

02

295185

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

AUG

THE
SINGLE TAX
REVIEW

A Record of the Progress of Single
Tax and Tax Reform Through-
out the World



SUMMER NUMBER

July 15th, 1902. Vol. 2, No. 1.

Yearly Subscription, \$1. Single Copies, 25 Cents

PUBLISHED AT 62 AND 64 TRINITY PLACE

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

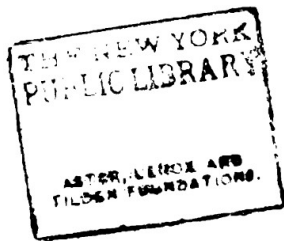
SINGLE TAX REVIEW,
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor and Publisher.
MRS. CHARLOTTE E. HAMPTON, Associate.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

THE STORY OF A LAND SPECULATION	<i>Dr. E. M. Flagg</i>	1
GERRARD WINSTANLEY, THE DIGGER	<i>Louis H. Berens</i>	9
APPENDIX TO "EARTH-FOR-ALL" CALENDAR	<i>Ernest H. Crosby</i>	23
HOSPITALS AND LAND VALUES	<i>R. B. Capon</i>	27
THE IMPROVED ALPHABET	<i>Myrtle Stumm</i>	32
CLARENCE MOELLER, PERSONALS		36
JOINT MEMORIAL MEETINGS		37
EDGAR L. RYDER, BOOK REVIEWS		38
WARREN WORTH BAILEY		40
WOMEN'S NATIONAL SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE		41
OHIO AS A STORM CENTER	<i>J. B. Vining</i>	43
NEWS, DOMESTIC		48
NEWS, FOREIGN		55
DR. McGLYNN'S RESTORATION		59







MISS BESSIE AGNES DWYER
VICE PRES.

MRS. REUBEN FREEMAN.
COR. SEC.

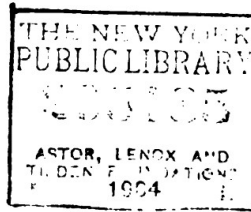
MRS. JOHN S. CROSBY.
PRESIDENT

MISS MYRTLE STUMM.

MRS. JENNIE L. MUNROE.
TREAS.

SOME WOMEN OF THE CONFERENCE.

(See page 41.)



THE
SINGLE TAX REVIEW

A Record of the Progress of Single Tax and Tax Reform
Throughout the World.



THE STORY OF 
A LAND SPECULATION

(Expressly for the Review.)

BY DR. E. M. FLAGG.

ON the 24th of August, 1534, an expedition sailed from Seville in Spain for the eastern coast of South America. It was commanded by Don Pedro de Mendoza and consisted of fourteen vessels, two thousand six hundred and fifty men and seventy horses. Mendoza put into port on the coast of Brazil and afterward navigated toward the south, disembarked upon a desert beach at the spot where now stands the populous City of Buenos Ayres, the Chicago of South America, but running short of provisions he was compelled to break camp and ascended the River Parana. There he found the ruins of a fort constructed by Sebastian Cabot, of which he took possession, but being still short of provisions he ordered one of his lieutenants, Juan de Ayolas to go further into the country in order to ascertain its resources,

Ayolas accompanied by three hundred men continued up the River Parana, when his attention was attracted by a branch of the main stream which joined it from the north. This branch was the River Paraguay, and here his further progress was disputed. His company was now about a thousand miles from the scene of its first disasters when he noticed a quantity of canoes filled with armed Indians advancing to meet him. The Spanish artillery destroyed a portion of the canoes and scattered the rest, but the attacks were renewed, and only after severe fighting did Ayola resolve to land.

He then found himself confronted by several thousand natives belonging to the Guarani Tribe who at once attacked the invaders and who were once more defeated by the superior killing power of the weapons of civilization and the Chief Lambare was obliged to surrender. The natives were then compelled to build a fort under the direction of Spanish officers. This fort was not far from the battlefield and later it was surrounded by dwellings, and the place received the name of Assumption in honor of a feast dedicated to the Virgin

which falls due on the 15th of August, the date of the foundation of the fort. Such was the military and colonial origin of the capital of Paraguay, and I have often thought that Assumption was not a bad name for lands that were seized with so little ceremony. The number of colonists was increased later on by the arrival of the survivors of the original expedition, for Mendoza falling ill and being greatly discouraged had returned to Spain.

They formed a municipal council, surrounded the new city with trenches and ramparts and put up some public buildings. They also commenced building a church, for in spite of all that the invaders had lost, they still stuck to their theological opinions with a devotion that to-day can hardly be realized. But it was necessary to provide food, as the Spaniards had a contempt for all manual labor, and since food is not produced without labor, they got over the difficulty by merely reducing some of the natives to slavery and compelling them to cultivate the neighboring lands which Irdla had parcelled out among his men under the name of Encomiendas. Encomienda in Spanish is a very elastic word. One of its definitions is protection. In the United States to-day we can appreciate this definition, for often when a force contribution is contemplated we begin by calling it protection.

Assumption soon became the principal seat of Spanish power in the River Platte region and maintained this position up to 1580. The life of the colonists was rude and warlike. Their leaders who were all soldiers sometimes disputed authority with each other, sometimes fought with the unsubdued Indians. Little by little a mixed race was formed from the union of Spanish and Guarani Indians partaking more or less of the privileges of the conquerors.

Although constantly fighting the Indians, Hernanda Arias, the Governor, was not unfavorable toward them and believed that there were other ways of reducing them besides the brute force so cruelly employed against them. He resolved to call in the missionaries and to that end addressed a report to the King of Spain, Philip III. This king approved the plan proposed by Arias, and in 1608 the Jesuits were charged to carry it out.

Here ends the first page of the great land speculation. Its feature are the same in Paraguay as elsewhere, and even to-day men are found who look with complacency on this species of seizure. Let but the victims be of different race, or more especially, of different religion, and every sentiment of humanity is distorted to find excuse for their oppression. Personally the Spanish conquerors do not seem to have been worse than other men. If we find cases of brutality and cruelty among them, cases of magnanimity and indulgence are not wanting, while some of them have reputations for great courtesy and chivalry. It is saying much for the inherent goodness of human nature that such qualities can survive in the midst of the most ruthless doctrines.

**"They who have done this deed are honorable men,
And will no doubt with reasons answer you,"**

are words put into the mouth of Antony by the immortal Shakespeare to show that even assassins will seek to justify murder by some sort of mental process. So the Spanish conqueror would say, "If we have killed the natives and seized the land we have put the land to a better use than the natives could. If we have forced them to cultivate the fields for us, in order that we might partake of the harvest, have they not also been partakers of that harvest, and even if we had no sympathy with our slaves, would not interest alone prompt us to protect them? Then, again, have we not brought to them a knowledge of our blessed religion. Think how far the eternal salvation of a soul outweighs any consideration of temporary hardship that the body is called upon to undergo." But whatever casuistry is used in order to uphold brute

force, it nevertheless happens that brute force in the end proves to be ineffectual, and the calling in of the missionaries was sufficient evidence of the fact that the conquerors had begun to doubt the final success of brute force, as a means of establishing themselves permanently. So the second stage of the great land speculation was inaugurated through the operation of religion. The military despotism was replaced by the Theocracy, and it will long live in history as the most admirable and wonderful Theocracy that the world has ever witnessed.

Let us pause for a moment to describe the country that was to be the scene of the Theocracy. It will serve to explain why Paraguay was a successful colony fifty years before the great Argentine Republic was settled; why Assumption, a town a thousand miles inland, furnished colonists to settle Buenos Ayres, nearer to Europe by a thousand miles, as a sort of branch colony to Paraguay.

I think the reason is to be found in the fact that people who lead the stormy life of an adventurer are insensibly affected by the beauties of nature which seem in some way to act as a remedy to their turbulent feeling. As one enters the mighty river Platte he is impressed by the grandeur of the stream, but on its banks there is little that is attractive. The country is level and treeless, and Buenos Ayres is as flat as Chicago. The river bank forms a bluff of varying height, and beyond this bluff all the scene is irritating in its monotony. Even where the prairie is undulating it is without forest and bleak, and this continues for nearly eight hundred miles inland up the river Parana, to where the River Paraguay joins it from the north. Here for the first time the traveler begins to see really pretty scenery. The country is broken by hills that are heavily wooded. In every direction are bubbling springs and running streams of purest water. Even the earth varies in rich coloring. Many miles of meadow offer pasturage to cattle, but the meadows never become monotonous like the endless prairies, for every few miles they are set with hills whose red earth cropping out here and there from the midst of the bright green vegetation, forms a contrast so strikingly beautiful that wherever seen it is seldom forgotten. It is on these hill tops that the villages are usually set, and the Jesuit missionaries utilized them for stations. Not being established for their commercial purposes there was no need of sacrificing the sense of beauty to the love of gain.

In 1609 the Jesuits arrived at Asoncion and were welcomed with great rejoicing. Their villages multiplied rapidly and their organization, based upon Socialistic conceptions is peculiarly interesting to-day.

The moment that they came in contact with a tribe of Indians they sought to gain their confidence by benefiting them. They worked as herdsmen, farmers, bricklayers, carpenters, tanners, and taught the Indians these trades, thereby impressing the Indians with their intellectual superiority. From that moment the work was in a good way and the natives gathered around them in order to secure for themselves a life that should be less painful and less uncertain. The wigwam was soon replaced by the clay hut and the brief encampment by a permanent settlement. All the missions were laid out upon a uniform plan. It consisted of a large square, one of the sides being occupied by the church and church buildings, school, etc., and the three other sides by the cottages of the people. At the middle of this square which was planted with orange trees, was erected an enormous cross. Four broad avenues bordered with orange, and palm trees, opened at each angle of the square and extended out into the country ending at little chapels. From these round about stretched the pasture for the cattle and cultivated fields. Each village was governed by two Jesuit fathers who shared equally in the temporal and spiritual interests of the village.

