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
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Introductory Note.

Pursuant to previous announcements this memorial number of The Public, in Two Parts, is issued in celebration of the birthday of Tom L. Johnson. Mr. Johnson was born at Georgetown, Kentucky, July 18, 1854. He sat in Congress from Ohio, 1891 to 1895; and after serving as Mayor of Cleveland continuously from April, 1901, to January, 1910, he died at Cleveland, April 10, 1911, and was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York, April 13, near the grave of his friend and preceptor, Henry George.

The contents of Part One, in so far as they relate to Mr. Johnson, consist of matter which has been either written expressly for this double number of The Public or selected as especially adapted to its own editorial recognition of Mr. Johnson's worth. The contents of Part Two consist almost exclusively of editorial tributes to Mr. Johnson, by newspapers and other periodicals in the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Germany, on the occasion of his death. The collection does not profess to be complete. To publish all the editorial tributes in full would require a number of The Public exceeding this double number by hundreds of pages. Space considerations make it necessary, therefore, to exclude with a free hand. Duplicates and paraphrases have been cut out; from tributes by the same papers in different issues, selections have been made; and nearly all the tributes have been shortened by excisions. In addition to intentional eliminations, it may be that when it is too late we shall find that tributes or criticisms have been omitted unintentionally, either from accident or from their not having come to our attention. But care has been taken to avoid the exclusion, no less of any type of criticism than of any type of praise.

One curious thing about many of these editorials is the statement, in some with satisfaction and in others with regret, that Mayor Johnson failed in his efforts to get 3-cent street-car fares for Cleveland. Many of those that do not regard the result as a failure, do assume that he got 4-cent fares, which they rightly regard as better than 5-cent fares. The Cleveland Press, quoted here, disposes of the error. In fact, 3-cent fares were in operation throughout Cleveland when Johnson died, and had long been so. The extra cent was only for transfers. To call this a 4-cent fare would be like saying of a city where transfers are not given and a new fare of 5 cents must be paid upon changing from one line to another, that these are cities of 10-cent fares. But within a few days after Johnson's death, even the extra cent for transfers was . dropped, and this in accordance with conditions Johnson had secured. When the traction managers had urged that flat 3-cent fares would not pay, Johnson compromised by inserting in the ordinance a provision that 1 cent for transfers might be collected, over and above the 3-cent fare, until a certain large surplus in excess of all expenses and 6 per cent interest on capital had been accumulated. Desperate efforts were made by the traction company to prevent the accumulation of that surplus; but, just as Johnson had foreseen, the thing was impossible. So, in May, hardly a month after Johnson died, the surplus was in hand; and the city authorities, supported by the courts, abolished the transfer fee. Cleveland, therefore, has now not only 3-cent fares throughout the city, but also free transfers.

Low fares, however, were not Johnson's aim. They were a means to an end. He knew that low fares would but increase local land values and thereby transfer excessive profits from street car com-

panies to land owners. What he aimed at, regarding street car fares, was ultimately to abolish them altogether, paying for street car service out of the consequent increase in local land values.

Nor was this the end of his ambition as a city builder. Just as he would have maintained street car systems free out of taxes upon the higher land values such systems would cause, so would he have pushed on to the maintenance of all municipal service by such taxes; thereby fostering industry by exempting its operations from taxation, discouraging land monopoly by taxing its value regardless of improvements, and supplying the public treasury by diverting publicly created ground rent from private to public use. This was Tom L. Johnson's idea of the necessary condition of that ideal city which it was his ambition to "set upon a hill."

Editorial Tributes to Tom L. Johnson.

Alabama.

Ledger, Birmingham, Ala., April 24.

It was the work of the late Tom L. Johnson that has made two Democratic Governors and so many Democratic Congressmen in the middle West.

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News, Birmingham, Ala., April 11.

One of the nation's most picturesque figures quits the political stage with the passing of Tom L. Johnson. . . . Johnson was intensely earnest in his fights for municipal reform in Cleveland. He came up from life's bottom, and by dint of hard work and intelligent application gradually amassed a fortune. When he decided to take up what he considered the people's battles in Cleveland he did so with an enthusiasm that left no room for personal aggrandizement. . . . His schemes for three-cent fares proved impracticable.* He was beaten for another re-election as Mayor. His life seemed to have been spent in vain. Through it all he smiled. His hearty cheeriness never forsook him. He believed thoroughly in the right of what he had done. Stricken with a disease the only outcome of which meant death, he boasted with pardonable pride that he would smile to the end. He did. Sincerity of motive and true love for his fellow man were Tom Johnson's chief characteristics.

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Courier, Fairhope, Ala., April 14.

The people of his city, for whom he had labored so loyally and who had supported him loyally on several occasions, but had not "endured to the end," awoke to a full realization of the debt to him when he was no more. Two hundred thousand people, it was estimated, stood in the streets with bared heads as his funeral cortege went by.

Item, Mobile, Ala., April 11.

When the news came over the wires last night

that Tom Johnson, as he was better known than by his high sounding titles, had passed into the Great Beyond there was a feeling of sadness over thousands who had watehed the career of this wonderful American. In every sense a son of the American soil, he believed in the rights of men.

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Register, Mobile, Ala., April 13.

Tom L. Johnson was honest in his convictions and clean in his life. He did not have half an eye on the public good and half an eye upon the promotion of his own ambition. He was honest with himself; and honest with the people.

Arkansas.

News-Record, Ft. Smith, Ark., April 16.

Though his methods were at times spectacular and apparently impractical, they were always in the line of good. Whether all the reforms he attempted in Cleveland would have been beneficial had they been consummated may be debatable. But be this as it may, the city bettered by his strenuous efforts. He made Cleveland a comparatively free city by putting a stop to grafting and boodling among its officials, and by awakening the people to the necessity for taking great interest in municipal affairs.

California

California Outlook, Los Angeles, Cal., April 15.

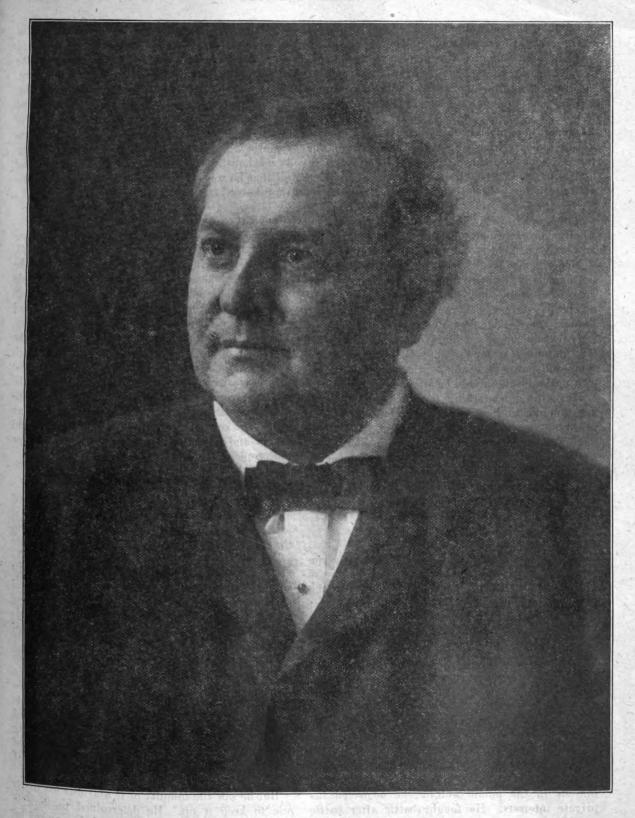
Sleek and comfortable men who have looked out for themselves and the main chance will doubtless say, "What a fool! He might have been one of us;" but millions of his fellow citizens who never saw him, but only knew of the brave fight he waged for a square deal on the part of their public-service masters toward the people of his city, will say of him what Mark Antony said of Brutus when he stood over his dead body: "There was a man!" "He was one of us." Tom John-

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^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

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No.



From a photograph of TOM L. JOHNSON, taken in 1905.
Selected by his Cleveland friends as the best portrait of him in his prine

son fought, beaten again and again, only again and again to fight until beaten, broken, bankrupted, he could fight no more. Nevertheless, he triumphed in that he forgot self in warring for the common good and the work he did will live to make other fights for Right Things more easily won.

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Examiner, Los Angeles, Cal., April 26.

Those who criticise the late Tom Johnson for taking money by the methods of legal privilege and using it to destroy the privilege evince a greater concern for personal than for social righteousness.

They are indeed "impossiblists," teaching a wholly impracticable doctrine in the confusion and cross-purposes of our modern world.

Modern men are beginning to understand that no man living in a corrupt society can be utterly free from stain, and that brave men ought to accept the stain as a part of the price that must be paid for social redemption.

If it could be shown that Tom Johnson stealthily "devoured widows' houses" and turned the rents and mortgages into political capital for his own pride the case would be altogether different.

He never did anything to increase the secrecy and complication of wrongdoing, but everything to expose and bring it into judgment.

It was as if some simple-hearted nobleman of the British House of Lords should turn vehemently against the privileges of his order, and should spend all his influence and estates to do away with the advantages that had come unjustly to his hand.

Express, Los Angeles, Cal., April 12.

In a great measure he had won his fight. The people of Cleveland have an excellent street car service and three-cent fares. They owe it to the man who now lies dead.

There was nothing for Tom Johnson to gain by espousing the people's interests and making them his own. There was, indeed, much to lose, and he lost much. He was rich and died poor. Had he been content to serve money with the same single-hearted zeal wherewith he served the people, he could easily have multiplied his dollars. But, once convinced of the righteousness of the policies he adopted, he gave to them all that he had—fortune, labor and life.

The work he did for the people broke down his energies and wrecked his health. Concerning himself in the public welfare, he neglected his private interests. He fought battle after battle with the public service corporations, achieving many victories, suffering some few defeats. Small

wonder that they lated him. Small wonder that the newspapers retained by Private Interest and Special Privilege everywhere throughout the union barked at him when they heard his name. Small wonder that the mercenaries supported by, and in turn supporting public service corporations, vilified, abused and maligned him!

He fought a good fight. His courage was dauntless, his intel ect keen, his energies seemingly inexhaustible. Fighting the good fight, he used all that he was and had, unsparingly, for the public interest.

Graphic, Los Angeles, Cai., April 15.

When a trust magnate dies there is always another one to take his place. The king is dead, long live the king. Money is king and rules the world. But now and then a leader of the people arises in the land, and when he goes there is none to take his place. There is no one now to lead the people of Cleveland as Tom Johnson led them. He gave that municipality its designation as the best ruled city in the world. The ideals for which he fought and sacrified his large private fortune to achieve were not entirely achieved, but in the near future they will be the commonplace realities of city life, and this fruition will come many vears quicker because Tom Johnson lived and fought and worked, not for himself alone, but for the people of his city and nation.

Herald, Los Angeles, Cal., April 11.

Now that Tom Johnson of Cleveland has passed away, let us lay a wreath on his bier and see if we cannot appraise his services to the people and the country with more fairness and give more credit to his fame than he received in life. The awakening of American cities to the necessity of stopping their exploitation by "Big Business" and the corruption of city authorities by which it was largely done is due in great measure to the words and deeds of Johnson as the fighting Mayor of Cleveland.

And his pioneer municipal insurgency came from one least to be expected. Johnson was a successful promoter himself; made most of his fortune with his brother and others in a private monopoly in Brooklyn and other cities; benefited from the then prevalent method of corrupting local authorities, played the game cleverly and could doubtless have gone on and amassed great wealth as others have done.

But he saw the iniquity of it and was too patriotic to keep it up. He determined to show it to the people. He saw Cleveland being sacked by street railway pirates. Being a street railway

man he knew that they could carry people at a profit for 3 cents, and making a campaign on that issue was elected Mayor. From the day of his installation he fought the fight of the people, bitterly opposed by the corporations and harassed constantly by the power of organized wealth which they enlisted.

But Johnson never flinched or faltered or squealed. He aroused a new civic spirit in Cleveland. He was re-elected, put a stop to numerous special privilege jobs, wiped out official graft, wrested better terms from public utility corporations that had theretofore had things their own way, and fought on for his favorite scheme of 3-cent fares. In this he was called by some a "failure," for the 3-cent railroad he got into operation did not prove a paying proposition,* not that it was fairly tested, but more because it was hampered in various ways by its financial foes.

At last his opponents convinced enough of the people that Johnson hadn't succeeded in making good and he was defeated for re-election. Broken in health and with most of his fortune spent, he retired to private life, where he must have felt the relief from strife, abuse and inappreciation a gracious blessing.

Union, Sacramento, Cal., April 12.

The distinguished advocate of the 3-cent street railway fare, municipal operation of public utilities and the "single tax" died with a brilliant record clouded by repudiation at the hands of the people. He fought with tenacity and concentration for reforms which he considered essential to the welfare of his city and country, but after a most useful career was broken by the ingratitude of the public he had served. That the humiliation of his last defeat for the mayoralty of Cleveland hastened his death there is little doubt.

Mr. Johnson unquestionably belonged to that class of men who help the world move along. He did not work in vain when his contribution to the education of the nation along economic lines is considered in a general way, but, as far as practical results are concerned, he sought to turn customs topsy-turvy too rapidly. He failed to recognize the inability of the people to follow at the pace he set.

Bulletin, San Francisco, Cal., April 12.

Environment shapes the course of most men, but it had little influence on the career of Tom Johnson. He came of a wealthy slave-holding family, but no man hated slavery more than he. The Civil war, in which his father fought for the

"Lost Cause," swept away his prospects of inheriting a fortune, but he did not repine. He felt the stings of poverty and was not embittered. Riches came as the reward of unceasing effort, but his heart remained with the struggling poor.

Tom Johnson made his money through the privileges that the people give to public service corporations, but he did not use his power or his wealth to further schemes of exploitation. A street car magnate, he devoted many years of his life to the work of giving Cleveland, his home city, cheaper and better transportation. He met with many reverses and was often misjudged, but he stuck to his task. As a public official he never lost sight of his ideals, and Lincoln Steffens, the man who wrote "The Shame of the Cities," spoke of him as "the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States." True, the people turned him out at last, but that was their loss, not his.

Call, San Francisco, Cal., April 12.

- Tom Johnson of Ohio is dead. He was a good man. His opinions were extreme, but he proved his sincerity by the unflinching sacrifice of health and fortune in his endeavors to put his principles to the test of experience. . . .

He was an earnest and sincere man, whose opinions were in advance of his times. Although his work was chiefly done in local fields, he was in truth a figure of national importance.

Coast Seamen's Journal, San Francisco, Cal., April 12.

The death of Tom L. Johnson is a national, indeed a world loss. In his great fight for civic freedom in his own city he rendered a service to all other cities, the fruits of which will be reaped by many generations yet to come. . . . To Tom L. Johnson, more perhaps than to any other one man in American public life, is due the awakened public spirit now so widely manifested in the demand for better government in the cities. The memory of Cleveland's great Mayor, of America's foremost champion of free city government, will endure for many years and be more warmly cherished as the seeds of his planting bear their full fruit.

Examiner, San Francisco, Cal., April 12.

In the city of Cleveland, O.,—a city having a population of more than half a million—the people ride on street cars for a 3-cent fare.

That 3-cent fare is a monument to the life work of "Tom" Johnson, the sturdy Democrat who died Monday. No man who ever devoted his life to the people has a greater monument.

Probably 100,000 persons in Cleveland save four

An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

cents every working day in the year through the efforts of Tom Johnson. That makes \$4,000 a day—or \$1,200,000 a year. And the saving will go on year after year at an increasing ratio.

What man in public life today has accomplished so much? What man, in dying, has left a legacy of \$1,200,000 a year to the people of his home city?

Herald, San Francisco, Cal., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson, than whom no more honest or brave man has been in public life in this generation, has passed from the stage and become merely a memory. His work, some of his ambitions, a few of his cherished reforms, are part of the history of the nation, and his influence will be felt long after the bitternesses engendered during his career are forgotten.

Johnson was a reformer, genuine and honest. Condemned by unthinking people, and by some who were not honest enough to acknowledge his true value, as a demagogue, he wrought valiantly for what he saw to be the right. He accomplished much, and yet not a tithe of what he hoped for in the life of the nation. He lived long enough to see many of his cherished theories accepted by those who fought their adoption, to see some of the reforms he worked and fought for embodied in the statute books of his state and of the nation. And he died cheerfully content, doubtless buoved by the assurance that others of the reforms he advocated are already in process of enactment.

Labor Clarion, San Francisco, Cal., April 14.

It would have been easy for Mr. Johnson to have drifted with the tide. He had wealth.

His inclinations were not that way. He measured up to the responsibilities and opportunities that came his way. He never was known as a shirker. Trimming and the other wiles of professional politicians were foreign to the nature of Tom Johnson, for while he was always active, he was far from the class of those who are called politicians, because they serve themselves first and their country next.

Unpopular positions and causes were espoused by the man who has passed on. That showed his caliber. His loss to those who believe in the single tax on land is heavy indeed, and the people generally mourn for an able and public-spirited citizen.

Star, San Francisco, Cal., April 15.

Tom Johnson was a manly man—generous, brave, kind and true.

He loathed injustice.

He hated all cant and hypocrisy.

He denounced the wrong, but pitied the wrong-

He believed that "the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy."

He was, as Lincoln Steffens said of him, "the best Mayor of the best governed city in the United States"—aye, let us add, in the whole world!

His lamp of life is extinguished, but the light of his inspired soul still burns—a beacon to the sorrowing and or pressed, to the erring and fallen, to the under-dog in the struggle for existence, and to all who love justice and seek the truth to make men free.

Although he has gone, the grand movement for freedom will go on—conquering and to conquer until the aspirations of his soul have been realized. No power can hold it back.

+ + + + Colorado.

Catholic Register, Denver, Colo., April 13.

In truth, it may be said of Tom L. Johnson. that he was a soldier of the common good. As with all men whose spiritual nature is highly developed, he valued material things as mere accessories in the fight for a better civilization. He sacrificed a fortune for his ideals, and no one ever questioned the purity of his motives or the integrity of his character. He was not a hypocrite. He denounced the laws that made him rich, and, though a beneficiary of privilege, he was the first public man in the national legislative halls to make the frank and candid statement, "As a business man I am willing to take advantage of all the monopoly laws you pass; but as a member of Congress, I will not help you to pass them, and I will try to force you to repeal them." This was a new doctrine, and a strange doctrine, that had never been heard in this country before. For a time the politicians and the business men seemed unable to understand how any man could make a distinction between his duty as a public servant and his self-interest as a monopolist.

As Mayor of Cleveland he has done more than any executive of this country to make the city the hope of democracy. Children yet unborn will bles his name as the first great Mayor that set in motion the mighty forces that will redeem our cities from the exploitation of the big business interests and the machine politicians. The emancipation of the city means that state and national politics will be purified. Johnson was pre-eminently the leader in the United States in the movement for that fundamental democracy which alone makes for good government, and that good government which can rest secure only upon fundamental democracy.

News, Denver, Colo., April 12.

Tom Johnson was one of the most romantic figures of a romantic age. A millionaire who fought for 3-cent fares, a manufacturer who did not hesitate to denounce the tariff for the graft it is. . . . He was a unique character in a dozen ways.

And yet, he differed from the mass of his countrymen in but one thing—intellectual honesty. Nine men out of ten deceive themselves, excuse themselves to themselves, hold or think they hold a half dozen mutually contradictory opinions. Tom Johnson would have none of this. He was willing to play the game according to the rules as he found them; but he declined to write panegyrics on those rules. He knew them faulty, often bad and vicious altogether, and he never tired of seeking to change them. That they had helped make him rich was nothing to the purpose. And when fighting the champions of the old rules made him poor, he accepted that, too, with smiling face and unbroken courage.

Star-Journal, Pueblo, Colo., April 11.

The death of Tom Johnson robs Ohio of a useful citizen, the kind who is a credit to any community. Though not a great man, he was an example of the kind who, through devotion to an idea and persistency in advocating it, become of national importance. Johnson was of the sincere and honest type of reformers, and practically gave up his life in an endeavor to bring about the success of the ideas for which he battled so courageously. As Mayor of Cleveland he performed a valuable service, although it ended in defeat and disaster for him. . . . The battle for what he thought right was not made by Johnson to further his own ends, political or otherwise. That he was sincere was shown by the fact that he sacrificed his personal fortune in an effort to prove that he was right.

Connecticut.

Courant, Hartford, Conn., April 14.

To say that Cleveland did not know until death took him how much it loved Tom Johnson involves no suggestion of rebuke to Cleveland. The way of the city that Johnson served with the best that was in him was the way not only of cities but of humans everywhere. It gave him its highest honors and then just when he might have done his best work for it, a majority of its citizens turned from him. That he was as genial and kindly it defeat as when things were coming his way, explains in part why all the city came back to him at the end. Cleveland is talking now of a Tom

Johnson memorial. Johnson does not need it; Cleveland will not forget him, but the city will honor itself by providing it.

Post, Hartford, Conn., April 11.

As a politician he was astute. As a public official he was keen and absolutely honest. As a champion of the people he was earnest and consistent. In every walk of life he was absolutely dependable and in its closer relations, lovable.

One might almost say that Tom Johnson came too soon upon the world's stage, for the principles he advocated and to which he devoted his life, were so far in advance of his time that they made him misunderstood and not infrequently subjected him to abuse. It is certain that he has left the stage of life all too soon—too soon for the fulfillment of the purpose of his life and for the good of the cause he represented.

Herald, New Britain, Conn., April 11.

Among the men who tried to raise the standard of municipal government; who tried to improve the conditions of his people and who devoted many years of his life to the promotion of those ideas which he believed would operate for the benefit of a city and with a fair measure of success, there is no one deserves a higher place in public estimation than Tom L. Johnson. His long rest comes after a busy life—a life largely given to promoting the welfare of others.

Record, New Britain, Conn., April 11.

He was indeed a picturesque character and stood in the limelight for several years. . . . He once called himself the "stormy petrel," and this metaphor aptly described him and his career. He was wealthy once, but experienced financial reverses in late years. "Tom" Johnson was a man of peculiarities, but was always frank and generous and his death is deeply regretted.

Chronicle, New Haven, Conn., April 11.

The best loved man in Cleveland is no more. Former Mayor Tom L. Johnson died this week, and he passed on with that same characteristic cheerfulness with which he always encountered adversity. . . . It was only a few years ago that Tom Johnson was assailed as a fanatic in political affairs, but he forecasted things ahead of those who criticised him, and before he died he had the contentment of seeing many of his views adopted as safe and sane. Best of all, it may be said of Johnson that he was honest, and it is easy to forgive the errors of an honest man.

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Palladium, New Haven, Conn., April 13.

Tom Johnson was a mysterious man who repeatedly injured his opportunities by his own radicalism. In his political views and adventures he meant well at heart, but he lived too much ahead of his day. For a while he was a street railway magnate himself, vet as Mayor of the city of Cleveland he set about to ruin the traction companies, and he nearly did so by bringing about three-cent trolley fares. He was an iron and steel manufacturer, and, peculiarly enough, he tried as a member of Congress, to remove the tariff duties that were making his business prosperous. through his public career Tom Johnson was an enigma.

Register, New Haven, Conn., April 11.

Here was a masterly American, despite the faults he undoubtedly had. Too many lose sight in the apparent demagogue, of the inventor, the business genius, the organizer, the true captain of industry. He fought against obstacles commercial and industrial; he pitted his strength against capital and skill and resource, and he won. The history of his rise in the traction world is a romance of industry and genius that commands the praise of all appreciative Americans. Had Tom L. Johnson stuck to what he could do, he would have lived longer and probably with uninterrupted success. One may not say that his political career was all wrong -not by any means. Singletax is a theory yet, but Johnson was sincere in adopting it. He had a genuine desire to help his fellow men. His publie life was not a seeking of his own ends, but of the good of others. Demagogue though he may have been, his lack of selfishness should excuse him in the estimate of his fellow men. And it should not be forgotten that some great mistakes which he made have taught valuable lessons as to what cannot be done in traction and corporation operation. Taken as a whole, his life has been a valuable one, his career an inspiration of Americanism. It has been too early terminated, and its influence has yet a long time to run.

Union, New Haven, Conn., April 16.

Tom Johnson, who has just died in Cleveland, did not succeed in getting street car rides for three cents.* But he did a number of things that even his opponents would admit were very serviceable.

Ordinarily you can't get the voters to give sustained attention to public affairs. They are interested in an election largely as a sporting proposition, a race between two men. But when it comes to principles involved, or still worse to intricate

problems of finance, the average voter would rather pay his taxes for graft than read head-achy figures.

Tom Johnson somehow made these tiresome details of budgets and franchises take on human interest. One night in the heat of summer he got 12,000 people into a tent, where they listened for two hours while he and an opponent argued the dry details of the traction deal. He made the citizens feel that they were stockholders in a business corporation called the city of Cleveland, and that if they wanted dividends they must attend directors' meetings. . . .

In these days when so many men are sipping the sugar sweets of fortune acquired by some other man's toil, the American people have a warm place in their hearts for a man like Johnson, who began at 15 as an errand boy, and got ahead by doing things instead of receiving the gifts of life with a passive hand. If such a man has committed errors he has at least been true to that grand principle which so many of us have forgotten, to "Do with our might what our hands find to do." -

Day, New London, Conn., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson, who died in Cleveland Monday, was a unique character. . . . Had he been more willing to compromise he would have probably continued to be Mayor of the city that he governed so long, but altruistic fidelity to principle was the distinguishing characteristic of his life.

American, Waterbury, Conn., April 11.

Tom Johnson's story has its fascinations. It is what we like to call the typical American storywith variations. Thrown on his own resources as a boy, Tom L. Johnson achieved great business Instead of success and amassed a large fortune. going on to pile it up, he stopped, and devoted his business genius and his wealth in various efforts to improve the conditions of his fellow men. His heart was admitted into partnership with his brain and it dominated the company.

Delaware.

News, Wilmington, Del., April 12.

Perhaps the most widely known Mayor in the United States during his term of office, he kept himself before the public largely as the result of his fight for lower fares on the street railways of his city, and at the same time advocating the doctrine of the Singletax. He was undoubtedly a man of rare ability, albeit at times rather spectacular in his methods. He loved the excitement of fighting, and he must be given credit for being sincere. . . He had a personality that attracted and he had in him those elements which make for

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^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

progress even if it were shown at times that he was not in harmony with tried and existing conditions.

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Trade Union News, Wilmington, Del., April 27.

Two hundred thousand people stood in the rain out in Cleveland, Ohio, the other day and thus paid tribute to the memory of Tom L. Johnson. Contrast the lives of our vulgar plutocrats with the manly honor of Tom L. Johnson, and if the money-crazed plutocrat is viewed in such a light by even poor, frail humanity, what shall be their fate when they stand before the judgment seat of God? The Book that most of us claim to respect says: "'Tis easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." 'Tis true, for most men make a god of money; their money owns them; they are slaves to it. The life of Tom L. Johnson should prove a salutary lesson to our Dollarcrats. Will they learn the lesson?

District of Columbia.

Herald, Washington, D. C., April 11.

In the death of Tom Loftin Johnson a remarkable character has passed away. His rise to fame and fortune was not unique. Many men in this country have started as poor boys, have become great in the business world, have amassed fortunes. All these things Johnson did, but all of them are insignificant beside the fact that his career was dominated by an ideal and that in the effort to secure this ideal he sacrificed not only his fortune, but life itself. . . .

It was through his efforts to benefit his fellow men that Tom Johnson became famous. For this cause his memory lives after him.

Florida.

Metropolis, Jacksonville, Fla., April 13.

The death of Tom L. Johnson removes another real man from the walks of life. However, the principles for which he lived and fought are our goodly heritage.

Times-Union, Jacksonville, Fla., April 16.

A picturesque figure was lost from the field of American politics when Tom Johnson passed away. Undoubtedly he gave his time and his money unstintedly to promote the public good as he saw it and thus his work gains a double interest. Did his people set a proper value on his services?

Journal, Pensacola, Fia., April 13.

Tom Johnson was one of the country's great

men and it is a pity that we have not more like him.

His work as a member of Congress and as Mayor of Cleveland gave him a nation-wide reputation and he left those offices with a record of accomplishment such as few men can boast.

But whether in office or out of it, Tom Johnson was a restless, persistent, and aggressive agitator for progressive policies and civic righteousness and his work and agitation to those ends have left the world an infinite gainer from his having lived.

The policy with which his name is most prominently identified was the three-cent street car fare proposition for Cleveland. Mr. Johnson failed in the end to establish and maintain the three-cent rate,* but the light he shed on the street car business and the fight he led for public control of the business left the people of Cleveland in a position to deal with this important question which they could never have assumed had it not been for his leadership.

The most striking characteristic of Tom Johnson's life was his utter indifference to his own personal welfare. With an ability to have made himself many times a millionaire, he repeatedly sacrificed his personal fortunes in the interest of the public good.

Whether or not we may agree with all of Tom Johnson's policies none can deny that he was a good and a great man and that his life, in striking contrast to so many men of similar ability, but of different purpose, was devoted to his fellow man to a degree seldom surpassed in the work of the world's great characters.

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Journal, Atlanta, Ga., April 12.

Aside from what he did or the things he believed in so ardently, his very character would have enriched any community where he lived and would have distinguished him in any pursuit he might have chosen. In an age that abounds in striking personalities, he will ever stand out as one of the most humanly engaging figures of his time.

Chronicle, Augusta, Ga., April 13.

Theorist, reformer, student, he was withal a thoroughly practical man, presenting combinations of character and personality rarely found in the same person.

Johnson was a native of the South, was shrewd, full-blooded and a builder. . . .

When he turned social reformer, he did not

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

drop all practical affairs, and when he was strongly urging municipal ownership of street railways and three-cent fares he was constantly dealing in street railroad properties as a private citizen.

The story is told that once when Johnson was endeavoring to get a liberal franchise for a company he was promoting, a member of the city council which was considering the matter arose and made a request like the following:

"I want to hear from Mr. Johnson again, not as a petitioner, but as a non-interested expert and political economist. Forgetting that you want this franchise, what would you advise us to do?"

The applicant hesitated not a moment.

"Speaking as a disinterested adviser, if I were the city council I would tell Tom Johnson to go to hades and would decline his application in toto."

Personally, he was one of the most fascinating men in the world. Good nature beamed from every line of his full face. Down at bottom he had deep sympathy for the under dog. Time may show that the great disciple of Henry George contributed more than a mite towards advancing the welfare of man.

Ledger, Columbus, Ga., April 11.

Tom I. Johnson is dead and all Ohio laments the loss of a good man. . . . Mr. Johnson posed as a Democrat. He had theories, however, that have not been accepted by all Democrats. He was an ardent follower of the Singletax theory of the late Henry George. . . . While known as an extremist by many, he was considered honest and perfectly sincere in his every undertaking and he was generally admired for his candor and originality.

Towa.

Gazette, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 11.

Thrown upon his own resources when a boy, he became a master of environment. He had hard knocks in the knockabout world, and came out on top. He applied himself to the street railway business, and mastered it. He entered politics and he mastered that. He was an astute politician, but we believe that history will record that he mastered politics rather than let politics master him. He became famous as Mayor of Cleveland. He gave the Ohio city a good administration. He had some notions that conflicted with the notions of other politicians, and which also conflicted with the opinions of public service magnates. Johnson usually came out on top, and his ideas usually meant better service for the people. He was not a wrecker. While many magnates disliked his policies and saw in those policies unfair treatment for themselves, it is not a matter of record that Johnson's program injured the city of Cleveland or any legitimate interest therein.

Capital, Des Moines, Iowa, April 11.

Tom Johnson was one of those men who can secure a certain definite hold upon the popular imagination by the persistent exploitation of visionary schemes of government. He had marked ability along certain lines and was popular with the citizens of Cleveland. In later years his following had diminished when it was seen that many of his reforms were wholly impracticable. For years he thought himself invincible with the voters of his home city and when defeat at last came in one of his mayoralty campaigns his pride suffered a blow from which he never recovered.

Telegraph-Herald, Dubuque, Ia., April 11.
Tom L. Johnson was ten times a

Tom L. Johnson was ten times a millionaire when he began the reading of Henry George's works. They awakened in him appreciation of his own selfishness; they aroused in him sense of his duty to his fellow men; they opened his eyes to injustice and his mind to the institutional cause of inequalities; they opened to his imagination the great vista of a land without poverty when the last of the trinity of doctrines devised to hold the common man in bonds—the doctrine of the divine institution of private property,—should be wiped out of our constitutions. They brought out the Man there was in him and caused the Man to see the Beast in himself—the avariciousness that coveted franchise rights, that made mind the slave of money, and that sought out means to exploit the people in their necessities.

So Johnson, reading Henry George, awoke to the truth of life. . . .

