff: What It Is, How It Works, Whom It Benefits.

By LEE FRANCIS LYBARGER.

Green paper, 30c, postpaid.

Land, Labor, Wealth: the Coming Civilization.

By LEE FRANCIS LYBARGER.

With portrait of author. Paper, 25c, postpaid.

Hard Times: The Cause and the Cure.

By JAMES POLLOCK KOHLER.

Paper, 15c, postpaid.

Shortest Road to the Single Tax.

Containing "The Condonation of Labor," etc. Paper, 12c, postpaid.

The Hungry Forties: Life under the Bread Tax.

Descriptive Letters and Other Testimonies from Contemporary Witnesses. Orange paper cover, 20c, postpaid.

Direct Legislation by the People.

By MARTIN RITTINGHAUSEN.

Translated from the French by Alexander Harvey. Paper, 15c, postpaid.

Live Questions.

By JOHN P. ALTGELD.

Cloth (1000 pages, with portrait), \$2.50; by mail, \$2.80.

Fellowship Songs.

Compiled by RALPH ALBERTSON.

With music. Stiff cover with cloth back, 25c, postpaid.

ADDRESS

THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT., Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

Are You of the Elect?

—the favored few that are on the firing line between privilege and the people?

Or are you one of the millions busy getting a living, but who still is inspired with a desire to help?

Then it is to you The Public offers the way to assist progress, by adding to its readers.

Make your friends subscribers!

Cincinnati, July 15.

DANIEL KIEFER

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 531 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single Copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or more.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts and money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders, or Chicago or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising Rate, 10c Per Agate Line

(14 lines to the inch)

One page, each insertion.....	\$24.00
Half page, each insertion.....	12.00
7 inches, single column, each insertion.....	9.20
Quarter page, each insertion.....	6.00
One inch, each insertion.....	1.40
5% discount for 3 months' (or longer) insertion of one advertisement, or 6 months' insertion every other week.	
2% discount for cash in 5 days from receipt of bill.	
Columns 2 inches wide, 120 lines long, two columns to the page.	

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.

Like Medicine

The value of Fels-Naptha soap depends on how it is used. Fels-Naptha is made to wash clothes in cold or lukewarm water. Used that way it saves time, money, health, bother and hard work. Your clothes will be cleaner, fresher and wear longer.

Don't insist on boiling and hard-rubbing in the old-fashioned way. Fels-Naptha isn't made for that.

When you buy a cake of Fels-Naptha, follow the directions on the red and green wrapper as closely as you would the directions on a medicine bottle.

In kitchens, where there are painted walls, women often go to the expense of getting a special preparation for cleaning them. Fels-Naptha answers the purpose better than anything made. A damp cloth or sponge dipped in Fels-Naptha suds will remove all the grease and dirt in a twinkling.

Our Lost Leader

Tom L. Johnson's friends—some of the best known of them—entertained him at a testimonial dinner in New York on May 30, 1910. Inspiring speeches were made on that occasion. Here is the program:

JOHNSON, THE MAN	Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow
JOHNSON, THE FRIEND AND DISCIPLE OF HENRY GEORGE	Henry George, Jr.
JOHNSON IN THE GEORGE CAMPAIGNS	Louis F. Post
JOHNSON IN CONGRESS	John Dewitt Warner
JOHNSON IN CLEVELAND	Newton D. Baker
JOHNSON IN DEFEAT	Edmund Vance Cooke

MR. JOHNSON'S RESPONSE

These speeches have been collected in book form by Horace Carr, the Artist-printer of Cleveland; set in old style type, printed on Strathmore Japan paper with deckle edges, and illustrated by photographs of Henry George and the dear "Tom L." ¶ You should have a copy to read and treasure. While they last—Fifty cents in stamps or coin or "anything," to

DANIEL KIEFER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

"American Conservation"

**Illustrated monthly magazine of the
National Conservation Association**

A twelve times-a-year chronicle of events in the field of natural resource conservation.

Authoritatively written, carefully edited, beautifully illustrated, handsomely printed.

The only publication in America which covers the whole Conservation field.

We have an exceptionally attractive plan whereby active, intelligent representatives—boys and girls as well as adults—may earn good returns. We will gladly send details on request.

Yearly subscriptions, \$2.00
sample copy sent on request

AMERICAN CONSERVATION
COLORADO BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"The Land We Live In"

THE BOYS' BOOK OF CONSERVATION

BY

OVERTON W. PRICE

Vice-President, National Conservation Association

Foreword by Gifford Pinchot
President, National Conservation Association

READY AUGUST 1

A book that will hold the interest and attention of every real, manly boy who is anxious to learn more about the natural resources of "the land we live in."

As interesting as a novel; as true as history.

Beautifully illustrated from photographs—pictures that tell a story—pictures that every red-blooded boy will rejoice over.

PRICE \$1.50, NET.

Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, Publishers