The Indians were recognized as subjects of the King, and paid into the treasury a small yearly tax. Every night the village was patrolled and any scandal was reported to the Jesuit fathers before all the congregation and received chastisement. The natives married very young. Each head of a family was put in possession of a cottage and garden. The garden adjoining the house was for the use and profit of the owner. Every year at seeding time a quantity of grain was given out, also vegetable and flower seed. The same quantity had to be returned at harvest time and stored away. Each head of a house received also a yoke of oxen, but only as a loan that was to be returned upon demand. Outside of the garden plot belonging to the house, all the real estate composing the mission belonged to the community. Their finest lands formed the Tupamboe, or God's estate. One part of it was devoted to cattle raising and the other part to farming. All of the inhabitants shared in its cultivation, even the children, and its produce was stored in the public barns. The Jesuit fathers expended it in favor of the sick, the orphans, new colonists, and those who, from one cause or another, found themselves without resources. This fund also served to pay the expenses of education, doctrine, and administration, as well as to pay the expenses of persons sent abroad either for the regulation of the colony's business, or at the requisition of the King.

The Spaniards and Europeans in general were not allowed to visit the Jesuit missions except as they were formally authorized, and even in that case their sojourn was limited to three days. The visitor (always accompanied) was conducted to the lodging assigned to him. In the morning a ringing of bells called him to the church. On his way there he perceived the inhabitants gathered in the grand square, the men ranged on one side, dressed in poncho or white coat on work days, or in colors on holidays; the women drawn up on the other side of the square, dressed in a full flowing robe tied by a band about the waist. The ceremony of mass being finished, the traveler was invited to visit the plantations, then the schools, where the boys learned different trades, as well as to read, write, cipher and sing, and the girls to spin and sew. The dwelling of the Jesuit fathers was a large one-story building, behind which a garden extended and various outhouses, consisting of workshops, library, warehouse and pharmacy.

Everything in the community was regulated with the most minute care—religious services, manual labor and amusements. Inspectors went over the fields to insure proper cultivation. The ringing of a bell called them to work and away from work. Indolent or negligent colonists were punished. Those who distinguished themselves by good conduct were rewarded, sometimes by even being allowed to wear shoes, which amounted to a great distinction. The chiefs, notables and those selected by the people were dressed in rich costumes brought from Spain. During the holidays, Christmas especially was celebrated with great pomp. The various mission stations considered themselves members of a great union, giving help to one another in case of need. No one of them spoke anything but the Guarani language, for Spanish was strictly forbidden. If an Indian from outside approached one of the villages he was received with joy, lodged, clothed and fed, in the hope of winning him over. If occasion presented itself he was handed over to the care and instruction of other Indians already converted. The tame Indians also went occasionally in search of those who still ran wild, in order to persuade them to join the colony, and thus were founded, little by little, new mission stations.

The Jesuits, first of all, attracted the natives by the promise of certain material advantages that were made accessible to him upon conditions easily fulfilled, such as light labor and an attitude of deference toward his benefactors. Thus being made supple the savage became a neophyte and received religious

instruction. This instruction was free of all abstractions. It consisted of certain moral principles and very minute practices of a doctrine full of mystery, whose ceremonies were well calculated to strike the imagination.

Community of goods amongst members of the same tribe, not being in opposition to Indian tradition, strengthened the common bond and offered to the missionaries who were the dispensers of important revenues a means of consolidating and extending their authority, not only in their own domain, but throughout the Spanish possessions. The Jesuits served the interests of civilization in giving to the Indians industrious habits, but they injured these interests in giving their pupils exaggerated notions of passive obedience and in isolating them completely from the rest of the population. These sad results of their method of teaching and colonization evidently must have been modified later on owing to the natural growth of communities, where the moral effect of active and useful occupations and the enjoyment of certain well being could not fail to create new wants.

Unforeseen circumstances hindered the conclusion of the work already begun. Pursued with intelligence it would to-day have transformed the wretched savages which swarm the retired portions of the country into useful aids to the white race in Paraguay.

There was in one of the Brazillian provinces, about thirty-five miles from the port of St. Vincent, a little village. It was built upon a rock and almost inaccessible, protected on one side by a mountain range and on the other by a great forest. Some Jesuits had formerly visited it and built a college. Its isolation, its strategetic position had attracted to it a crowd of fugitives, pirates and adventurers of all nations, who, finding themselves in force commenced to make incursions in the neighborhood. They ignored any authority ravaging whatever they found in their way. Allying themselves to the Tupi Indians who remained free, they expelled the Jesuits from their city and invaded the neighboring mission stations, seized their inhabitants, and sold them as slaves in the Rio Janeiro market. These brigands who were called Paulists or Mamalukes, meeting with but feeble resistance, extended their depredations, and in two short years, from 1628 to 1630, sixty thousand converted Indians were carried away into slavery. Numbers of the Jesuit Fathers were massacred while vainly attempting to defend their people. Cuidad Real and Villa Rica, two prosperous establishments had been sacked, a part of the people of Villa Rica who were saved at great risk wandered toward the center of the country where they rebuilt in 1635, another Villa Rica, which is to-day, one of the most important cities of Paraguay. The Jesuits now resolved to abandon the threatened mission stations and take up their labors at a more distant point. Accordingly Father Montoya collected some twelve thousand converts, and after a most painful journey transported them to the left side of the upper Parana River. Meanwhile numerous villages during the interval were completely destroyed. In 1636, one hundred thousand Indians were prisoners to the Mamalukes or had perished in fighting them. At first converted Indians were not allowed to carry firearms, but in 1641, permission was obtained from the King of Spain, and the Indians soon learned how to use them and succeeded in driving off the Brazilian fillibusters. During these struggles the Jesuits at Assumption had lost nothing of their influence and power. The Bishop having opposed them they succeeded in getting him expelled from the capital and so the contest went on for more than a century with varying success between the Jesuits and their enemies. In Paraguay their influence finally ended owing to an arrangement made between Spain and Portugal by which a number of Jesuit mission stations were to be transferred to Brazil. The Jesuits begged for time in order to permit the converts to harvest their crops and seek another place. When the time expired those who went to seize

the land were surprised to find the Indians armed, drilled and well officered by the Jesuits, whereupon a bloody war ensued which is known in history as the Guarani War. It took three years to subdue the converts, and when the war ended the power of the Jesuits was completely broken.

Brilliant as this land speculation was in many respects it could not long have endured. The mere satisfaction of bodily wants does not, and never can stop the action of the human mind. Their system was only maintained by suppression of all criticism and keeping their converts isolated. Even the most gorgeous ceremonials cannot permanently check inquiry, analysis and criticism. With the leisure that comes to man from having his animal desires gratified, his mind, ever active, becomes more and more restive under restraint and is as eager for knowledge as the body ever is for food. The system of the Jesuits would have compelled them to suppress forcibly the first intellectual opposition to their authority. And as if in anticipation of such a struggle an officer of the Holy Inquisition was always kept in Paraguay. Happily his services were not put into active operation, and the history of the Church in Paraguay is not stained by the persecution of philosophers. The ultimate failure of the Jesuits, however, demonstrates that any land system which does not recognize the freedom of the intellect cannot endure, no matter how much it appeals to our sympathies by profession to protect the public.

With the downfall of the Jesuits in 1767 came forty years of calamity for Paraguay . . . Franciscans were appointed to take their place but fulfilled their office most miserably. They could not speak the Indian language or gain his confidence, and the Indians returned by thousands to the savage state. In 1808, the news arrived of the Bonapartist invasion of Spain, and all South America was thrown into a ferment. One by one the Spanish colonists gained their independence.

Out of the turmoils of the times there arose a man, one of the most remarkable in history, and the third land speculation was inaugurated. Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, educated as priest and lawyer, had the learning of both combined with the iron will of the military conqueror. With a mind far above the jealousies and quarrels of his environment, he made his intellectual superiority felt even by those who were scrambling for dominion and utterly incapable to guide the destinies of the nation. Little by little it became apparent that if Paraguay maintained her independence, Francia alone was the one who could keep her from becoming a prey to her more powerful neighbors; but Francia soon let it be understood that he would not serve, except he were given full power, or, in other words, made dictator. He was accordingly made dictator for three years, with a salary of nine thousand a year, of which he refused to accept more than a third. No doubt there were men in Paraguay who had ideas of their own and whose ideas differed from those of Francia; but in one respect they were all unanimous—namely, the hatred of foreigners, to whom they attributed all the misfortunes of Paraguay. There is probably not a politician in the United States to-day whose hatred of foreigners is greater than that of Francia, or who urged every argument that prejudice could suggest to demand that Paraguay should be "protected" from them. He referred to her wrangling neighbors as a kennel of mad dogs, and it behooved him to see that Paraguay was not bitten by them. There is something very refreshing about this protectionism of Francia, for it is uncontaminated by the slightest taint of hypocrisy. He did not advocate it in order that one class of Paraguayans might be enriched at the expense of the rest by a species of anarchial taxation.

Installed in the palace of the ancient Spanish Governor, he appeared but seldom in public, devoting his time to study and the dispatch of business. Civil and military employment was given exclusively to his partisans. The municipalities in which there still lived democratic ideas were abolished, and replaced

by committees who took their orders solely from him. As soon as his authority was established he abolished the Holy Inquisition, facilitated the entrance of war material into the country, and built forts on all the frontiers. In 1816, one year before the expiration of his dictatorship, he called a special meeting of congress and had his dictatorship extended for life. Henceforward his will was law, and he met with but little opposition. Military despotism and theocracy had accustomed the Paraguayans to a rigid rule; they could not conceive of any other. He forbade the Paraguayans to leave the country or any foreigner to set foot on Paraguayan soil without his special permission. This rupture of all intercourse with neighboring countries and their markets injured many interests, but Francia did not trouble himself about that. His reign was a reign of terror supported by the Creole populations, or half breeds, favoring the mixture of races as much as possible, in order to insure the absorption of the old Spanish element. He refused to recognize the claims of the Pope, declaring himself the head of the Paraguayan Church, named the priests for the different parishes, and arrogated to himself all knowledge of the doctrine.