His was a brilliant mind. He had remarkable energy, great good humor and genuine brotherly love, so that it was easy for him to win his way to the hearts of men, to command their respect by the powers of his mind and their confidence by the unselfishness of his motives. He sought to untax labor and to secure to the people their economic freedom, and to these ends he dedicated the closing years of his life. His home city of Cleveland was as ignorant as he of the vital things of life, and as Henry George touched the wellsprings of truth in his nature, so he aroused Cleveland to civic consciousness. Four times its Mavor, he made it the best governed city in the nation. His fight against the traction monopoly was only an incident of his service.

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Index, Northwood, Iowa, April 13.

He was an honest official in an age of graft.

Democrat, Ottawa, Iowa., April 13.

He was big and brave and always with the people. He was the acme of what public men ought to be. Cleveland and the great state of Ohio are the better for his having lived and they are glad to call him their son.

He was a Democrat and he brought to the Democratic party his high ideal of public service. During his life he had been poor, rich and poor again, so far as money wealth goes, but in it, and through it, he was the same great charitable Tom L. Johnson.

Let us thank God for his life and pray that this generation may give us other men of the Tom L. Johnson measurement.

Courier, waterloo, Iowa, April 13.

The Mayor of any city in the United States except Chicago and New York is comparatively obscure. But pronounce the name of Tom L. Johnson and probably ten million people from the Atlantic to the Pacific can tell you who he was. Tom Johnson was the mere Mayor of mere Cleveland, but he became the prince of Mayors because he did his job well. . . . Johnson leaves this earth with the most enviable record of any Mayor of his time.

Illinois.

Daily Beacon, Aurora, III., April 14.

Tom Johnson was not a hypocrite. A self-made, practical man, he was wholly honest in the ideas that he advocated. The political and financial elenents he had to fight were very powerful, sometimes corrupt and altogether selfish. He enjoyed power, did not hesitate to use violent methods and was apt to be in a hurry. The courts blocked his plans and public sentiment was fickle, but his record is one of considerable progress in municipal government.

Bulletin, Bloomington, III., April 11.

Johnson invented and patented a rail, a switch and an automatic nickel in the slot box and made a fortune from these and from manipulating franchises in Indianapolis, Detroit and Cleveland in which cities he secured control of the street railsystems.

rowing up with such environment and making rtune under such conditions not one man in 00 would have given a thought to the rights he masses, except in an academic way. On contrary Johnson . . . gave 3-cent fares to Cleveland, and the agitation he set in motion spread to nearly all cities of the Union, resulting in declarations for municipal ownership. While municipal ownership has not become a fact except in rare instances, yet scores of cities have been able to lighten tax burdens by securing some remuneration for the use of streets, and most of this may be indirectly traced to Tom Johnson, who died a poor man because of his devotion to a great principle.

Pantagraph, Bloomington, III., April 12.

Of Mr. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio, it may be said that in his private affairs he had good judgment, but was mistaken in his conception of some public questions. After making a fortune by his foresight and shrewdness in manufacturing industries he lost it practically in an effort to carry into effect his ideas with reference to certain public utilities. Also in national politics he spent large sums on theories that were not indorsed by the people. He literally gave his fortune to the public in fighting for what he thought was true public policy. His patriotism and public spirit must stand unquestioned, no matter what may be thought of his judgment.

Herald, Carbondale, III., April 13.

The news that Mayor Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, Ohio, is dead will interest every man and woman who admires a strenuous fighter for what he believes to be for the good of others. "Three-Cent Tom," as he was dubbed during his remarkable seven-year fight for 3-cent car fares on the Cleveland street car lines, has been one of the most picturesque figures in American history. . . . He gave Cleveland the best government it has ever

Examiner, Chicago, April 14.

There are a dozen or more other American cities where car patrons now get the benefit of cheaper car fares because Tom Johnson made his spectacular fight in Cleveland and gave inspiration to these other cities.

Further, it is the principle underlying this threecent street car fare battle that scores of American cities have lately grasped and put into effect in regulating the rates of public utilities—the equalization of rates to the actual cost of service.

American cities are today getting cheaper gas, cheaper telephones, cheaper electric light, because Tom Johnson fought the extortions of public service corporations in Cleveland.

He had an idea, and he gave it to the world. He was a valiant knight of the common people.... He declared that the citizens of a community should not pay a public service corporation more than its services were worth.

In eight years, as Mayor of Cleveland, Tom Johnson stood on the firing line, fighting a battle the ultimate result of which affects the pocket-books of all wage earners. His blows were more effective outside of Cleveland than they were in his own city. He fought against the old order of franchise exploitation, and the idea took root and was nourished all over the land.

Against Tom Johnson's battle for the common people the entire force of a highly organized trust of public service corporations, ramifying throughout the nation, was pitted.

It was not the Cleveland street car magnates that finally drove Tom Johnson from his position on the firing line. It was the power of organized capital that thrives on the exploitation of American cities.

Tom Johnson accepted personal defeat like a good soldier, but his victory was really won years before he died.

News, Chicago, April 12.

Tom Johnson, who has just died after a long illness, had force, ability and imagination. He was idelized by his followers, especially the Singletax group, as one of the greatest leaders of the time. On the other hand, his enemies, who were many, accused him of insincerity and demagoguery. . . . The sum of Johnson's services to the public is perhaps most satisfactorily expressed by improved municipal government in Cleveland. However, his influence had no small part in the general advance of progressive policies in governmental affairs which marks the present time.

Public, Chicago, April 21.

His struggle for 3-cent fares on street cars was not in itself his great Cleveland work. As well eulogize or criticize the builder of a temple for a new setting-maul he had used, as Tom L. Johnson for his 3-cent fares. This movement was a means to an end, and not the end itself. It was a bit of civic engineering—a bridge, a tunnel, a passageway from the habitual to the ideal.

By bringing civic ideals at their lowest level into contact with the most familiar of a people's daily habits, Mayor Johnson began the cultivation of that "civic mind," as Vance Cooke's verse has named it, which, in the true teaching spirit, he developed to a point that distinguishes Cleveland among all the cities of the Union. The voters of Cleveland have learned to think in the mass. "He changed the habit of thought of half a million peo-

ple," writes Edward W. Doty, one of his trusted Republican associates of Cleveland, who adds: "We who live in Cleveland view our own troubles and our own ambitions from a far different vantage point than we did ten years ago, and this change is directly due to the work of Tom Johnson."

This was the meaning of "Mayor Tom's" campaign for 3-cent fares. This accounts for his long struggle, through social and business ostracism and the loss of friends whose friendship snapped under the dollar strain. This it is that has made that struggle worth its tremendous cost to him, and given to its incomplete victory the character of a perfect triumph.

Single Taxer, Chicago, May.

Tom Johnson is dead. His body has gone whence it came—as will your body and mine. But we know it well—all of us—that the real thing—the real Tom Johnson—the mind, the deeds, the moral force—the results of his life—his social service to the world—will not perish, nor can they die. And deeply do we mourn with his family, with those who knew the man, the gentle man—the true friend—the remorseless foe of the slimy creatures of privileged plutocracy—the tire-less worker undismayed.

Tribune, Chicago, April 13.

There has just died in an American city a man of many works, one over whom his contemporaries angrily differed, one who played an aggressive part in the life of his day, achieved and failed, fought and is at peace. All this will soon be forgot. But in his lifetime Johnson of Cleveland expressed a wish. It remains after him. It will outlast the memory of everything that Johnson did or tried to do. Here is this wish: "When I die I hope the people will make a playground over my body. I would rather have the children romping over my grave than a hundred monuments." To have such a wish is better than success. To be remembered for such a wish is to outlast memorials of brass or stone. . . . And Johnson spoke not only for himself, but in the spirit of his time. Today in America we are thinking more and more intelligently of the children, the children Johnson thought of, the disinherited children of great cities. cheated too often of childhood's golden legacy of health and joy.

Voter, Chicago, May.

The same cheerfulness characterized his last great battle, that against illness and death. For over a year he waged it and finally met defeat, dving at Cleveland, April 10. . . .

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After years of striving, he finally succeeded in establishing a municipal street car line in Cleveland and in forcing companies with franchises that had not expired to reduce car-faces. Then labor troubles complicated the issues, he lost his private fortune, and the people repudiated him.

He did not accomplish all that he hoped. What man does? But he was an important factor in the progressive movement that has marked the last decade. Even his incomplete accomplishments, so partial as to savor of failure rather than success, were steps in advance of what had been toward a freer democracy.

Republican Register, Galesburg, ill., April 11.

Johnson was a man of broad ideas and evidently of deep sympathies. He was popular with the masses of the people of Cleveland. He did much to beautify Cleveland, and the plan which under him was conceived for the grouping of the public buildings was most noble and when fully carried out will make Cleveland celebrated.

This man had simple tastes. He so took the popular fancy that in many States he has been looked to as Presidential timber. During his mayoralty he ran for Governor of Ohio, but was defeated, notwithstanding a spectacular campaign. Some of the ablest men in Cleveland were pitted against him for mayor and were defeated. Take, for instance, Senator Burton, who had a great national reputation and was regarded as along some lines the best posted man in Congress. He was, however, defeated by Johnson, and, fortunately for the country, was saved for the Senate.

Johnson has left his impress on the municipal life of Cleveland. The city owes much to him, notwithstanding his eccentricities. He emphasized the rights of the people as but few mayors have, and there has in many quarters been an advance toward his ideas.

News, Jollet, III., April 12.

"His face was a thanksgiving for his past life and a love letter to all mankind." During his last illness and a few days before his death Tom L. Johnson, former mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, was asked to write his autograph in the birthday book of a young woman who had been an intimate friend of the family, and he chose as his last mester of his whole career. . . . From poverty at the e of eleven years he rose to wealth, and in the ime of life was numbered with the multi-milnaires, for he seemed to have a Midas-touch. It while wealth flowed to him in a golden eam, his heart was ever with the poor, and per-

haps few men of this day and age have done more to alleviate their condition. . . .

The influence Tom L. Johnson exerted for good government will have a lasting effect on the destinies of the republic. In his death the country at large has lost one of its greatest assets—a man who fought for principle and for the uplifting of his fellow men.

Courier, Lincoln, III., April 19.

Tom L. Johnson, who sacrificed health and financial prosperity in his fight for the three-cent fare at Cleveland, will be remembered as one of the few great wealthy men of the past decade or two who refused to let business interfere with their principles.

Herald-Transcript, Peoria, III., April 13.

Johnson never lost sight of his moral and political convictions. When he was elected to Congress in 1891 he was an out-and-out free trader, although he recognized that his own business enjoved great benefit from the protective tariff on steel products. When he became mayor of Cleveland, he spent the entire ten years of his official life fighting to establish 3-cent street car fares, although engaged in the street car business himself. His program was fought at every step of the road by injunctions and technicalities, and when at last the way seemed ready for its fulfillment, the street car employes knocked the entire plan in the head by one of the most destructive strikes in history. Johnson lost his fortune and his health fighting for 3-cent fares, and virtually died a martyr to his ideals. He ought to have a high place in history as one of the few men who sacrificed material prosperity and advantage to an ambition to serve the people.

Journal, Peoria, III., April 25.

It was one of the remarkable characteristics of the great Clevelander now dead that he was never beaten. A man is never beaten until conquered and subdued as to his aim. Tom's aim was to educate the people to acts which he was convinced would be to their benefit. . . . Tom Johnson's mission was to cause men to think and act by, of and for themselves, and he went into his grave victorious.

Star, Peoria, III., June 17.

Tom Johnson is dead, and the country has been told through thousands of newspapers that he was finally beaten and three-cent fare was a failure. When the working people of Cleveland deserted Tom, they compelled a settlement with the street

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railroads after a ten years' war. Sick as he was, Tom wrote the people's end of that settlement, and it was the last work he did before he lay down to die. He forced the railroad company to plead that three-cent fare was impossible, and then he wrote into the settlement that while no more than three cents could be charged for a single ride, a charge of a penny would be allowed for transfers until a surplus of \$200,000 was piled up. This surplus was only to be charged up after interest and dividends had been paid, together with insurance, taxes, the cost of operation, depreciation and repairs. And now, in spite of the best efforts of the street railway company, the surplus has reached the fatal point, the charge for transfers has been abandoned, and Cleveland has three-cent fares. So, Tom Johnson, while dead, yet speaketh.

Argus, Rock Island, III., April 11.

He was the people's champion. All that he had he gave for them and for their cause—effort, toil that was tireless and unremitting, personal fortune, and finally his life, all went for the advancement of their welfare. No sacrifice was too great, even to the undermining of his health; all went cheerfully for the public weal. Few men were so beloved by those who best knew him, and when the time came for him to lay down his burden, he did it with the smile of resignation. Surely, after life's fitful fever, he sleeps well. He was a rare man.

News, Springfield, III., April 15.

What Tom L. Johnson accomplished during his sensational, and, at times, erratic, political career has been made the subject of much comment since the death of the former Mayor of Cleveland.

It will be admitted that Johnson's traction fight did not result in the establishment of three-cent street car fares for Cleveland,* but he did much to prove that street car franchises are an asset for the use of which cities should receive compensation, and he proved also that a fairly capitalized railway in a large city should sell transportation for less than five cents.

But in another way Johnson did accomplish definite and lasting results. By one of his characteristic moves, he opened fifty baseball diamonds in Cleveland, in city parks and on land owned by private individuals. By that single act an immense amount of boy power and boy energy which otherwise might and probably would have been applied in some unprofitable way was directed into a wholesome channel.

State Register, Springfield, III., April 15.

The words of tribute paid by patriots all over the nation to the late Tom L. Johnson are an inspiration. Far more to be valued than riches would be this universal honor; far greater to have made devotion to fundamental democratic principle the object of a career's achievement than to have won any or all of the ordinary so-called successes of this life, which all too often are founded upon mere commercialism.

k **4 4** Indiana.

Courier, Evansville, Ind., April 11.

A picturesque career has closed and a really great man is no more. Tom Johnson, big, breezy, contradictory, would have been an interesting character if he had never been mayor of Cleveland. It was in this position in which he achieved greatness.

In a field in which few have succeeded, Tom Johnson succeeded brilliantly. He practically solved for the city of Cleveland the greatest of all problems before the American people, the government of our cities. He was great in a field in which he has few rivals. . . .

His work is ended. Much of it will long endure in Cleveland, and the spirit of it will extend everywhere in better government and municipalities.

News, Fort Wayne, Ind., April 12.

The death of Tom L. Johnson removes a notable and picturesque figure from American politics. Possessed of a restless energy and a remarkable genius, Johnson acquired a large fortune in the American industrial field, and then, professing repentance, but holding on to his money bags, he entered the field of politics to attack the very system that had enriched him. The News always regarded him as an arrant demagogue when alive and now that he is dead it sees no occasion to revise an opinion honestly formed. . . . His political career, indeed, was one that represented all which a political career should not be, but nevertheless one that is entirely too typical of our time. The greatest curse of this country today is "the friend of the people," the politician who, by proclaiming the imaginary wrongs of the many, seeks political advancement for a single one, that single one himself.

Sun, Indianapolis, Ind., April 18.

Tom Johnson fought the combination of greed in Cleveland. When he began his fight he was pitted against Mark Hanna, the highest type of fighters for the commercializing of politics. It was a rough and tumble fight. No quarter was

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

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asked_none given. But he won. He forced the traction interests of Cleveland, which had owned the city and corruptly dominated the politics of the city and Congressional district, to their knees and compelled them to deal squarely with the citizens, both as to fares and service. He fought the railroads and the lake transportation companies, which were grabbing Cleveland's lake front and appropriating it, and won. He ripped open the corrupt health department and stopped an epidemic of smallpox, which inefficiency in the bossridden, political-controlled health department had permitted to get a foothold in Cleveland. He kicked out a rotten lot of contractors who were getting a big graft out of a waterworks tunnel and completed it, giving the city pure water and stopping an epidemic of typhoid fever. He opened the parks to the people, established playgrounds for the children, built public bathhouses, paved more streets than all other Mayors of Cleveland had done in their combined time of holding office and he did it without graft. He reorganized and cleaned out a rotten and corrupt police department, revolutionized the system of treating prisoners, drove out the gamblers, put the social evil under strict regulation and control, acquired a municipal lighting plant, established a municipal garbage plant and did it all without graft. He died in a rented room. His own fine property had been disposed of to furnish him funds wherewith to fight the battles of the people against the organization of the thieving corporations which poured untold sums of money into the fight to defeat Tom Johnson because of what he represented. . . . When the charge was made during one of his administrations that the city of Cleveland was not making as much money out of its workhouse as formerly, because of his parole system, he replied: "We are not trying to make money out there. We are trying to make men."

News, indianapolis, ind., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson, who died yesterday at his home in Cleveland, was well known in Indianapolis. During his residence in this city he made many friends, for he was a kindly and genial man. But his public career did not begin here. Some of our people, indeed, who knew him simply as a shrewd business man, and the head of a public service corporation, found it difficult to believe that Mr. Johnson had any of the reform spirit. But his sincerity can hardly be questioned. He was a Szangletaxer and a free trader, and always on the si e of progressive policies. . . . A man and ability, a genuine democrat and an earnest former,

Tribune, Terre Haute, Ind., April 11.

He witnessed his fortune, as calculated in this world's goods, swept away, which seemed but to make him a more valorous soldier for the common cause. Frequently his motives have been assailed, often his integrity impugned, however these are the share of every man who places himself in the path of predatory interests who brook no opposition. While some men generalize in their ideas of the common weal, it can be said of Johnson that he concentrated his efforts within his community, and Cleveland, as one of the world's foremost municipalities, as far as government for, by and of the people is considered, is his monument. Johnson's figure in the horizon of advancing humanity will likely range larger and larger with passing time.

Sun, Vincennes, Ind., April 13.

"I play the game with the cards face up," the people are always to be trusted. "Deal squarely with them and they will trust you." .

This was the late ex-Mayor Tom Johnson's motto, and it won him success. It will do as much for any public man who diligently pursues the public good. This is what public servants are for. They are to do the people's will, not their own. What the people want should be the universal rule. How to bring it about is a matter of official judg-

Mayor Johnson set an example worthy of imitation by all municipal. State and national officials, on down to the least township officer.

Kansas.

Herald, Coffeyville, Kans., April 12.

We do not know what Johnson's life might have been in the privacy of his own home, but as a public man we have to judge him. His own people saw fit to elect him Mayor of his town four times. He was prominently talked of for candidate for President of his party. In all of his public works he was found working in the interest of the people who elected him to serve them. No charge of graft has ever been lodged against Tom Johnson. He has been on the square. He was a man of great ability-a man whose services the public needed.

Weekly Gazette, Emporia, Kans., April 13.

Tom L. Johnson, twice member of Congress from the Twenty-first Ohio district, four times Mayor of Cleveland, champion of 3-cent street railway fare and leading advocate of the Singletax theory of the late Henry George, died last night after a long illness, . . . Municipal own-

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ership and 3-cent fares were Johnson's motto. Injunctions, dummy bids and every other device which clever corporation lawyers could think of were used by the street railways to prevent Mayor Johnson's carrying out his object, and personal slander was among their devices. Finally, however, Mayor Johnson obtained control. . . . The inflated valuations and watered stocks of the Cleveland traction companies are now a thing of the past. The men and women who ride on street cars in the Ohio city today are expected to pay only 6 per cent dividends, in addition to operating expenses, on a valuation of \$22,932,000. . . . Though Johnson's administration was advantageous to Cleveland, the Mayor's fortune was practically lost when he left office. His comfortable residence on Euclid avenue, where he had kept open house to all his friends, had to be sold, his motor cars were disposed of, and the ex-Mayor spent the last two years of his life quietly. Johnson ran for Governor of Ohio on the Democratic ticket in 1903, but was defeated. That was the last of his political ventures outside of Cleveland. He was frequently mentioned, between national elections, as a possible candidate for the Demoeratic nomination for President, but his name has never been brought before a convention, largely as a result of the Mavor's own wishes. He was content to devote himself to Cleveland and its voters and problems, upon which he was a specialist. Personally, Johnson was delightful. Even his enemies admitted that. He was courteous, hospitable and always pleasant, even in his arguments. Tom Johnson was not an orator in the popularly accepted sense of the word, but his debates at election times when the street railway fight was at its height never failed to draw crowds. The Mayor carried a big tent, which he used to speak in. His arguments were convincing, he had the facts and he was quick at repartee. And most of the voters of Cleveland believed he was not only able but sincere.

Sentinel, Lincoln, Kans., April 13.

Tom L. Johnson died last Monday. Mr. Johnson distinguished himself while he was Mayor of Cleveland, O., where he became the champion of the rights of the people. He was one of the truly great men of the country.

Democrat, McPherson, Kans., April 14.

The death of Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, O., removes a really great man from the world's battles. Ten years ago he had accumulated a large fortune, and could have taken life easy. At that time, though, he began a fight for the people

against monopoly, as exemplified in the street railways of Cleveland. Johnson was three times elected Mayor and by his persistent warfare finally forced the company to grant 3-cent fares and other concessions.

Kentucky.

Herald, Lexington, Ky., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson was another striking illustration of a native born Kentuckian who in other States and on the stage of national affairs played a great part.

Born to wealth, his father lost his fortune, and Tom Johnson began life in a humble position in the employ of a street railway company of Louisville. From that position, by his own ability, he gained nation-wide reputation and became recognized as one of the leaders in the battle of the people against the interests. . . .

Four times elected Mayor of Cleveland, he was defeated in 1909, and his life ended in seeming failure, his fortune lost, his cherished project of municipal ownership of the street railroad by that city apparently defeated for good and his life going when he should have been in the prime of a vigorous manhood.

Yet his influence on American thought and American politics has been profound. He was one of the ablest advocates of Henry George's theories and gave unstintedly of his time, as he did also of his wealth, to promote the propaganda of those theories and support that prophet in his political aspirations. Had it not been for Henry George's death in the midst of his canvass for Mayor of the city of New York, it is within the range of possibility that George and Johnson would have changed recent political history of America.

Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky., April 11.

A vivid, forceful and admirable character has passed from human activity in the death of Tom Loftin Johnson. Agreement is not necessary with the political and economic principles and measures for which he stood to make possible a lively appreciation of his virtue, courage and abounding energy. The making of money was an easy matter for him. From the time he entered the service of the street railway company in Louisville in 1869 his imagination, coupled with practical sense, made him a discoverer of new methods and his talents as an administrator carried him always to larger and larger spheres of activity.

While his abilities as a business man were commanding, it is as an idealist and reformer that he made his greatest impression on the life of his lime. His sympathetic nature took kindly to the humanitarian aspects of the Singletax theory of Henry George, and his ardent love of justice sometimes led him to conclusions not fully justified by facts and logic, but his honesty and ability as an advocate were never questioned. To modern municipal problems he brought the rare combination of first hand, expert knowledge and a flaming spirit of justice. That his sanguine temperament led him to precipitate action at times does not affect the fact that his whole-hearted endeavors for the public good have served as an inspiration for others fighting for clean and enlightened government.

Mr. Johnson was a Kentuckian, having been born in Gorgetown, July 18, 1854, and, after a schooling in Indiana, took up his business career in Louisville. Though his achievements in business were such as to command the whole time of the ordinary man, he was always a keen student of political questions and in addition to his several terms as Mayor of Cleveland he was also a Democratic member of Congress from 1891 to 1895.

Herald, Louisville, Ky., April 12.

Big and rotund of person, his ample smile reflected the love and loyalty of a heart that beat with kindly sympathy for all about him. He won a place of affection in the thought of those who came within his influence, and even his many political foes, who fought him with bitterness, could not restrain admiration for his splendid human qualities.

Tom Johnson was a man who made a business success of his life, only to lose a fortune, acquired by shrewd use of opportunity, in attempting to realize the ideals of a political dreamer. It was this combination of the practical and the visionary that made him a riddle to many. It was because of these two seemingly contradictory phases of his character that he was now hailed as a constructive genius of philanthropic purpose, and again as a charlatan, juggling with popular sentiment to satisfy his own vanity.

Johnson was a disciple of Henry George, and an ardent believer in municipal ownership. We remember hearing him set forth his views on one occasion, in which he declared he had made a fortune out of the public by ways that were lawful, but that were not just. This was his favorite argument, and his effort to convert his city to the theory that the unearned increment belonged to the people, and that the profits of public service utilities and that the profits of the community are large, was the method he took to make amends.

Perhaps he was ahead of his time, or perhaps

he was on the wrong trail. We doubt not he believed in himself, and we know that thousands of his fellow-citizens believed him.

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Post, Louisville, Ky., April 12.

The late Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, was a man whose name was known in every part of the country, but relative to whose different activities in business and politics widely different opinions existed. . . .

Mr. Johnson was a man of high character, and of unquestioned ability. The problems of muncipal government were always to him the most interesting of any, and he worked in a good cause. The probems of city government are yet unsolved, but during Mr. Johnson's administration certain experiments of great value were tried and certain improvements discovered.

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Times, Louisville, Ky., April 11.

It was difficult to agree with his theories, it was impossible to withhold from him the respect commanded by absolute honesty of purpose.

A newsboy at fifteen, the head of a street railway system at twenty-two, a millionaire several times over at thirty-one, Mr. Johnson, in sixteen years had risen from the dire poverty of a Southern boy, whose family had lost its all in the war, to a position of financial independence and wealth in which but few men in the country were his equals. He died at the age of fifty-six a poor man. And the sole reason for his later poverty was that the last twenty years of his life were devoted to the interests of others and to a crusade for what he believed to be the public good in which he took no thought for his political fortune, and in which no sacrifice was spared.

The Times does not believe that the municipal ownership of public utilities is practicable under the American system of government. It could not follow Mr. Johnson in his faith in the Singletax as a cure all, but, as an idealist, as a man of firm will, of abounding courage and of great heart, it honors him as a Kentuckian worthy to be ranked with the sons of whom the old Commonwealth has no cause to be ashamed.

Sun, Paducah, Ky., April 13.

Tom Johnson, millionaire, municipal reformer, was more than a self-made man, more than an expert on city government; he was a philosopher. He frankly made his fortune according to the business methods of his times, and said so. When, after he had grown independent off the proceeds of patents, street car manipulations and the steel business, he demanded a reduction of the tariff

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on steel, three-cent street car fares, and the Singletax on real estate, he was charged with having profited himself by the things he condemned. He was honest and admitted that he had.

I am living in the present, said Johnson in substance. I made my money lawfully, I accepted the situation as I found it and made the best of it. But though I faced the situation, and instead of spurning the fight, because it wasn't under rules of my own making, I fought for myself, according to the rules as I found them, that does not mean I sanction the rules. They are wrong; the whole business structure is antiquated and ethically wrong, and having attained independence, as independence is recognized under existing conditions, I am now fighting just as hard to remedy the conditions, as I fought to free myself from them.

Can one find fault with that philosophy? Hasn't Johnson's political career justified the good faith of his declarations? Isn't he the antithesis of Roosevelt's contemptuous reference to the reformer, "who can't support himself and family, and tries to uplift the world"? Johnson first proved his ability to make his own way; then he turned his attention to lifting the ancient rubbish out of the way of those who are trying to overhaul an antiquated social structure.

Some men's consciences would not have permitted them to get ahead as Johnson did. Believing that commercial and industrial life as it is, is not ethically correct, they would have refused to continue the fight; they would have cloistered their own souls, fed themselves upon their own philosophy and lived and died without benefiting or harming the world. Yet, we doubt whether they are more honest than Johnson was. They refuse to enter the fight at all, because the rules do not suit them; but they leave the rules unaltered. Johnson fought his way to victory under the rules, and then, having secured a commanding position, turned his attention to correcting the rules. Whose fruits judge him the more useful?

+ + + Louisiana.

Times-Democrat, New Orleans, La., April 11.

Mr. Johnson was more than a mere "national figure." He was one of the most conspicuous exponents of an idea which advanced a great way in American politics during his championship of it. He was a type of the present-day American about whom romances will be written in the days to come. In some respects his biography follows what might be termed the conventional lines. A street railway clerk, he became a street railway "magnate;" yet his strongest claims to remem-

brance are based upon his stalwart advocacy of public, as against private, ownership of street railways and other utilities. A wealthy man, he advocated policies to which the conventionally rich are commonly opposed. In furtherance of municipal ownership, he waged a fight that will be historic, against very heavy odds, and all but won. . . . What he did, in the face of the most strenuous opposition, to establish municipal ownership of street railways in Cleveland will not soon be forgotten. In his last campaign his enemies succeded in defeating him, but his successful antagonist, as we remember it, was pledged to a qualified test of the municipal ownership experiment. The long battle had depleted Mr. Johnson's private purse and broken his health. His death is, therefore, no surprise. But it will be regretted, we think, by many thousands who have watched Mr. Johnson's eventful career, admired his splendid qualities as a fighter and applauded his unconquerable spirit.

Journal, Shreveport, La., April 14.

Twice a member of Congress and four times mayor of the city of Cleveland, Johnson won an international reputation because of his persistent and consistent fight for the masses as against the classes; his campaign for three-cent street car fares in Cleveland was one of the most remarkable fights ever made by a city official, and he leaves many reforms of this character to testify to his patriotism and his disinterested goodness. Tom Johnson was a truly great and good American citizen.

Maryland.

American, Baltimore, Md., April 12.

Cleveland's meteoric citizen, the late Tom L Johnson, has passed away; and, like so many other shooting stars, he failed to leave behind him a definite orbit for his life. He described himself as a stormy petrel, alluding to the fact that he was destined to breast storms, to meet opposition, to take the unpopular side, to generate enthusiasm against great odds, to be a voice for the people, whether the people wanted that voice or not.

Coming up from the lowly walks of life, making his headway through the stress of poverty and rigid application, he used his wits to the most creditable advantage, and through inventions in relation to street railways laid the basis for a fortune that ran into a million of dollars. A man with such insistent mentality as Tom Johnson could no more hide his light under a bushel than an arc light could be shadowed by the wings of a moth. Society to him was humanity; its prob-

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Were the throbs of human beings, its elevation represented to him the empowerment of the individual. So that while strongly socialistic in his instincts, the author of the municipal ownership idea and the three-cent fare, the disciple of Henry George, was at the base an individualist. He believed that society had only one reason for existence, and that was to better conditions for the average man, assuming that the man with exceptional opportunities could better care for his interests

Suit after suit marked the course of the persistent endeavors of Mayor Tom Johnson to prevent the extensions of franchises except upon the basis of a three-cent fare. That he might have fared better in his propaganda had he not been working at a time of rising prices may be conceded. That he did greatly agitate the question of popular control of public utilities and accomplish much for sentiment in the field of popular right cannot be denied. He must be judged not by what he achieved as much as by the immensity of the opposition he created and the wide tributes to virile and undaunted efforts in behalf of American communities.

Mayor Tom Johnson kept the city in too much of a ferment. He did not demonstrate that a three-cent fare could yield profits. He did not hold the people to his views. So that when he came up for re-election he was defeated by a small majority after a whirlwind and unique campaign. He sunk a fortune in his public activities. Almost half a million was surrendered by him as a result of mismanagement of some of his affairs through absorption in his propaganda for municipal ownership. With the ups and downs of fortune he was still the same vigorous plebeian; he was still the man with an ideal for society that outrun his generation. He will be remembered as others have been whose lives, running in uncalculated courses, come into brilliant view only to be lost in the night shadows of death. Some time some things that Tom Johnson stood for will be accepted, so that his life was too anticipatory and too lacking in regard for the order of society as it now is. Those who dwell too much with the ideal lose respect for the actual, and yet the actual was the ideal of yesterday. Tom Johnson was lovable and human, tense and honest, and such men are the adornments of their times.

News, Ba J Zimore, Md., April 11.

We sure pect that the endearing quality in the four-time Mayor of Cleveland was the frank confession which he made of his own purposes. He

was sincere to a fault. Feeling acutely the injustices incident to the social order, he fought always for an extreme democracy, without for a moment failing himself to profit by the very injustices he condemned. He admitted this apparently contradictory trait with the braggadocio of candor. Declaring himself a "monopolist," he said in Congress that he would avail himself of every opportunity held out to him by what he considered class and special legislation, but that he would vote and work against the very measures to which he would look to the enhancement of his personal fortune. A disciple of Henry George, he had a keen eye for real estate; a champion of the people, he had a keen nose for a franchise; a hater of monopoly, he delighted to strangle competition. With all this he was honest, aboveboard; with all his civic pessimism, he was individually an optimist; with all his exploitation of the public, he was generous to a degree. A big, forceful, reckless character, he played the game to a finish, laughing as well when he got a knock as when he gave one. During a long term of manifold activity he always made his splash, never permitted himself to be buried, looked after his advertisement, helped his friends and goodnaturedly hated his enemies, and, dying poor, carried to the grave no shadow of regret for the fortune he had lost. It was as the shouldering, hustling human, typical of the crowd that fights its way, that Tom Johnson will be at heart remembered by the great company of those to whom struggle is heritage.

Evening Star, Baltimore, Md., April 11.

Few men who have performed in a conspicuous way on the stage of human affairs have aroused more pronounced opposition than Tom L. Johnson, who died at his home in Cleveland yesterday. And there have been fewer still, so aggressively active as he, who excited so small a degree of personal enmity. It is now a commonplace in our American idiom to say of a man that he is loved for the enemies he has made. But, paradoxical as it sounds, it may be said of Tom Johnson that the enemies which he made for the most part loved him. His theories concerning municipal, State and government ownership of railroads and other utilities kept him in everlasting clash with men who esteemed him personally.

Tom Johnson devoted his life and his fortune to the practical demonstration of the impracticability of a pleasing theory. In doing this he served his generation well. He was a big man—big of heart as well as big of physique. His passing will occasion widespread sorrow.

Evening Sun, Baltimore, Md., April 11.

There was always an air of the fantastic, almost of the grotesque, about Tom L. Johnson, who died last night in Cleveland, the city of his adoption and the scene of his greatest encounters. Tom, considered calmly, was simply impossible. No such mixture of millionaire and trust-buster, reformer and wire-puller, idealist and mountebank was comprehensible to the human intelligence. And yet there he was, a living contradiction in terms, a Savonarola plus Barnum—and a glance back over his life must convince any fair man that, taking him by and large, he was an influence for good in this Republic. He died a melancholy wreck, broken in fortune and sorely disappointed in ambition, but while he lived he certainly contributed his mite toward a better administration of justice between man and man.

Sun, Baltimore, Md., April 12.

The surprise in his career was that a man who had made a fortune after this manner should finally devote the principal energy of his life to furthering the municipal ownership of street car lines and a 3-cent fare. . . . Personally, Mr. Johnson was an attractive man. He was affable, kind, obliging and courageous. He had warm friends and bitter opponents. The opposition to him in Cleveland was most pronounced among business people and men of wealth, many of whom denounced him unsparingly and doubted his sincerity. Some time ago he announced that his fortune had disappeared and that he was a poor man.

Globe, Hagerstown, Md., April 19.

The late Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland was a national character and a unique personality. His first name was just Tom, not Thomas, and in itself suggested that broadly democratic spirit which characterized Mr. Johnson throughout his career. He is not to be judged merely as a politician, for he was much more than that. He served two terms in Congress and four terms as Mayor of Cleveland, but his real life work was in the direction of ameliorating the hard conditions of human life. Mr. Johnson was a firm believer in the Single land tax theory promulgated by Henry George. He believed in it because he believed that if adopted by society that system of taxation would render it easier for the common people to own and occupy a reasonable portion of the earth's surface. . . . Tom Johnson was an inventor, too, but his activities in other lines brought him so much prominence that his important inventions. which have improved street car service the world over, were almost forgotten before he died. Altogether this unusual American, a self made man, was a forceful person whose like we seldom see. Tom Johnson was one of the world's originals.

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Massachusetts.

Common, Boston, Mass., April 15.

Tom Johnson, dead, begins to receive some part of the recognition withheld from him while he was striving to realize his great vision of what the modern city ought to be. It seems but yesterday that the retainers of Privilege were directing at him their most contemptuous epithets-"blatherskite" and "demagogue" the least of them. For daring to challenge the exploiting class; for venturing to establish as the standard of city government the welfare of the common man, he was accorded the invariable lot of prophets—he was persecuted and reviled. Yet how good humoredly he endured this fate and how steadfastly and patiently he continued on his way until halted by physical weakness alone! This magnanimous personal example, it seems to us, outweighs in value all the concrete achievements of his busy life. In one city he beat a conspiracy of Privilege to its knees. put an administration by experts in place of one by rings, and was the first of leading Americans to bring into the average mind a conception of what democratic opportunity in a city may beand these were great feats achieved by incredible toil and sacrifice. But they grow small when measured alongside the great heart of the man.

Globe, Boston, Mass., April 11.

There are poets—in the broad sense of that word—among the greatest business men. They have visions. They have imagination. They have sympathy. They amass fortunes, not for the pleasure which the struggle gives them, but for the uses to which the wealth may be put. Especially in the past few decades they have been developing in a marked degree what is called a "civic conscience," a sense of civic obligations.

Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland was just that sort of man. . . .

His long-continued warfare against the traction interests in Cleveland, with its varying fortunes, is famous throughout the world.

To the end Tom Johnson, modest but pugnacious, sincere but astute, preserved his vision—a vision of equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

Herald, Boston, Mass., April 11.

Tom Loftin Johnson compassed a career of more than usual success in business and politics, and that in spite of the somewhat undignified Christian



Conferred upon him by his sponsors in bapish. His father was a Confederate colonel, but the son, born in 1854, was thoroughly "reconstructed" by the time he reached manhood, though he never quite lost the traces of his Kentucky birth and upbringing. Energy, simplicity and a sort of irradiating kindness were essential characteristics of the man. All of these things helped him to an early and great success as owner and administrator of street railways in several cities. . . . Tom Johnson's life was one of great activity, and few except his bitterest enemies will deny him the grace of sincerity and high public spirit. There was a time when he spoke somewhat cynically of purchasable legislators, but his ideals cleared and purified with the passage of the years, and his later life was an impressive illustration of what may be wrought by the acceptance of an idealistic philosophy and by contact with such a teacher as Henry George. Johnson was a man of quick human sympathies, and few if any bitter resentments.

Post, Boston, Mass., April 12.

The fact that Tom Johnson's death arouses most grief among the great average people of Cleveland proves the measure of the man. His sincerity in working for the interests of the poor was equaled by his generosity in spending a fortune in the effort to combat the arrogance of special interests and carry through to success his ideas of what popular government ought to be.

Perhaps Tom Johnson failed temporarily, if the loss of money, the defeat of loved projects and an early passing from earth be considered failure. But the influence for good wielded by the big-hearted, whole-souled friend of mankind will long live on. He showed the world what was admitted to be the best city government this country has known, and the lessons from his efforts will some day be appraised at a still higher value than they are now.

Traveler, Boston, Mass., April 10.

Clev eland, the home of "Mayor Tom," and later of "Citizen Tom," is sad at the passing of this big, warm-hearted man, and thousands of men all over the country who knew and loved him for himself or admired him for his courage and ideals, feel a sense of personal loss. The nation will miss bim. He has been a power for the regeneration of the civic life of America, and in every city that strives for efficient, honest government and high ideals of will be. It is a sum one time and one time are word of reproach even in his own city,

has become a slogan of reform and an epithet of honor.

"I want to see Cleveland 'a city set upon a hill," he said once, in the crisis of a campaign that tested all his strength. And he succeeded so well that smaller men now can carry his work to completion.

It is needless to tell the story of Tom Johnson's career: His making of millions in the battle of industry and finance; his recognition that money and private power are not worthy of a big man's best efforts; his retirement from the hurly-burly of business into the hurly-burly of politics; his turning of the weapons of "grasping interests" against the "interests" themselves; his years of struggle against public service corporations that had long controlled the politics of his city; his campaigns of education waged day after day, year after year, by voice, pen and influence, until the dullest citizen began to understand the subtleties of politics and public business, and to vote intelligently; his victories of control and regulation of the once dominant corporations; his saving of millions of dollars of public money; his purification of the city government, in every branch of activity, through the election of honest, capable men and his insistence on efficiency and loyalty; his carrying out of plans for the growth and beautification of the city, and his incessant preaching of honest politics and city-building—until at last he wore himself out in the public service, leaving the fulfillment of his work for others.

Many specific things Tom Johnson has accomplished; but the greatest thing is this—he has educated his fellow citizens until they are imbued with his ideas and ideals, and can be depended on to take care of themselves.

Never in America, perhaps, has there been so big, buoyant and dominating a personality at the head of a city government. He earned the title, "The best Mayor of the best governed city in America," and the title yet remains unchallenged. That is glory enough.

And he made enemies—legions of them. The exploiters of the people still hate him, and well-meaning folk who shrink from innovation and look backward instead of forward still seowl at the mention of his name. But he also made legions of friends; and these friends are sad now at the passing of so big and brave a man.

Twentieth Century Magazine, Boston, Mass., May.

The death, on April 10th, of Hon. Tom L. Johnson, former Congressman and five times Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, takes from the advancing ranks of progressive democracy one of her bravest, ablest and most unselfish leaders. Mr. Johnson was a

poor boy who by industry, perseverance and ability became a successful business man. Seeing how men were acquiring millions through private ownership of public utilities, he entered this profitable field, where his splendid ability as organizer and business administrator enabled him to quickly become a successful chief and comparatively rich in a brief period. . . .

Later he became Mayor of Cleveland—the best mayor that city, and probably, the best chief executive any American municipality, has ever had. But so whole-heartedly did he serve the people that his private fortune was largely dissipated in the cause of progress, while single-handed he fought the combined power of the feudalism of privileged wealth, not only of Cleveland, but of the nation. He was assailed on all sides, denounced as a demagogue and misrepresented as have been all the great and incorruptible patriots throughout the ages. Every influence and every form of seductive power was exerted to seduce or destroy this man, whose patriotism and passion for justice had lifted him from the enthrallment of greed to the service of humanity; but never for a moment did he falter.

He was one of the most outspoken champions of direct legislation, public ownership of public utilities and other planks in the platform of fundamental and progressive democracy. His death takes from us one of the noblest and bravest warriors in the cause of popular sovereignty and just government that the past fifty years have given to the Republic.

Woman's Journal, Boston, Mass.

In the death of Tom Johnson the country loses not only a good man, but a great man—one of the few captains of industry who have also been leaders in reform. The world is the better for his life and work.

Giobe, Fall River, Mass., April 11.

After accumulating a large fortune in the promotion and operation of street railway properties, he entered the political arena and as Mayor of Cleveland gained a national reputation in the administration of the public affairs of that city, but more particularly because of the persistent and aggressive fight he made against the street railway companies there in behalf of the public and especially in his efforts to secure a reduction in fares. In carrying on this public spirited crusade and in his political battles with the great corporation interests in that city and elsewhere in Ohio, in alliance against him, he drew heavily on his private means and a year ago it was stated that his fortune which was estimated at one time at \$10,-

000,000, had been so seriously impaired that he was in financial straits.

Transcript, Holyoke, Mass., April 11.

It can be said of Tom L. Johnson, as truly as of any man in the world, "he hath done what he could." He was up against tremendous odds. He gave his fortune, his life itself, and the things he taught are beginning to look more reasonable than when he first taught them.

Telegram, Lawrence, Mass., April 11.

He was no fanatic, no hare-brained enthusiast who would simply pull down, who would simply take away property at the behest of the ne'er-dowell, jealous individual. He was what might be termed a constructive radical.

Courier-Citizen, Lowell, Mass., April 13.

Mr. Johnson did not begin life as Thomas, but as Tom. That was his real name, and it became a sign of his short-cut methods to results. . . . There was nothing vacillating in Johnson's early traction ventures, by which he obtained control of a street railway while he was still barely a voter. When his inventive genius, which was native and practical, paved his way to a fortune through street railway devices, he was not hampered in his larger plans by over sensitive fear of what people would say about him. Yet at some time in his life Tom Johnson became converted to the idea that the mass of the people were not getting a square deal, and that the men who made easy fortunes did so because they enjoyed special privileges denied to the majority.

Sun, Lowell, Mass., April 14.

Like other reformers he met fierce opposition from the systems that he opposed, but his methods of warfare were always open and straightforward. He was a man respected by all parties and beloved in the city which so often honored him with the highest office in its gift. A few more men like Tom L. Johnson would do a great deal to improve the government of our American cities.

News, Newburyport, Mass., April 13.

Tom L. Johnson was one of the men who unselfishly worked for what he believed to be the greatest good of the greatest number. Mistaken or not, he was the kind of a man of whom we have to be proud.

News, Springfield, Mass., April 11.

By sheer inborn ability he raised himself from penury to the high estate of great wealth and then devoted the training he had received in his per-



battle for fortune to the people's battle for fairer living conditions, sacrificing the millions he had acquired in the street railway business to make the transportation service more truly a public utility. At the same time he sacrificed his health, cutting short his career before his purpose was fully accomplished. Indeed, many of his most ardent admirers maintain that he actually gave up his life for the benefit of the public as truly as any man who ever died upon the battlefield in war. At any rate he will be remembered as one of the greatest municipal reformers Ohio ever produced.

Republican, Springfield, Mass., April 11.

He was a successful business man of wealth, who devoted his wealth and all his immense energy and enthusiasm and administrative ability to the cause of improving the condition and wellbeing of the masses of the people. He won repeated elections as Mayor of Cleveland not by the underground work, but through open appeal and by virtue of giving to that city what came generally to be recognized as the best government for a large city known in America. Wherever a contest was on against the power of special privilege Johnson's help could always be counted on and he never stopped to consider the consequences to his political future. He joined the Henry George movement against land monopoly and for free trade when those causes were most hopeless of popular acceptance and he never wavered in his adherence when dissociation might have helped him in realizing higher political ambitions than he did realize. His death will be lamented nowhere more than among the poor and oppressed of his city and his country.

Union, Springfield, Mass., April 12.

Seldom has any man had a more devoted following than did Tom L. Johnson, twice Congressman from the 21st Ohio district and four times Mayor The grief that so many of his of Cleveland. townspeople experience at his death finds an echo in all parts of the country. Johnson sacrificed health and fortune in the service of the people. He would not have been human had he not felt the pangs of disappointment at being retired from the office of Mayor without being able to wage his stubborn fight to a finish. This, however, was not the sum of his regret. No doubt he felt keenly the misrepresentation of his motives and the aspersions cast upon his character by men whose objects and policies he opposed. These he could bear cheerful so long as there remained a hope of ultimate success. And so Cleveland's Mayor worked on, meet ing calumny and abuse with the frank,

confident smile that endeared men to him in a bond that no force could break. It was no sine-cure, administering the affairs of a big city, and at the same time trying to put through an undertaking that called for powers almost superhuman and holding his own against strong and well-organized opposition. If stung by attack, pride caused him to conceal the injury and work the harder to make his policies succeed.

To do justice to Tom Johnson, it can be said that no considerable number of people doubted his sincerity, though many questioned the accuracy of the judgment and the justification for the optimism that characterized his policies. When a brief test of three-cent fares seemed to show that the plan was visionary, enough of his followers deserted him toswing the balance the other way. . . Even then, Johnson did not give up the fight for the project he had so long championed at the bar of public opinion. He succeeded in obtaining a more thorough trial of the three-cent rate. And now, after Tom Johnson, broken down by his long fight, has gone to his rest, his judgment as well as his good intentions seems likely to find vindication, if recent advices as to the earning power of the Cleveland street railway system under the new schedule are trustworthy. It has been stated that the company was earning 6 per cent dividends on an inflated valuation, and had a surplus in the treasury. So it would seem, after all, that Tom Johnson was not mistaken in his belief that threecent fares were feasible.

Post, Worcester, Mass., April 11.

The late Tom L. Johnson is likely to be remembered as one of the big figures of his time, in the better and juster era which he did his part to help bring in. He amassed his great wealth from special privilege in street railway franchises and in the steel industry. But he was able to comprehend the wrongs involved, as other men of like achievement are gradually coming to do, and he threw himself with all his boundless enthusiasm and good humor into the work of evolving better systems. Perhaps there was some error in his ideas; it is too early yet to be sure; but his courage and sincerity were evident. . . . Admittedly he gave Cleveland the cleanest and most progressive administration any great American city has had and he also sacrificed his fortune and his health in devoted public service. He made it a beautiful city. He made it, as to taxation, a juster city than any other in the land. He made playgrounds for the little children. He planned a police system that made the police protectors of people and property rather than persecutors of the unfortunate and makers of criminals. He stood for humane penology and for equality of opportunity.

Maine.

Commercial, Bangor, Me., April 12.

For a score of years he had been very prominent and while with him, failure and disappointment generally followed very closely on the footsteps of success, he kept before the public continually and was noted as being an honest man and a splendid fighter.

Eastern-Argus, Portland, Me., April 12.

He was always a strong and consistent champion of popular rights. A Democrat in party affiliation, he was a Democrat on principle and conscience, and his career exemplified the meaning of democracy not only in its political but its moral and philosophical sense. He won repeated elections as Mayor of Cleveland by open appeal, and to him that big city owed its rescue from corruption, and the new order of a business like and honest eity government. In his chequered career Tom L. Johnson experienced the ups and downs of politics and finance, but always bore himself with kindliness, serenity and courage. He was an unique figure in American life and his death will be lamented by the masses of the people in whose cause he so lovally served.

Opinion, Rockland, Me., April 21.

Tom L. Johnson, whose death at his home in Cleveland, Ohio, was briefly announced in the last issue of the Opinion, was one of the most striking figures in contemporaneous American history. He was great in victory, and in defeat—a defeat that carried with it ruin and death—he was even greater. And in the final victory of those principles for which he fought, which is sure to come, he will be accorded his full share of the glory.

Michigan.

Free Press, Detroit, Mich., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson is dead after a life of political strife, and a long period of agonizing illness. Mr. Johnson was unquestionably a man of great qualities, which, more wisely directed, might have made him one of the leading men of the country, and possibly preserved his life to a good old age. He was of an amiable disposition and of a strong and robust physical constitution, two qualities which, combined with excellent personal habits, ought to have made his life long and happy.

While he was peculiarly a man of action, and great executive and administrative abilities, he was also a theorist to an intense degree, and could not

be shaken from his theoretic fads by either argument or misfortune. He was a martyr to four utterly impracticable theories: free trade. Singletax, three-cent fares and municipal ownership, which he picked up in the order named and fought for through thick and thin, with a confidence in ultimate success which defied all history. In national politics and in Congress he was a tireless advocate of extreme Cobdenism, openly proclaiming that he was a manufacturer, and as such taking every opportunity the tariff gave him to rob the consumer; in State and municipal affairs he became a disciple, and a devoted one, of Henry George's Singletax doctrine, as futile a thing as free trade. As no progress could be made with that, he took up three-cent fares, and afterwards combined that with municipal socialism, and wasted the remainder of his life and ruined his health in a hopeless struggle for a utopia which was as vain as Cobdenism or Georgeism.

His great talents were thus expended and his strength exhausted in the advocacy of hopeless thecries, which no sane community ever accepted, and which now appear to have less chance of success than ever before. He was not a deep thinker nor a careful student of any subject in economics, but with the fatal facility of great eleverness grasped at the mere surface of a specious theory, and thought he had mastered it to the bottom. He was consequently somewhat intolerant of contradiction by those who looked deeper into things, and would brook with patience none of the facts they found there. Yet it would be a mistake to say that Tom Johnson was a failure. He was warm-hearted, cordial and amiable, and was loved by many. There's much success in that.

Journal, Detroit, Mich., April 11.

That remarkable man, Tom L. Johnson, lost his last fight in precisely the manner one would have expected him to lose, if lose he must. He acknowledged defeat gamely, gracefully, generously, beautifully. He died with a smile on his lips and, in all probability, peace and entire contentment in his heart.

Tom L. Johnson was a strange man, a strange combination of ruggedness and really exquisite grace, of brute strength and rare culture, of ruthlessness and generosity, of patriotic spirit and downright greed, of a spirit of personal sacrifice to the public good and an insatiable personal ambition of a mind of irresistible logic and downright inconsistency, of most estimable and fearless honesty and a curiously self-evident insincerity. Such was Tom L. Johnson, a brilliant, impulsive, adorably human man.



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He made spirited war on monopoly—even while he was a monopolist and saw nothing inconsistent in such a course. He fought against the people in Detroit to preserve his private monopoly of public utilities. He fought for the people of Cleveland to destroy private ownership of public utilities. He fought for three-cent fares while he himself was accepting the substantial benefits of straight five-cent fares. In Congress he fought for free trade even while he himself was personally reaping the benefits of protected American steel. He fought openly for principles and quite as openly admitted that in his private capacity he meant to take advantage of his opportunities, whatever the damage to the principles of his other self. Tom L. Johnson was a dual identity. He had a practical self and a theoretical or idealistic self and they made ceaseless war upon each other.

News, Detroit, Mich., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson loved business as much for the keen exercise it gave his wits as for the money in it. He was big enough and broad enough to see the limitations of a career devoted exclusively to the accumulation of millions, so, when he had discovered how easy it was to profit by special privilege, he felt it his duty to tell the people of the country that they were inflicting themselves with unnecessary taxation in order to foster certain lines of business which made millionaires and concentrated wealth more rapidly than was good for the body politic. He looked upon the system as a menace to our system of government because he believed it tended to set up an aristocracy of wealth and to hold the mass of the people in more or less bondage to capitalized interests. . . .

Mr. Johnson then and always was battling against fearful odds in behalf of a public that would not believe that his purpose was patriotic and disinterested. People continued to ask: What is there in this for Johnson? Surely, the people thought, no man who can pile up millions by taking advantage of the public folly, would in all sincerity attempt to tear down the system that made him rich. It is not human nature to do this, but those who saw Mr. Johnson's persistency to the end, his constant elaboration of public welfare schemes, his fighting year after year in a warfare which alienated his most powerful friends and associates, cost him a fortune in money and finally wore down an iron constitution to the breaking point, are compelled to admit that he was sincere, if they bother the prepared heads about arriving at a conclusion. A more forbidding situation than Mr. Johnson found in Cleveland was never assaulted, but he hoisted his

colors, was elected Mayor, and fought a

battle for the public welfare against fearful odds. He fought the companies on the demand for a reasonable fare. He fought the city, county and State machines in a State where politics is a fine art and where an aggregation of powerful industrial interests is behind both machines. The struggle required all the vitality that was ever given to one man, but Johnson showed the way, made demonstrations that at last convinced the public mind. In spite of cunning machinations that were calculated to discredit Mr. Johnson, to prove the impracticability of his theory and the public inability to operate a street railway system, the plan of Tom L. Johnson is slowly working out. It may be years after he has mouldered into dust that the final achievement shall come, but when it does, it will be his monument, and the name of the man who sacrificed so much for the public interest will live forever in the history of Cleveland and the State of Ohio.

Times, Detroit, Mich., April 12.

That great majority of the American public known as the people have reason to be glad today that they were given a man among them with such a great sympathy and such an interest as was his for their rights and well-being.

Tom L. Johnson was a free trader; he was a Singletaxer; he did stand for three-cent fares on the street cars of his city, and he was an exponent of municipal ownership.

Cleveland enjoys three-cent fares today.

Municipal ownership is impossible there under the State Constitution, else he would have won in his fight for it.

But were it a fact that he failed to realize a single one of these ambitions, he would not have lived in vain.

The fact would remain that by his efforts he caused men to stop and think.

Herald, Grand Rapids, Mich., April 14.

When one single mortal man can make his life so useful to his home community that "an immense throng of 200,000 people brave chilling winds and drizzling rains" to worship at his funeral bier, then he has triumphed over death; then he has proven his right to popular immortality; then he has set up an example which should attract emulation at the hands of other American leaders, still living, who have yet to make their mark in service to their land.

The story which The Herald printed vesterday of Cleveland's homage to the late Tom L. Johnson is a lesson and an inspiration. . . .

This land owes much to its Tom L. Johnsons.

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He may have been a dreamer; but he dreamed in the cause of the common good. He may have been a theorist; but he dedicated his theories to better things—not for himself—but for the brotherhood of man. He was a politician in a sense that ought to inspire other politicians to grasp eagerly for such popular regard—not as was indicated in one or two mere biennial elections in which he was defeated—but as was indicated when the two hundred thousand voted him their lasting friendship and their regard for eternity.

Press, Grand Rapids, Mich., April 12.

Rarely does an individual who has held no prominent national office rise to a position which enables him to exert a powerful influence upon the entire nation. Rarely does a man in any station of public life maintain his hold upon the people after a political reverse. There have been strong characters in American history that stamped an indelible sign on American life, but the possessors of those characters have, in nearly every instance, found themselves discredited personally when their political or official influence had suffered a decline.

These facts but help to make more striking the story of Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland. In the beginning of his hard battle for civic freedom he won the attention of the nation; in the height of his struggle he was given unstinted praise for his ability and his singleness of purpose, even by the men who did not agree with his beliefs; and even when, misunderstood and repudiated by many of the people in whose interests he was fighting, he suffered a defeat that to a weaker man would have meant a broken spirit, he rose superior to his conquering enemies and the discouragement natural to an apparently beaten fighter, and proved that the principle for which he fought was not to be crushed by the defeat of even its strongest champion. He was rewarded by seeing one of his most cherished dreams brought at least a part of the way toward realization. He will be rewarded yet further by the honor which men will give to his memory. . . .

Tom L. Johnson's fight was the fight of the cities against corporate and capitalistic control. His faith was the faith of the municipal patriot. His theories, however others may differ from them in the details of performance, were founded on his belief in the right of the man to a man's rights and privileges, and his spirit was that of one who, having adopted a faith and found it good, gladly spends effort and time and fortune in the interests of that faith and of the humanity for which it stands.

Mining Gazette, Houghton, Mich., April 12.

Johnson played the game of politics mostly because he liked it. He dreamed great dreams of helping the people and when he tried to carry any of them into practical results he failed. It might be said of him that no greater promoter ever lived and it didn't make any difference whether he promoted a street car financial scheme of his own origination or whether he promoted a political campaign for the satisfaction of his own ambition. But when it came to the executive management of the thing promoted he was lacking in the necessary ability. He made his greatest reputation in the propaganda for three cent street railway fares for city lines, but it was always upon municipally owned lines, not upon any of those in which he was personally interested in a stock holding or bond holding way, that he wanted to work out this scheme. Those who knew Johnson best believed absolutely in the sincerity of his purpose, however, and in his good intentions. He didn't attempt to play politics until he was independently rich and well able to afford to give the time and money necessary to the fun he seemed to get out of the game. Yet he took his politics very seriously after he got older and it was his defeat for Mayor of Cleveland, after the people tired of his promises and impractical demonstrations of municipal hobbies, that brought on the breakdown which eventually resulted in his death. Johnson did a lot of advertising for Cleveland.

Patriot, Jackson, Mich., April 16.

A single meeting with him left a lasting influence. Every measure that he advocated had for its supreme motive the benefit of the people. He openly declared that he would use the monopoly laws he found on the statute books to make money for himself, and yet if he could have his way he would repeal every one of them. Hence he was a free trader and a Singletaxer. . . .

It seemed like a contradiction for him to use laws he did not believe in, and would have repealed, for his own advantage, and yet he was a man whose political life was ardently devoted to the cause of the people. He helped the cause of self-government in every one of his campaigns, because of the candor of his methods and his genius for direct appeals to the rank and file. In a party sense he could not be a Republican, and he was not much of a Democrat, nevertheless he was the embodiment of true democracy.

The most notable battle of his career—he once described himself as "a stormy petrel"—was his contention for three-cent fares on the Cleveland traction lines, a fight in which he displayed great Indities as a leader, performed a prodigious amount of effective work, and personally directed one of the most involved campaigns in the annals of politics and business.

No other man than Tom Johnson could have been the leader in such a contest; no other man in America could have gained as full a measure of success, although not completed, as he achieved.

All the time he knew what he was striving for —not personal aggrandizement; not political power—but an end and object that would be of daily benefit to the common people, the wage earners of his adopted city. During the struggle he showed a grasp of the mechanical problems connected with traction management that was marvelous, and above all it was his own inventive and constructive mind that animated and gave picturesqueness to the whole seven years of warfare against the vested power and avarice of the traction company.

Certainly Tom L. Johnson had a striking manifestation of the personal loyalty of his immediate friends in his four elections to the mayoralty of Cleveland on practical issues, and he is mourned today, and his name is spoken with a feeling of loss, as but few men are mourned and spoken of, by those who were closest to him in life and knew him best. His own strong influence was strictly personal; it was almost wholly limited to his own city; and did not reach out far into his own State or into the nation. He was a prophet without hon or, save in his own city and among his own people.

Gazette, Kalamazoo, Mich., April 13.

That remarkable, though strangely inconsistent man lost his last fight in the same game, generous spirit in which he both won and lost other fights. He acknowledged defeat gracefully. He died with a smile upon his lips, and apparently with peace in his heart. . . .

He was not an altruist. He was a practical business man of the twentieth century type. He was fearlessly honest, but not willing to give up the benefits of the system he denounced until others also should be compelled to forego them.

His inconsistencies came at last to be accepted by his fellows as evidences of insanity, and finally resulted in his complete undoing politically. This estimate of him was the cause of his defeat for Governor of Ohio and of his defeat for a fifth term as Mayor of Cleveland.

Yet with all his inconsistencies, he was loved even in defeat, for he was adorably human.

Minnesota.

News-Tribe. Duluth, Minn., April 15.

The max who so seizes and shapes ideals that

they become a part of a people's policy, is a great man. He may have accomplished little of actual value in concrete form, yet he is a great man.

Such a man was Tom Johnson. A free trader, he was a manufacturer of steel, benefiting by protective duties; he had to or quit business. A street railway magnate, his hardest fought political battle was against the street railways of Cleveland. A very wealthy man, he was, also, a Singletax advocate.

This all seems contradictory, but Johnson was honest and sincere. He simply took conditions as they were in his business life, as all men must or not do business. But it was when he practically did quit business and turned to politics that the real man appeared.

He had realized the injustice of conditions from the side of the man on top, and the best years of his life, the years after he was ripened by experience, after he had developed by strenuous endeavor, he gave to his fellowmen to correct those conditions by which he had profited, and he gave with them the wealth he had garnered.

But, like many another, it is not what he accomplished, but what he advocated; not what he did, but what he stood for, that sum up the country's obligation. That he had a large part in moulding national opinion, in changing the trend of public affairs to a higher plane, in creating a more thoughtful attitude in the relations of public servants, and of wealth, to the people; in replacing the opportunity for pelf with the opportunity for service, all must concede.

If this does not make a life worth the living, then we still have false notions of life; if this does not entitle a man to rank as great, then halls of fame are not halls of greatness. It is better to have lived the fifty-seven years of a Tom Johnson than a hundred years of such accomplishment as is lauded in others, who, also, are styled "great."

Journal, Faribault, Minn., April 26.

Tom Johnson is gone. He can be called a national figure of his time, but no more, for he will be forgotten. It is no disparagement to his memory to say he will be swallowed up with the processes of time. To say anything else would be to give him a place on the roll of the great men of the country to which he is not entitled. He was something of a wizard in his special line of finance as Jay Gould was a wizard and Jim Fiske a genius, but a great man Johnson never was.

Cleveland will of course remember him for the next half century and the young Ohio politicians of today will recall in their age that there was

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such a man as Tom L. Johnson. Then his name will be forgotten, as will that of many a figure of Johnson's time who loomed fully as large as he if not larger.

But at that, the lesson of his life need not be forgotten. He rose to high financial place from lowly surroundings. He went through troublous political times, receiving high honors and two stinging defeats. He was reported near-bankrupt, and so it may be said that he had a taste of life in many forms and under many conditions.

Johnson was first a traction magnate, not as big as Yerkes, but a good deal of a success none the less. He knew the street car business from stem to gudgeon and made money through his knowledge. He nearly inspired the confidence of moneyed men, giving him a big start while young, and until he accepted largely of the financial theories of Henry George, he continued to have their confidence. It might be said he had their confidence until he himself became a moneyed man.

Minnesota has never had such a figure as Johnson. It has had its Charles A. Towne, a brilliant theorist, and its Ignatius Donnelly, another theorist. But it has not had a traction magnate turned politician with the same views as Johnson had. No doubt this State would have treated gubernatorial ambitions on the part of Johnson as Ohio did. That State denied him the governorship. Frankly, the bulk of the corporations feared him and they preferred anybody but the disturber Johnson in the capitol at Columbus. So despite the following he had in Cleveland and despite the money he then had, he was beaten. That ended him as a possibility in the national field.

Journal, Minneapolis, Minn., April 12.

A man of one idea, Mayor Johnson fought long for it, and had the humiliation of seeing his power taken away and his plan of getting Cleveland into the street railway business turned down.

Nevertheless, his agitation produced results. It awoke the cities to their right to regulate their street railways, and get the benefit of their own streets. It threw a great light on the conditions of granting franchises in cities, and assisted toward the settlement of street car franchises on a fairer basis.

Minnesota Union Advocate, St. Paul, Minn., April 14.

In the death of Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, which occurred in his home city last Monday night, the laboring people of the country lost one of their best friends. Mr. Johnson began his great career in obscurity and ended it in glory. He was twice a member of Congress, four times

the Mayor of Cleveland, through years of bitter strife the leading champion of 3-cent street car fares, long an earnest advocate of the Singletar theory and always the friend of toiling humanity. The breadth and progressiveness of his views on public questions and the unquailing courage with which he at all times defended them gave him world-wide renown. His personal sacrifices in behalf of the common people brought him world-wide sympathy. His death while at the summit of his usefulness has occasioned world-wide regret. His work for justice to all men and equality of opportunity among them will give him enduring and grateful remembrance in every land and under the beaming stars of every sky.