In spite of his rigid measures, some of the more independent minds did get out of the country, and tried to incite a movement for its invasion, relying upon certain malcontents to raise a counter-revolution at Assumption. The conspirators were discovered, arrested and put to death. Francia died on the 20th of September, 1840, one of the most consistent protectionists that history records, for he had carried that doctrine to its logical extreme, believing honestly that it was for the best interests of Paraguay, and if protectionism is a true doctrine, Francia was right. Once admit that free commercial intercourse with the foreigner injures a country, and who can tell what further encroachments may not be made on the natural right of purchase under pretense of benefiting the people. Or, if you may keep one class of people out of a country who are neither criminal nor diseased, what limits can be set to the exclusion if demagogues find it to their interest to demand further exclusion?

Yes, Francia died. But the people did not seek to demand their liberty. They had come to regard him who happened to be their ruler as the very personification of the national sentiment. Yet some steps were taken toward liberty, for liberty is one of those things that in some individuals never dies until the individual dies. A congress was convened of five hundred deputies, political prisoners to the number of six hundred and eighty were set free; within two years a judicial system was organized, some schools were established in the country districts, lands were distributed to the natives, who also received assistance and farm tools. Measures were also taken tending to abolish chattel slavery; but, greatest innovation of all, a printing press was established at Assumption, and a newspaper periodically issued under the name of *Free Paraguay*, and its editor was elected President for a ten year term in 1844.

Thus was power once more confided to a single man and with the natural result. The President was Captain General. He directed all affairs, ecclesiastical, civil and political. Only in the name of the people was he obliged to make foreign treaties which were accordingly made with England, France, Scandinavia and the United States. Immigration was invited and modern industries established. The first railroad in South America was built in 1857. The president died in September, 1862, having largely contributed to the increase of national wealth, without, however, having increased those civic virtues among his people that render a nation worthy of liberty. His son and successor, Solano Lopez, was elected by the congress October 16, 1862. He had traveled in Europe and returned to the country full of ambition. Having equipped an army and navy he was of course in fine condition to interfere in the affairs of other nations, hoping, no doubt, to give his people glory as a kind of substitute for liberty, and three powerful nations, Brazil, Uruguay, and the

Argentine Republic united to crush him. For five years one of the most terrible wars recorded in history was waged, and only ended with the death of Lopez. His ambition had reduced his country from 1,300,000 inhabitants to barely 200,000, nearly all the survivors being women, and so the third land speculation came to an end.

Exhausted, depopulated, almost exterminated, Paraguay at last made peace with her invaders, and men with modern ideas came to the front. A brand new constitution was drawn up and sworn to, bristling with progressive declarations. At this epoch the recuperative powers of a people were well exhibited in the nation's recovery from its terrible prostration. Fourteen years after the peace was signed the writer made his first visit to the country. By that time the Paraguayans had recovered much of their proverbial gayety of character, commerce had revived, the paper money was on a par with gold. But this desirable state of affairs was of short duration, for the fourth and last land speculation was already taking shape, and Paraguay was destined to suffer another chapter of evils.

There existed on the west bank of the Paraguay river, a large tract of land in dispute between Bolivia, Paraguay, and the Argentine Republic. Paraguay had already given up much land in order to make peace with her enemies, but when it came to this particular piece of ground, which was known as the Paraguayan Chaco, she refused to make any further concessions, and clamored loudly for an arbitration, which was finally consented to. Rutherford Hayes, President of the United States, was chosen arbitrator. He decided in favor of Paraguay, and the chief town of the province was named Villa Hayes in honor of the event. This land, together with the public land in Paraguay proper, would have sufficed to settle many immigrants, and to make many happy homes for the overcrowded populations of Europe and Philadelphia; for Paraguay had much land and few people. But when the land question came up for settlement in congress, it was unluckily proposed to sell the land to private parties, as, by so doing, the government could get hold of ready cash, and the purchasers would have to bring wealth to Paraguay in order to develop the land.

As soon as the law authorizing the sale had passed, Asuncion witnessed a sight such as she had never expected. The speculators arrived by every steamer. They stormed Congress. They lobbied the members of the cabinet. Not content with buying up the government lands, they purchased many private estates and thousands of leagues of Paraguay, the natural inheritance of unborn generations, passed under the dominion of men who had no more intention of cultivating it than they had of cultivating the planet Mars. The only activity they demonstrated showed itself in using Paraguayan soldiers to dispossess other Paraguayans who were trying to make a living by cultivating the soil of their fatherland, but who could not show a paper title in support of a natural right. And thus did they make vagabonds of men who otherwise might have been valuable citizens.

Thus we have reviewed four stages of a nation's history and I have defined them as land speculations. It does not seem to me to be a strained definition. The very essence of speculation consists in distorting anything from its normal purpose. When men speculate in wheat, for instance, it is not in order that they may eat the wheat, although some wheat in the shape of bread they must eat. The main object of the speculation is to prevent others from consuming the wheat except upon the speculative terms, and the extent of the speculation may be measured by the extent to which the speculator can prevent others from supplying themselves with wheat from any other source. The Spanish conquerors did not appropriate the land where the capital of Assumption now stands, merely in order that they might cultivate it. Such cultivation which is the normal, and natural purpose of land would have required no vio-

lence on their part for they would have invaded nobody's liberty by such cultivation. What they wanted of the land was to force someone else to cultivate it on their terms, and population being sparse and unsettled, the easiest method was to reduce the population to slavery. But that circumstance does not alter the fact that the land was taken for speculative and not for legitimate purposes. On the contrary it proves it. So with the Jesuits. Permission to use the land could only be obtained on their terms, and a subjection of the mind was demanded quite as unjust as the enforced subjection of the body demanded by the military conqueror. Surely, no one can say that this is a legitimate condition to the use of land. The land speculation of Francia and Lopez was probably the most inexorable of all, for in this case both mind and body were tyrannized. Francia said, virtually, "Not only shall you live in Paraguay according to my will, but you shall not be permitted to go to the foreigner nor receive anything from the foreigner, nor shall the foreigner be permitted to come to you." It is true that the minds of the great majority of Paraguayans were not in condition to question the justice of these restrictions, but that fact does not justify the restrictions. In the United States to-day, whose citizens are supposed to be the freest people on earth, we see how encroachments made upon the fundamental law of the land, when they are not met by resistance, are made the basis of further encroachments, and such being the case with us we can easily understand how the Paraguayan never dreamed of questioning the justice of his rulers.



SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF GERRARD WINSTANLEY, THE DIGGER, THE HENRY GEORGE OF THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD ♦ ♦

BY LEWIS H. BERRENS.

SECOND PAPER.

"Our boasted freedom necessarily involves slavery, so long as we recognize private property in land. Until that is accomplished, Declarations of Independence and Acts of Emancipation are in vain. So long as one man can claim the exclusive ownership of the land from which other men must live, slavery will exist, and as material progress goes on, must grow and deepen."—*Henry George*.

The Digger movement seems to have spread far more widely, and to have received far more support, than would be gathered from the perusal of modern histories of the times. Nor can we be surprised at this when we remember the terrible distress prevailing all over England. In May 1649, at the very time Winstanley was inditing his first letter to Lord-General Fairfax, we find the following entry in Bulstrode Whitelocke's "Memorials of English Affairs": "Letter from Newcastle that many in Cumberland and Westmoreland died in the highways for want of bread, and divers left their habitations, travelling with their wives and children to other parts to get relief, but could have none. That the Committees and Justices of the Peace of Cumberland signed a certificate that there were thirty thousand families that had neither seed nor bread corn, nor money to buy either, and they desired a collection for them, which was made, but much too little to relieve so great a multitude." Or again. "Letters from Lancashire of great scarcity of corn, and that the famine was sore among them, after which the plague overspread itself in many parts of the country, taking away whole families together, and few escaped where any house was visited,

and the Levellers got into arms, but were suppressed speedily by the Governor." And again, in August 1649, we read : " Letters of great complaints of the taxes in Lancashire ; and that the meaner sort threaten to leave their habitations, and their wives and children to be maintained by the Gentry ; that they can no longer bear the oppression, to have the bread taken out of the mouths of their wives and children by taxes : and that if an army of Turks came to relieve them, they would join them." Work there was none ; those who stole were " hanged out of the way, as men not fit to live " ; relief there was none visible, and those who patiently awaited it died of starvation and plague. The land was there, waiting to be tilled ; if they could but obtain its use, they could supply their own wants, and the wants of those dependent upon them. Under such conditions, we cannot wonder that Winstanley's radical doctrines found many supporters, and that even the inherited fear and awe of the " superior classes," the Lords of Manors and Gentry, and of their rights (?) which is still such a characteristic feature of the English peasantry and rural population generally, did not prevent their giving ear to his appeals.

In Kent and in Northamptonshire we have evidence that colonies of Diggers established themselves. In Whitelocke, under date April 1650, we read of : " A Letter sent from the Diggers and Planters of Commons for Universal Freedom, to make the Earth a Common Treasury, that everyone may enjoy food and raiment freely by his labour upon the earth, without paying Rent or Homage to any Fellow-Creature of his own kind, that everyone may be delivered from the tyranny of the Conquering Power, and so rise up out of that bondage to enjoy the benefit of his Creation. The Letters were to get money to buy food for them and corn to sow the land which they had digged."

This entry refers, we believe, to the following petition which emanated from Northampton, and which had been published in pamphlet form the previous month, March 12th, 1650 :

A DECLARATION OF THE GROUNDS AND REASONS why we the poor Inhabitants of the Town of Wellinborrow, in the County of Northampton, have begun and give consent to dig up, manure and sow corn upon the Commons and Wasteground called Bareshanke belonging to the inhabitants of Wellinborrow, by those that have subscribed and hundreds more that give consent.

We find in the word of God that God made the Earth for the use and comfort of all mankind, and set him in it to till and dress it, and said, That in the sweat of his brow he should eat his bread. And also we find that God never gave it to any sort of people that they should have it all to themselves, and shut out all the rest, but He saith, The Earth hath He given to the children of men, which is every man.

2. We find that no creature that ever God made was ever deprived of the benefits of the Earth, but Mankind ; and that it is nothing but covetousness, pride, and hardness of heart that hath caused men so far to degenerate.

3. We find in the Scriptures that the Prophets and Apostles have left it upon record, That in the last day the oppressor and proud man shall cease, and God will restore the waste places of the Earth to the use and comfort of man, and that none shall hurt or destroy in all his holy mountain.

4. We have great encouragement from these two righteous Acts, which the Parliament of England have set forth, the one against Kingly Power, and the other to make England a Free Common-wealth.

5. We are necessitated from our present necessity to do this, and we hope that our actions will justify us in the gate, when all men shall know the truth of our necessity : We are in Wellinborrow in one Parish 1169 persons that receive alms, as the Officers have made it appear at the Quarter Sessions last. We have made our case known to the Justices ; the Justices have given order that the Town should raise a stock to set us on work, and that

the Hundred should be enjoined to assist them. But as yet we see nothing is done, nor any man that goeth about it. We have spent all we have, our trading is decayed, our wives and children cry for bread, our lives are a burthen to us, divers of us having 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 in family, and we cannot get bread for one of them by our labours. Rich men's hearts are hardened, they will not give us if we beg at their doors. If we steal, the Law will end our lives: divers of the poor are starved to death already, and it were better for us that are living to die by the Sword than by the Famine.

And now we consider that the Earth is our Mother, and that God hath given it to the children of men; that the Commons and Waste-grounds belong to the poor; and that we have a right to the common ground both from the Law of the Land, Reason and Scripture. Therefore we have begun to bestow our righteous labor upon it; and we shall trust the Spirit for a blessing upon our labor, resolving not to dig up any man's property until they freely give us it. And truly we have great comfort already through the goodness of our God, that some of those rich men amongst us who have had the greatest profit upon the Commons have freely given us their share in it . . . and the country farmers have preferred, divers of them, to give us seed to sow it; and so we find that God is persuading Japhet to dwell in the tents of Shem. And truly those that we find most against us are such as have been constant enemies to the Parliament Cause from first to last.

Now at last our desire is, That some who approve of this Work of Righteousness would but spread our Declaration before the Great Council of the Land, that so they may be pleased to give us more encouragement to go on, that so they may be found amongst the small number of those that consider the poor and needy, that so the Lord may deliver them in the time of their troubles, and then they will not be found amongst those that Solomon speaks of, who withhold the corn (or the Land) from the poor, whom the people shall curse, but blessings shall be upon the heads of those Rulers who sell Corn, and who will let the poor labor upon the Earth to get them Corn, and our lives shall bless them, so shall good men stand by them, and evil men shall be afraid of them, and they shall become the Repairers of our Breaches, and the Restorers of our Paths to dwell in.

And thus we have declared the truth of our necessity; and whosoever shall come to labor with us, shall have part with us, and we with them, and we shall all of us endeavour to walk righteously and peaceably in the Land of our Nativity.

Though this Declaration is based upon and contains Winstanley's main arguments, it is probably not from his pen. An early copy, however, seems to have reached him; and within a few days of its appearance, on March 26th, 1650, he issued a Broadsheet in support thereof, an abridged version of which we feel impelled to place before our readers. It ran as follows:

AN APPEAL TO ALL ENGLISHMEN, TO JUDGE BETWEEN BONDAGE AND FREEDOM: Sent from those who began to dig upon George Hill in Surrey, but now are carrying on that Public Work upon the Little Heath in the Parish of Cobham, near unto George Hill, wherein it appears that the work of digging upon the Commons is not only warranted by Scripture, but by the Law of the Commonwealth of England likewise.

Behold, behold all Englishmen, the Land of England is now your free inheritance; all Kingly and Lordly entanglements are declared against by our Army and Parliament. The Norman power is beaten in the field, and his head is cut off. And that oppressing conquest that hath reigned over you by King and House of Lords these 600 years past, is now cast out by the Army's sword, the Parliament's Acts and Laws, and the Commonwealth's engagement.

Therefore let not sottish covetousness in the Gentry deny the poor or younger brethren their just Freedom to build or plant corn upon the common waste land, nor let slavish fear possess the hearts of the poor to stand in fear of the Norman Yoke any longer, seeing that it is broken. Come those that are free within, turn your Swords into Plowshares, your Spears into Pruning Hooks; take Plow and Spade, break up the common land, build your houses, sow corn and take possession of your own land, which you have now recovered out of the hands of the Norman Oppressor.

The Common Land hath laid unmanured all the days of his Kingly and Lordly Power over you, by reason whereof both you and your Fathers (many of you) have been burthened with poverty. And that land which would have been fruitful with corn hath brought forth nothing but heath, moss, furzes, and the curse, according to the words of Scripture: A fruitful land is made barren, because of the unrighteousness of the people who ruled therein, and would not suffer it to be planted, because they would keep the Poor under bondage, to maintain their own Lordly Power and Conquering Covetousness.

But what hinders you now! Will you be Slaves and Beggars still when you may be Freemen? Will you live in straits and die in poverty, when you may live comfortably? Will you always make a profession of the words of Christ and the Scripture, the sum whereof is this—Do as you would be done unto, and live in love; and now it is come to the point of fulfilling that righteous Law, will you not rise up and act, I do not mean act by the sword, for that must be left? But come, take Plow and Spade, build and plant, and make the Waste Land fruitful, that there may be no beggar or idle person amongst you. For if the waste land of England were manured by her children, it would become in a few years the richest, the strongest and most flourishing land in the world, and all Englishmen would live in peace and comfort. This Freedom is hindered by such as yet are full of the Norman base blood, who would be Freemen themselves, but would have all others Bond-men and Servants, nay Slaves to them.

The Law of the Scriptures gives you a full freedom to the Earth, and makes mankind free in all its members, for God, or the Creating Spirit, is no respecter of persons.

Well, Englishmen, the Law of the Scriptures gives you a free and full warrant to plant the earth and to live comfortably and in love, doing as you would be done by, and condemns that covetous kingly and lordly power of darkness in men, that makes some men seek their freedom in the earth, and to deny others that freedom. And the Scriptures do establish this law, to cast out kingly and lordly self-willed and oppressing power, and to make every Nation in the World a Free Commonwealth. So that you have the Scriptures to protect you in making the Earth a Common Treasury, for the comfortable livelihood of your bodies while you live upon Earth.

Therefore you Englishmen, whether Tenants or Laboring-Men, do not enter into a new bond of Slavery, now you are come to the point that you may be free, if you will stand up for Freedom. For the Army hath purchased your Freedom; the Parliament hath declared for your Freedom; and all the Laws of the Commonwealth are your protection; so that nothing is wanting on your part but courage and faithfulness to put these Laws in execution, and so take possession of your own Land, which the Norman power took from you and hath kept from you about 600 years, and which you have now recovered out of his hand.

And if any of you say that the old Laws and Customs of the Land are against the Tenant and the Poor, and intitle the land only to Lords of Manors still, I answer that all the old Laws are of no force, for they were abolished when the King and House of Lords were cast out. And if any say that the Parliament made an Act to establish the old Laws, I answer that this was to prevent a sudden rising on the cutting off of the King's head; but that afterwards they made these two Laws, to cast out Kingly Power, and to make England a Commonwealth. And they have confirmed these two by the Engagement which now the people generally do own and subscribe; therefore by these Acts of Freedom they have abolished that Act that held up bondage.

Well, by these you may see your Freedom; and we hope the Gentry hereafter will cheat the poor no longer of their land; and we hope the Ministers hereafter will not tell the poor that they have no right to the land. For now the land of England is and ought to be a Common Treasury to all Englishmen, as the several portions of the Land of Canaan were the common livelihood to such and such a Tribe, both to elder and younger brothers, without respect of persons. If you do deny this, you do deny the Scriptures.

And now we will give you some few encouragements out of many to move you to stand up for your freedom in the land by acting with plow and spade upon the Commons—

(1) By this means, within a short time, there will be no beggar or idle person in England, which will be the glory of England, and the glory of the Gospel, which England seems to profess in words.

(2) The waste and common land being improved will bring in plenty of all commodities, and prevent famine, and pull down the price of corn.

(3) It will prove England to be the first of Nations to fall off from the covetous, beastly government, to set the Crown of Freedom on Christ's head, to rule over the nations of the world, and to be the joy and blessing of all Nations. This should move all Governors to strive who shall be the first to cast down their Crowns, Sceptres, and Governments at Christ's feet, and they that will not give Christ his own glory shall be shamed.

(4) This Commonwealth's Freedom will smite the hearts of all Englishmen together in love, so that if a foreign enemy endeavour to come in, we shall all with joint consent rise up together to defend our Inheritance, and shall be true to one another. Whereas now the Poor see that if they fight and conquer the enemy, yet either they or their children are like to be Slaves still, for the Gentry will have all. This is the cause why so many run away and fail our Armies in time of need. So through the Gentry's hardness of heart against the Poor, the Land may be left to a foreign enemy for want of the Poor's love sticking to them. For say they, we can as well live under a foreign enemy, working for day wages, as under our own bretheren, with whom we ought to have Equal Freedom by the Law of Righteousness.

(5) This freedom in planting the common land will prevent robbing, stealing and murdering, and Prisons will not be so mightily filled with Prisoners; and thereby we shall prevent that heart-breaking spectacle of seeing so many hanged every Session as there are. And surely this imprisoning and hanging of men is the Norman Power still, and cannot stand with the freedom of the Commonwealth, nor warranted by the Engagement; for by the Laws and Engagement of the Commonwealth none ought to be hanged nor put to death, for other punishment can be found. And those who do hang and put to death their fellow Englishmen, under colour of Laws, do break the Laws and Engagement by so doing, and cast themselves from under the protection of the Commonwealth, and are traitors to England's Freedom and upholders of the Kingly murdering power.