† † † Mississippi.

News, Jackson, Miss., April 14.

There is scarcely a hamlet in the country that did not watch with sympathy the slow battle which Tom L. Johnson waged against death. Now that he is dead, the record of his life does not instantly disclose the reasons for the wide appeal which his character and personality made to the public. That he was personally lovable is attested by his intense popularity in Cleveland; but not every local benefactor gains such a following. That he was able, the fortune that he built and the political fights that he won supply all-sufficient evidence. But these things were the equipment in far greater measure of many abler and stronger men.

We suspect that the endearing quality in the four-times Mayor of Cleveland was the frank confession which he made of his own purposes. He was sincere to a fault. Feeling acutely the injustices incident to the social order, he fought always for an extreme democracy, without for a moment failing himself to profit by the very injustices he contemned. He admitted this apparently contradictory trait with the braggadocio of candor.

Missouri.

Globe, Joplin, Mo., April 12.

Tom Johnson read a book. It changed his entire career. If he hadn't read Henry George's "Social Problems" it is probable he would have died a multimillionaire. As it is, he died possessed of a negligible estate as measured by dollars. But he has been a member of Congress. He has served as Mayor of Cleveland several terms. He has been a commanding figure in the public life of the nation. . . No history of the last twenty years of American politics and finance is

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complete without Tom Johnson and his influence. He made himself a millionaire. And then he made himself a man.

Star, Kansas City, Mo., April 11.

It is the unique thing in the life of the great civic leader, Tom L. Johnson, that, when he had attained wealth and power, he relinquished the chase for more money and gave his best years to hard and ceaseless work in the service of the plain people.

Tom Johnson's life battle was a fight to give the masses of the people so square a deal that they would need no charity or philanthropy. He had the clear and honest comprehension that what the community, the city, could do to make life cheerful and pleasant for its people was simply the fulfillment of an obligation. He saw that the wealth accumulating in varying degrees of possession was in chief part the product of the thrift and toil of all the people, and that to conserve for the public use the wealth which the public indisputably created was not paternalism, but plain honesty.

It may have been the very fact that in the first period of his busy life he was a beneficiary of special privilege which made him the more clearly see and feel the injustice of privilege. Benefits received do not often have that effect. They are usually "benefits forgot." It adds luster to the character and the work of Tom Johnson that his own experiences were utilized for the common good, that no sneering suspicion of his integrity could swerve him from obedience to his beliefs and that in his life and service he proved that moral ideals, based on human fellowship, are quite as potent for getting mankind along as any material incentives.

In the future histories of the American people, it seems probable now that largest credit for the raising of American municipalities to the plane they must occupy in American affairs will be accorded to this truly great Mayor of Cleveland. In the adjustment of the manifold intimate relations of a city's life Mayor Johnson developed a field of usefulness as great and as honorable as any service reserved to the larger State or nation. In that field he labored incessantly. The more spectacular of his efforts-those for street railway regulation and municipal ownership—gained widest attention, for they hit at the root of the evil of special privilege. Yet his less dramatic insistence upon just taxation, upon humanely sensible correction of delinquents, upon the development of civic beauty as a handmaiden to civic helpfulness to all the people—this stout struggle for equal opportunity stirred and encouraged a

vital civic consciousness throughout all the American cities

Cleveland shared Tom Johnson with all its sister municipalities. Not another city entered a franchise fight, or planned an extension of activity for the general well being, or sought a square deal in any form that it did not receive help and inspiration from Cleveland's public servant. If there was no other aid given there was the splendid example of dauntless courage and supreme good humor and good cheer in the fighting.

And so Tom Johnson, Mayor, and then just private citizen, of one of the lesser of the big American cities, lived his public life, and closed all his earthly life, filling a place in the national sense of public affairs as big and hopeful and controlling as the place filled by one whose direct concern had been the national business. He leaves thus for all American people a heritage of many things accomplished and, more than all, of high ideals of manhood and citizenship brought closer to fulfillment by his life.

Star, Kansas City, Me., April 12.

It has been impossible to visit Cleveland in recent years without being impressed by the virulence of the opposition there to Tom L. Johnson. The Mayor whose deeds as well as words proved the sincerity of his desire to see social justice done was widely regarded as a desperate villain, determined to wreck society to enrich himself.

If Tom Johnson had been content to go on making money in the accepted ways he might have given as much to the poor as he liked and all good citizens would have lauded his philanthropy. But when he interfered with somebody else's game in the interest of the square deal he was denounced at once. It is a lot easier to give alms than to do justice—and frequently much more popular.

Democrat-Forum, Maryville, Mo., April 13.

He was maligned and abused as every honest man who opposes special privilege and graft must be, and he died poor in purse but rich in the esteem of a people cognizant of his great contribution to their welfare.

Express, Springfield, Mo., April 14.

Tom Loftin Johnson, whom The Express regards as the greatest man ever known in the history of Ohio, was best known to the world at large because of his political activities, which were always and fundamentally on the side of simple justice and humanity. He fairly abhorred our infamous national tax system, being an ardent disciple of the late Henry George and an inflexible

champion of the Singletax. He served two terms in Congress, and every word he spoke while a member of that body ought to be in the hands of every voter in the Union, that they might learn and know the truth on the all important subject of taxation and its relation to man's natural rights and opportunities that have been so ruthlessly appropriated by the classes of privilege under iniquitous laws. He also served the people of Cleveland during four terms as Mayor, giving them 3-cent street railway fares and making the best Mayor that any city has ever had in all the States of the Union.

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Republican, Springfield, Mo., April 23.

Now that Tom Johnson is dead, his countrymen are beginning to recognize him as a man of extraordinary attainments and honorable ambitions.

In this instance at least the dictum that the evil which men do lives after them while the good is interred with their bones receives a striking contradiction. Tom Johnson's studied spectacularisms, which so characterized his almost every act and speech what time he played his conspicuous part on the theater of American politics, will soon fade from the memory of all men, but Tom Johnson's persistent and plucky fight for the right will not be forgotten for many and many a year.

News-Press, St. Joseph, Mo., April 13.

Johnson was one of the strong characters of the times, yet he was not peculiar to the times, for men like him there have been in all ages, the variation being only in the degree of personal force. Johnson was a man with a mission; at least he had visions of a mission, which amounts to the same thing. By taking shrewd advantage of industrial and political conditions he accumulated wealth, but he saw that it was quite impossible for the vast majority of men to have the opportunity which he enjoyed. In the nature of things that was impossible. He searched for the cause, and he believed he found it in the unfair advantage which taxation laws and a protective tariff give to a few at the expense of the many. ... He was wealthy in the beginning of his political career and stood in the way of making millions. But he died poor. Yet he never wavered in his purpose or lost his good cheer.

There is this about Johnson that must endure as an example to the world: When he saw he was wrong he was not ashamed to own up and to reverse himself upon the very system by which he had acquired wealth. It must be a brave man to do that sort of thing and to make such a fight as Johnson made. He was not afraid of the truth.

Mirror, St. Louis, Mo., March 23.

His was a life well lived. He achieved success in a material way and then there came to him a spiritual gleam from the great work of Henry George. Thenceforth all this man's abilities were devoted to the people. His sole effort was to the end of untaxing labor, of making men economically free. To that effort he brought a vast energy, a great deal of good humor and much genuine brotherly love. He bore patiently misrepresentation of his motives and all kinds of opprobrium. His patience was as fine as his courage. When his fortune was swept away after his four terms as Mayor of Cleveland, in which he had fought for his idea of a municipally owned 3-cent-fare street railway, he accepted his misfortune with excellent grace, and did not quit. He was too far ahead of his time and his town in that one thing, but on foundations which he laid, his fellow-townsmen of the future will surely build to the realization of his dream. If he failed in his street railway project he did not fail in other things. He made Cleveland a model city and by this I do not mean a puritanic city. He made it a beautiful city. He made it, as to taxation, a juster city than any other in the land. He made playgrounds for the little children. He planned a police system that made the police protectors of people and property rather than persecutors of the unfortunate and makers of criminals. He stood for humane penology and for equality of opportunity. He fought all forms of privilege as the best means of minimizing poverty and facilitating progress. When his private business went to smash through his devotion to public affairs, the public came to see the cruelty of the accusation that his reforming activities were selfishly designed. When he was finally beaten for Mayor of Cleveland then truly did Clevelanders begin to see him in his true proportions, and they loved him with a wealth of feeling which more than repaid him in the last few years for all his losses. He was the most conspicuous American whose career was actuated and motived by the gospel of Henry George, the noblest example, after George himself, of the spiritual force inhering in what appears at the first blush to be a materialistic philosophy. The country laughed ironically when Johnson, the steel magnate, voted in Congress against the tariff on steel. but it ceased to laugh when later it was shown that the same altruism of principle governed all his actions. He gave his fortune and his life to the cause of freedom and equality. The law of privilege proved too strong a mesh for him wholly to break through, but though he did not gain what he sought in the way of a demonstration of his

theory of municipal ownership, he left things better than he found them, and in every city of the United States to-day, the local transportation situation is the better for the people because of what Tom L. Johnson did in fighting the street railway trust in Cleveland. As Mayor of a small town he became a national, even an international figure and his personality was therefore a continuous propagandist of the Georgean doctrine which won him from the purposes of a mere millionaire to that of a man of and for the people. His life was an inspiration and his memory will be a sustainer of the hopes of all those who in the years to come shall strive for a fairer distribution to all of the fruits of toil through the destruction of privilege that saps right and strengthens wrong.

Republic, St. Louis, Mo., April 12.

Before a thin house in the Representative chamber at Washington and with the press gallery practically deserted, a rather thick-set man with an interesting face rose to make a speech one afternoon while the Wilson tariff bill was being formulated.

He was vaguely known as a member with refreshing viewpoints on many subjects and as the holder of a large proprietary interest in steel mills at Lorain, O. Accordingly, when he delivered a speech of Democratic orthodoxy, with a merciless exposure of the iniquities of the steel and iron schedule, forestalling Mr. Carnegie's view by nearly fifteen years, a Republican member interrupted with a stinging taunt in which inquiry was made as to whether the speaker was not himself a large beneficiary of the robbery of that same iniquitous steel schedule.

"Does the gentleman," asked Mr. Johnson in return, after an instant reply in the affirmative, "does the gentleman think that only Republicans are licensed to rob under the tariff?"

For it was Tom L. Johnson who was making the speech and the incident illustrates not only his astonishing facility and effectiveness in debate, whether on the stump or in deliberative bodies, but the tremendous inconsistencies of his career.

Along with all his other qualities he had the quipment of an astute and daring politician. He suddenly appeared as political partner of Pingree in a vast municipal ownership scheme to sell all car lines to the city. This failed on the eve of consummation only because the law they had jointly forced through the legislature was declared unconstitutional.

Montana.

iendard, Anaconda, Mont., April 12.

As to that great and good Democrat, Tom L.

Johnson, St. Peter saw him coming afar off, and did not wait for him to reach the gate, but ran down and embraced him, and walked with him arm-in-arm up the hill of glory.

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Independent, Helena, Mont., April 14.

About the highest tribute that could be paid a man was bestowed upon the memory of Tom L. Johnson in Cleveland on Wednesday, when nearly 250,000 people lined the streets of that city as his remains were being borne from his late residence to the railway station to be carried to Brooklyn for burial. It does not seem to have been a gathering of the masses for the sake of idle curiosity, but it was because they knew the man and they loved him.

New Hampshire.

Patriot, Concord, N. H., April 25.

Tom L. Johnson did not run the government of Cleveland in the interest of money making. There were plenty of those who wanted him to, however. His reply to them was: "We are not trying to make money; we are trying to make men."

New Jersey.

Journal, Jersey City, N. J., April 13 (George L. Record's Column).

Johnson found that the traction ring was protected by laws drafted by their own lawyers and by courts controlled by the same influences. He was four times re-elected, and it seemed that at last he had won a complete victory. He got possession of all the car lines and commenced his experiment of a 3-cent fare. But the traction interests fomented a strike for higher wages among the conductors and brakemen, which demoralized the service, incommoded the public and cut down the earnings. In the midst of this confusion he was defeated for a fifth term, and the traction syndicate got back the system. This fight so absorbed Johnson's energies that his business was neglected and his fortune was swept away and his health was broken. It looked as if all his fight had been in vain. But such a fight is never lost, and it is already plain that his activities have brought immense benefits to the people.

He contributed, more than any other man in our country, to change the whole attitude of the country towards public service corporations. In place of the widely prevalent idea that these corporations were beyond the control of the public, he saw the public mind gradually awakened to the knowledge that public utilities are a partnership with the public, and as such are subject to control

by the public. And the end of this idea is not yet. Even in Cleveland, after his defeat, it forced the traction people to a bargain by which the city gained 4-cent fares, with an agreement that will lead to 3-cent fares if the 4-cent fare shall prove profitable, as Mr. Johnson was confident it will.* And so, out of apparent failure comes progress. It is the law of social development. The pioneer often dies before the fruit of his labors is apparent, as Johnson did. But the work he did lives after him; and when the history of the great struggle against privilege, now in full tide in America, is finally written, the name of Tom Johnson will stand high in the roll of those who made it possible, and who carried it through its trying and doubtful stages.

Morning Star, Newark, N. J., April 11.

Mr. Johnson came into national prominence as Mayor by his bold ideas of municipal government and the aggressive stand he took to carry them out. There was nothing of the demagague in this man. He had no socialistic beliefs. He was a man of remarkable business and executive capacity, and as Mayor he used it conscientiously for the public welfare. Mr. Johnson was a multimillionaire when he was a member of Congress and when he was first elected Mayor of Cleveland in 1901. He served four successive terms and his fight against the street railroad interests in Cleveland attracted national attention. To the surprise of the whole country he was defeated for re-election last year, showing the ingratitude of republics and municipalities. Tom L. Johnson was a self-made man, but he failed in politics. Nominated for Governor of Ohio, he was beaten by a plurality of over 100,000 votes, and his large fortune dwindled and almost disappeared before his death.

Herald, Passaic, N. J., April 11.

Few careers, even in America, have been so full of the romance of struggle and achievement as that of Tom Loftin Johnson. Had his efforts ended with the accumulation of the millions that were once his, the story would have been an absorbing one to the boys of the nation, because he started with nothing and won a great and honorable success in business. But after he had become one of the "captains of industry" his activities were turned in a new direction. He became a champion of the rights of the people and a militant advocate of civic righteousness. While busied with his public-spirited undertakings the large fortune he had won in business was swept away. . . . When he gave up the leisurely life of a cor-

*An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

pulent, middle-aged millionaire to become Mayor of Cleveland, it was supposed that zeal for the public cause would quickly cool. But it was not long before it was discovered that he was very much in earnest. His readiness to attack all grades of offenders, from officers of powerful corporations to keepers of dens of vice, in the end caused a strangely assorted but united band to fight for his defeat when he ran for election to his fifth term as Mayor in 1909. He was beaten and when he stepped from the Mayor's office in Cleveland that post once more dropped into obscurity.

Advertiser, Trenton, N. J., April 16.

The late Tom Johnson was not far astray in calling himself a stormy petrel. He kept Cleveland in a ferment for a good many years trying out his Socialistic theories, but he failed to prove his favorite proposition that a good profit could be made out of a trolley road run on a 3-cent fare basis.* His crusade in behalf of popular rights over corporations was not wholly in vain, however; he helped to develop the public sentiment which is now compelling some consideration of the common people by the owners of public utilities all over the country.

Nebraska.

William J. Bryan's Commoner, Lincoln, Neb., April 21.

"Thomas Jefferson still lives," were the last words of John Adams, who died on the same day that Jefferson did, and just before him. They were prophetic: Thomas Jefferson does live-he not only lives, but grows in influence. And it may be truly said of Tom Johnson, also, that he still lives. His friends followed his body to its final resting place, and listened to appropriate works spoken by Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow and Rev. Harris R. Cooley, the two ministers who had been closest to him during his fight for justice, but the real Johnson was not buried. The earthly form will dissolve into the dust but the soul of Tom Johnson will still move among us. His sunny smile will no more greet his multitude of friends, but his heart touched so many hearts that the impulse which he gave to the cause of humanity is a lasting contribution to the world.

He was the friend of man, and the defender of human rights. He showed a moral courage that proved that he bore the image of the Creator—a courage that could flow from but one source, namely, obedience to the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

He is not dead, for "death is swallowed up in victory."

•An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

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Mourning depresses those who knew him intimately—his death leaves a place that can not be filled, but let us rejoice that so rare a spirit blessed us with his companionship—that we were a part of the world brightened by his presence and blessed by his labors. His friends remember with deepest sympathy his household and appreciate the trials through which they were called to pass when vested wrong hurled its cruel shafts at him and at all whom he held dear. God be praised for Johnson's life—may his example inspire an increasing number to listen to the still small voice that calls to service, and win, as Johnson did, the rewards that crown a well spent life, the love of fellow man.

Journal, Lincoln, Neb., April 12.

He had a genius for money making—had made several fortunes before he was forty. But he had besides the remarkable ability to separate his thinking from his money interests. The fact that he made money by any particular system did not make him a defender of the system. They made him a mystery to his class throughout his public career. In Congress and out he was constantly battering at the sources of his own wealth. He wanted to lower the tariff protecting his steel industry. He proposed to Detroit, while owner of its street railways, that it take over the lines and adopt 3-cent fares. During a conversation with Henry George, the leader of the Singletax movement which assails all special privilege, Johnson "Then my business, which is built on special privilege, is all wrong." Yet he accepted that theory and spent his life and fortune promoting it. Whether he was right in his opinion or not, Tom Johnson was bound to have a place as a leader by very virtue of this ability to think and act independently of his material interest. Not to go into the spiritual side of his life, it is explanation enough to say that he was pre-eminently "game." In the fact that he was personally specially gifted at money making he saw no reason why he should have also special artificial advantages for making money. He was a brave man, brave enough to grant his adversary equal weapons with himself. His more ardent admirers claim that he was not even afraid of the truth. One does not have to go such lengths as that to pronounce him an exceptionally useful man, one of the men who have contributed notably to the progress of the twenty years in which he figured on the national stage.

Star, Lincoln, Neb., April 11.

The spectacle of a street railway magnate of

millionaire magnitude inviting the invective of the financial world by a desperately persistent endeavor to cheapen street car fares in his home city was one that appealed to the country and won him national celebrity.

It took years to relieve him of the suspicion of demagogy, a charge that was habitually made against him by men in the same business. Fortunately he was spared long enough to disprove the charge, for even though unable to accomplish during his official life the work in which he so determinedly engaged, hardly had he been supplanted as Mayor of Cleveland before the dream that he had nourished was realized and the people of the city of Cleveland that had dishonored him by defeat were given the universal 3-cent fare for which he had fought so long and so bitterly.

Bee, Omaha, Neb., April 12.

"Tom" Johnson was a man of pronounced opinions, and it was, no doubt, his eager willingness to fight for the stakes of politics that made him believe he enjoyed life most when fighting. When lives like his are cut short it cannot but remind us that even such as they might have accomplished more to the world had they been tempered in their fiery passion. These spirits are not indomitable. They fail as easily as less belligerent ones. "Tom" Johnson only thought he loved a fight more than peace. What he loved was to win the fight. But when his time came to lose—when he lost politically and financially and none-the-less from the standpoint of principle—he lost out altogether.

The life of "Tom" Johnson reads like a romance. He was a big man. He had a big brain, as well as heart. He had a strong hand and he attained a success at the age of 17 which most men counted successful would be contented enough to reach by 40 or 45. In business and in politics he never failed to stamp the influence of his dynamic character on whatever he did. His chief fame, of course, was as Mayor for four terms of Cleveland, during which he forced the inauguration of the 3-cent fare for street car service. In State and national politics he made little headway, although he had achieved a national fame.

News, Omaha, Neb., April 13.

The last one of a great triumvirate is gone. More than ten years ago Pingree of Detroit, Jones of Toledo and Johnson of Cleveland formed an alliance of mutual helpfulness and support for better conditions in the cities, with special reference to better and cheaper street car service for working people.

That compact has been a mighty force, not only

in the three cities, but all over the United States. The fight for better conditions in Toledo, Detroit and Cleveland has been an inspiration to the people and their leaders, wherever the good fight is being made. . . . Johnson was the storm center of the Democratic party in Ohio. He believed that the party should rid itself of dishonest leaders. He went out fearlessly to "fight the rogues in our own party first." Warned that it would mean his own defeat for Governor, he made the fight just the same.

That Tom Johnson made mistakes of judgment, mistakes which he probably regretted as keenly as anyone else possibly could, goes without saying. Only God makes no mistakes.

But whatever mistakes he may have made were of the head, not of the heart, and in view of the largeness and fullness of his life work, almost without precedent for sheer industry and forcefulness, his mistakes were so few and so unimportant as to be almost negligible.

In the largeness of his vision, in his unswerving faith in the honesty of the common man, in his belief which amounted to a religion that in more democracy lay the final solution of the social and economic problems which are pressing for answer, Tom Johnson was one of the most effective forces of his generation.

He preached the gospel that privilege must be forced to take its heel from the neck of labor, a gospel that is more popular throughout the length and breadth of this land today than when Tom Johnson began to preach it, and so sure as there is a tomorrow and another tomorrow, will continue to be more popular until finally the heel will be forced off, and those who produce the wealth in the sweat of their faces will share more equitably in its possession.

Johnson was a big, brainy, tireless chieftain who would do right as he saw the right, refused no battle and feared no foe.

+ + + New Mexico.

Evening Herald, Albuquerque, N. M., April 13.

It is the unique thing in the life of the great civic leader, Tom L. Johnson, that, when he had attained wealth and power, he relinquished the chase for more money and gave his best years to hard and ceaseless work in the service of the plain people.

Tom Johnson's life battle was a fight to give the masses of the people so square a deal that they would need no charity or philanthropy. He had the clear and honest comprehension that what the community, the city, could do to make life cheerful and pleasant for its people was simply the fulfillment of an obligation. He saw that the wealth accumulating in varying degrees of possession was in chief part the product of the thrift and toil of all the people, and that to conserve for the public use the wealth which the public indisputably created was not paternalism but plain honesty.

It may have been the very fact that in the first period of his busy life he was a beneficiary of special privilege which made him the more clearly see and feel the injustices of privilege. Benefits received do not often have that effect. They are usually "benefits forgot." It adds luster to the character and the work of Tom Johnson that his own experiences were utilized for the common good, that no sneering suspicion of his integrity could swerve him from obedience to his beliefs and that in his life and service he proved that moral ideals, based on human fellowship, are quite as potent for getting mankind along as any material incentives.

+ + + New York.

Argus, Albany, N. Y., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson's strenuous political career shortened his days. To his stubborn fight for 3-cent street car fares is directly attributed his fatal illness. But a man constituted as he was would not have considered it living, to repose on a bed of roses. He had to be in the game, and fighting, as much as he had to breathe.

Times, Batavia, N. Y., May 15.

Those who have watched and admired the career of the late Tom L. Johnson, former Mayor of Cleveland, O., and one of the most combative and picturesque reformers the world has ever known, can but realize that what this country needs is more men just like Mr. Johnson, to fight the battles of common humanity. He failed temporarily—in the loss of his great wealth, in the defeat of his loved projects and in too early passing from earth, but the broken ranks will yet be closed, and the influences for good wielded by this greathearted, noble-souled friend of mankind will live on and on. He is still leader and saviour of men.

Republican, Binghamton, N. Y., April 13.

Imagine a glacier, extending over miles of territory, moving forward a few hundred feet a year and sending bergs "to bow their heads and plunge and sail in the sea." Such is the human race, when considered in terms of real human progress.

Now imagine some man lighting a roaring fire at the sides of that glacier, in an effort to warm

it and accelerate its flow. Such a man was Tom Loftin Johnson. . . .

The glacier moves a wee bit faster because Johnson tried to thaw it out. He spent his health, his time and his fortune in the heat of a life-long contest for causes he believed to be right. Some things he fought for were wrong, but in the main he was right. Now he is dead. And the glacier moves on, while others are lighting their fires against its icy sides, tickled to see some water drip from the frigid heights.

* *

Eagle, Brooklyn, N. Y., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson, for so his name was always written by himself, was a singular union or discord of characteristics. He died in Cleveland last night in his fifty-seventh year.

He was an avowed free trader and a money maker through highly protected goods or wares manufactured by himself.

He swung between cities as if on a flying trapese. Lexington, Staunton, Indianapolis, Brooklyn and Cleveland were his points of roaming, resting and speculation.

He started street railways here to compete with a system of monopoly and then sold out to the monopoly on high terms of his own making.

He was repeatedly elected Mayor of Cleveland, a Republican city, on a Democratic ticket, because of his personal popularity with the working classes to whom he promised a three-cent railroad fare, and sought to assure it to them.

When the courts found that the rate was so low as to deprive stockholders of the reasonable profit the law justified, Mr. Johnson lost no popularity, though most men would have been held up to ridicule for the failure.

Mr. Johnson was an advocate of Henry George's Single Tax idea, though never able to put it in practice.

He prospered as a Free Trader under Protection and as a Single Taxer under an economic system which was the negation of the Single Tax.

He fiscally prospered by the principles he morally denounced. He acquired fortune and power by methods he declared to be unjust. He excused his own success on the ground that if the people would not establish a true system, he had a right to get rich under a false one.

He was an idealist in words and the most relentless exponent of self-interest in his sphere of action. He invoked Utopia and utilized and exploited Brooklyn and Cleveland. He ran the risk of being rated to be a demagogue and a pretender, but none who really knew him thought he was, though those who knew him not never regarded him as anything else.

The difference between the impression of him by friends and that of him by strangers cannot be explained except by allowance of his personal equation in the scale of estimate.

The frankness and the audacity of the man won for him the confidence of such as knew him. The contrast to strangers between his political creed and his business conduct rendered them incapable of respecting him, as they could not understand him.

Which set of men was right? Who or what was the real Tom Johnson? We are inclined to think both views of him were correct, though none who exclusively considers only one side of a duplex man will ever agree with the proposition. Johnson, the man of action, coincided with the conditions around him, confronted, played with, mastered and won with them. Johnson, the man of sentiment, imagination and ideality, made a Heaven in his thought, and hoped it would materialize in the sweet bye and bye. Still, the other self of him had no intention to be distanced or tripped in the meshes and complications of things as they were. The man of action and the man of meditation were as distinct as the contemporary publisher and the independent editor, as the politician of the day and the statesman of the past. But in this case the one was two and the two were one, as distinct as the shell from the yolk of the one egg which comprises both. It is not easy for less than a composite to conceive of or to be a composite.

Standard-Union, Brooklyn, N. Y., April 11.

If the body of Tom Johnson shall be brought to lie in Greenwood Cemetery, his monument will overlook the scene of many of his most stirring activities. And though the career of Johnson here, both for good and for ill, could not be repeated under the ideal conditions we all hope for, there can be no doubt this remarkable man helped on the progress of this community. . . . Johnson was rarely successful, almost uniquely successful, in retaining the respect of the most radical, theoretical and unpractical of visionary reformers while getting rich out of the very conditions he denounced. There can be only one explanation for this, and that is that Tom Johnson was really and genuinely sincere. He believed with all his heart as well as with all his mind in the intellectual theories and the emotional motives of the Henry George school of friends of the poor people. For this he made sacrifices, devoting no doubt more strength and energy to the reforms than he did to the accumulation of wealth, which was so easy

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for him because that way lay his inborn talents. The pertinacity with which he fought and struggled to establish three-cent fares on Cleveland street car lines won for him the unshakable confidence of the mass of the voters of that industrial city. His final defeat for re-election as mayor testified to a conviction that his methods were impracticable, but not that his principles were wrong. And in a measure, his crusade for lower fares was successful. . . . It will be a long time before Tom Johnson is forgotten, and it will probably be a good while before we have just such another man again. His rise from poverty and obscurity to wealth and fame may be ascribed only to his own capacities; but it is none the less significant of the soundness of a social order that infallibly rewards unusual ability and perseverance with eminence.

Times, Brooklyn, N. Y., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson, who died in Cleveland last night, was in every respect a remarkable man. A street railroad magnate, who amassed millions in that branch of enterprise, he was at the same time a radical reformer and innovator, an ardent disciple of Henry George and an advocate of city or State ownership of public utilities. . . . He was a typical American, generous, genial, full of energy and enterprise, and with a mind open to every new idea, and he will not soon be forgotten.

Commercial, Buffalo, N. Y., April 11.

The death of Tom Loftin Johnson, which occurred at his home in the city of Cleveland last evening after a long illness, removes one of the most peculiar characters of modern public life. Four times mayor of Cleveland; twice Congressman from the 21st Ohio district, Mr. Johnson made an impression on the public mind which will remain, no matter whether he shall be remembered best for what he accomplished, or for his eccentricities. . . . In his make-up there appears to have been a strange admixture of desire for personal aggrandizement, of socialistic freedom, and of a certain species of civic loyalty, which, combined, served to make him a unique and distinctive character among the public men of the past thirty years.

Enquirer, Buffalo, N. Y., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson was truly a Man of the People. A man of brawn and energy and brains, he made his way from poverty to affluence, becoming a corporation magnate of the highest rank and power, not only in his own city, but in the metropolis. At one time he was regarded as the Trolley King of

America, a street railroad operator of great capacity and power. But he saw a great light!

Disposing of his stocks, bonds, mortgages and corporate possessions, Tom L. Johnson became one of the most formidable champions of the People. His fight to secure a three-cent street railroad rate in Cleveland brought him renown, as well as almost overwhelming troubles. But in spite of tremendous odds and opposition he won the fight for the people he loved.

In making the fight for the People Mr. Johnson wasted his private fortune. He died a comparatively poor man.

Express, Buffalo, N. Y., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson died last night. He was a unique man and one of the most interesting in American public life. To outward appearance his career was a long succession of contradictions. His best friends rarely knew when he was sincere or what to expect of him next. Years ago when he was in Congress he became involved in a debate on the tariff with one of his Republican friends. Johnson was an ardent free trader. The charge came up that there was a steel-rail pool in existence which was profiting unfairly by the protection of steel rails. The Republican speaker, somewhat rashly, declared that there was no such combination. Johnson smilingly answered that he was of the contrary opinion; that his information was to the effect that there was such a pool, and that it was making very large profits, and he believed his information was correct for he was himself a member of it and was getting \$30,000 a year for keeping his own mill idle. . . .

His administration of the office of Mayor of Cleveland is a chapter by itself in the history of American municipalities. No man ever boomed his city more vigorously or more successfully. Much of the rapid growth of Cleveland during the last census period can be credited to the work of Johnson and his lieutenants. He fought the street railroads and gained important concessions in reduced fares. He was the terror of the city monopolists. His old cynical inconsistencies were dropped, though he never was able to live down the reputation they had given him or to secure complete confidence in his sincerity. The evidence that he was earnestly working for the public and not for himself, in a business sense, came toward the close of his term, when it became known that he had lost virtually all of his fortune, which at one time was estimated as high as \$6,000,000. Past 50 and in broken health, he began the study of law in order to attain a profession by which he



might support himself. But his strength was not equal to beginning life anew.

Tom Johnson was the only American plutocrat who ever fought his own class, the only one who ever exposed and denounced the methods by which he attained wealth, while continuing to pursue those methods, the only one who by profession and actual practice, so far as politics was concerned, remained a Democrat and a supporter of the ideas directly opposed to his own business acts. - He may have been inspired merely by ambition, but it is more likely that his sense of humor mastered his sense of propriety and consistency. He was one of the best jokers in politics.

Evening News, Buffalo, N. Y., April 11.

No one who ever knew him could forget the charm and delight of his company. None could be more hospitable than he in the day of prosperity, none more cheerful and kindly when fortune was less than smiling on him. He was meant by nature for great things but just missed them, except that he kept himself from envy and all uncharitableness, from bitterness of speech and effort to do harm to other men, and thus rose to an enviable kind of greatness of soul less than common among rivals in life, and even the general company of fellow citizens.

Times, Buffalo, N. Y., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson was a man whom some were honestly unable to understand, whom many more intentionally misunderstood, but whom the people never failed to comprehend. Therein lies the explanation of the extraordinary career which has just been terminated in the neighboring city of Cleveland. The kev to Tom Johnson's character is found in the fact that he was essentially a philanthropist. Had he been more a seeker of riches and less a lover of mankind, he would have died a multi-millionaire instead of being numbered with our multi-millionaires for only a part of his life. Had he devoted himself to politics with an intentness which forbade anything but consideration of his own future, his political sway might not have passed away during his lifetime and would certainly have continued longer than it did.

But Tom L. Johnson never made personal ambition the dominant chord of his life. Every business venture he undertook, and every political campaign he fought, was carried on with consideration of its bearings on patriotism and philanthropy. Sometimes the goal was visible and near, sometimes it was more distant, and harder for the superficial observer to discern. But it was always there, and it was a nobler goal than that which

the ordinary strivings of men seek to attain. It is this mingling of the hard sense of the practical man with the dreams of the idealist which gave Tom Johnson's methods and motives their unique character. A master of street railway finance, he could have heaped up and kept millions had not his every move toward solving the street railway problem of Cleveland been directed toward the final object of giving the people of Cleveland a three-cent fare. The main question was not what was to go into Tom Johnson's pocket, but what was to be kept in the pockets of the Cleveland public. So it was in everything with which Johnson identified himself. He had a robust ambition, and that ambition was gratified by two terms in Congress and four elections to the mayoralty of Cleveland. But his ambition for himself was invariably secondary to his ambition for others. He was an altruist-not an egoist.

After the loss of his fortune and the defeat of his political aspirations, Johnson, with undaunted courage, began life anew and when he was well past the fifties entered upon the study of law. It is no far-fetched surmise that had Johnson been ten years younger when misfortune overtook him, he would have regained every inch of the ground he had lost.

Dispatch, Cohoes, N. Y., April 11.

Possessed of wealth and serving in important public office, he was yet singularly free from that narrow perspective inspired by regard for the maintenance of the privileges which persons in that class enjoy. He did not hesitate to urge the adoption of policies which might militate against persons in his class. He was sufficiently broadminded and unselfish to manifest favor for any policy that promised advantage to the greatest number of people and hence he was held in very much regard by the common people, and in his death the masses lose a distinguished champion whom the selfish interests fought against most vigorously, but with only indifferent success.

The young men of today may study his life history with profit and advantage.

Star-Gazette, Elmira, N. Y., April 11.

Johnson's public life from his boyhood until he became Mayor of Cleveland, was a succession of business and political contradictions and inconsistencies.

Branded as the "best joker in American politics," he lived up to his reputation, and by his actions kept even his closest friends guessing whether he was really sincere or playing for his own advantage. But subsequent developments.

when he sacrificed his own great personal fortune in the fight for his ideals, and at the age of fifty began to study law to provide him a means of livelihood, left no room for further doubt.

He was a Single Taxer, an ardent supporter of the Henry George principles and spent much of his time and money in their advocacy and in circulating the Henry George literature.

Johnson went to Congress years ago and fought against protection, notwithstanding that he was largely interested in the steel business and was profiting largely through the tariff.

Johnson was recognized and feared as a power in the traction world; he was recognized as a great political leader.

Journal, Ithaca, N. Y., April 12.

Much that was bitter was said of Tom L. Johnson in his lifetime, but Cleveland, in spite of its repudiation of the man and his plans on more than one occasion, is a better city because he lived there. He spent a lifetime in fighting for what he thought was right; he had many faults, but more virtues and his death is a loss to the country, as well as to his State and home city.

Journal, Jamestown, N. Y., April 12.

Now that he is dead even the papers which were his bitterest political enemies acknowledge that Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland was a man of genius, with a warm heart, a splendid brain and an honest purpose. Thorns for the living and flowers for the dead.

Post, Jamestown, N. Y., April 11.

Mr. Johnson was an engaging figure in the public life of his city, State and nation. He was one of the few wealthy men of the country who espoused first the Singletax theories of Henry George and later the political principles of William J. Bryan, whose friend and active supporter he was in three Presidential campaigns. The sincerity of a man who makes personal sacrifices for his political faith cannot be questioned and Mr. Johnson was one of a very few public men who have shown their willingness to do this.

Call, New York City, April 13.

In the papers of his own home city, even among those who fought him villainously and who professed to look with contempt upon him, there is a genuine note of sympathy in their notices of the death of Tom Johnson. He and the Socialists had little in common. They realized he had splendid courage and unusual intelligence, but they also knew that, for some reason or other, he never

had the propulsion toward a real tackling of the real social problem.

Yet they can sympathize with him, and perhaps more than others estimate his actual work. In these times when to be regular is to be cringing, they know he was heroically irregular in politics. When to be of the capitalist machine means to be merely a tool, an obedient, obsequious tool, Tom Johnson stood up and fought. What he really accomplished can be weighed later. But he is a hero compared with the Democratic and Republican products of Ohio, President Taft included.

Collier's Weekly, New York City, April 22.

Tom Johnson had an exact mind. When he was walking about the streets, or going through a building, if his eve fell upon a mechanical contrivance new to him, no matter how small, he at once studied it. It was because of this clearness and definiteness that he, born a poor boy, was able to work himself up through selling newspapers, laboring in a rolling-mill, driving a street-car, to independent business and ultimate wealth. It was because of his understanding of finance and its possibilities that he was so well equipped to tell the public what it ought to demand from traction companies. Although his last fight resulted in a technical defeat, he helped to carry upward the standards of his city and of his country. He was a brave man, devoted, determined, far-seeing. patient. His honesty, brevity, and precision in conversation made his friendship inspiring. It is said that when he bade good bye to his family he announced that he had "finished talking." It is said also that his last signature was to a letter written to a Cleveland baseball club. He was never over-solemn. He dealt hard blows, but he knew the world. He kept his perspective and his calm, half-ironical determination. He was a big man, a useful man, one to follow and respect.

Electric Rallway Journal, New York City, April 15.

In the death of ex-Mayor Tom I. Johnson of Cleveland the country has lost one of the most interesting, we might say most picturesque, characters that ever were prominently engaged in street railroading. No one we believe, least of all those many individuals with whom he was engaged in hostilities during his stormy career, will deny that he was gifted with great courage and resources, that he possessed marked ability as an inventor and as an organizer, that he was a keen judge of human nature, and that he had the great faculty of being able to attach closely to himself his business associates and those whom he wished to make



his friends. On the other hand, few even among his friends, we think, will be disposed to dispute the statement that his greatest financial successes as an owner of electric railway properties did not come to him as an operator but as a promoter of competitive lines in large cities and through the sale of these lines afterward at a large profit to longer established companies. It was indeed on the rock of operation that Mr. Johnson's theory of low fares when put in practice went to pieces.* As a fighter and as a leader of the opposition he was unexcelled. If Tom L. Johnson had lived a few centuries earlier than he did, we can easily conceive that his lovalty to his friends, his personal bravery and magnetism and the many other qualities of leadership which he possessed would have raised him to an eminent position among his fellows in an age when might was right. But the disaster in Cleveland irretrievably ruined his political prestige and undoubtedly hastened his death. It is fortunate for the street railways of the country and for the people of Cleveland that the fundamental error of his well-known views on street railway operation was exposed as soon as it was. A policy which had proved successful as a club and as a campaign cry broke down when applied as an economic proposition. No company can long continue to do business at less than cost. and in that cost every element of expense must be included. It is in connection with the demonstration of this truth in Cleveland that Tom L. Johnson will longest be remembered.

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Financial World, New York City, April 15.

If it did not mar his reputation, at least it is certain that one mistake Tom L. Johnson made at the zenith of his political prestige, put an end to his great influence with the masses, who for years had acclaimed him as their champion.

He made his fight for political preferment on the issue of cheaper street car transportation. The wealthier classes may have considered him a demagogue, but as long as his sincerity remained unquestioned his issues strongly appealed to the masses. It was their power, exerted at the polls on his behalf, which was responsible for not only sending Johnson to Congress, but also making him the four-time Mayor of Cleveland, which is a city largely made up of industrial workers.

Where Johnson seriously erred and which error virtually was responsible for his undoing, came when he promoted a three-cent street car system and a bank to finance it. This was a move which at once laid him open to the criticism that his

*An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

propaganda was selfishly inspired to directly benefit himself in a financial way. Whether this was true or not is not for us to say. But the move was one which seriously raised doubts as to his sincerity of purpose. That alone undermined his prestige and loosened his grip upon the voters. A reformer's principal asset is his sincerity, which must at all times rise above all suspicion. When both the street car line* and the bank failed,† they leveled to the earth for all time the political structure Johnson had so carefully reared for himself.

Had it not been for this error, Johnson might have been a national figure in the Democratic party and living today, for those who knew the man intimately believe the disappointments which overtook him undermined his constitution and permitted the disease which killed him to take hold on his system.

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Evening Globe, New York City, April 11.

Tom Johnson, big, busy, ebullient Tom Johnson, is the kind of man who in life gets abuse and afterward a monument. To a large part of his fellow citizens, particularly those who take pride in being of the better classes, he was a blatant demagogue. They attributed his activity to a mania for self-advertising. They said that he was ambitious and wanted to hold high political office. They refused to believe that he was controlled by other motives than those of vanity and selfishness. One may imagine that the conservatives of Rome talked the same way of the Gracchi in the days when Cornelia's sons were stirring things up. . . . He will be chiefly remembered for the work he did during the four terms that he was Mayor of Cleveland. When he came in, Cleveland had a municipal government not dissimilar to the bad American average. Somehow it got better under his direction. The noise at times was so deafening that Clevelanders said they would forego improvement rather than have such an everlasting din. At last they turned on Johnson and turned him out. Yet it is a fact that Cleveland has threecent railway fares, with a cent more for transfers, while other cities pay five cents, with the street railway company realizing 6 per cent on the value of its property. It is a fact that in many respects the city government of Cleveland is held up as a model to the rest of the country and pointed to as a pattern of what other communities can achieve. One can imagine, although the matter is a mystery to many, how it is that Tom Johnson was a happier man in the years that he de-

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697. †An error. The bank went out of business, merging into another bank, but it did not fail.

voted to dissipating than to amassing his fortune. As he lay on his death bed, cheerful and as optimistic concerning the ultimate triumph of his ideas, he said that what he didn't regret was that he had awakened to the hollowness of mere money making and had been permitted to fight to make one American city a better place in which to live.

Harper's Weekly, New York City, April 22.

Tom Johnson was a tariff baron, a franchisegrabber, and a machine politician. Tom Johnson was a tariff-reformer, a champion of the people against the monopolists of transportation, and an idealist in politics. And there was but one Tom Johnson. He was the poor Southern boy of good stock who made his start during the Civil War selling newspapers at high prices by virtue of a pull with a railroad conductor. He was the ultratypically precocious young Westerner who at twenty-two got into "big business" at the head of an Indianapolis street car line. He was the Ohio capitalist who fought Mark Hanna to a standstill in the Cleveland traction war. He was the Pennsylvania steel man who made a lot of money manufacturing steel rails and selling them to his own street car companies. He was the Congressman who wanted to put steel rails on the free list. He was the manager of Henry George's campaign for Mayor of New York and the most devoted of his disciples. He was Cleveland's severely reprobated boss and also its reform Mayor. He was all these apparently inconsistent things because, having mastered American business and American politics as he found them in his youth, he ardently and sincerely aspired to make them better.

He was a very American kind of an idealist, and to many good people quite inexplicable; in fact, unbelievable. But was his career really so strange? Was it really so unlike that of the idealists, the reformers, of other countries and other periods? Did not most of them, most of the effective ones at any rate, begin as he began-by doing what they afterward denounced, by conforming to the very things which they afterward strove to change? How else could they have begun at all? Could Luther have started the Reformation if he had not first been a priest of Rome? Could Loyola have organized the Jesuits if he had not first been a soldier in carnal wars? Could Gladstone have destroved Torvism if he had not begun as a Tory? Can anybody get the knowledge and the strength to war effectively against the established order otherwise than by first accepting it?

Tom Johnson's inconsistency was consistent with the facts of American life. He admitted it fairly, laughingly. His candor about it was a

part of his idealism; and his idealism was real, robust, fearless. It was also effective, notwithstanding that he met defeats, notwithstanding that he seemed to end in defeat. For he was fighting in a big war that is still going on; what he won for good government will be kept; his mistakes were not fatal; and he taught many others how to fight.

Life, New York City, April 27.

If Tom Johnson cared for obituaries he would have been interested to read his own. Nobody spoke of him, except with kindness. He died after losing most of his fortune, and after his streetrailroad three-cent-fare plan for Cleveland had miscarried and the city had refused to add another to his five terms as Mayor. In a way, he looked like a failure. But he was not so regarded, even by conservative people who had opposed his plans and distrusted most of his hopes and purposes. Some of his plans had failed, but not he. He had succeeded in life. That was really the gist of the obituaries. Everybody agreed that he was a good man; so good that his mistakes could not ruin him and his works live after him; and more than that, a very able, original and unselfish man, a lover of the people and unquenchably joyous in his spirit.

Nation, New York City, April 13.

The public reputation of Tom L. Johnson, which came to be national, was largely identified with his long contest to procure a three-cent fare on the street railways of Cleveland. Our customary American facility in giving nick-names made him known as Three-Cent-Fare Johnson. In the obituary notices it is freely stated that he failed in this great fight of his life; but this is inaccurate. He was, indeed, beaten in his last contest for the mayoralty, but a good part of what he strove for is now established in Cleveland. On some lines and for certain distances, there is a three-cent fare in that city.* And even if the event shows that the three-cent fare cannot be made universal in Cleveland, that will but slightly diminish the value of what Johnson achieved. For the question of the fare, more or less, was only a part of the object he fought for. His great aim was to bring about an entire change in the attitude of the people toward public-utilities corporations, and in this he won a success which nothing can dim. Mayor Johnson was, indeed, a leader in what we can now see to be a revolution effected. The old conception of an indifferent public on the one hand, and scheming and overbearing com-

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

panies on the other, has passed away almost completely.

Little by little Mr. Johnson worked out a change of attitude in Cleveland toward the whole problem of municipal administration. He was, of course, a party man and a politician, and "played the game" with the best of them, but in certain matters of high civic importance he would not allow the government to be thought of as merely a dispenser of jobs, or a system of outdoor relief for needy political dependents. If the city's water supply needed to be overhauled and regularized, he put a competent scientist at the work. So, too, in matters affecting the police and parks and public playgrounds and the lake-front and the muchneeded union railway station, Mayor Johnson took his stand on large principles more often than upon small politics. For all these reasons he deserves to be thought of as one of the earliest and most successful to enter upon the great work of renovating the public life of American cities.

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Observer, New York City, April 20.

Tom L. Johnson, who passed away recently in Cleveland, of which city he was four times Mayor, was a man with a big heart, a real friend of humanity, and possessod of some ideas that seemed impracticable to a selfish world, but which were more ideal than the cold, hard practices of the business community. He started as a poor boy in Kentucky, and entered as a very humble subordinate the traction business, in which ultimately he made a fortune. He is best known both in New York and Cleveland as a supporter of Henry George, the Singletaxer, making strenuous efforts to elect Mr. George Mayor of New York. Everyone admires the spirit of brotherhood and social sympathy which characterized his life.

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Outlook, New York City, April 22.

One of the most forceful men of his time, Tom L. Johnson, lost his power months ago. His death last week was not the termination of his career as a public man; it was rather the tragic sequel of that termination. He was a man who, in whatever he undertook, was bound to be leader. He had a genius for dominance. It seemed as if, once he had lost the opportunity to dominate, he lost with it his abounding vitality. Whether that be so or not, there seemed to be something of the inevitable in the fact that after he went down to defeat for re-election as Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, and with him went down also his cherished plans for the public control of the city's transit lines, he succumbed to ill health that slow-

ly culminated in death. No public man in America in recent years has aroused greater extremes of loyalty and enmity. Among his fellow-citizens in Cleveland men of public spirit and good judgment deeply distrusted him and vigorously opposed him from first to last; while other men of equal public spirit, and of equally sound judgment believed in him and gave him effective support. There is no doubt that his early career supplied good foundation for distrust; and in the opinion of many there was abundant confirmation of it in the methods he adopted in his final term as Mayor. . . . In 1890 he was elected to Congress, and made a sensation by espousing the cause of the Singletax. He was willing to acknowledge that he himself was a horrible example of the injustice of land monopoly. In 1901 Mr. Johnson was elected Mayor of Cleveland. His fight for three-cent fares on the city lines and for municipal control and ultimate ownership was as vigorous as his battles for his own fortune had been. And his experience on the other side stood him in good stead. With the general object of Mayor Johnson The Outlook was in hearty sympathy; but when Mr. Johnson introduced into the financing of railways on behalf of the city methods which have brought disrepute upon many a private speculative venture, The Outlook welcomed the rebuke which the voters of Cleveland administered. Mr. Johnson's idealism, which made him a genuine advocate of large public rights, would have been more successful, and therefore more practical, if it had been more consistent. Nevertheless, Mr. Johnson's fight on the traction question has been far from ineffective. In other aspects of municipal government Mr. Johnson's services were less widely known, but equally—in some respects even more highly—noteworthy. Under him the management of Cleveland's water supply was put into expert hands. Under him the administration of the police was actuated by the aim to make it something more than an agency of repression; and though this aim, in our opinion, was not clearly kept in mind or practically followed, it was higher than that which ordinarily obtains in American cities. Under Mayor Johnson, too, the city's department of correction was administered in an extraordinarily enlightened, humane, and civilizing fashion, and has been a laboratory of wise experiment from which all municipalities should profit. In national politics Mayor Johnson was a Democrat of the Bryan school, and in his State he was for several years the leading figure in his party. It is, however, not as a party man, but as a leader in municipal government, that, by both foes and friends, he will be chiefly remembered.

Evening Post, New York City, April 11.

The charge most frequently flung at the late Tom L. Johnson. during his time of political activity, was that of gross inconsistency. He was accused of trying to kick down the ladder on which he himself had not only climbed but still stood. A part of his large fortune he had made out of street railway companies, conducted on the old public-be-damned methods, yet for years he threw himself into a struggle to compel the large traction corporations of Cleveland to reduce their fares while giving better service under franchises severely limited. Johnson also ran for Congress as a free-trader, and distributed by the thousand Henry George's book on the fallacies and oppressions of the protective system, at the very time when he was a large owner in the Lorain Steel Works and reaping swollen profits from the tariff. What could be more impudently inconsistent?

Johnson always met the accusation with blunt directness. He was no dodger; least of all a hypocrite. It was true, he said, that he had made a great deal of money out of a vicious system of managing public utilities, but this was not going to prevent him from attacking that system and breaking it down if he could. It was also true that protection had brought him undue gains in the steel business, but he was convinced that protective taxes were unjust, and he was determined to fight to abolish them if possible. The thing to do was to attend to the rights and the wrongs of both questions, as they confronted the public, and let Tom Johnson's consistency go hang. He was, in fact, simply a little more conspicuously than the average reformer, caught in the tangle of existing conditions. Even while striving mightily to alter these, we are forced to live under them. Just as it is unfair to demand that a Socialist, if he is honest, should divide his property among his fellows, so it was quite beside the point to insist, as many foolish people long did, that Tom Johnson could not be sincere, inasmuch as he had been a traction magnate and a beneficiary of the protective tariff. All agitators for social and political reform have these handicaps of inexorable circumstance. They are very much like Milton's lions, their hinder parts held in the earth while they are pawing to get free. No one can deny that Tom Johnson at least pawed vigorously.

In his personal endowment, Tom Johnson showed the qualities which make his career intelligible. Not a refined man, or apparently one of delicate scruples, he had a kind of dæmonic force about him and a store of common sense, with a robust good humor, which would have carried him

far in any pursuit. That he had also the courage to stand for unpopular doctrines was shown by his unflinching advocacy of Henry George's landtax. He was a most affable man, the "Tom Johnson smile" being as famous as it was irresistible. An adept in the arts of political advertising, he doubtless had vast ambitions of which death has now cut the thin-spun thread. He failed in his first attempt to become Governor of Ohio, but might have succeeded later. Whether he could ever have risen higher, as his friends thought, may be doubted. For the very greatest services in the state, a democracy is wont to look to a more austere man than Tom Johnson. But it was a typically American career that he had, and one on the whole of great usefulness. Not alone in the city of Cleveland can it be said today that his works do follow him.

Star, Greater New York, April 11.

Tom L. Johnson, four times Mayor of Cleveland, is dead. His career was typically American. He started from the bottom of the ladder and worked his way upward until at one time he was credited with being worth fully ten million dollars. He was a prominent figure in the Western country and at one time was mentioned as a possible nominee for President. Those who best knew him admired him for his earnestness and persistency in all that he undertook to perform. It is a question, however, if his activities did not tend to shorten his life and public career.

Sun, New York City, April 12.

Tom Johnson—so he preferred to be known, although he began life as Thomas Loftin Johnson*—was a dealer in paradoxes and political novelties. As a business man he made money out of trusts and the protective tariff; in his purely civic capacity he assailed monopoly as bad in principle and oppressive, and the tariff as extortion and a grievous wrong. When a Representative in Congress from the Cleveland district, Mr. Johnson proposed to introduce a bill establishing free trade in one paragraph and in another directing the sale of custom houses. His first business venture, as an urchin in Staunton, Va., was to get his hands on all the newspapers and periodicals coming in by train and sell them at exorbitant prices. He made a fortune in street car combinations and then advocated municipal ownership. He was the only man in America who could run with the people and hunt with the "interests."

People in Cleveland will always be at odds as to

^{*}His baptismal name was Tom Loftin Johnson, and he never used any other.



whether Tom Johnson as Mayor for four terms was a blight or a blessing. By some he has been glorified as a practical reformer, and others have regarded him as a mountebank and political empiric. Our own impression is that Cleveland has been greatly indebted to Tom Johnson. It is a cleaner, better built, better lighted and better policed city for his public activities, and the advertising it gained on account of his flamboyant methods was not prejudicial to business, but the contrary, as its rapid increase in population shows. As long as he busied himself with the usual details of administration progress was substantial and visible, but his spectacular reforms went wrong. The three-cent street car fare turned out to be a burden and not an economy to the people, because transfers had to be paid for.* In the end Cleveland suffered from too much Johnson, and cast him down rudely from his pedestal. In his prime he had prevailed over the Hon. Theodore E. Burton in a campaign for the mayoralty, but a man of no claims to statesmanship or fame at last took his measure.

And great was the fiasco of Tom Johnson's banking novelty. The people's bank was widely advertised in the ten cent magazines with a picture of the jovial promoter, but if deposits drew interest from the day they were made they could not be taken out at will without penalty. It was found that the "bank money orders," issued for each deposit with automatic interest at 4 per cent, were not as convenient and serviceable as the old bank books which they replaced. There must have been a lack of confidence in the scheme, for the people's bank retired from the field and transferred its business to two of the old style banks.

In the last years of life Tom Johnson's fortune dwindled and he gave up his fine town house and the luxuries he had never denied himself in his character of friend of the people; but there must have been sterling worth in a man who was ready to begin life again in the shadow of so many defeats and could make a jest of his troubles. If Tom Johnson hankered after radical notions, he was full of human nature, brimming over with it; and if his sincerity might sometimes be questioned, his love of his kind could never be.

Evening Sun, New York City, April 12.

There was no one who appreciated the humor of Tom Johnson's variegated life better than Tom Johnson. And it was just because of his cheerful sense of humor, perhaps, that he succeeded so long and widely. Almost the first of the current

*See Introductory Note on page 697.

crop of radicals, he was never a fanatic—like the La Follettes—or a cold self seeker—like the Beveridges. He did and said a-plenty of foolish things; but there was always a saving grace of common sense and cheerful humor to save him from his mistakes. If all radicals were of the same blood there would be far less to worry about in these flighty and tempestuous years.

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Tribune, New York City, April 12.

Tom L. Johnson will be remembered among the Democratic leaders of the Cleveland-Bryan period as a curious combination of the ultra-radical theorist and the practical politician and business man. Senator Isidor Rayner, of Maryland, not long ago said in a Jefferson Day speech in this city that the Democratic party ought to take as its motto Iago's confession, "I am not what I am." Mr. Johnson was a courageous enough Democrat to live up to that motto throughout his career. He was a street railway magnate who made greatest reputation fighting as Mayor his of Cleveland to put street railway magnates out of business. He was an iron and steel manufacturer who labored as a member of Congress to abolish the tariff duties which had made the iron and steel industry powerful and prosperous. He was one of the most loyal and most serviceable of the supporters of William J. Bryan-a power in holding Ohio to Mr. Bryan's support in three Democratic national conventions. Yet he disbelieved in Mr. Bryan's paramount issue of silver inflation and did not hesitate to say so. An extremist, almost a Socialist, in his ideas of taxation and government, he made for years a remarkable practical success of municipal administration in Cleveland. Between what he thought and what he did there was always a glaring and unapologized-for contrast.

As a Democrat Mr. Johnson was much ahead of his day. He had more the temper of the modern English Radical. The Southern type of Democrat in this country he could not understand at all—the type which talks of loyalty to the Jeffersonion ideal of unchecked individualism and the least government possible, while denouncing their practical results. The Southern politicians regarded him as an eccentric faddist, and even in Ohio, where he controlled the party organization for a time, a majority of his followers neither understood him nor trusted him. He tried to bridge over the gulf between traditional Democracy and state socialism, and he was too outspoken and too careless of appearances to make his activities as a go-between very acceptable on either side of the chasm.

As a politician Mr. Johnson was resourceful, picturesque and for a time genuinely influential. But his successes were only temporary. He never quite found himself in politics, or a proper field to work in, and he will be remembered chiefly as a venturesome and candid radical whose chief mission it was to make many other Democratic leaders who thought that they were bursting with radicalism look smugly and comfortably conservative.

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Volkszeitung, New York City, April 13.

Der Tod Tom L. Johnson's erinnert an den Kampf, den dieser Mann mit einigen Straszenbahn-Gesellschaften durchfocht, um das Fahrgeld von fuenf Cents auf drei Cents herabzusetzen.

Tom L. Johnson's Kampf war umsonst, trotzdem ihm zeitweilig verhaeltniszmaeszig grosze Machtmittel zur Verfuegung standen. Er war nicht im Stande, eine so verhaeltniszmaezig kleine Reform durchzusetzen, die gewisse Eigenthums-Interessen schaedigen mochten, trotzdem ihm das Volk zur Seite stand.

Welcher Kampf wird noethig sein, die Herrschaft des Eigenthums ueberhaupt zu brechen!

Woman Voter, New York City, June.

Tom L. Johnson believed in woman suffrage; at first academically only, but later vigorously and actively. He repeatedly put himself on record publicly and privately.

In the midst of the most exciting and hardest fought political campaign of his career—the municipal campaign of 1907, when Hon. Theodore Burton, then Congressman, now United States Senator, was running against him for Mayor of Cleveland, Mr. Johnson accepted an invitation to speak at the annual convention of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association in a neighboring city. When the time came he neither excused himself nor sent a substitute. No, he gave up the three or four speeches that he would otherwise have made in Cleveland that night and kept his appointment. There are some politicians, perhaps (we use the word in its best sense), who would do now what Mayor Johnson did then, but there was not another man of equal prominence in the whole country who would have done it at that

Once a delegation of brewers from Sandusky, Ohio, called at the city hall in Cleveland and asked Mayor Johnson to use his influence against a bill then in the legislature providing for votes for women in local elections on the liquor question. "I won't do it, gentlemen," said the Mayor, "I believe in women voting on all questions."

There are many men who profess to believe in woman suffrage who do believe in it indeed, but who do not really believe in women. Tom Johnson believed in women. He believed in women exactly as he believed in men, and he liked them better. He thought they had the same rights as men and he encouraged them to exercise equal independence in thought and in action.

Mr. Johnson's last work, completed just before his death, was to write the story of his public activities. Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, who assisted him in this writing, has just arranged for the fall publication of this autobiography in book form.

Members of the woman suffrage party will remember that Miss Hauser did some very effective work for The Voter, and assisted Mrs. Catt in organizing the district work of the party.

Journal, Ogdensburg, N. Y., April 11.

The career of Tom L. Johnson, for thus he elected to call himself, serves an excellent example of a life devoted to and sacrificed for a hobby. It must not be denied, however, that he was a man of many parts. . . . Three times he was elected Mayor on a municipal ownership and 3-cent fare platform and finally he achieved the object of his life. For six months Cleveland people rode on their own lines for 3 cents, but a strike was the undoing of the Utopian plan and by a referendum the citizens voted out the franchise and turned the company over to a receiver's hands. Another unsuccessful attempt to secure the passage of similar grants was followed by Johnson's defeat for re-election, and broken in spirit and health he retired to Europe for the rest and strength which earth could not give. He lived, however, to see 3-cent fares re-established as the result of his efforts, and the history of his life, if the satisfying of an earthly ambition is one's goal, would seem to attest the fact that he passed away in happiness. He was possibly ahead of the times in which he lived, but the influence of his life work is bound to endure.

Times, Oswego, N. Y., April 11.

Tom Johnson was a heroic figure and, consistent to the last, he made a heroic fight against death, but though he contested every inch, just as he had done in his fight for 3-cent car fares in Cleveland, he was beaten at last. . . . Aside from his mistaken advocacy of the 3-cent car fare,* Johnson made a notable record as a consistent self-sacrificing friend of the people and of good government. He was the able champion of many

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

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successful reforms in municipal affairs in Cleveland and could always be counted upon as a fearless advocate of public measures which best conserved the public interests of that city.

Democrat-Chronicie, Rochester, N. Y., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson was the first 3-cent fare martyr. Some day, perhaps, his dream will be realized, and then the strap-hangers will build him a monument.

Post-Express, Rochester, N. Y., April 11.

Tom Loftin Johnson—sometimes called "Threecent Tom," "Circus Tom" and "Demagogue Tom" and who referred to himself as "a stormy petrel" -died in Cleveland yesterday. He had been elected Mayor of that city four times, and had served four years in Congress. Few men who have held a prominent place in politics presented so many sides to public view. He was a Kentuckian by birth and an Ohioan by adoption; he began poor and died poor and between times was a millionaire; he worked himself into the very rich class by the utilization of patents, franchises and special privileges, and slid back to poverty as a fighter against special privileges; at one time he was a manipulator of prices on the New York Stock Exchange, and at another an exponent of the most radical phase of western anti-trust sentiment; no street railroad magnate ever showed more keenness or rapacity in the pursuit of franchises, and later in his life no man was a more strenuous advocate of municipal ownership; in politics he opposed the free coinage of silver as a dangerous heresy, but three times advocated the election of Mr. Bryan to the presidency; he was a hard-headed mechanical genius, but he had a vast amount of sentiment in his nature; he was a fat man who loved an easy chair, but he was extraordinarily quick when called into action; he was happy at home, but he delighted in conflicts abroad; he was the personification of good humor, his smile was an enormous asset, but behind the doors he was cool, calculating and sinister; at one time he was a high protectionist, at another a free-trader, and the advocate of the Singletax. And now, when he lies in his coffin, after a long and active career, some of those who knew him best are wondering whether he was ever sincere or had an honest conviction.

Times, Rochester, N. Y., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson was best known for his long fight to get 3-cent street car fares for Cleveland. He was radical in many of his theories and ideas, but acknowledged by all to be sincere and honest. He had a remarkable gift for making and keeping friends and was for many years one of the most popular men in Cleveland.

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Star, Schenectady, N. Y., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson, whose death was announced yesterday, will probably be known in all future American municipal history as the Mayor of the "best governed city in the United States," and as the father of the 3-cent street railway fare in America. As a progressive municipal official he had no superior. . . .

In 1901, when he was elected Mayor of Cleveland, Johnson began his real life's work of establishing the 3-cent street car fare. For years he kept up the fight and as a result Cleveland to-day still has a 3-cent fare, although not under exactly the conditions he had hoped for. His various terms as Mayor were marked by a continual fight against special privilege with the result that he quickly won the title of "Mayor of the best governed city in the United States."

Johnson was one of the most forceful figures in American municipal history and the example he set has resulted in stimulating officials in many other municipalities to raise the standard of municipal government.

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Post-Standard, Syracuse, N. Y., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson's long and stubborn struggle is over. He died last evening, leaving behind him a city which is better for his obstreperous and sometimes mistaken activities, and a host of friends who feel towards his memory a warmth of loyalty such as few men in public life attain.

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Times, Troy, N. Y., April 11.

Few careers have been more picturesque than the one which has just terminated by the death of ex-Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Johnson had been ill for many months and his recovery was not expected, yet the passing away of one once so noted and so active in affairs brings sadness. . . . He became most widely known as the advocate of certain "advanced" economic ideas and for his fight for 3-cent fares in Cleveland, where for many years he made his home and of which city he was several times elected Mayor on the low-fare issue. The experiment in 3-cent fares was not a shining success, though attended by many exciting episodes in the legal and physical battles which accompanied the struggle. Mr. Johnson is said to have lost much of his fortune during his contests, political and traction, but he never lost his spirit or his

striking personality, and he had capacity for making strong and enduring friendship.

Observer, Utica, N. Y., April 11.