(6) This Freedom of the Common Earth is the poorer's right by the Law of Creation and Equity of the Scriptures. For the Earth was not made for a few, but for the whole of mankind, for God is no respecter of persons.

Now these few considerations we offer to all England, and we appeal to the judgment of all rational and righteous men whether this we speak be not the substantial truth, brought forth into action, which Ministers have preached up and all Religious Men have made profession of; for certainly God, who is the King of Righteousness, is not a God of words only, but of deeds; for it is the badge of hypocrisy for man to say and not to do. Therefore we leave this with you all, having peace in our hearts by declaring faithfully to you this light that is in us, and which we do not only speak and write, but which we do easily act and practice.

Likewise we write it as a letter of encouragement to our dear Fellow Englishmen that have begun to dig the Commons, thereby taking possession of their Freedom, in Willenborough in Northamptonshire and at Cars Hall in Kent, waiting to see the chains of slavish fear to break and fall off from the hearts of others in other Counties, till at last the whole land shall be filled with the knowledge and righteousness of the restoring power, which is Christ himself, who will spread himself till he become the joy of all Nations.

Signed by JERRARD WINSTANLEY, and thirty others, and also on behalf of "divers others that were not present when this went to press."

March 26, 1650.

Of Gerrard Winstanley's continuous literary activity our readers will be able to gather some idea from the list of his writings, as far as we have been able to gather them, added as an appendix to this article. His matured views,

however, may best be gleaned from a little book, of some ninety closely printed pages, published in 1652, though probably written some years previously, in which the cry of "THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE" is advanced and defended in a manner which in our opinion has never been surpassed, and his scheme of Public Community, or Communism, placed before his readers in a clear, forcible and convincing manner. The full title-page of this book reads as follows :

THE LAW OF FREEDOM IN A PLATFORM; or TRUE MAGISTRACY RESTORED.

Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwell, General of the Commonwealth's Army in England, Scotland and Ireland. And to all Englishmen, my bretheren, whether in Church Fellowship or not in Church Fellowship, both sorts walking as they conceive according to the order of the Gospel: and from them to all the Nations in the World.

Wherein is declared, What is Kingly Government, and What is Commonwealths Government.

By Gerrard Winstanley.

In thee, O England, is the Law arising up to shine,
If thou receive and practice it, the Crown it will be thine.
If thou reject, and still remain a froward Son to be,
Another Land will it receive, and take the Crown from thee.
Revel. II, 15. Dan. 7. 27.

LONDON.

Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by Giles Calvert at the Black Spred-Eagle at the West end of Pauls.

We make no apology for reproducing this title page in full; for to us every line is interesting and suggestive. The title indicates the subject matter of the pamphlet; the presentation throws some light on the broad, tolerant, philosophic spirit in which it is written; the poetry, poor though it may be, betrays Winstanley's profound conviction of the truth and importance of the principles he was advocating; if England could accept them, so much the better for her people; if not, then sooner or later some other country would, and obedience to them would advance that country to the foremost place amongst the Nations of the World. Our readers would do well to look up the biblical references; and also to note the name of the printer. Giles Calvert appears to have been a strong supporter of Winstanley, and printed nearly all his works. He also published most of the earlier works of the Quakers, whom we believe to have borrowed most of their fundamental tenets from Winstanley's writings.* Certain it is that Giles Calvert and other of Winstanley's followers were amongst the earliest adherents of the sect.

The pamphlet commences with a, "Epistle Dedicatory" to Oliver Cromwell. After a brief allusion to the victories of the army under his command, and to the fact that he was but an instrument in the hands of God, it continues :

"That which is wanting on your part to be done is this, To see that the Oppressor's Power be cast out with his Person; and to see that the free possession of the land and liberties be put into the hand of the oppressed Commoners of England. For the Crown of Honor cannot be yours, neither can those Victories be called victories on your part, till the Land and Freedom won be possessed by them who adventured person

* The writer intends putting forward strong evidence in favor of this conclusion in the book on Gerrard Winstanley and his times, for which he is still engaged in collecting material.

and purse for them. . . . Now you have the power of the land in your hands, you must do one of these two things: First, either set the land free to the oppressed commoners who assisted you . . . and so take possession of your deserved honor; Or, secondly, you must only remove the Conqueror's Power out of the King's hand into other men's, maintaining the old laws still; and then your wisdom and honor will be blasted for ever; and you will either lose yourself, or lay the foundation of greater slavery to posterity than ever you knew."

A marvelous prophecy, truly! Cromwell could see nothing in Winstanley's demands save that they tended "to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the Landlord."* In his blindness he pursued the path against which this seer specially warned him, and thereby, in truth, laid the foundation of greater slavery than ever he knew. Hence it is that in the Twentieth Century England is beset by the social problems as in the Seventeenth; and that to-day Social Reformers here, as in what is still termed the Mother Country, are struggling to secure the very reform advocated by our good Brother Winstanley in the days of the Commonwealth.

Winstanley continues,

"It may be you will say to me, What shall I do? I answer, You are in place and power to see all burthens taken off from your friends, the Commoners of England, You will say, What are these burthens?"

The first remediable evil against which Winstanley complains is that

"the current of succeeding Parliaments is stopped, which is one of the greatest privileges (and people's liberties) for Safety and Peace. And if that continues stopped, we shall be more offended by an Hereditary Parliament than we were oppressed by an Hereditary King. As regards the Commoners, who were called Subjects while the Kingly Conqueror was in power, they have not as yet their Liberties granted them. I will instance them in order, according as the common whisperings are among the people."

THE BURTHEN OF THE CLERGY.

The first burthen he dwells upon is that of the clergy, who interfere, he contends, with liberty of conscience and freedom of speech; moreover—

The burthens of tythes remain still upon our estates, which was taken from us by the King and given to the clergy, to maintain them by our labours; so that though their preaching fill the minds of many with madness, contention, and unsatisfied doubtings . . . yet we must pay them large tythes for so doing; this is oppression.

THE BURTHEN OF THE LAWYERS.

If we go to the lawyer, we find him to sit in the conqueror's chair, though the king be removed, maintaining the king's power to the height. . . . If we look upon the customs of the law itself, it is the same it was in the king's days, only the name is altered. . . . And so as the sword pulls down kingly power with one hand, the king's old law builds up monarchy again with the other. And indeed the main work of reformation lies in this, to reform the clergy, lawyers and law; for all the complaints of the land are wrapped up within them three, not in the person of a king.

THE BURTHEN OF LANDLORDS.

Winstanley then quietly, moderately, but firmly, logically and incisively considers the whole question of Landlordism. He first points out that the power of Lords of Manors still remain over their bretheren; and pertinently asks,

*Cromwell's Life and Letters, Carlyle. Part VIII. Speech II.

"By what power do these still maintain their title over us? Formerly," he continues, "they held title from the King . . . but have not the Commoners cast out the King, therefore in equity they are free from the Slavery of that Lordly Power . . . But if Lords of Manors lay claim to the Earth over us from the Army's Victories over the King; then we have as much right to the Earth as they; for our labours and blood and death of friends were the purchasers of the Earth's Freedom as well as theirs.

"And is not this a slavery, say the people, that though there be land enough in England to maintain ten times as many people as are in it, yet some must beg of their bretheren, or work in hard drudgery for day wages for them, or starve, or steal, and so be hanged out of the way, as men not fit to live on the earth? Before they are suffered to plant the waste land for a livelihood, they must pay rent to their bretheren for it. Well, this is a burthen the creation groans under; and the subjects (so called) have not their birth-right freedom granted them from their bretheren, who hold it from them by club law, but not by right-cousness."

WHO IS TO BE RULER?

He pushes home his argument by pertinently putting the question, "And who now must we be subject to, seeing the Conqueror is gone?" And seizing this opportunity to enforce a lesson that, unfortunately, has yet to be fully appreciated, he continues:

"I answer, We must either be subject to a law or to men's wills. If to a law, then all men in England are subject, or ought to be, thereunto. . . . You will say, We must be subject to the ruler. This is true, but not to suffer the rulers to call the earth theirs and not ours, for by so doing they betray their trust and run into the line of tyranny, and we lose our freedom, and from thence enmity and wars arise. A ruler is worthy double honour when he rules well, that is, when he himself is subject to the Law, and requires all others to be subject thereunto, and makes it his work to see the laws obeyed, and not his own will, and such rulers are faithful, and they are to be subjected unto us therein, for all Commonwealth's rulers are servants to, not lords and kings over, the people.

THE RIGHT TO THE LAND.

Winstanley then proceeds to argue the whole question of the people's claim to the use of the Earth in the following convincing manner:

"But you will say, Is not the land your brother's? and you cannot take away another man's right by claiming a share therein with him. I answer, It is his either by Creation right, or by right of conquest; if by creation right he call the earth his and not mine, then it is mine as well as his, for the Spirit of the Whole Creation, who made us both, is no respecter of persons. And if by conquest he call the earth his and not mine, it must be either by the conquest of the kings over the commoners, or by the conquest of the commoners over the kings. If he claim the earth to be his from the king's conquest, the kings are beaten and cast out, and that title is undone. If he claim title to the earth from the conquest of the commoners over the kings, then I have a right to the land as well as my brother, for my brother without me, nor I without my brother, did not cast out the kings, but both together, assisting with person and purse, we prevailed, so that I have by this victory as equal a share in the earth which is now redeemed as my brother, by the Law of Righteousness.

"If my brother still say he will be Land Lord (through his covetuous ambition) and I must pay him rent, or else I shall not live in the land, then does he take my right from me. And O thou Spirit of the Whole Creation, who hath the title to be called King of Righteousness and Prince of Peace, judge thou between my brother and me, whether this be righteous."

THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION.

The question of compensation, too, Winstanley faces, and argues in a logical and convincing manner. He says :

"It may be you will say, If Tythes be taken from the Priests, and Copyhold Services from Lords of Manors, how shall they be provided for again ; for is it not unrighteous to take their estates from them ?