He was Mayor of Cleveland four times, and he devoted the greater part of his active life to promoting the welfare of his city and to the betterment of the conditions of the citizens generally. ... His character was a curiously composite one. He was a wealthy man and a conservative business man and a shrewd financier; and yet with all these qualities he was a believer in Socialism and Singletaxism and other isms usually counted heresies by the average business man. He had made a fortune in promoting street railway properties in Cleveland; and he will be remembered, if for nothing else, for his long and pertinacious fight to secure 3-cent fares with transfers for Cleveland. But he finally lost the fight last November.* . . . He supported Bryan the three times he ran, although he never subscribed to his free silver doctrines. He was always an interesting character in whatever role he appeared before the public. His was generally a leading part, and for the most he played it well. His passing leaves a vacancy that will not easily be filled.

Press, Utica, N. Y., April 12.

For several days the announcement made yesterday morning that Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland is dead has been expected. Though only 57 years of age, his had been a strenuous life with much in it which saps the strength and vitality and makes a man prematurely old. He was accustomed to refer to himself as the "stormy petrel," and that was a pretty good designation. He was a fighter always and in a controversy pretty much all the time. . . . There has been a division of opinion whether or not he was sincere in his somewhat populistic notions or whether he advocated them to gain prominence in public office. He was certainly a man of ability and a man who will be much missed in the community where he lived so long.

Free Press, Waverly, N. Y., April 14.

"His face was a thanksgiving for his past life and a love letter to all mankind."

Such was the beautiful sentiment to which Tom L. Johnson, the former Mayor of Cleveland, subscribed his autograph in the birthday book of a friend, as he lay with the shadows of death gathering about his couch.

No better tribute can be paid to the character

*An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

of brave Tom L. Johnson than the brief sentiment over which he inscribed his name for the last time.

His life indeed was a thanksgiving, the memory of which will, we know, be treasured long, like a love letter in the hearts of his own—the people of Cleveland.

Free Press, Waveriy, N. Y., April 21.

In these days when so many men are stpping the sugar sweets of fortune acquired by some other man's toil, the American people have a warm place in their hearts for a man like Johnson.

* * * * North Carolina.

News-Observer, Raieigh, N. C., April 12.

'He always had the face and heart of a boy. He was always for the "under-dog" in any fight. He gave all his life in public to the causes that would help the poor and the struggling. He turned up in Congress in 1890 as an advocate of free trade, though all the other iron men were demanding high tariff and always higher. He declared that if he couldn't make money in the iron business without taxing all the consumers for his benefit it was better for him to get out of the iron business and make a living at something else. That expression was the secret of Tom Johnson's political creed. He was ever the foe of privilege. In Congress he was one of the biggest men and one of the most popular. He failed as candidate for Governor of Ohio, but he was a pioneer in sowing the seed that enabled later Democrats to reap the crop. He was a disciple of Henry George. . . . He was a sunny-tempered noble man, too breezy and too given to thinking aloud to make a successful national leader, but he had a big heart and a big brain and gave his day and generation the best type it knew of the modern and model Mayor of a big town.

Dispatch, Wilmington, N. C., April 13.

Undoubtedly ex-Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland, whose passing is being mourned to-day not only by the people of his own city, who love him dearly, but by thousands of others scattered about this great land, made mistakes, but his virtues overshadowed his faults. . . The man who is constantly striving for success, who is always endeavoring to help humanity is bound to blunder occasionally. . . . Tom Johnson was that sort of man. . . A valuable asset for Cleveland, for humanity in general, has been blotted out by death. One of his great advocacies called for fresh air and playgrounds for the children. It showed how near he was to the people, how dear



the people were to him. Every child should think tenderly of Tom Johnson. Every mother should drop a tear today over his passing.

North Dakota.

Citizen, Bowman, N. D., June 8.

In the recent passing of Tom L. Johnson, progressive statesmanship and the cause of democracy and brotherhood throughout the world have sustained an inestimable loss. Rising from poverty to riches by what would generally be considered as the power of his own genius, Tom L. Johnson was great enough to recognize the force of privileged social conditions as an efficient factor in the creation of his fortune. He was going the way of other "captains of industry," amassing wealth and living without other objects in view, until he came in touch with Henry George, who changed the whole course of his life. Under the influence and inspiration of the great truths proclaimed by the "Prophet of San Francisco," Johnson turned from the accumulation of material things to the work of human progress and in the field of social and economic reform rendered magnificent service to the race. As a prophet of political righteousness, a leader of the progressive Democracy, and a high-minded and practical administrator, he combined in one man those qualities which make a great statesman. He did much to advance the cause of freedom of trade and production by his advocacy of the removal of tariff barriers and the taxation of land values and lived to see his work highly successful and appreciated. Tom L. Johnson has rendered services to his country and the world which will cause him to be remembered by millions as a humanitarian statesman and philanthropist of the highest type. He has passed on before, but will live in our hearts as an inspiration to stronger endeavor for the common good.

Independent, Hamilton, N. D., April 14.

He was aggressive, and was a man of great business ability, winning repeatedly in election contests where he was opposed by the great corporate interests. He made a valiant fight for lower street car fares, and while not successful,* he did succeed in getting better service. He was at one time a millionaire, but his campaigns were expensive and he left only \$100,000. He was open hearted, generous and a good fighter, and his death is sincerely mourned by thousands of friends throughout the country.

Ohio.

Times, Akron, Ohio, April 11.

The journalist who rightly conceives his mission as being not to the dead but to the living will do justice to the departed statesman and man of affairs by saving that his sympathies were broad, his sense of right quick, his capacity remarkable, his motives pure, the ends he sought unselfish, his industry for welfare untiring, his patriotism unquestionable, his private life exemplary. If we knew of words which could better sum up the life now gone, we would say them. . . . The world knows the obstacles of interested opposition and short-sighted ignorance that were thrown in his way. Every legal rod in pickle fell on his devoted back, to be resented only by orderly legal retort. He ran the gauntlet of the courts, to whose judgments he always bowed as in reverence to the maxim that "the king can do no wrong." Strikes were fomented and, as is usual with men to whom the definition of gratitude is a lively sense of favors yet to come, those who engaged in them were the very ones for whose cause Tom Johnson had been tortured like an Indian at the stake and had unweariedly, unselfishly and with an intelligence seeing far beyond their comprehension, labored in season and out of

All the sinister but powerful obstructions known to the underworld of modern finance were put in motion against him, while the respectability of his town moved not one of its dignified fingers to lift his burden from him or to rescue their city from the exploiters against whom he was so gallantly but lucklessly contending. And at last, through a combination drawn together by the cohesive scent of mercenary politics, he was voted out of office with his work in part undone, and his city was turned over to the spoilsman to work his scarcely disguised will upon its people and their resources.

This is one of the things that Tom L. Johnson did while he was kept warm by the great heart which nature had given him, and with the capacity for affairs which, if he had prostituted it—as most men who have it do prostitute it—to the inconsiderate ends of money-getting, would have made him at his death many times a millionaire -and nothing more.

Chronicle, Cincinnati, Ohio, April 15.

While all the world may not have agreed with all his ideals, future generations will accord to Tom Loftin Johnson encomiums that were denied to him in this life. Mankind, irrespective of affiliations, will only too keenly feel the loss of

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

this master-mind; his was a progressive and idealistic nature. Temperamentally he breathed and exuded sunshina; his sphere was of the people, for the people and with the people.

* *

Catholic Universe, Cleveland, Ohio, April 14.

He had fought many political and civic battles and had entered on them with spirit and persevered with an indomitable will. He fought for civic rights and won an enviable place in the hearts of his followers and obtained tributes from his enemies for his fairness of statement and courage in the presentation. . . . Mr. Johnson had a winning character. He was affable, approachable, loyal to his principles and to his friends. He had views of life and of economic questions that were in opposition to those of many. He was liberal in his views and he had always the support of the "personal liberty" people. He believed that we would have no poor if economic conditions were properly arranged. He had the courage of his convictions and fought bravely for his views. People knew well where to find him. He was a man of his word—an open enemy and a staunch friend. We often regretted that he appeared to have few religious convictions. This fact was quite evident in its absence from the death chamber. . . . He certainly worked for the good of the common people and sought, at much personal sacrifice, to remove many of the ills and bad laws of society.

Leader, Cleveland, Ohio, April 11.

The best loved man in Cleveland, best loved and most feared, a human storm center of affectionate admiration and bitter antagonism, has passed away with the death of Tom Loftin Johnson. No one else has been so followed or so attacked. No other citizen of Cleveland has set in motion such currents of deep feeling and brought into collision such forces affecting the general welfare and civic progress.

Tom Johnson's public career was so many sided, so dynamic, so prolific of good and ill that the man himself, human, warm and compelling as he was, sinks almost out of sight in retrospect, by contrast with the career he hammered out for his ambitions and his far-reaching plans. In life he was weighed and measured by the public enterprises and interests which he organized, directed and bent to his will. In death he will be judged and remembered as a master spirit in the public affairs of his city and his times.

There can be no agreement upon any estimate of Tom Johnson's work and influence. The points

of view are too utterly opposed. The effects of his career are so much a subject of present contention that its ending can not establish a generally accepted valuation of its results.

But some things stand out above and beyond controversy. Tom L. Johnson's activities and undertakings stirred the depths of civic life. He was a great, upheaving force. He compelled readjustments and searching inquiries into basic conditions and principles involving large interests and far-reaching systems of government and business.

His followers, by tens of thousands, loved him for his dash and daring, for his creative power, his eagerness for change and movement, his knack of winning the hearts and minds of men—and winning the goal he sought. For many years he had the charm of success. He was born to leadership. Nature taught him to sway the thoughts and impulses of his fellow men.

Eloquence was a birthright, mastery an inheritance. Tom Johnson had the rare gift of divining the motives that set multitudes in motion. He knew by instinct the secret springs of human nature. He could live in luxury and hold the confidence and affection of the poor. He could override opposition and build up formidable organizations to work his will, and yet be acclaimed as a prophet and crusader of freedom in government.

Tom L. Johnson never feared inconsistency. He was never afraid to change. He was an opportunist who made the shifting winds of circumstance fill his sails. But he always steered his course to the same port—power, domination, the accomplishment of his undertakings.

In this variableness of method and steadfastness of ambition lies the key to many contradictions in Tom Johnson's career. It is possible to find here the explanation of the utter inability of candid and intelligent men who knew him and his life work well to agree upon his character and his record.

Often it seemed to those who studied this strong man closely and tried to keep their minds open to the truth, that he sought large, fine ends by devious means. He was capable of far-reaching and lofty enthusiams, but in striving to bring his dreams down out of the clouds he was adroit, artful and ruthless.

Hot tempered rather than vindictive, a hard fighter who managed always to keep the personal liking of many who struggled earnestly to thwart his schemes, Tom Johnson was sometimes careless of law and yet kept half his fellow citizens sure that he was an exemplar of justice. It need hardly be said that he was able, quick, gifted in many

ways as a man of affairs. He had invention, vision, tact, determination.

In business, while business was his chief interest, he went swiftly to his goal, displaying admirable energy, industry, self-control, strength and resourcefulness. He held the confidence of those upon whom he relied and gained wealth and popularity together—double success which is given to few.

In public affairs Tom L. Johnson's basic characteristics were emphasized. His vision was wider, his methods a more extraordinary mixture of the engaging and the alarming. Free trade, the Singletax, municipal ownership—all of the great principles and governmental enterprises which won his most ardent support—made their appeal to the dreamer, the idealist in Tom Johnson. He worked for them as the most practical of politicians, the most adroit of "get-there" popular leaders.

Ferment inevitably surrounded such a man. Unrest recruited his armies. Beyond doubt, he broke down old abuses and set new and wholesome forces in motion. It is equally certain that he lighted fires which he could not have extinguished had he so desired.

The record of Tom L. Johnson's life is told in other columns of this issue. The estimate made here of his character and career is offered in all candor and in full consciousness of the great tenderness for the strong man fallen in his prime which fills Cleveland to-day. His hold upon his fellow citizens stood the acid test of adversity and enforced retirement under the crushing burden of disease. When power had vanished the devotion of his followers remained. Strength failed and life itself slipped away without taking from Tom Johnson his wonderful grip upon the minds and hearts of multitudes who admired and loved him.

News, Cleveland, Ohio, April 11.

Mr. Johnson was forceful, resourceful, daring and persevering far beyond the average man, whether in business or in politics. No man could fight harder or keep it up longer. He possessed remarkable powers of persuasion, and in high degree had the gifts of imagination, organization and inspiration. He knew how to draw men to him and how to hold them.

His political success was phenomenal in this city, and prolonged greatly beyond the capability of any man less masterful. Beyond the confines of Cuyahoga county he was not accepted as a leader, and his attempt to subjugate his party in the State to his domination resulted in failure, as did his attempt to win over the people of the State

to his peculiar views and theories. But here in Cleveland he was for many years a tower of strength, and lost his influence mainly through the personal policy he adopted when he thought he had finally impregnably entrenched himself.

However opinion may differ as to the man, or as to his theories and methods, there can be no denying his enormous potentiality. What the recent history of Cleveland would have been with Mr. Johnson left out can scarcely be conjectured. For good or ill, as the point of view may be, he made his mark in that history wide and long, and not to be effaced. Cleveland will scarcely see his like again.

Friends, admirers, opponents—all experience a feeling of deep regret that a man of Mr. Johnson's mentality and brilliancy, and zest for the greater activities of human endeavor, should have been stricken down in his prime; and deeper still is the regret that he was called upon during the last few months of his life to suffer from the painful ravages of an incurable disease.

Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio, April 11.

Tom L. Johnson gave the best part of his life to the people of Cleveland. It is given to few men to wield so strong an influence and wield it so uniformly for the benefit of their fellow men. The fame and the good works of Mr. Johnson will live long after his personality is forgotten and those who were associated with him in life have passed away.

Mr. Johnson came to this city in the full vigor of young manhood; his business and political activity were coincidental with the city's period of greatest development; he grew with the city and his name has been linked permanently with the history of Ohio's metropolis. Few other men associated with the later history of Cleveland have been privileged to become so large a part of the forward movements that make up her record of progress.

A seer of visions and an inordinate worker for their realization was this former Congressman and four times Mayor. A visionary, many called him. But he was not the kind of a visionary to spend his time in dreaming. To him a vision was a promise whose fulfillment was a mere matter of untiring effort. Few dreamers ever had more of their visions come true. Many of Tom Johnson's dreams are already matters of every day fact; one would needs be a bold prophet who would dare say that any of them will finally prove impractical.

Reaching, through his own endeavors, a position of comparative wealth at a time of life when

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a majority of successful men still consider themselves beginners in the struggle, Mr. Johnson put aside the temptation to assume a career of ease, equally well withstood the natural inclination to continue amassing wealth for his descendants and decided to devote his talents to the study and settlement of public questions.

This was a decision fraught with great importance to the people of Cleveland, and the United States. In the pursuit of this intention, Mr. Johnson made enemies by the thousands. Children have been taught to lisp a loathing of the name of Johnson; as Mayor of Cleveland there were scores of good men ready to believe nothing was too discreditable for him to stoop to. It is one of the penalties of political activity to have one's motives impugned and one's life made miserable with the charges and insinuations of shallow minded enemies. This unpleasant circumstance was never better illustrated than in the career of the man now dead.

On the other hand, Mr. Johnson's friendships were as cordial and abiding as the enmities against him were bitter. Few men in public life have been able to gather about them a coterie of loyal sympathizers who would do so much and do it so unquestioningly as would those in the inner circle of the Johnson regime. His power to win affection was nothing less than marvelous.

As an executive Mayor Johnson had few equals. Had he continued to devote his time to industrial pursuits, his activity would naturally have taken the direction of conceiving and organizing great manufacturing or commercial projects. He thought deeply and saw far. This quality he carried into political life and became, as a servant of the people, what he would have been as a stockholders' representative, an executive who could grasp big problems broadly and solve them to the best end.

When Mr. Johnson became Mayor of Cleveland he was looked upon by many as merely a man of theories who wanted office either as a pastime or as a stepping stone to political power. He soon showed his complete mastery of the job of governing half a million people. He gave the community an impetus toward better things. Under his direction the city's charities were liberalized, the parks made more popular, and the people soon came to understand that they had a friend, as well as an efficient executive, in the Mayor's office. He was a people's man.

The service to street car riders performed by Mr. Johnson extends not to Cleveland alone, but indirectly to every other city in America. He is entitled to be known as the father of low fare.

It was due to his long fight, supported by the intelligent voters of this city, that we have to-day the Tayler traction ordinance, a model for the world. During the twenty-five years the franchise is to run the people of Cleveland will be saved millions of dollars in street railway fares. This fact alone constitutes a rare tribute to the dead Mayor.

Naturally, in the progress of the long controversy necessary to bring this people's victory, Mr. Johnson took some steps which thousands of his friends could not approve, but few now doubt the purity of his intentions or underestimate the strength of the logic which animated him.

The errors of a constructive man largely pass from memory, as one contemplates from a distance the many excellences that mark his career. It will be so with Tom L. Johnson—is already largely so. To-day the people grieve for a friend departed: all else is ignored.

Tom L. Johnson's influence will long remain with Cleveland, and it will be an influence working for constantly better things in public life. The Johnson example will be an inspiration; his life story an incentive for many years to come.

Piain Lealer, Cleveland, Ohio, April 14.

Lorain does well to pay special honor to the memory of Tom L. Johnson. He was the father of the modern Lorain. He discovered the old town and made a new one of it.

By the census of 1890 Lorain had a population of 4,863. Ten years later she had 16,028 people. This was a truly phenomenal growth to be explained by a variety of circumstances. But first and pre-eminent among the influences tending to this great expansion was the act of Tom L. Johnson in establishing on the banks of Black river the great steel plant that bore his name.

That was the beginning of Lorain's bigness. It put that city on the map where by its own vigorous efforts then and since it has stayed. Mr. Johnson was first to act on the knowledge that on the banks of Black river the ore and coal could meet on terms to make steel making most profitable. That this judgment recorded some twenty years ago has been amply confirmed is shown by a glance at the great steel plant which has been developed from the Johnson mills then established.

Lorain has merited every bit of the growth she has experienced, but her people wisely acknowledge the debt they owe the man whose death Cleveland and the nation mourn this week.

Press, Cieveland, Ohio, April 11. To those whose privilege it was to know Tom

Johnson the man as well as Tom Johnson the statesman and political leader, the brave and beautiful way he spent his last days, knowing that it was beyond human power to do more than postpone death for a brief time, caused no surprise.

For Tom Johnson was a man of unflinching courage in every relation of life.

In the many crises of a life which in many respects was without parallel, when those who were fighting with him on the line or behind him in the ranks would have faltered or turned away, the smile which was the outward sign of a brave heart and an unconquerable soul was never long absent from that face which was always toward the enemy.

And at the end, during all those months of suffering, surrounded by family and friends whose bitter sorrow could not be disguised, Tom Johnson approached his grave looking death squarely in the eye with the same smile on his face—the smile of victory.

The way Tom Johnson met and conquered death is a complete answer, if any answer were needed, to every charge of dishonesty or unworthy motive which was made against him in the heat and struggle of political contest.

Dishonest, small, mean, unworthy men do not die like that.

At this time it seems out of place and unnecessary even to attempt to write an estimate of the life and works of Tom Johnson.

Every man, woman and child in this city who is honest with himself knows that for many years he was the largest force for civic righteousness and progress, the ablest leader of the common people in their ages-old and never-ending fight against the injustice and greed of privilege in Cleveland or any other American city.

From that hour many years ago when he dedicated his life to public service to the hour of his passing, he kept the faith, and never by word or act betrayed the great trust which he assumed.

That Tom Johnson made mistakes of judgment, mistakes which he probably regretted as keenly as anyone else possibly could, goes without saying. Only God makes no mistakes.

But whatever mistakes he may have made were of the head, not of the heart, and in view of the largeness and fullness of his life work, almost without precedent for sheer industry and forcefulness, his mistakes were so few and so unimportant as to be almost negligible.

In the largeness of his vision, in his unswerving faith in the honesty of the common man, in his belief which amounted to a religion that in

more democracy lay the final solution of the social and economic problems which are pressing for answer, Tom Johnson was one of the most effective forces of his generation.

He preached the gospel that privilege must be forced to take its heel from the neck of labor, a gospel that is more popular throughout the length and breadth of this land to-day than when Tom Johnson began to preach it, and so sure as there is a tomorrow and another tomorrow will continue to be more popular until finally the heel will be forced off, and those who produce the wealth in the sweat of their faces will share more equitably in its possession.

Tom Johnson sacrified a large part of his material wealth, his health and finally his life in the cause which he loved so well, and for which he fought so valiantly and so effectively.

He gave what he had; he did what he could. No man could do more.

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Press, Cleveland, Ohio, June 24.*

All over this country some man or group seems to be trying to spread the impression that 3-cent fare in Cleveland has been a failure. Only this week the editor of a Chicago newspaper, a man who ought to be informed on municipal questions, was telling a Cleveland man he supposed Tom L. Johnson was forgotten in his own town, now that "3-cent fare has failed there."

For the benefit of this benighted editor, sitting in the darkness of Chicago, The Press prints these facts. Some Press readers may be glad to have them for their scrap books, too:

In January, 1901, the people of Cleveland protested against the passage of a 5-cent fare street car franchise on the ground that certain members of the council considering it were corrupt. Tom L. Johnson joined this protest, but for an additional reason—that the rate of fare was too high.

He maintained that a rate of 3 cents would prove more than sufficient for the transportation of people on the lines of any existing railway. He was laughed at by many who three months later voted for him for Mayor.

After seven years of warfare, he beat the Cleveland Railway Company into submission and secured for Cleveland, through the Municipal Traction Company, public control of the street railroad property of Cleveland.

But he was unable, operating through the Municipal Traction Company, to make good his claim

^{*}This editorial from the Cleveland Press tells the true story of three-cent fares in Cleveland.

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that 3 cents was more than ample to carry the people of this community.

With the defeat of the security franchise, and the throwing of the street railroad property into the hands of the receivers, most people became convinced that 3-cent fare was not only impracticable but absolutely impossible.

Johnson was firmer in his conviction than ever before, for the six months operation of the property by the Municipal Traction Company had given him additional information, fortifying him in his contention for this lower rate of fare.

Defeated for re-election for Mayor for a fifth term, Johnson succeeded, before going out of office, in whipping into form the present Tayler grant. It was approved by the people February 17, 1910. March 1, 1910, the receivership was lifted, and the property placed in charge of the Cleveland Railway Company, at a rate of fare of 3 cents and a penny for a transfer.

Fifteen months of operation has built up a surplus so large that under the terms of the ordinance the penny charge for the transfer has been done away with.

Cleveland people are riding for 3-cent fare flat, the cheapest transportation obtainable in the United States; riding in cars as good as can be found anywhere and superior to the rolling stock in most cities.

And the company is paying motormen and conductors who operate the cars a rate of wages from 6 to 10 cents an hour in excess of wages paid for similar work in other cities.

Three-cent fare is here to stay. And we suggest that it's time for editors, as well as voters in other American cities where the people are patiently paying a 5-cent street car fare, to wake up.

Town Topics, Cleveland, Ohio, April 15.

Political considerations and issues are of no moment in current discussion of the life of Tom L. Johnson. These must be left to history, wherein may be found the only true perspective. The one thought uppermost in the public mind is the tremendous ability of the man-his marvelous will power and unfailing resourcefulness in all difficulties. . . . Throughout his active career Mr. Johnson ignored the possibility of defeat. He was never more buoyant than when face to face with obstacles that to many men would seem insurmountable. He was never dismayed. . . . Tom L. Johnson passed from earth with the earnest, sincere and unaffected respect of every man who appreciates the qualities that make a good fighter.

Dispatch, Columbus, Ohio, April 12.

Tom L. Johnson was an unusual man. Possessing great energy, intellectuality and executive ability, he devoted them to causes which he believed were those of the people. He might have lived a life of calm and great gain, for he was early launched with a competence in a moneymaking business. But he was a dreamer of better things for the many and, more than that, he was combative. He fought to bring his dreams to reality. He was laughed at and ridiculed and denounced, but he persisted. He met with several failures, but still he persisted.

Journal, Columbus, Ohio, April 22.

E. W. Doty of Cleveland writes to the Chicago Tribune, thanking that paper for a beautiful tribute to the memory of Tom Johnson. Mr. Doty says: "What did Tom Johnson really accomplish? My answer is that he changed the habit of thought of half a million people. We who live in Cleveland view our own troubles and our own ambitious from a far different vantage point than we did ten years ago, and this change is directly due to the work of Tom Johnson." For a man who has figured in the rough and tumble of politics and has ever found himself in the midst of hot antagonisms, to leave behind so many expressions of the public's love for him surely testifies to the innate goodness and nobility of the man. "To change the habit of thought of the people of a great city," Mr. Doty goes on to say, "so that they are immeasurably better for the change were a tremendous task." But this, he says, is what Tom Johnson did for Cleveland. And this is, indeed, true greatness; for a man whose work in the world gives to the people a nobler faith or a truer appreciation of their rights and duties is the greatest among us.

Ledger, Columbus, Ohio, April 11.

While known as an extremist by many, he was considered honest and perfectly sincere in his every undertaking and he was generally admired for his candor and originality.

News, Dayton, Ohio.

He is dead, it will insult nobody to talk kindly about him-neither the big men who sincerely and intelligently believed that his theories were wrong. nor the little men in whose crooked way he stood, preventing them from accomplishing their unholy purposes, nor the foolish men who believed that he fought as he did for his own selfish interests. Death is a glorious thing, for it enables a man's character to be delineated, if the character is good, without incurring the enmity of the living.

As a business man, Tom Johnson adopted the business methods of his day. As a politician, he used the methods of the politician. He was a relentless foe in business and politics alike, but whether making money or administering the affairs of a city, he was the same good-natured, bighearted, brainy individual, honest according to the code, and fearless as all honest men are fearless.

In the earlier years of his business experience the desire to obtain money dominated him. Obtaining it, he saw the uselessness of it, and gave it away. He made millions and gave away millions. He could have made other millions, but he did not want it. He had sense enough to realize that there are greater things in life than money, and during the later years of his life he ignored it.

Spending his own money for the alleviation of suffering, to bring a little more sunshine into the lives of others, he was willing to spend the money of others the same way. He spent the money of the citizens of Cleveland exactly as he spent his own—to give people more sunshine. He ran the tax rate of the city almost to the breaking point, but every dollar of the money was spent for public good. No hint has ever been dropped to the effect that a single penny of the fabulous amounts Tom Johnson spent in Cleveland ever found its way into his own pockets. . . .

Tom Johnson is dead. The body is ready for the sepulchre. The mind has ceased to act, even as the body is at rest. But the influence of this just man will not be buried with his body. The love enkindled will continue to burn so long as memory lasts. The city in which he lived, the State, the nation, is richer for his having passed through this old world, and whether time demonstrates that his theories of government are correct, or shows their folly, this one good man's life will have a tremendous influence is enabling us to work out a civic salvation.

Republic, Findlay, Ohio, April 14.

However men may have differed regarding the views and career of Tom L. Johnson, and he was of the aggressive type who make either enthusiastic friends or bitter antagonists, all must agree that he was a remarkable figure in the political and business world. . . . In his public service he had ideals—some said they were chimeric, others that they were fictitious—and he bent all his energies toward their accomplishment. That he had abandoned attempt to pile dollar upon dollar, but gave all of his great strength and vitality to the public service, is unquestioned, and that with

him public service was not a means to private gain is equally true.



Journal, Hamilton, Ohio, April 11.

Perhaps there has not been a man before the public in recent years who has had closer friends and more bitter enemies than Tom Johnson. In his home city of Cleveland there were men who would literally follow him up to a cannon's mouth, and there were others who would have been pleased to fire the cannon after Johnson and his cohorts had got in range. . . .

Tom Johnson was absolutely fearless. He did not know what it was to be afraid of consequences. He acted largely on first impulses. He did not hesitate to brand grafters in his own party as such, and as a matter of fact he seemed to take more delight in "showing up" the failings of Democrats than of Republicans. And of course this practice did not make him particularly strong with a large number of men within the ranks of his own party.

Observer, La Grande, Ohio, April 14.

He was not nearly the failure that corporations as a whole would make the public believe. Cleveland is a better city for having had Tom Johnson. The public has experienced an education period regarding public utilities that might have been delayed for years had not this strong character come to the front and fearlessly fought the people's battles.

It is therefore sincerely to be regretted that he was called to his long home ere he had further entered into the struggle which is constantly on between the public service corporations of a municipality and the general public.

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News, Lorain, Ohio, April 11.

The former Mayor of Cleveland had many ardent admirers here and many intimate acquaintances who join with the people of Cleveland and the remainder of the country in mourning for the great man. . . . Mr. Johnson practically made Lorain when he brought the steel mills in 1894. On account of his many business interests here he formed many acquaintances among the people of the city, and Lorain probably knew him better, outside of Cleveland, than any city in the State.

Johnson was a people's man and was probably the best liked, as well as the most feared, man in Cleveland. His fighting qualities, his executive ability and his devotion to the public endeared him to the people. His death has brought forth expressions of tribute from all parts of the nation.

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Lorain citizens mourn with the rest of the world perhaps as those of no other place outside of Cleveland, for this city was benefited in many ways by his life. Many of us perhaps did not agree with him in politics and there are no doubt a few who did not give him credit for being sincere in his fight for the people. Be that as it may, no one can deny that he was a great man. A man to be admired. He was first of all a politician, next he was the Mayor of a great city and as such gave her citizens the best administration that it has ever been any city's privilege to enjoy. He did many things in his private life of which most people do not approve. He sacrified to his ambition for wealth and power many of the things most men hold sacred. Yet no one ever accused him of being dishonest. He was never branded as a grafter or a boodler. If he did anything Cleveland and her citizens usually benefited. If he made mistakes, they were not dishonest mistakes.

Shield, Mansfield, Ohio, April 11.

That which he accomplished was in the interest of the people as against monopoly. He was a great champion of the people's rights. To say that of a man is, indeed, the highest possible praise. And Tom was that kind of a man. . . . He had many friends and some enemies, as men of his type are bound to have, but now that he has finished the fight, all will agree that he was a man of great ability, unswerving integrity and the highest purpose.

Democrat, Ravenna, Ohio, April 13.

Radical in many of his views, and as determined as radical, he won a great victory even in death, and died respected and honored by his opponents. Those who differed from him as honestly as he differed from them paid high tributes to the ex-Congressman and ex-Mayor in his last hours.

Sun, Springfield, Ohio, April 12.

After a valiant fight against disease and pain, Tom L. Johnson, four times Mayor of Cleveland, Congressman, disciple of Henry George and perhaps the greatest municipal government expert of his time, is dead. . . . Mr. Johnson was a man of high political ideals and was at all times consistent. Many men differed from him, but all admitted his honesty and high purpose.

Blade, Toledo, Ohio, April 11.

A true estimate of Tom L. Johnson's public

services cannot be made now. No Ohioan has been an impartial observer of the man. His friends and supporters are to-day comparing him with the divinity, his enemies are bowing to the rule which demands that nothing save good shall be said of the dead.

Mr. Johnson was of that type of man who, having a following, has it with a fighting loyalty. It is impossible to think of him without thinking also of the passions he aroused, the lines he drew between neighbor and neighbor, the opponents he would win over in a moment by a simple, warm word of praise or sympathy, the deathless enmity he would create by a bitter, thoughtless phrase. His weaknesses were peculiarly masculine, his strength the kind that has evoked admiration in every age of mankind. No small part of his political success was due to his astounding boldness. The joint debates in which he delighted were not debates in the real sense, for he would be as likely to attack an antagonist's position upon the cut of his clothes* as to defend his own position with logic and an exposition of facts. In either case his audiences were won.

Ten years from now the portrait of Johnson can be drawn with something of exactness, free of the blurring of unessential considerations, unmarred by the painter's love for the picturesque and striking. That Johnson's memory will last is certain. He was a big man. Right or wrong, he commanded. He will have a large niche in the hall of exceptional Ohioans.

News-Bee, Toledo, Ohio, April 11.

The last one of a great triumvirate is gone. More than ten years ago Pingree of Detroit, Jones of Toledo and Johnson of Cleveland formed an alliance of mutual helpfulness and support, for better conditions in the cities, with special reference to better and cheaper street car service for working people.

That compact has been a mighty force, not only in the three cities, but all over the United States. The fight for better conditions in Toledo, Detroit and Cleveland has been an inspiration to the people and their leaders, wherever the good fight is being made.

Every man in Ohio owes much to Tom L. Johnson. He was the original apostle in Ohio of 2cent fare on the steam roads. Every time a passenger is carried over a mile of track in this State

^{*}The implication here of unfairness or pettiness by Johnson in debate cannot in justice to the memory of the man be allowed to pass unnoticed. No instance can be mentioned of any conduct of Johnson's in debate which can be fairly characterized as in this editorial.

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he retains in his pocket a penny because of the fight that Tom Johnson instituted.