"I answer, When tythes were first enacted and lordly power drawn over the backs of the oppressed, the Kings and Conquerors made no scruple of conscience to take it, though the people lived in sore bondage of poverty for want of it ; and can there be scruple of conscience to make restitution of this which hath been so long stolen goods ? It is no scruple arising from the righteous law, but from Covetousness, who goes away sorrowful to hear he must part with all to follow righteousness and peace."

Moreover, he contends that though you take away tythes and the power of lords of the manors to extort rent or tribute for the use of the earth, yet would they not suffer ; for they would be secured equal opportunities with the rest of their fellow citizens, and under his scheme would have equal rights to send to the common storehouses for anything they might need. And here it may be well to emphasize the fact that though Winstanley and his followers, like an ever-increasing number of Social Reformers of the present day, attributed the prevailing system of wage slavery to land monopoly and though they boldly maintained the equal right of all to the use of the earth, yet did they not claim any right to trespass upon or make use of improved or enclosed land. It was their doctrines, not their actions, which aroused the bitter hostility of the privileged classes and their parasites. What they demanded was that the commons and waste land should be set free to the common people, "as freely their own as the inclosures are the property of the elder brothers." They realized that by so doing they would lay the foundation of a new social life ; for when proclaiming their intention "to dig up George's Hill and the waste land thereabout," they gave as their reason "that we may work in righteousness, and lay the foundations of making the earth a common treasury to all, both rich and poor, that every one that is born in the land may be fed by the earth, his mother that brought him forth, according to the reason that rules in the creation."

OF RICHES.

But to return to our pamphlet. On the question of riches Winstanley is as clear and decisive as a Ruskin ; some may even think more clear. He says :

"But shall not one man be richer than another ? There is no need for that ; for riches make men vain-glorious, proud, and to oppress their brethren, and are the occasion of wars. No man can be rich but he must be rich either by his own labours or by the labours of other men helping him. If a man have no help from his neighbours, he shall never gather an estate of hundreds and thousands a year. If other men help him to work, then are those riches his neighbours' as well as his ; for they be the fruits of other men's labors as well as his own. But all rich men live at ease, feeding and clothing themselves by the labours of other men, which is their shame, and not their nobility ; for it is a more blessed thing to give than to receive. But rich men receive all they have from the labourer's hand, and what they give, they give away other men's labours, not their own. Therefore, they are not righteous actors in the earth."

OF TITLES OF HONOR.

"But shall not one man have more titles of honor than another ?" he then asks.

"Yes; as a man goes through offices, he rises to Titles of Honor, till he comes to be the highest nobility, to be a faithful Commonwealth's Man in a Parliament House. Likewise he who finds out any secret of Nature shall have a Title of Honor given him, though he be a young man. But no man shall have any Title of Honor till he win it by industry, or come to it by age of Office-bearing."

Winstanley then proceeds to defend his system of communism, with which we shall deal more largely later on, against possible objections. He contends that, under it, though the earth and the storehouses and their contents would be common to all, yet each family could continue to live separately and independently, as now they do, enjoying the fullest possession of their own private belongings. That it would provide amply for the wants of all; that it would make idle persons become workers, and enrich all—that, in short, there would be "neither beggar nor idle person" in the Commonwealth.

However, Winstanley was too good a Democrat to desire that his system should be forced upon the people, and too far-sighted to hope that their prejudices and old established habits would allow them to accept it in its entirety. Hence he concludes his Dedicatory Letter to Cromwell as follows:

"I do not say nor desire that everyone shall be compelled to practice this Commonwealth's Government; for the spirits of some will be enemies at first, though afterwards will prove the most cordial and true friends thereunto. Yet I desire that the Commonwealth's land . . . may be set free to all that have lent assistance, of person or purse, to obtain it; and to all that are willing to come in to the practice of this Government, and be obedient to the laws thereof. And for others who are not willing, let them stay in the way of buying and selling which is the law of the conqueror, till they be willing.

And so I leave this in your hand, humbly prostrating myself and it before you, and remain

A true lover of Commonwealth's Government, Peace, and Freedom,
GERRARD WINSTANLEY."

TO THE FRIENDLY AND UNBIASED READER.

Winstanley next addresses a short Preface to the friendly and unbiased reader. He first reminds him of the Apostle's advice to try all things, and to hold fast to that which is best. He then very briefly summarizes his proposals, and concludes with the following eloquent and suggestive appeal:

"COMMONWEALTH'S GOVERNMENT unites all people in a land into one heart and mind. And it was this Government which made Moses to call Abraham's seed one house of Israel, though there were many Tribes and Families. And it may be said, Blessed is the People whose earthly Government is the Law of Common Righteousness. THE GOVERNMENT OF KINGS is the Government of the Scribes and Pharisees, who count it no freedom unless they be Lords of the Earth and of their Bretheren.

"Therefore Reader here is a trial of thy sincerity. . . . Dost thou pray and fast for Freedom, and give God thanks again for it? We know that God is not partial; so if thou pray, it must be for Freedom to all; and if thou give thanks, it must be because Freedom covers all people, for this alone will prove a lasting peace.

"Everyone is ready to say, They fight for their Country, and what they do is for the good of their Country. Well let it appear now that thou hast fought and acted for thy Country's Freedom. But if, when thou hast power to settle Freedom in thy Country, thou takest the possession of the Earth into thy own particular hands, and makest thy Brother work for thee, as the Kings did, thou hast fought and acted for thyself, not for thy Country, and here thy inside hypocrisy is discovered.

"But here take notice, That common Freedom, which is the Rule I would have prac-

ticed and not merely talked on, was thy pretence ; but particular Freedom to thyself was thy intent. Amend, or else thou wilt be shamed, when Knowledge doth spread to cover the Earth, even as the Waters cover the Seas. And so Farewell. "G. W."

THE PAMPHLET.

In the opening chapter of this pamphlet Winstanley sets forth and expounds his fundamental doctrine that

"TRUE COMMONWEALTH'S FREEDOM LIES IN THE FREE ENJOYMENT OF THE EARTH."

He says:

"True Freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment ; and that is in the use of the Earth. . . . All that a man labors for, saith Solomon, is this, That he may enjoy the free use of the Earth, with the fruits thereof (Eccles. 2-24). Do not the Ministers preach for maintenance in the Earth? the Lawyers plead causes to get the possession of the Earth? Doth not the Soldier fight for the Earth? And doth not the Landlord require Rent that he may live in the fullness of the Earth by the labor of his tenants? And so from the Thief upon the Highway to the King who sits upon the Throne, does not everyone strive, either by force of arms or secret cheats, to get the possession of the Earth one from another, because they see their Freedom lies in plenty and their bondage lies in poverty?

"Surely then, oppressing Lords of Manors, exacting Laudlords and Tythe-takers, may as well say their Bretheren shall not breathe the air, nor enjoy warmth in their bodies, nor have the moist waters to fall upon them in showers, unless they will pay them rent for it, as to say their Bretheren shall not work upon the Earth, nor eat the fruits thereof, unless they will hire that liberty of them. For he that takes upon him to restrain his Brother from the liberty of the one, may, upon the same ground, restrain him from the liberty of all four, viz : Fire, Water, Earth and Air. A man had better have no body than to have no food for it : therefore, this restraining of the Earth from Bretheren by Bretheren is oppression and bondage ; but the free enjoyment thereof is true Freedom."

Then follows this most suggestive and noteworthy passage :

"I speak now in relation between the Oppressor and the Oppressed ; the *inward* bondage I meddle not with in this place, though I am assured that if it be rightly searched into, the inward bondage of the mind, as covetousness, pride, hypocrisy, envy, sorrow, fears, desperation and madness are all occasioned by the outward bondage that one sort of people lay upon another."

Towards the end of this chapter, Winstanley again alludes to the example of the People of Israel, who "when they had conquered the Canaanites did not sell the land again to the remainder of their enemies, nor buy it among themselves, but made the Earth a Common Treasury of Liveliness to the whole Commonwealth of Israel, and so disposed of it as to make provision for every Tribe, nay, for every particular man in a family; every one had enough, no man was in want, there was no beggar amongst them." And he concludes his chapter by placing the alternatives, between which at all times the people have to choose, clearly before his readers, as follows :

"That which true righteousness, in my judgment, calls Community is this—To have the Earth set free from all kingly bondage of Lords of Manors and oppressing Landlords, who came in by conquest, as a thief takes a true man's purse upon the highway, being stronger than he. And that neither the Earth, nor any fruits thereof, shall be bought and

sold by the inhabitants one among another. . . . For you must either establish Commonwealth's Freedom in power, making provision for everyone's peace, which is Righteousness, or else you must set up Monarchy again. Monarchy is two-fold, either for one King to reign, or for many to rule by kingly principles. For the power of the King lies in his Laws, not in his name. And if either one king rules, or many rule by kingly principles, much murmuring, grudges, troubles and quarrels may and will arise among the oppressed people on every gained opportunity."

ON GOVERNMENT.

In the next chapter, on government, he first defines government as "a wise and free ordering of the earth and the manners of mankind by observation of particular laws or rules, so that all the inhabitants may live peaceably in plenty and freedom in the land where they are born and bred." (A definition which even that past-master in the art of defining, Mr. Herbert Spencer, could not easily improve upon.) There are, he contends, but two sorts of government, a kingly government and a commonwealth's government. The one, he tells us, "may well be called the Government of Highwaymen, who have stolen the earth from the younger brethren by force and hold it from them by force." The other "may well be termed the Ancient of Days; for it was before any other oppressing government stepped in." Moreover, as he eloquently puts it, "If once commonwealth's government be set upon the throne, then no tyranny or oppression can look him in the face and live."

"The situation [site, source, or inspirer] of kingly government," he argues, "lies in the will of kings"; that of a free commonwealth "within the laws of common freedom."

Kingly government, by which he always means the rule of privilege and monopoly, is possible only "by drawing the people out of common freedom into a way of common bondage; for so long as the earth is a common treasury to all men, kingly covetousness can never reign as king."