Vindicator, Youngstown, Ohio, April 11.

In the death Monday night of Tom L. Johnson at Cleveland there passed away one of the ablest, most masterful and devoted public men of our generation.

The only offices Mr. Johnson held were those of Congressman and Mayor of Cleveland, and yet he was as widely known, the world over, as any American citizen save perhaps two. . . .

Mr. Johnson as Mayor of Cleveland for four terms gave the city such an administration that he became generally known as "the best Mayor of the best governed city in the country," and the opinion is general that had he lived he would have been elected Mayor again the coming fall.

And now when so many of the ideas for which Mr. Johnson contended for so many years seem about to be accepted by the country he is cut down. It seems as certain as anything can be in this world that had he been permitted to live a few years longer almost any honor in the gift of the people would have been offered to this pioneer advocate of opinions, which long derided seem about to be accepted by the country as fundamental principles for the laws under which "the old order," even now so visibly, "changeth." One of the greatest comforts to Mr. Johnson in his dying hours was that he could leave the causes which he had so much at heart in the charge of the group of able, high-minded, clean and enthusiastic young men he had gathered about him.

Oklahoma.

Times, Kingfisher, Okia., April 13.

Tom Johnson of Ohio started as a poor boy and won twenty million by the usual methods of millionaires. His was by the way of patents and street car franchises. He, however, while yet in his vigor, saw the evils and wrongs of the millionaire methods, and devoted his wealth and his life to fighting and destroying them. And so died an honest poor man again.

We have other conscience stricken millionaires struggling and squirming under the consciousness of their own evil doings, vainly pretending to make reparation to society, yet their hospitals and college endowments and peace funds and libraries and advertised benefactions will not place them in the same class with Tom Johnson. He spent his wealth and strength and life fighting the plain and visible wrongs next to him—the respectable and well-dressed wrongs entrenched in church and lodge and society. The heathen in foreign lands

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did not interest Tom Johnson. He busied himself with the heathen in the next block, or the one who dwelt in a palace on Euclid avenue and plundered the poor. All honor to Tom Johnson.

Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, Okla., April 12.

With the passing of Tom L. Johnson, former Mayor of Cleveland, a friend of men went to his reward. Like Joseph Fels, he became interested in the Singletax theories of Henry George after having gained success in a material way. As soon as he saw this light he became an active advocate of the people's interests. Everywhere he proclaimed the injustice of making poverty and enterprise carry the burden of taxation.

Four times he was Mayor of Cleveland, and when he quit that office his fortune had disappeared. He made Cleveland's beautiful city, a model city, and, in the matter of taxation, a juster city than any other in this country. He fought special privilege at every turn of the road. He provided playgrounds for the little children, and established a police system that made patrolmen protectors of persons and property rather than persecutors of the unfortunate.

+ + + Oregon.

Journal, Portland, Ore., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson was the most picturesque as well as one of the noblest figures of his time. Others rose to higher public position, but no one gave more of his strength in service to his people. His untimely passing at 57 is keenly regretted by millions of his countrymen.

As a gift to posterity, Mr. Johnson left at Cleveland a 3-cent traction fare that will, in time, exercise irresistible influence in lowering traction rates throughout the country. The rate was put into effect by another man, but it was compelled by Mr. Johnson against the greatest odds and in one of the most violent struggles of peace that ever took place in any country. It continued for eight years, and it was the courageous and self-sacrificing leadership of Tom Johnson that brought it against relentless opposition to a successful fruition.

It was a struggle into which the leader threw all his powers, the bulk of his personal fortune and probably his life. The accounts of the opposition raised up against him read more like the methods of baronial warfare in feudal times than civilized resistance in modern times. The resources invoked against him were the last word in strategy, subterfuge and conspiracy. . . . Eighteen years ago Mr. Johnson startled Congress and the country by a famous speech in which he

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denounced the iniquities of the tariff. He was then a member of Congress and as a manufacturer he declared that the favoring duties for manufacturers are a deliberate theft from the common people of the country. It was a speech that thundered through the country, and was typical of his later picturesque achievement, in which he spent a fortune acquired as a traction magnate in beating down the fares of traction activities.

If other names stand higher in public annals, none will mean more for courage, justice, genuine Americanism and man's humanity to man.

Labor-Press, Portland, Ore., April 20.

Tom L. Johnson, the grand old man of Ohio. was one of six to vote for the total abolition of the tariff when he was in Congress from Ohio. He has been laid beside the body of Henry George in New York, but his memory as a real American will not be forgotten for many a decade. He was one of those few men who made good in high places.

Oregonian, Portland, Ore., April 12.

Tom Johnson's death removes a picturesque and interesting figure from American life. He belonged to that rare and admirable type of selfmade men who do not lose the ideals of their earlier years. With many the severity of the struggle leaves the soul seared and the character embittered. It destroys their sympathy for high ideals and blights their faith in humanity. Tom Johnson cherished his ideals to the end and fought for lofty aims as vigorously in his age as he ever did in his youth.

Perhaps, though, it is better not to speak of his "age." He has passed away comparatively young, for we do not call a man old at 57. No doubt the loss of his fortune and the failure of long cherished plans impaired the vigor of his later life and hastened the end. Had municipal ownership of the street railways turned out better in Cleveland, Johnson might not have died so soon.

Men will differ, of course, as to the validity of his economic theories and the soundness of his political principles, but it will be conceded by all that his earnestness and sincerity were admirable. Whether his theories were right or wrong, he fought for them with all his might and office holding with him was always a means to some higher end. He has never been accused of compliance, of unworthy compromise or trickery.

His battles were fought in the open and he put his heart into every blow. He belonged to a class of men who never have been very numerous in this country, but who are indispensable in every

country—those who are willing to bear the odium and expense of waging warfare for new and untried principles. He was a man who gladly staked his all on experiments. Now experiments must be tried by someone or the human race will not move forward. Tom Johnson was ready to sacrifice himself in that way. Johnson's thought was upon the whole conservative. It was his manner that followed the red flag. He fought for the safe and sane as if he were mounting a barricade. He appealed for foregone conclusions like Camille Desmoulins inciting the mob to storm the Bastille. In these respects he was not unlike Mr. Roosevelt, whose radicalism is often demonstrative but rather lamblike when you pin it down.

Telegram, Portland, Ore., April 12.

Tom Johnson was a rare type of man. He possessed in an extraordinary degree the ability to make money; but his character was never warped by the worship of it as a god. Within the scope of his attainment were all the ambitions of plutocracy, but from those ambitions he turned aside. . . . He was the intelligent, well-equipped. forceful, practical personification of leadership that seeks to deprive money of its mastership and make it the servant of men.

Pennsylvania.

Free Press, Easton, Pa., April 12.

He was a man whom the mass of the people respected and whom his personal friends loved. Even those who disagreed with some of his ideas on public questions honored him for his nobility of character, for the boldness with which he espoused what he believed to be right, and for the sacrifices that he made in behalf of the people.

Herald, Erie, Pa., April 11.

With Cleveland's later history the name of Tom L. Johnson is inseparably connected. A close student of public questions, particularly those problems which have to do with municipal government, Mr. Johnson, with clear vision, set himself the task of reforming abuses wherever he found them and, during four terms as Mayor of the Ohio metropolis, he labored incessantly for what he considered the right. Of his sincerity there is no question. He saw visions a rid deroted all his great energies to make those vis ions realities. Many of his ideas were adopted, to the benefit of the municipality and even those which were rejected and denounced as the most have assumed an air of practicability which is steadily recommending them to public favor.

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Democrat, Johnstown, Pa., April 11.

The progressive cause loses a great leader in losing Tom L. Johnson. His has been a mighty figure in the forward movement for nearly a quarter of a century. Long before the country at large had come to know him he was busy with the foundations of his after career. While still busy with the work of building a fortune and in developing great enterprises he found time to master an economic philosphy and to embody it in a political program which he was later to follow out with singular success.

Tom L. Johnson has died literally a martyr to the popular cause. He wore himself out in the terrible struggle with the System during his long incumbency of the mayor's office in Cleveland. Had he cared for his own ease or had he paused to consider his health, he would have abandoned the fight years ago; but, having set his hand to the plow, it was not for him to look back. . . . No man ever fought harder or fought more fairly than Tom L. Johnson. He was a foeman worthy of any man's steel; and whether in business or in politics he was keen, alert, resourceful, a master of men, an organizer of superior gifts, a leader whom it was a glory to follow, a friend who grappled those he trusted with hooks of steel. . . .

And now the fight for him is over. He rests from his labors. But let no one imagine that Tom Johnson's influence passes with the passing of the man. That must go on and on and in the years to come it will increase as the philosophy to which he subscribed is spread and as the people come to understand its great meaning and its wide possibilities for human advancement.

Tribune, Johnstown, Pa., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson will be remembered by citizens of Johnstown as a man of splendid energy, an untiring worker and as a peculiar admixture of the altruist and business man. Declaiming against the laws which permitted it, he took advantage of the "unearned increment," and turned the product of the engraver's press into money in a manner which taught less daring men lessons in the art of "financiering."

By nature companionable, instinctively charitable and gracious, Tom Johnson endeared himself to his closer friends. His mistakes, in his public career, were those which accompany a certain degree of intolerance and too-ready resentment of opposition. He helped to spread ideas which, in their modified forms, will be engrafted into law. His inconsistent radicalism was a force for good and many another could have been spared without their going being such a public loss.

Record, Philadelphia, Pa., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson was an inventor, a capitalist and a philanthropist. He was a man of tireless energy, independent and courageous, humorous and friendly. He was one of the best specimens of the American self-made man. As a boy he had to support himself, and he drove a street car. His mind was keenly active about everything he came in contact with, and he invented car appliances which made him a small capitalist at 22. He got hold of an insignificant little street car line and made it a good property; got other car lines and became a magnate in the business; established steel works and made a fortune. And then he spent most of it trying to promote the public welfare. He was in Congress two terms, ran for Governor of Ohio, and was several times elected Mayor of Cleveland. Here he made a great fight for a three-cent car fare, that would be of no use to him, but of a great deal of use to the thousands of people to whom the difference between three cents and five cents, repeated sevral times a day, is a matter of importance. Innumerable legal obstacles were in the way; financial obstacles were not lacking, and some labor obstacles were thrown in his way. While even his indomitable energy did not succeed in full, he did succeed in part in getting cheaper transportation for the people of his city. He was an enthusiastic follower of Henry George, both as to free trade and the Singletax. His ambitions were to improve the condition of the common people. He was defeated last fall, and most of his fortune had been spent, but his pluck and humor never failed him. He was a good man to have in the community and he died twenty years too soon.

Christian Union-Herald, Pittsburg, Pa., April 20.

Tom L. Johnson is dead. For many years he was a storm center in his city, Cleveland. He it is to whom that city owes the fact of cheap street car service. For four terms he gave Cleveland a sample of what a militantly democratic executive can do, antagonizing the financial powers at great expense to himself. Both health and fortuneand, prior to his entrance into the political arena, he had by characteristic American industry and genius amassed great wealth-were lost through his advocacy of what he believed to be the people's interest and demand. In the end his reward was defeat, denunciation, misunderstanding at the hands of those whom he had sought to serve. Whether Johnson was right or wrong in his diagnosis of political necessities, whether he failed or succeeded, no one can deny him the possession of that rare, big-hearted unselfishness that is

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glad to make sacrifice for his convictions. If for nothing else, he should have been exalted by his fellow citizens for that. As it is—his career was such as to give the honest, would-be reformer pause.

Chronicie-Telegraph, Pittsburg, Pa., April 19.

Those who criticize the late Tom Johnson for taking money by the methods of legal privilege and using it to destroy the privileges evince a greater concern for personal than for social righteousness. Modern men are beginning to understand that no man living in a corrupt society can be utterly free from stain and that brave men ought to accept the stain as a part of the price that must be paid for social redemption. If it could be shown that Tom Johnson stealthily "devoured widows' houses" and turned the rents and mortgages into political capital for his own pride the case would be altogether different. He never did anything to increase the secrecy and complication of wrongdoing but everything to expose and bring it into judgment.

Dispatch, Pittsburg, Pa., April 11.

However men may have differed regarding the views and career of Tom L. Johnson, and he was of the aggressive type who make either enthusiastic friends or bitter antagonists, all must agree that he was a remarkable figure in the political and business world.

The story of his rise to wealth and power is matched by many others, but his subsequent career is unique. Although a manufacturer, enjoving the benefits of protection, he secured election to Congress and for two terms was one of the most vigorous opponents of the protective principle. . . . His incursions into State and national politics of late years were less successful than his experience in the municipal field. This was no doubt due to the industrious dissemination of the idea by his opponents within and outside the party that he was, like his campaign meth-•ds, something of a circus sideshow. Neverthe-Less there was much to admire in the man, and beyond the narrow circle of partisanship there had come in later years a more general appreciation of his ability and conviction in his sincerity.

Gazette-Times, Pittsburg, Pa., April 12.

The death of Tom L. Johnson, former Mayor of Cleveland, has brought sorrow to a large circle of friends and admirers among whom are numbered many who could not follow that sturdy figure in all his proposed reforms. His sincerity was unquestioned, his manly qualities were freely

acknowledged by his fiercest political opponents and his strenuous, picturesque and in the main useful career will not soon be forgotten.

index, Pittsburg, Pa., April 15.

"I served the people of Cleveland the best I knew how," was one of the statements made by the late Tom L. Johnson, when he retired as Mayor of the Forest City. This would be a fitting epitaph for the typical American, who rose from the ranks to positions of honor and esteem. Tom Johnson was one of the big men of his generation. It is a loss to the whole nation when one of those men who serve the people as best they know how goes to his last reward.

Tribune-Republican, Scranton, Pa., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson's long and stubborn fight is over. Death has triumphed in the struggle and a great heart has passed out. Like every man who labors for the uplift of his fellow man and the cause of the common people, Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, was misunderstood by many. But we believe that his memory will be revered by other hosts who realized his unselfishness and believed in his sincerity.

Dispatch, Shamokin, Pa., April 12.

He was one of the successful Democratic politicians who has been frequently mentioned as a presidential possibility. He had a strong hold on the hearts of the "common people," whose cause he vigorously espoused.

Record, Wilkesbarre, Pa., April 12.

Mr. Johnson was unfortunate enough to devote his energy to the working out of a theory which turned out to be a failure in practice. He died after the loss of prestige and power.

Grit, Williamsport, Pa., April 16.

Measured in one way Tom Johnson was a failure. He accumulated millions but he didn't keep them. He could have lived in luxury but he devoted his fortune to philanthropy. The more he spent for his fellow men, the more his enemies compelled him to spend. They reckoned that if they could ruin him financially, they could remove him from their path. But they mistook the man. He stood for principles, and lived to defend them, if it took his last dollar—and it did, and he is a greater success than if he had died a millionaire.

Dispatch, York, Pa., April 11.

For his hobbies, his extraordinary activity, his genius for advertisement, his political ambition and for—at one time at least—his personal pop-

ularity, Tom L. Johnson was known from ocean to ocean. He was comparatively a young man when he died, but there were few idle days in his Hustling and trying to figure out what other people were going to do before they got ready to do it aged him, as he himself once said in an interview.

He was a puzzle to most people, even his close friends. They could never understand how a man who had made a large fortune by the exploitation of street railroad properties, whose interests were bound up so closely with conservatism in business and finance, could dabble with Socialism and Singletaxism and Bryanism and a dozen other isms that Tom L. Johnson was particularly fond of. His long and pertinacious fight to force the street railways of Cleveland to give a three-cent fare with transfers gave him more notoriety perhaps tham any of his performances, but it was lost finally last November,* when Johnson was beaten by a Republican for the mayoralty.

Rhode Island.

Fimes, Pawtucket, R. I., April 12.

The death of Tom L. Johnson removes a sturdy enaracter who, though he lived to realize little of his dream of social and political reforms, fought courageously and stubbornly to the end. It might have resulted somewhat differently in the instance of his most vigorous demand, that of a 3-cent fare on all American surface cars, had not the cost of living universally advanced. Few if any street car concerns could pay profits today on a 3-cent fare rate, though some of them might have been able to do so when Johnson began his crusade. The public has seemed to recognize this fact, and Johnson's pet scheme long ago fell out of popularity although it continues to have a form of existence in Cleveland.

A more seemingly contradictory character than Tom Johnson has not appeared among prominent Americans. His fortune was largely made in operating street railroads in the same manner that other roads are operated. In his money-making days Johnson had as many critics as any magnate, some of whom preached from just texts and some of whom did not. He simply rose to riches by ordinary processes and in those days apparently had no dreams of sociological reform. The germ was in him nevertheless, and in the flush of his material success he fell under the spell of Henry George and the Singletax, and he followed the one and embraced the other ever afterwards. This awakening led Johnson into other social specula-

tions and caused him to attach himself to many other reforms. Four times Mayor of Cleveland, he tried to give his city a reform government. Certain versions pronounce his success in many things he undertook, but at last the voters turned on him and rended him. Many reformers feared and distrusted him, and many good citizens hated him and despised his pretensions. All of his fortune slipped away. The gorilla-like courage of the man was the one possession he never seemed to lose. It remained with him in political defeat, in poverty and finally in his last illness.

Tribune, Providence, R. I., April 12.

The late Tom Johnson failed in many of his reform undertakings. But he led where many others are now following and where many more are going to follow as the years go by and the world grows wiser.

South Carolina.

Journal, Spartanburg, S. C., April 14.

Tom Johnson's life battle was a fight to give the masses of the people so square a deal that they would need no charity or philanthropy. He had the clear and honest comprehension that what the community, the city, could do to make life cheerful and pleasant for its people was simply the fulfillment of an obligation. He saw that the wealth accumulating in varying degrees of possession was in chief part the product of the thrift and toil of all the people, and that to conserve for the public use the wealth which the public indisputably created was not paternalism, but plain honesty. . . . The more spectacular of his efforts -those for street railway regulation and municipal ownership-gained widest attention, for they hit at the root of the evil of special privilege. Yet his less dramatic insistence upon just taxation, upon humanely sensible correction of delinquents, upon the development of civic beauty as a handmaiden to civic helpfulness to all the people—this stout struggle for equal opportunity stirred and encouraged a vital civic consciousness throughout all the American cities.

Tennessee.

Sentinel, Knoxville, Tenn., April 11.

Tom L. Johnson was a restless figure. He knew no happiness save battle for his convictions and the fellowship of the like-minded. . . . He was energetic and tireless in the fight to wrest control of the city's lake-front from the railroads and to give the taxpayers their money's worth in good government.

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

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Commercial-Appeal, Memphis, Tenn., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson was a radical, a dreamer and a builder. In Congress he was a Singletaxer. A beneficiary of the protective system, he was a free trader. . . .

Johnson was often rich and often poor. He devoted money, when he had it, to the propagation of his political ideas. Financially his life was a failure. Many of the big things he advocated were mistakes, but in his very mistakes he taught a lot of people a lot of things they ought to know. He did impress upon the public service corporations that when they sought to unduly oppress the people, the people themselves had a remedy and would use it.

Banner, Nashville, Tenn., April 11.

The death of Tom L. Johnson removes from the scene of strenuous activities a remarkable man and politician, whose energy and resolution, as proved by his career, greatly exceeded his judgment. In the earlier years of his very active life he gradually attained business success and developed into a street railway promoter, entering into great enterprises and succeeding in building for himself a large fortune. He had, however, a disposition for politics, and in this respect was inclined to radical views. He was elected to Congress in 1891, when he was about 37 years of age, serving two terms, exploiting, among his other erratic views, Henry George's Singletax theory, which he had espoused. But it was not until he was for the first time elected Mayor of Cleveland, in 1901, that he became engaged in the swirl of political contention that strained his powers to the utmost, and after years of unremitting effort and sensational contest resulted in the defeat of his plans, the loss of his fortune and the ruin of his health.

Banner, Nashville, Tenn., April 15.

The eulogies of Tom L. Johnson, dead, are in striking contrast with the criticisms of Tom L. Johnson, living. And the eulogies of the man and his purposes are far more just than the criticisms of his motives.

Christian-Advocate, Nashville, Tenn., April 21.

Few men whose political activities had been confined to a single State had more friends than Tom L. Johnson, ex-Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio. Commencing his business career as an office boy for a street railway company in Cincinnati, he worked his way from one position of trust to another until he became known as one of the best street railway men in the United States. A disciple of Henry George and an enthusiastic Singletaxer, he was regarded as a political curio, and thousands who loved and honored the man had but little regard for his ability as a statesman.

Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn., April 15.

Tom Johnson was a pioneer in a movement which is gradually extending to all parts of the United States. It dominates the politics of the day and is becoming such an essential part of publie life that old-time leaders, who believed the public was created merely to be exploited, are disappearing at a rapid rate.

Texas.

News, Dallas, Tex., and News, Galveston, Tex., April

Above all, Tom Johnson was a humanist. He had tremendous energy, splendid courage, the honesty that makes one frank with all the world, the optimism that makes one unafraid, and a vigor of mind which, had he devoted himself wholly to intellectual pursuits, would have earned him an international instead of only a national fame. All these attributes he had in such degree that any one, without the others, would have won him distinction. But the crown of all his virtues was his humanism, that kinship with his fellows that no circumstance of fortune could modify, unless it was that his own successes made his sympathies more poignant.

There was something epic in Tom Johnson's life, and his biography, if rightly told, would be at once a novel and a philosophy. One might fancy the Fates had composed a play to exemplify the virtues and fashioned him for the hero's role. His life gave rare emphasis to the old lesson that poverty, while a handicap, is also a means of exercise by which one may develop the strength to master opportunities. This use he made of his poverty. Certainly few men have started on life's career with less advantage, since he had neither money nor education, nor the influence of wealthy friends or relatives. His equipment was wit, courage, honesty and energy, and if his rise was subject to any disparagement whatever, it must be in that his successes were rather too rapid to make a full test of his fortitude.

But Tom Johnson's rise from poverty to affluence was the least of his achievements, the most inconspicuous feature of his career. What distinguished him was that none of his vicissitudes could corrupt the perfect integrity of his soul. In him wealth begot, not selfishness, but altraism; for sense of obligation seemed to grow apace with his wealth. He had ideals, and to those ideals

he was faithful without wavering. Wealth could not seduce him nor tempt him to compromise his principles. He could play the money-making game according to the rules, and yet denounce the injustice of the rules; and the world, being rather weak of comprehension and unaccustomed to the spectacle, explained the phenomenon by concluding that Tom Johnson was a charlatan. But he lived to refute that superficial and unjust opinion, and extorted respect from those who had reviled him.

The country became convinced of Tom Johnson's honesty, and it came to see that, in addition to honesty of purpose, he had that rarer quality, intellectual integrity. He deceived himself with no illusions. He sought to see things whole and He was impressed, not by formulas, but He had the courage to be a dissenter. To him the fact of a majority's acquiescence did not prove the truth of the thing they acquiesced in. Un doubtedly he would have promoted his financial, his political and his social standing by giving his talents to the championship of the existing order-. The Presidency itself might not have been a vain ambition had he chosen to be orthodox and a conformist, for he had the intellectual strength and the personal magnetism to succeed in politics. But he preferred to maintain the integrity of his intellect, and when he became convinced that there was truth in the Singletax, he espoused it and became the apostle of Henry That friendship, at once one of the strangest and most inspiring that our history has revealed. was the affinity of two souls. Perhaps it was his admiration for the man that somewhat persuaded Johnson to accept the doctrine that George taught. but whether that was so or not, he was sincere in his faith.

It is to be hoped that the life of Tom Johnson will be adequately written. It deserves the permanence of printing, and it has a value that entitles it to all the currency that can be given to it, for he was at once one of the most vigorous, the most refreshing and the most inspiring men this country has produced within a half century.

Times-Herald, Dallas, Tex., April 14.

Tom I. Johnson did not die a pauper. He left a widow and two children a small fortune. It is estimated that Johnson's estate will not amount to more than \$100,000. When he first became Mayor of Cleveland he was many times a millionaire. To devote his entire time, however, to the ends for which he was fighting, he left the management of his personal affairs to others, with the result that in 1908 it seemed that his entire for-

tune would be swept away. He gathered up the remnants of it, however, gave up his private mansion for a suite in an apartment house and then continued to devote his entire time to public affairs

Johnson, who had been ill since he retired as Mayor of Cleveland, January 1, 1910, probably will be known in all future American municipal history as the mayor of the "best governed city in the United States," and as the father of the threecent street railway fare in America.

News, Galveston, Tex., April 12.

Tom Johnson is dead. He was a step in advance of his contemporaries during his lifetime and his career will be remembered for the forceful character of it and for the reforms he helped to bring about.

Chronicie, Houston, Tex., April 11.

There has passed a great American. Twice Congressman from the Twenty-first Ohio district, four times Mayor of Cleveland, champion of 3-cent railway fares, and prominent advocate of the Singletax theories of the late Henry George, the warm place Tom L. Johnson had won in the affections of the American people did not rest upon any of these things, because, while he did make a unique record as a champion of 3-cent fares, other men have been members of Congress, mayors and Singletaxers. Tom Johnson was loved by the people because he loved them. He came to stand before the people as a capitalist who was not on the side of predatory wealth.

4 4 4 Utah.

Herald-Republican, Sait Lake City, Utah, April 12.

Demagogic as Johnson was, playing as he did for his own interest upon the prejudices of the poorer classes in the great city on the shores of the tempestuous inland sea, it will be difficult to convince the people of Cleveland that he was not honest, and that it was not his chief aim in life to make easier the pathway of the poor, to heal the sick and comfort the dving. . . . Johnson's ultimate aim was municipal ownership of all street car lines, and in this idea he naturally had allied against him all the interests, both great and small. He was one of the most devout of the Bryan followers, and while there were stories from time to time that he had disagreed with Mr. Bryan, they were not generally believed by the people, and Johnson could always be depended upon by Mr. Bryan to work for whatever the sage of Lincoln happened to be wanting at that particular moment.

While he was unfortunate in being a member of the minority during his terms as Congressman, Johnson made an excellent legislator. His queer ideas had not reached their full growth at the time he was in the lower house of Congress, but he was tending that way. One of the most prominent Democrats in Ohio at a time when few citizens of that State voted the Bourbon ticket, he never reached his ambition, which was to be Governor of the Buckeye State, although he was a candidate before numerous State conventions of his party. When the free silver craze struck Ohio, which it did in 1896, Johnson was one of its most persistent advocates, and he damaged himself with his party by so doing.*

Telegram, Salt Lake City, Utah, April 13.

The death of Tom L. Johnson takes from the world an extraordinary man. He was a strong man intellectually, but he had more heart than brain. He believed that crime as a rule was but the child of ignorance and poverty, and he went to work with a vast desire to eradicate those two sinister enemies of our race. We sometimes have thought that he lived fifty years too soon; that the world was not yet ready for his political and social evangelism. But his was a great voice crying for a better system, seconding a note for the better system that is to be, and he filled his place. All his instincts were manly. . . . He was often wrong, but he did not mean to be; he was often mistaken, but those were occasions when his heart ran away with his clear judgment. There is great sorrow for him in Ohio. Our belief is that ten vears hence that sorrow will be softened into a reverence which will make his memory one of the most treasured of all the illustrious Ohio men who have in the past served their State and left their memories to the people. His work ought 'to be an inspiration for the young men of that State.

Tribune, Salt Lake City, Utah, April 12

The death of Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland removes a noteworthy figure from the public life of America. He had made his way in the world from poverty to wealth, and took part whole-heartedly in public affairs. He was known conspicuously as the advocate of the three-cent fare on street railways, both in Cleveland, where he lived,

and in Detroit, where he controlled the street railways; and there was never a doubt of his earnestness, aggressiveness, and sincerity in this his pet advocacy. He was defeated in that beneficial measure, but there is reason to believe that the three-cent fare is now established in Cleveland, as the result of Mr. Johnson's efforts.

Politically, Mr. Johnson was a radical Democrat, a staunch supporter and friend of William J. Bryan. He was, in fact, a devoted friend of the popular cause; his aim was directed constantly toward the relief of the masses, and for these he spent his substance and his strength. He was a man of marked power and determination of character, and he will be greatly missed among the progressive men of the country.

Yermont.

News, Rutland, Vt., April 12.

Tom L. Johnson, who has just died in Cleveland, did not succeed in getting street car rides for three cents.* But he did a number of things that even his opponents would admit were very serviceable.

Ordinarily you can't get the voters to give sustained attention to public affairs. They are interested in an election largely as a sporting proposition, a race between two men. But when it comes to principles involved, or still worse the intricate problems of finance, the average voter would rather pay his taxes for graft than read head-achy figures.

Tom Johnson somehow made these tiresome details of budgets and franchises take on human interest. One night in the heat of summer he got 12,000 people into a tent, where they listened for two hours while he and an opponent argued the dry details of the traction deal. He made the citizens feel that they were stockholders in a business corporation called the city of Cleveland, and that if they wanted dividends they must attend directors' meetings.

Another of Johnson's characteristic moves was opening 50 base ball diamonds in city parks and on land owned by private individuals. Thus an immense amount of boy power which otherwise would have tended to smash things was turned into a wholesome channel.

Wirginia.

Register, Danville, Va., April 13.

Tom L. Johnson, twice Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, twice a member of Congress from that State and once Democratic candidate for Governor, died

^{*}Johnson was always opposed to the free silver idea. but he accepted it in politics as the temporary slogan of the progressive movement. He believed in a paper currency issued exclusively by the national government, and regulated in volume by government bonds in small denominations bearing a low rate of interest and freely interchangeable with the currency at any post office.

^{*}An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

on Monday at his home in Cleveland at the age of 57. Mr. Johnson's career in public life had been a stormy one with many ups and downs. While he held views on some subjects with which all of us may not agree, and while he was perhaps not the greatest man in the country, he was nevertheless, a man of unusual force, of tremendous energy, of indomitable pluck and of unusual intelligence. He had strong convictions and he had the courage to maintain them, whatever the cost to himself or his political fortunes. During the greater part of his life he was engaged in the street railway business and became one of the country's leading traction operators. He has left as a heritage to the city of Cleveland lower street car fares, a fight to which he devoted many years of his life. . . . The character of the man was admirably tested by his many strenuous political and financial battles, and it always stood the test. His life has been clean and manly and withal successful. Had he been a mere politician without convictions and the courage even to court defeat by adherence to them he might have been more successful in holding office. But he regarded office-holding as an opportunity and a responsibility, rather than as a goal and a reward. He had foes, many and bitter, but they were chiefly men who dissented from his Singletax and municipal ownership ideas.

News, Lynchburg, Va., April 12.

On last Sunday Tom Johnson raised himself from his couch of illness to sign this letter addressed to the Cleveland baseball club: "I probably won't be able to attend the opening game, but don't let that make any difference. Go ahead and win." The signature was well nigh illegible, so feeble was the hand that wrote it—so death bedimmed the vision of the man—so well-nigh spent the current of his life.

On Monday Tom Johnson died—and the words we have quoted are perhaps the last to appear above his signature. Really they were well chossen. Had the dving man desired in a single sentence to express the controlling impulse of his distinguished career, he could not have chosen better words: "Go Ahead and Win." . . . He did much to set the nation to thinking on new and wholesome lines. He did much in his own city to relieve of corporate oppression—he made good when clothed with public responsibility on every promise he had uttered when seeking public office—this as far as honest, fearless, aggressive endeavor could avail.

That Mr. Johnson was radical and extreme in some of his ideas on public policy is undoubtedly

true; but that he was distinctly sound in many of them and absolutely honest in all of them, is equally true—and that they always sprung from patriotic promptings is a fact universally recognized. At heart, and in instinct and in conviction, he held close and loyally to great democratic fundamentals. He believed in the democracy of man. Class distinction and class legislation he abhorred. The republican-born tendency to tax the many so that out of such oppression the few may wax great in money fortunes, has never had a more implacable and a more determined enemy than this gentleman who has just died in Cleveland.

Journal, Richmond, Va., April 11.

He was one of the most forceful characters of the Middle West. Always in the midst of stormy contests, political or financial, he became widely known as one of the most aggressive factors in business and politics in that section.

Times, 'Roanoke, Va., April 11.

Tom Johnson's career, ended by death yesterday, was a dazzling, a thrilling, and a fruitful tragedy. He seemed to us always to be a man whose general purposes were right but whose details were all wrong; all of whose results, destined to be successful, were doomed to long delay. Therefore it is strictly appropriate that while he succeeded so far as his work touched the welfare of his community, he failed individually. His life generally is a peculiarly brilliant victory, but his death was surrounded by the aspect of defeat. He did large work the results of which will develop in years to come. He sowed broadly seed which will blossom and bear fruit for generations in the future, perhaps after the builder and the sower are forgotten.