Commonwealth's government, on the other hand, involves "the free enjoyment of the earth, and whatever law or custom doth deprive brethren of their freedom in the earth is to be cast out as unsavoury salt."

And then follows this most beautiful passage:

"O England, England, wouldst thou have thy government sound and healthful? Then cast about and see, and search diligently to find out all those burthens that came in by kings, and remove them; and then will the Commonwealth's government arise from under the clods under which as yet it is buried and covered with deformity."

A passage which, alas! is as true to-day as it was in the seventeenth century.

In the next chapter, Chapter III., he attributes all laws, either to the desire for *self* preservation or *common* preservation, the one being the root of the tree tyranny, hence the cause of all wars and troubles; the other the root of the tree magistracy, of true commonwealth's government, and the law of righteousness and peace. For, as he puts it—

"The great lawgiver in Commonwealth's government is the spirit of universal righteousness dwelling in mankind, now rising up to teach every one to do to another as he would have another do to him. . . . If anyone goes about to build up Commonwealth's government upon kingly principles, they will both shame and lose themselves; for there is a plain difference between the two governments."

This last sentence deserves to be printed in letters of gold and set up in the gathering hall of every Progressive Association; for it contains a truth yet to be

appreciated, but one which it is very necessary all Social Reformers would do well constantly to bear in mind: a democracy, or Commonwealth, cannot be erected on kingly or aristocratic laws and institutions.

ON THE DUTY OF OFFICERS.

Winstanley then emphasizes the fact that all Commonwealth's officers, magistrates, etc., are to be chosen by the people. It is the necessity for the preservation of the common peace that induces the people to choose officers; and it is the duty of those chosen to preserve and respect the rights of the people, "and to cast out all self-ended principles and interests, which is Tyranny and Oppression, and which break the common peace." He summarizes his views in the following paragraph:

"So that all true Officers are chosen Officers; and when they act to satisfy the necessity of these who choose them, then they are faithful and righteous servants to the Commonwealth. But when Officers do take possession of the Earth into their own hands, lifting themselves up thereby to be Lords over their Masters, the people who chose them, and will not suffer the people to plant the Earth and reap the fruits for their livelihood, unless they will hire the land of them, or work for day-wages for them, that they may live in ease and plenty and not work: These Officers are fallen from true Magistracy of a Commonwealth, and they do not act righteously, and, because of this, sorrow and tears, poverty and bondage are known to mankind."

OF THE WORK OF THE DIFFERENT OFFICERS, ASSEMBLIES, AND PARLIAMENTS.

Winstanley then discusses at length the various duties of the different officers and magistrates he deems necessary, as also of the duties of a Parliament. Into this we need not enter, but we cannot refrain from quoting his broad, philosophic and democratic view of the work of a Parliament. He says:

"So then a Parliament is the Head of Power in a Commonwealth. It is their work to manage public affairs in times of war and in times of peace. Not to promote the interests of particular men, but the peace and freedom of the whole body of the Land, viz., of every particular man, so that none be deprived of his Creation-rights, unless he hath lost his freedom by transgression, as in the Laws is expressed."

CONCLUSION.

Winstanley's scheme by which the free enjoyment of the earth, as well as of the fruits thereof, could be secured to all, may be described as pure communism: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs. Its details seemed to have been modeled on the lines of the government of the Halls and Companies in London. All children were to be educated in the common schools, and when old enough taught some useful industry or trade. After serving their apprenticeship, they were to settle down as masters of their craft, marry if they desired to, and so become heads of families. At forty, or earlier if of special ability, they are eligible to be chosen as officers or overseers, to supervise the different branches of industry. And at sixty all are to be regarded as general overseers, supervising the particular industry in which they were skilled, and free to dispose of their time and activities as they might deem fit.

The earth was to be tilled and all industries and trades carried out on a collective or co-operative basis. All wealth produced to be delivered to the common storehouses, whence it was to be issued to the different overseers, and

to each individual or head of a family or individual citizen, according to his requirements.

But here we must bid farewell to good Brother Winstanley. Though long dead he yet speaketh to us, inspiring us to renewed efforts on behalf of the cause of humanity and freedom, by bringing us in touch with our brother reformers of the seventeenth century. The social problem of to-day is the same as it was then. And speaking for ourselves and fellow Land Reformers, we may say that on questions of principles we are quite at one with him; we only differ as to the best means by which they can be given effect. But with him we appeal from human laws, from the ephemeral enactments of our fellow men, to the immutable and eternal principles of righteousness, freedom, and justice, and exclaim with him:

“Hear, O thou Righteous Spirit of the Whole Creation, and judge who is the thief, he who takes away the freedom of the common earth from me, which is my creation-rights . . . Or I who take the common earth to plant upon for my free livelihood, endeavoring to live as a free commoner in a free commonwealth, in righteousness and peace.”

APPENDIX.

The following is a complete list of Gerrard Winstanley's political and theological works, as far as they are known to the writer of these articles —

- Jan'y, 1648. The New Law of Righteousness.
- May, 1648. The Mystery of God concerning the Whole Creation, Mankind.
- May, 1648. The Breaking of the Day of God.
1649. A Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England: Directed to all that call themselves or are called Lords of Manors through this Nation. (This is probably the first pamphlet issued by the Diggers, and seems to be mainly from Winstanley's pen. Everard's name is not attached to this pamphlet, which is signed by Winstanley and forty-six of his co-workers.)
- Feb. 20, 1649. A Vindication of Those whose endeavor it is only to make the Earth a Common Treasury, called Diggers.
- Apr. 26, 1649. The True Leveller's Standard Advanced: Or The State of Community opened and presented to the Sons of Men. Signed by William Everard, Gerrard Winstanley, and others— “Beginning to plant and manure the Waste Land upon George-Hill in the Parish of Walton, in the County of Surrey.”
- June 9, 1649. A Letter to Lord Fairfax and His Council of War, With divers Questions to the Lawyers and Ministers: Proving it an undeniable equity that the Common People ought to dig, plow, plant and dwell upon the Commons without hiring them or paying Rent to any.
- June 11, 1649. An Appeal to the House of Commons: Desiring their answer whether the Common People shall have the quiet enjoyment of the Commons and Waste Land; or whether they shall be under the will of the Lords of Manors still.
- Sept., 1649. A WATCHWORD TO THE CITY OF LONDON AND THE ARMY: wherein you may see that England's Freedom, which should be the result of all our Victories, is sinking deeper under the Norman Power, . . . so that every one singly may truly see what his freedom is and where it lies.
- Dec. 8, 1649. (Second Letter.) To My Lord General Fairfax and His Council of War.

- Mar. 26 (?), 1650. A New Year's Gift for the Parliament and Army, showing what the Kingly Power is, and that the cause of those they call Diggers is the life and marrow of the cause the Parliament hath declared for and the Army fought for.
- Mar. 26, 1650. An Appeal to all Englishmen, to judge between Bondage and Freedom, sent from those that began to dig upon George Hill in Surrey, but now are carrying on that public work upon the little heath in the Parish of Cobham, near unto George Hill, wherein it appears that the work of digging upon the Commons is not only warranted by Scripture, but by the Law of the Commonwealth of England likewise. (Published as a Broadsheet.)
- April 6, 1650. AN HUMBLE REQUEST TO THE MINISTERS OF BOTH UNIVERSITIES, AND TO ALL LAWYERS OF EVERY INNS. A COURT, to consider of the Scriptures and Points of Law herein mentioned and to give a rational and Christian answer, whereby the difference may be composed in peace, between the poor men of England who have begun to dig, plow and build upon the common land, claiming it their own by right of Creation, and the Lords of Manors that trouble them, who have no other claiming to Commons than from the King's will, or from the Power of the Conquest. And if neither Minister nor Lawyer will undertake a reconciliation in this case, for the beauty of our Commonwealth, then we appeal to the stones, timber, and dust of the earth you tread upon, to hold forth the light of this business, questioning not but that Power that dwells everywhere will cause light to spring out of darkness, and Freedom out of Bondage.
- Nov. 5, 1651. THE LAW OF FREEDOM IN A PLATFORM: Or True Magistracy Restored. Humbly presented to Oliver Cromwell, General of the Commonwealth's Army in England, Scotland and Ireland. And to all Englishmen my bretheren, whether in Church-fellowship or not in Church-fellowship, both sorts walking as they conceive according to the order of the Gospel: and from them to all the Nations in the World.
- 1650 (?). FIRE IN THE BUSH: the Spirit burning, not consuming, but purging mankind.
- 1658 (?). THE SAINTS' PARADISE, or the Father's Teaching the only Satisfaction to waiting Souls.



APPENDIX TO THE "EARTH-FOR-ALL" CALENDAR.

BY

ERNEST HOWARD CROSBY.

(Expressly for the Review.)

(Since publishing the Calendar I have collected enough quotations to furnish out another month.—E. H. C.)

AUGUST.

1. The soil was given to rich and poor in common, Wherefore,
O ye rich, do you unjustly claim it for yourselves alone?
—Hildebrand, Pope Gregory the Great.
2. Duke of Suffolk (reading petition): What's here? "Against the Duke of Suffolk for enclosing the commons of Hebford." How now, sir knave?
Petitioner: Alas, sir, I am but a poor petitioner of our whole township.
—Shakspeare, Henry VI., Second Part, Act 1, Scene 3.