Mr. Johnson in some respects was a great man and in some respects a brilliant man. Probably he was not well balanced. He tried to drag public sentiment ahead too fast. His faith in his own dreams was too enthusiastic. He made predictions which the facts would not verify and promises which could not be fulfilled. He could stir the public imagination but could not meet its demands. His power was more in suggestion of what might be done than in actual achievement. He could arouse the conscience of the people but could not comply with its requirements.

Probably he did some serious harm and injustice, but so far as we may judge from his known life and character and public utterances he intended good always. There is every reason to believe that he was moved by sincere benevolence by carnest desire to do much for the advancement of

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his fellowman, the elevation of humanity and the promotion of the greatness of his own city. However some interest may have suffered under his policies and administration, the city has thriven wonderfully and become one of the glories of the country. . . .

How much his activities were incited by desire for glory or notoriety or power, how much they were inspired by sincere affection for his kind or how much the motives were mixed, is known to the All Knowing only. We here can judge but by appearances and results. The world's judgment, we think, will give Johnson a high place among its active and potent influences for advancement and reformation.

Washington.

Post-Intelligencer, Seattle, Wash., April 12.

For this hard, practical age, Johnson traveled too far toward utopia, too far, perhaps, for his own good, and too far for the good of those communities he sought to make the beneficiaries of his theories. Johnson seems not to have been interested in fattening his own purse, though he accumulated and lost small fortunes. The motive which moved him apparently was to establish a new order which would rid community life of some of its evils, hardships and injustices.

Times, Seattle, Wash., April 14.

Tom L. Johnson said: "When I die I hope the people will make a playground over my body. I would rather have the children romping over my grave than a hundred monuments." The kindly soul that gave the thought utterance is kin to another and greater, who also desired that little children should come unto Him.

Western Woman Voter, Seattle, Wash., May.

A keen business man, a street railway promoter, he chanced one day to read a book written by Henry George—"Progress and Poverty." He saw life at a new angle—and straightway acted in accordance with his vision.

Taking the reins of government in a city hampered by State restrictions, the opportunity for achievement was limited. But Cleveland today has a 3-cent street car fare—and other cities will have it the sooner because Tom Johnson made a good fight. . . . The economic problems which this "business" mayor so intelligently attacked are fundamental, and this country will long recognize a debt to the man whose brave voice was always lifted in defense of equality of opportunity; but the women of America will longer remember Tom Johnson because he showed the way diminish crime.

Spokesman-Review, Spokane, Wash., April 11.

Tom Loftin Johnson belonged to a remarkable group of American mayors who have attained considerable influence in the civic life of the country since about 1900, and have raised the standards of their office and of municipal government.

West Virginia.

Gazette, Charleston, W. Va., April 11.

But for the fact that he was an out and out free trader with ideas on taxation as radical, if not as dangerous, as those of Henry George he might have been the Democratic candidate for President, as in more than one campaign he was a factor seriously considered.

Canadian reciprocity, a step towards universal free trade, would be that far a vindication of the Johnson policies as applied to our national structure, but Johnson did not live to see more than the mere hope of that. But long ago the rotund and jovial Ohio commoner laid aside bigger cares of national concern for the more intimate ones of the home folks. and while he has been always a more or less active factor in Ohio affairs, it was in his home city of Cleveland that he gave his most useful service. As Mayor of Cleveland Tom L. Johnson achieved his real and definite fame. A national figure as a commoner and statesman in national life, he became an international celebrity as a city ruler and he set a standard that the world applauded.

Mail, Charleston, W. Va., April 11.

Once called visionary, demagogue, dreamer, and what not, the sincerity of his motives questioned, and the man himself lambasted, he fought on and on, and at least, in the end, won the respect and esteem of both friend and foe. For Tom was a reformer—a word hateful in the eves of many. almost criminal in the minds of those whose adherence to what is is as tenacious as death itself. Probably there was much in the life of Johnson that bordered on the spectacular, much that was ahead of his times, while it is also possible that much that has been said about him and his aims and purposes was highly exaggerated. However, when a man dies the world takes a soberer view of him. The presence of death stills detraction and lays bitterness. We all recognize in Tom Johnson a man of ideals, a man of worth, a man who won respect, a pioneer of new thought, a forerunner of things possibly to come. As a type of an active

American, of vigorous mind, of aggressive originality, he is worthy to be counted among those greater Americans who really make history.

Sentinel, Parkersburg, W. Va., April 14.

With the brains, character and ability to become a President, he confined his later activities to the mayoralty of his home city, because, as he put it, the job was big enough for any man, and he didn't want to quit it because he hadn't finished it. With the business acumen and executive ability to become a multi-millionaire and a trust magnate, he disposed of his holdings at a comparatively early age because he thought he had enough and because he believed public work to be more important than manufacturing steel for private profit. ... His first official act when he first held the office of Mayor was to remove all the "Keep Off the Grass" signs from the public parks. The grass is not grown to look at, he explained, it belongs to the people and is for the people, let them and especially their children romp all over it if they wish. And when the park care-takers complained that if the people were allowed on the grass they could not keep it up. Johnson told them he could hire other care-takers that could. . . . Mark Hanna, George B. Cox and the others of the old Ohio machine were fearful of Johnson, and they passed the municipal code bill through the legislature to shear him of some of his authority as Mayor of Cleveland. This was the principal motive underlying the enactment of the Ohio code. It ripped Tom Johnson out of office and switched important powers from his office to other departments which the machine thought it could control easily, but at the very next election Tom Johnson bobbed up with a big victory and an outfit of officials and councilmen in sympathy with him. ... Not excepting Bryan, Harmon, Woodrow Wilson, Champ Clark or any other of the stalwarts, Tom L. Johnson was as big a man as stood in the ranks of the Democratic party. A king is dead, and, in Cleveland, there is no king to take his place.

Sentinel, Parkersburg, W. Va., June 27.

The people of Cleveland have reaped a mighty bequest from Tom Johnson. Three-cent fares are now universal in that city. Three weeks following the death of the great friend of the people his cause triumphed. Beaten when he was alive in his efforts for general three-cent fares, Johnson forced a compromise which permitted the Cleveland Street Railway Company to charge three cents for a single trip and a cent extra for transfers. It was further provided that if the com-

pany's earnings disclosed that it could earn eight per cent without this additional charge for transfers, the extra charge was to be abolished. The last financial report of the company disclosed that such a state of affairs then existed, and the three cent rate and free transfers were put into effect. Tom Johnson killed himself in his fight, but few Americans ever met their end under more glorious circumstances.

Record, West Union, W. Va., May 19.

Whether people agree or do not agree with Mr. Johnson's well known views on municipal ownership of public utilities they could not but admire him for his singleness of purpose, his fidelity to conviction, his undaunted courage and the brave way in which he struggled against great odds, including monetary interests, for the success of the cause he had at heart. Undismayed by defeats and having constantly in view the good of the people whom he served he returned once and again to the conflict.

In some respects at least he may be cited as a striking example of the success of failure. That is something more common than many people suppose, and for the encouragement of others it ought to be more fully recognized than it now is.

Intelligencer, Wheeling, W. Va., April 14.

At the height of a successful career he retired from business, became an advocate of Singletax theories and at last found a resting place beside the grave of Henry George. . . . His public life was a splendid exemplification of devotion to ideals, of sincere and earnest effort to serve the whole people. Like every man who stands out against corporate greed, who braves the entrenched forces of privilege and class, Tom Johnson was assailed, maligned, slandered, but from all the abuse and misrepresentation, his character stands forth, massive, rugged and honest. He was true to his ideals and true to himself. The influence of such lives as his is often greater than their mere achievements.

Register, Wheeling, W. Va., April 11.

In the death of Tom L. Johnson Ohio loses one of its foremost citizens and Kentucky one of her foremost sons. Mr. Johnson early became interested in street railways and secured the control of several in Cleveland, where he made his home. Later he entered politics and was several times Mayor of Cleveland. He ran for Governor of Ohio on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated. He was at one time mentioned as available for the Presidency. Digitized by GOOGIC

Wisconsin.

Journal, Antigo, Wis., April 12.

He was one of the disciples of Henry George and his body will be buried beside that great apostle of the Singletax idea, in Brooklyn cemetery. Mr. Johnson was a great character and one whom you could not help but admire. He had some visionary ideas, but whatever he did, the thought, "Will it help the common people?" seemed to be the guiding spirit.

Reporter, Fond du Lac, Wis., April 13.

Although Tom Johnson is dead, his achievements will be in evidence long after his name has become but a memory.

Tribune, La Crosse, Wis., April 12.

"One of the noblest spirits."

That is the way William Jennings Bryan referred to the late Tom L. Johnson in paying a tribute to the great Cleveland reformer whose death was chronicled yesterday.

We do not believe Mr. Bryan overstated the case. Many a reformer of the day has had wider scope than Johnson, but none had more fixed purpose, or more unselfish motive and determined attitude. . . . Give us more Tom L. Johnsons, and we shall have better society, better democracy.

La Follette's, Madison, Wis., April 22.

We who seek to appreciate the great soldier of the common good who has passed on, must remember what were his ideals. He fought for the progressive wing of the Democratic party, but he was not a Democrat merely—he was a democrat. He fought for his city, but he was more than a city builder—he was a prophet of the City Beautiful, the City Democratic, the City of the Future without poverty. He fought for municipal ownership of street railways and other public utilities, but he was more than an advocate of public ownership—he looked forward to the time when all such things shall be run free for the benefit of all, just as elevators are run in public buildings, the cost to be paid through public income from things rightfully belonging to the people in their collective capacity.

In short, Tom L. Johnson was a Singletaxer first, and everything else afterward.

As a man, we may not gauge him fully at this time, but we can get some glimpses of what he was by thinking of what he might have been. He was poor and became rich through his genius for money making; but he never accepted the cruel doctrine that every man may do as he did if he is only frugal, temperate and industrious. He

saw poverty as a social thing, not as an individual thing. He regarded it as a curable thing, not as an integral part of civilized life.

As a rich man he might have gone on until he became as powerful as Carnegie or Rockefellerhe had the genius for Big Business and the start in it. He might have come to the giving of millions for libraries, foundations, institutes, and institutions. Instead, he gave himself. He did as much as any public officer with the same opportunities, to ameliorate the condition of the poor; but had no faith in the permanent value of amelioration. He did not believe in palliatives. He believed that the evils of society result in the main from monopoly of natural opportunities, that greed itself is the natural armor developed by human nature to meet hard conditions, that it will disappear with the conditions that cause it, and that with it will pass most of our crime, most of our suffering, most of our sin. In short, he was no cologne-water reformer, but one who-believed in the supreme efficacy of the Christianity of democracy to save and lift up society—not through an individual here and there, not piecemeal, but from bottom to top, from mudsill to minaret.

He was a beneficiary of the tariff, and he embraced free trade. He was in the charmed circle of captains of industry, and he stepped out among the people as one of the people. He was a monopolist, and he declared for the abolition of all monopoly, including the monopoly of land. He was a rich politician, and he refused to use his money in politics. Knowing the game as it is played, he refused to play it, and never faltered in victory or defeat in the faith that no good can come of evil.

Money is not in the habit of staying long in the hands of those who do not devote themselves to it, and so Tom L. Johnson's riches, most of them at least, slipped away from him. But let nobody think of that as a great sacrifice on his part. In a certain sense of the expression, he made no sacrifices. He used up his great powers in the service of the people; but he could be happy in no other way. In this we see the foreshadcwing of a state of things in which nobody will be rich and every one will be happy. The people understand—and that understanding is evidenced by the two hundred thousand who thronged the streets when Cleveland's great Prophet of the Better Day was borne away, to rest by the man who brought him the light by which he walked so straightly and so strongly—Henry George.

Journal, Milwaukee, Wis., April 12.

Tom Johnson, who in his long fight with what

Theodore Roosevelt has so aptly characterized as the corrupt alliance between politics and business, endeared himself to millions of his countrymen, is dead. If ever man made sacrifice for the common weal, if ever man forgot self in rendering service to his fellows, that man was Tom Johnson.

When Tom Johnson entered public life he was counted a millionaire. Then the great trusts had not been created. Carnegie was laying the foundation of his fortune. Standard Oil was just beginning to make its power felt. The work of centralization was hardly under way. To a man of Johnson's commanding ability, opportunities for amassing wealth were unlimited. He might have died worth a hundred million instead of insolvent. Men all around him were building up fortunes through tariffs and franchises. But he had other work to do. His destiny was to serve mankind, not to exploit it. A book fell into his hands. He read it. And the current of his life was changed.

Tom Johnson, the steel manufacturer, the street railway promoter, the franchise exploiter, had seen a great and illuminating light. He had read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." From a defender of privilege he became its enemy. A steel mill owner, he voted in Congress for free trade in steel and was misunderstood and condemned as a demagogue seeking public favor by those who did not know the manner of man that he was. A street railway magnate, he became an advocate of municipal ownership and his motives were questioned. He sought office. And all of the brahministic reformers were shocked. His long struggle with the public service interests ended in his defeat. He was fighting single-handed in a single city forces that are nation-wide in their ramifications. But though he was struck down, his was the victory. He gave a new ideal of municipal government. Cleveland became known as the best governed city in the United States. There was originated the civic center idea. The playground movement first got its impetus in Cleveland. The police department was characterized by its intelligent and humane direction. It was the purpose of the municipal authorities to strike at the causes of crime as well as to suppress their effects. Improved methods of taxation were introduced. Without becoming an experimental station for all sorts of fads, Cleveland, under Mayor Johnson's administration, was not afraid of new ideas and if they had merit they were not rejected merely because they were new and untried.

Such a man never dies. The good that he has done lives after him,

Journal, Milwaukee, Wis., April 21.

What is needed most in this struggle to give back to the children their birthright, play, is a wider public appreciation of the necessity of this birthright. We need more men and women with the love of childhood in their hearts; more Tom Johnsons who would rather have happy little feet pattering over their graves to the sound of happy laughter than towering, bleak monuments.

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News, Milwaukee, Wis., April 11.

By the death of Tom Loftin Johnson Cleveland and the United States lose a friend of popular government and of the people's rights who has made his friendship count. . . . In many ways Tom Johnson was an idealist, an idealist who gave to his ideals the practical ability that had made him a wealthy man and a leader in affairs. . . . But it is as a 3-cent fare leader that Tom Johnson is best known. Three-cent fares on the street cars of Cleveland was his hobby for years, and during four terms as Mayor he worked toward that end, overcoming obstacle after obstacle, never wavering from his determination to secure it. And after many failures, he saw a 3-cent fare come into force after he had left the mayor's office. . . . Tom Johnson has been called a dreamer. He was a dreamer-one who dreams good dreams that become actualities. He was an idealist, his ideal being a high service to the people. And he was a force in the realization of his dreams and ideals, a force that will not die with the laying away of the body that was called Tom Johnson.

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Sunset, Vancouver, B. C., April 15.

Tom Johnson, Cleveland's great reform Mayor, has passed beyond and left a name that will live among his fellows as the father of many movements for the advancement of the people's interests. He died a comparatively poor man though a few years ago he was worth millions. He incurred the bitter enmity of all the street railway companies in America because he fought for threecent fares and partially succeeded in getting them. He earned the hatred of grasping railways and grafting officials who tried to exploit Cleveland and rob her of invaluable franchises and lands. The enemies he made are proof of his worth. . . .

Maybe he was wrong sometimes. What of it? He was right most of the time, nearly all the time, and his record of service and sacrifice should blazon his name among the patriots of his country even though his activities were confined to the affairs of his own city. Although Tom Johnson

never entered beyond the threshold of national politics the example he set, the influence he wielded, was felt in every borough on this continent where private corporations hold public franchises. Those which corrupt or exploit their cities hated him and for good cause. Tom Johnson, by turning the spot light upon the graft and thievery in his own city, encouraged others to do the same thing and he showed them how to do it. The influence of his example will last for generations.

World, Vancouver, B. C., April 12.

Today the United States mourns the death of Tom L. Johnson, ex-Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio. The severe test of public criticism Tom L. Johnson underwent and withstood. He was one of the rare men who are recruits to the cause of progress and democracy, from the ranks of the privileged classes. His father, Colonel Albert Johnson, a man of Kentucky, lost his all in the Civil War. Johnson, beginning life as a horse-car conductor on the streets of Louisville, attained a position unique in municipal politics on the American continent. He was the most conspicuous American whose career was actuated and motived by the gospel of Henry George.

Tribune, Winnipeg, Man., April 11.

Canada mourns with the United States today over the death of Tom Johnson, the defender of public rights. He was a plain man of the peorle, a valiant hero of the masses, a man of unconquerable spirit, and whose good qualities far outweighed his shortcomings. Like many of the world's renowned reformers, he rose from the ranks. He was not the mere creature of circumstances, pitchforked into prominence to serve interests. He was resourceful, inventive and creative. He carved out for himself the place which be occupied in the public life of his country. In the race for wealth, he came into close contact with the ways of many of the corporations of his country and came to realize fully that while some were good the majority were aptly classified as soulless. He won many battles and lost others, but he never regarded a reverse as a final defeat. . . . There are thousands of Canadians as well as tens of thousands of Americans who have been inelifted and ennobled in character by reason of the splendid example of Tom Johnson.

Times, Hamilton, Ont., April 11.

He was an indefatigable reformer. The most important of the reforms for which he labored was the furthering of the land value system of taxation, championed by the late Henry George. His advocacy of 3-cent street railway fares in Cleveland was not crowned with success, and for several years it caused the railways and the people much loss. A co-operative plan for a sliding scale of rates* was finally agreed upon after Johnson's defeat—a defeat which probably contributed to the breakdown of his health. He dissipated a huge fortune in a few years. Even in defeat. Johnson retained the admiration and respect of multitudes who could not follow him in what they regarded as his misdirected enthusiasm.

Christian-Guardian, Toronto, Ont., April 19.

His earlier life has been largely forgotten, and he will be remembered mainly by the heroic fight which he made against strong corporate interests. Jol nson failed, but the citizens won.

Gicbe, Toronto, Ont., April 12.

The course of the late Tom L. Johnson seemed strange, unreal, contradictory, and inexplicable to the public, and this was because he was a man of clear economic understanding and followed the dictates of sound logic. To the purblind and distorted economic vision of his time his views seemed erratic and ridiculous. Although growing wealthy out of one of the most highly protected industries in the United States, he was an uncompromising free trader, and he never failed to impress on the people the truth that he was growing rich on the protection folly by which they were impoverishing themselves. In this he was not a self-sacrificing altruist, nor did he selfishly depend on the stupidity of the public through which he was drawing protection. He saw with clear understanding that the sweeping away of the tariff would not only relieve the public of onerous burdens, but would also improve the condition of almost all the big industries seemingly dependent on obstruction.

Although an extensive employer of labor, he favored the abolition of all taxes except on the value of land. In this policy he saw clearly the opening of natural opportunities, now held idle by the possibility of profit, and the consequent comparative independence of the wage-worker. But while holding that the policy he urged on all occasions would be most advantageous to wage-earning classes, he realized that benefits would accrue to himself as a citizen and an organizer of industry. Although a street railway magnate and man of wealth, he led a campaign in favor of three-cent fires for the city of Cleveland. This brought him into conflict with the leading financiers and with an intricacy of interests toward

^{*}See Introductory Note on page 697.

which a man of wealth might naturally be expected to lean. The fight for the three-cent fare while he was Mayor of Cleveland brought him into greater prominence than any other effort in his public career, and, although every political influence that wealth could command was directed against him, he retained the support of the public. This brought out prominently his dual capacity as practical politician and philosophic economist.

He had the requisite ability for both sailing and navigating the ship of State. An adept in managing an election campaign, he had also the broad vision which saw the intelligent purpose to be served when holding a public trust. When in Congress he was instrumental in having Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade" printed in Hansard* under the "power to print" system. It was in that way reprinted as a Congressional Record and scattered broadcast throughout the United States. It would also have been widely distributed throughout Canada, but most of the shipments were suppressed by the postal authorities. Tom L. Johnson furnished the money which enabled Henry George to complete his last work, which is a storehouse of ammunition for those engaged in the more modern controversies over social adjust-Although the champion of three-cent fares did much to clarify popular thought on economic questions, his chief practical service was in making municipal politics assume a foremost place, in making municipal ownership popular, and in enlisting support for the interest of the public against special privileges and personal aims. He showed that the people would follow and support the man who intelligently and continuously upheld their interests, and he gave the lie to the cynical doctrine of despair that predicts ultimate victory for the promoters of private aims. He also showed the importance of municipal as compared with State and national administration, and a large measure of the current municipal awakening in the United States can be traced to his influence. If a nation's history is the record of a few great men, Tom L. Johnson has contributed an important page to the history of the United States. His power lay in combining the wisdom of the seer and the altruism of the patriot with the resourcefulness of the practical politician.

World, Toronto, Ont., April 12.

Of the late Tom I. Johnson it can be truly

said that his latter years were better than his first. Judged by American standards he achieved in early life what these demand as the measure of success. But, in this exceptional, he learned the higher joy of serving rather than exploiting the common people and secured it at the cost of all that he had gained. That sacrifice will be his memorial, as William J. Bryan, after visiting what proved to be his deathbed, said in words that well deserve quotation—"No man during the past generation has done more effective work for the people than Tom Johnson, and certainly no one has been called upon to pay a heavier price for that labor than he."

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Herald, Montreal, Que., April 17.

The death of Tom L. Johnson so soon after the closing defeat of his political career, has provided the writers of the continent with an attractive theme. It has been curious to note with what practical unanimity those who reviewed his life have accepted as his one claim to fame the influence he exerted outside the arena in which he fought. To the observer close at hand, impressed by the radiating personality of the man, forcibly made aware of his very human quality, his love of the limelight, his mastering ambition, his delight in the fight as he made it, the interest would naturally seem to be confined to the decision the people of Cleveland would make of his personal fortunes. He won often and had the delights of victory. He lost finally, and bore the full humiliation of defeat. His ambition soared to heights he could not attain. To himself, very probably. as to many others, his life work was here summed up. And vet those who commented upon his career esteemed all this as scarcely worthy of attention. It was, with all its wholesomeness, little more than commonplace.

But what did matter to the people of this continent about Johnson was that he led the way in a revolution of opinion in regard to public utilities. To him, more than to any one other, it is due that the people of the great cities insist upon envisaging the public utility services, the street railways, the gas companies, the electric light and power concerns, not with the indifference habitually shown towards other people's businesses, but with the warm concern which people show for what is their own business. Johnson forced the utility corporations to concede that dividends were not all, nor vet the watered stock issued on the strength of those dividends. He forced service to the first place, a fair return for it to the second. Profit had to take its place alongside, and, in the

e"Hansard" is the Canadian name for the official reports of Parliamentary preceedings. It corresponds to the "Congressional Record" in the United States.

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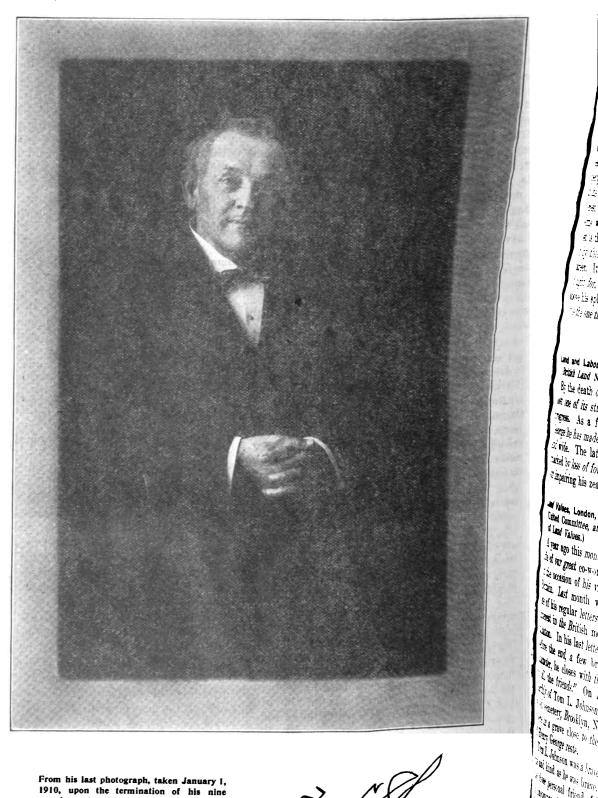
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From his last photograph, taken January I, 1910, upon the termination of his nine years' service as Mayor of Cleveland.

case he had to deal with, the water was squeezed out altogether. All this produced, in Cleveland, the bitterest of personal political conflict, but elsewhere the noise of the conflict only set men to thinking. Too far off for their emotions to be excited, their brains went to work, and the result was a general, a determined, and in most cases a successful effort to assert the dominent interest of the people to be served in the commercial organizations assuming to serve them. A quickened interest on the part of millions of people in concerns which before they had neglected to their cost is the one great result put to Johnson's credit by those who commented last week upon his career. It was not what he thought of, what he fought for, what he failed in; it was over and above his sphere of action as he knew it. And vet it is the one thing that counts. It is the big thing.

* * * * Great Britain.

Land and Labour, London, May. (Organ of the British Land Nationalization Movement.)

By the death of Tom L. Johnson, America has lost one of its strongest workers in the cause of progress. As a friend and disciple of Henry George he has made his influence for good felt far and wide. The later years of his life have been marked by loss of fortune and loss of health, without impairing his zeal for reform.

Land Values, London, May. (Organ of the British United Committee, and Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values.)

A year ago this month we gave a sketch of the life of our great co-worker, now gone to his rest, on the occasion of his visit at that time to Great Britain. Last month we briefly reported from one of his regular letters recording his continued interest in the British movement for land values taxation. In his last letter, dated April 3, a week before the end, a few brief lines of a personal character, he closes with the words: "With love to all the friends." On April 13 all that was earthly of Tom L. Johnson was taken to Greenwood cemetery, Brooklyn, N. Y., and laid to rest there in a grave close to the one where the body of Henry George rests.

Tom L. Johnson was a brave man, and as generous and kind as he was brave. He was for years the close personal friend of Henry George, and an uncompromising advocate of his teaching. As Mayor of Cleveland he proved himself to friend and foe alike an unselfish humanitarian civic ruler and under his regime Cleveland acquired a reputation as the best governed city in the United States.

Mr. Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, a friend and coadjutor of Mr. Johnson, pays him the following tribute:

In the passing of Johnson the nation has lost one of its best men. His career held the picturesque and dramatic qualities that inevitably distinguish a great personality. He was and will be a force for truth, equality, and brotherhood. He had the pity of an Altgeld for the poor; he had the love for humanity that was in the heart of Golden Rule Jones; he beheld the vision of Henry George, and when he caught the vision he went to work to lift the burden from mankind. He called himself a Democrat, but he was greater than his party, as democracy itself is greater than all parties. He was no mere reformer. He was a politician in the fine and best sense of a term that has been too much degraded by its own exemplars; he was wholly practical and sane, and it was a noble privilege to have him for a friend.

It was a privilege to have Tom L. Johnson for a friend. He was guided by his love of humanity, his love of freedom and fair play, and for this he gave his fortune, his talents and life itself. In his brilliant and well-directed fight he showed the highest courage and carried himself even in defeat as a man should. In January, 1910, on the occasion of his turning the executive office over to his successor, he said, in his own quiet, dignified and captivating manner: "I have served the people for nearly nine years. I have had more of misfortune in those nine years than in any other period of my life. As that is true, it is also true that I have had more of joy. In those nine years I have given the biggest and best part of me. I served the people of Cleveland the best I knew how."

Tom L. Johnson was a pioneer in the fight for clean government. At first he was misunderstood as Mayor of Cleveland by many who afterwards gladly gave him their loval support. His sunny smile was all-conquering, but behind the smile there was a man who knew "the seasons when to take occasion by the hand and make the bonds of freedom wider yet." Some say he failed to carry his immediate policy in connection with the local street railways. Perhaps he did; but if so we regard it as a mere circumstance in his unwearied and successful labors for the good of the citizens of Cleveland. To them he was "Citizen Tom," and they came to love him for his own sake no less than for his many triumphs on their behalf.

It was a privilege to have Tom L. Johnson for a friend. He was a charming, lovable character in all respects. He would tell you in the sweetest and most entertaining way what he had been doing himself, and before you knew where you were you would be telling him all about yourself—at

least all he wanted to know. If you were interesting him, he would turn and look you through and through. At such moments you instinctively felt you were in the presence of a man who could command your attention if not your allegiance. He loved to talk of his fellowship with Henry George; he would do this when invited by some close personal friend who was at one with him in his unbounded admiration for Henry George's life and teachings.

At the grave at Greenwood cemetery the Rev. Herbert Bigelow, for many years a close friend of Mr. Johnson's, said these words:

When we bore Tom Johnson's body through lines of uncovered heads and weeping faces in Cleveland, the thought occurred to us that we should have left the body in that city. There is one spot which has prior claim, however-here, where lie the body of his father and his mother and the body of his dearest friend, Henry George, who was an inspiration in all his work. The great work of Tom Johnson is a part of his country's history, and no greater chapter has ever been written by another. When all of us leave this spot today the spirits of Tom Johnson and Henry George will be calling the people from the morass of monopoly into the open fields of freedom.

Mr. Bigelow is right. The spirit of Tom L. Johnson, like the spirit of Henry George, will be leading the people from the land of bondage into the open fields of freedom, so long as there is room for men and women to strive for the uplifting of the race. As Joseph Fels said when the news of the passing of our great co-worker and leader came: "Tom Johnson is not dead. He lives, and will live so long as his example remains with us." Tom L. Johnson's life, his courage, his devotion and his practical sagacity as a leader in the fight will encourage those who worked with him and tens of thousands the world over who watched from afar his doing as a Singletaxer and as a great municipal administrator.

Last year, when he was visiting this country, it was a matter of keen regret to thousands of our people that Mr. Johnson's illness prevented his taking to the platform or going about from point to point to visit the many centers of our educational activities; but he knew what had been done these past thirty years since Henry George carried out his first brilliant campaign, and what he did see drew from him the highest measure of praise and affection for those who had done the

In Tom L. Johnson's death we have to mourn the loss of a brave leader and a warm personal friend. He kept the faith. Far beyond the confines of the city he worked for and died for, his noble unselfish life inspired men and women with zeal and unfaltering decision to strive for the coming of the better day when peace and health and strength will be no longer a dream but a realization.

Germany. Frankfurter Zeitung, Frankfurt a. M., April 19.

Tom L. Johnson, der langjaehrige Buergermeister von Cleveland in Ohio, ist dieser Tage Er war bekannt als Bodenreformer gestorben. und fortschrittlicher Demokrat und als Mitglied dieser Partei gehoerte er zeitweise auch Bundes-Kongresse an; auch war er einer eifrigsten und einflussreichsten Anhaenger Lehre von der ewigen Wiederkehr der Kandidatur des Herrn Bryan. Am bekanntesten machte ihn aber sein grosser Kampf um Verbilligung des Trambahntarifs. Dieser Kampf galt unmittelbar nur dem Strassenbahn system in Cleveland, aber er wurde in den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten jahrelang mit grossem Interesse beobachtet, weil man erwartete, dass ein Sieg Johnsons in Cleveland schliesslich auch in allen andern Staedten zu einer Herabsetzung des Fahrpreises fuehren muesse. Der Kampfruf Johnsons hiess: 3 Cents statt 5 Cents Einheitstarif? Den Preis, um kaempfte, hat der Buergermeister nicht erreicht, aber er hat immerhin eine ziemliche Herabsetzung des Tarifes (wenn wir nicht irren 7 Fahrkarten fuer 25 Cents)* und eine sehr wesentliche Verbesserung des Betriebes durchgesetzt. Johnson war eines der besten und ausgepraegtesten Er emplare des Typus "Hemdsaermelarnerikaner," als Geschaeftsmann, als Politiker und soenlichen Verkehr. Wenig kultiviert in Bildung und Manieren, unter Umstaenden vielleicht brutal, aber ehrlich und immer guten Willens und immer voll froehlichem Lachen, dabei scharf an Verstand, tuechtig und entschlossen im Handeln. nach Aussehen und Auftreten vermutlich von irischer Abstammung. Johnson begann seine Laufbahn als vermoegensloser, kleiner beamter einer Strassenbahngesellschaft. ohne fachliche Vorbildung eine Anzahl technischer Erfindungen im Strassenbahnbetrieb und zog sich schliesslich als Strassenbahnmagnat von etwa 20 Mill. Doll. Vermoegen aus dem Geschaeftsleben zurueck, um der Politik zu leben und in besondere seine Fachkenntnis zum Besten der Stadt Clere land zu verwerten. Er hat als Buergermeister im Kommer-Kampfe gegen die dortigen Strassenbahugesellalso gerade schaften schliesslich einen grossen das Gegenteil des korrupten Politikers, der heichiger Hebertreiburg. iger Uebertreibung fuer die amerika nische Kommunalverwoltung munalverwaltung charakteristisch geworden

*An error. See Introductory Note on page 697.