3. How long shall we covet and oppress, enlarge our possessions and account that too little which was formerly enough for a nation?
 . . . A bull contents himself with one meadow, and one forest is enough for a thousand elephants; but the little body of man devours more than all other living creatures.
 —Seneca, "Morals." Translation of Walter Clode, Chapter II.
4. But for this, I say,
 And but for selfish getting of the land,
 And beggarly entailing it, we two,
 To-day well fed, well grown, well dressed, well read,
 We might have been two horny-handed boors,—
 Lean, clumsy, ignorant, and ragged boors,—
 Planning for moonlight nights a poaching scheme,
 Or soiling our dull souls and consciences
 With plans for pilfering a cottage roost.
 —Jean Ingelow, "Brothers and a Sermon."
5. Oh, you queens, you queens! Among the hills and happy greenwood of this land of yours, shall the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; and in the cities shall the stones cry out against you, that they are the only pillows where the Son of Man can lay his head?
 —Ruskin, "Sesame and Lilies," "Queens' Gardens," Sec. 95.
6. Third Fisherman: Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.
 First Fisherman: Why, as men do a land. The great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale, 'a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful; such whales have I heard on o' the land, who never leave gaping till they have swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells and all.
 Third Fisherman: If the good King Simonides were of my mind, he would purge the land of these drones that rob the bee of her honey.
 —Shakspeare, "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," Act II, Scene 1.
7. In our society, established upon a very rigorous idea of property, the position of the poor man is horrible; he has literally no place under the sun. There are no flowers, no shade, no grass but for him who possesses the earth. In the East these are the gifts of God, which belong to no man. The proprietor has but a slender privilege; nature is the patrimony of all.
 —Ernest Renan, "Life of Jesus," Chapter X.
8. The only point where I do not find myself in complete accord (and that is perhaps more due to your comparative silence than anything else) is that I attach relatively more importance to the initial injustice done by the permitted monopoly of raw material in a few hands. It seems to me that individualism, in order to be just, must strive hard for an equalisation of original conditions by the removal of all artificial advantages. The great reservoir of natural wealth that we sum up as land (including mines, etc.) ought, it seems to me, to be nationalised before we can say that the individual is allowed fair play. While he is thwarted in obtaining his fair share of the raw material, he is being put at a disadvantage by artificial laws.
 —Grant Allen, Letter to Herbert Spencer, 1886, in
 "Grant Allen, A Memoir," by Edward Clodd.



EDGAR L. RYDER.
(See page 38.)

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

9. As soon as I see landed property established, then I see unequal fortunes, and from these unequal fortunes must there not necessarily result different and opposed interests, all the vices of riches, all the vices of poverty, the brutalisation, the corruption of civil manners?
—Jean Jacques Rousseau, "*Doutes sur L'Ordre Naturel.*"
10. No longer Merrie England ; now it meant
The payers and the takers of the rent.
—John Boyle O'Reilly, "The Pilgrim Fathers."
11. We are all freeholders ; the rent day doth not trouble us.
—Letter of William Hilton, one of the "pilgrim fathers," from Plymouth, 1621, in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims."
12. The hospitals (of England) are full of the ancient. . . . The almshouses are filled with old laborers. Many there are who get their living with bearing burdens, but more are fain to burden the land with their whole bodies. Neither come these straits upon men always through intemperance, ill-husbandry, indiscretion, etc. ; but even the most wise, sober and discreet men go often to the wall when they have done their best. . . . The rent-taker lives on the sweet morsels, but the rent-payer eats a dry crust often with watery eyes.
—Robert Cushman, Plymouth, 1621, in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims."
13. The landlord is recognized as a costly anachronism, whose moral claim, even to compensation for expropriation, is constantly getting weaker.
—Matthew Arnold, quoted in *London Daily News*.
14. He who eats in idleness what he himself has not earned, steals ; and the landholder whom the State pays for doing nothing does not differ from a brigand who lives at the expense of travelers.
—Rousseau.
15. The common priestly doctrine that the earth is the landlord's and the fulness thereof.
—Grant Allen, "The British Barbarians," Chap. IV, p. 119.
16. The monopoly of the natural resources, principal among which is land, causing rent, and the monopoly of exchange, causing interest, are at the bottom of all the misery and wretchedness of humanity.
—Proudhon.
17. The fate of empires, and the fortunes of their peoples, depend upon the condition of the proprietorship of land to an extent which is not at all understood in this country. We are a servile, aristocracy-loving, lord-ridden people, who regard the land with as much reverence as we still do the peerage and the baronetage. Not only have not nineteen-twentieths of us any share in the soil, but we have not presumed to think that we are worthy to possess a few acres of mother earth.
—Richard Cobden, Letter to Mr. Kay.
18. On a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill not called Sacred, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence, or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, that it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations ; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water and a place of burial ; and that Rome, if

- they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were to bleed and die for their wealthy oppressors.
—Plutarch, "Coriolanus."
19. The founders of these republics had made an equal division of the lands. That alone constituted a strong people,—that is to say, a well-regulated society.
—Montesquieu, "Essay on Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans."
20. They said also that this king divided the country amongst all the Egyptians and from thence he drew his revenues, having required them to pay a fixed tax every year.
—Herodotus, *Euterpe*, II, 109.
21. God has made the rich and the poor of the same clay and one earth bears them both. It is through emperors and kings of the world that God gives the human law of the human race. Take away the law of the emperors and who shall dare to say, "This villa is mine?"
—St. Augustine.
22. "The Lord's Prayer says, Give us this day our daily bread. Our daily bread comes from the land. No man made the land. It is God's gift to mankind. It belongs to all men. Therefore individual ownership of land is wrong. Individual control of the fruits of the land is wrong."
—Hall Caine, "David Rossi," in the "Eternal City."
23. Cloten. Why tribute? Why should we pay tribute? If Caesar can hide the sun from us with a blanket, or put the moon in his pocket, we will pay him tribute for light.
—Shakspeare, "Cymbeline," Act III, Scene 1.
24. They had so long held the Swamp and felt it to be their very own in every part and suburb, . . . that they would have resented the appearance of another rabbit even about the adjoining barnyard. Their claim, that of long, successful occupancy, was exactly the same as that by which most nations hold their land, and it would be hard to find a better right.
—Ernest Thompson Seton, "Wild Animals I Have Known."
"Raggylug," Chapter VIII.
25. I should have thought the question about raising rents had been, to your own knowledge, enough answered by me. I have in several, if not in many places, declared the entire system of rent-paying to be an abomination and wickedness of the foulest kind, and have only ceased insisting on that fact of late years, because I would not be counted among the promoters of mob violence. The future, not only of England, but of Christendom, must issue in abolition of rents, but whether with confusion or slaughter, or by action of noble and resolute men in the rising generation of England and her colonies, remains to be decided. I fear the worst, and that soon.
—Ruskin, Letter written Dec. 11, 1886.
26. All men free, and the earth for all to hold,
All men free from crime and the curse of gold;
All men free and bold as the free are bold.
—Richard Hovey, Unpublished Poem.
27. Nature gave all things in common for the use of all.
—Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).

28. They sing of the golden Sigurd, and the face without a foe,
And the lowly man exalted, and the mighty brought alow ;
And they say, when the sun of summer shall come aback to the land,
It shall shine on the fields of the tiller that fears no heavy hand ;
That the sheaf shall be for the plougher and the loaf for him that
sowed
Through every furrowed acre where the son of Sigurd rode.
—William Morris, "Story of Sigurd, the Volsung,"
Book III, p. 203.
29. When God's warm justice is revealed—
The kingdom that the Father planned—
His children all will equal stand
As trees upon a level field.
There each one has a goodly space—
Each yeoman of the woodland race—
Each has a foothold on the Earth,
A place for business and for mirth.
—Edwin Markham, "Lincoln and Other Poems," p. 49.
30. No privilege bars a tree's access
To Earth's whole store of preciousness.
The trees stand level on God's floor,
With equal nearness to his store. —Ibid.
31. Timon : Why should you want ? Behold, the earth hath roots ;
Within this mile break forth a hundred springs ;
The oaks bear mast, the briers scarlet hips ?
The bounteous housewife, Nature, on each bush
Lays her full mess before you. Want ! Why want ?
—Shakspeare : "Timon of Athens," Act IV., Scene 3.
Timon : Common mother, thou, (digging)
Whose womb immeasurable, and infinite breast
Teems and feeds all. —Ibid.



HOSPITALS AND LAND VALUES

ADDRESS OF R. B. CAPON, OF MONTREAL.

It has probably been thought that there can be no immediate connection between our modern hospital system and the economic reform we call single tax. My humble effort, this evening, shall be to point out the truth, if such it be, that hospitals flourish under our present system of taxation, and that the growth of our hospital systems can only receive a genuine check by the application of the remedy known as the taxation of land values.

We live in a time commonly called the Christian era, when Bibles, churches and preachers abound. It is frequently stated that we are in the midst of the highest civilization the world has ever seen. There are those among us who so firmly believe that statement that they undergo considerable financial sacrifice and undertake considerable pecuniary obligation to send missionaries to the Chinese, Hindoos and Kaffirs. So enlightened are we that we commonly regard the inhabitants of foreign countries—perhaps other than European countries should be designated—as "*living in darkness*," and we sing in our orthodox sanctuaries with becoming fervor that "the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone." Now, sir, the heathen may or may not

be so enlightened as we are, but it has often struck me very forcibly that the "heathen Chinese" in the matter of doctors and hospitals are far ahead of the enlightened heathen of Europe and North America in this twentieth century. I am told the Chinese only pay their doctors *when they are well*, that as soon as sickness comes the doctor's pay stops—thus affording him a very powerful incentive to efforts to find the *cause* of the disease, so that the *cause* may be removed as speedily as possible, his patient restored to health, and his salary renewed.

If modern civilization had been working on the same method, who can deny but that we would probably have fewer hospitals and less disease to-day, because the causes of disease would have been discovered and *exposed*, and measures would have been taken to avoid the causes, and thus the diseases springing from them. To quote from Dr. Nicholls, a celebrated English physician :

"If, in any way, doctors could be paid according to results, their emoluments increasing with the health and diminishing with the diseases of the community, we might probably lower the death rate to its normal standard. On this point there is one very striking illustration. Convicts were once transported to the British Penal Colonies in private vessels by contract, at so much a head for the number *embarked*. The ship owners were respectable men, the officers of the ships perhaps as good as could be selected, but the mortality was frightful, amounting to fifty and even sixty per cent. during the voyage. At length the form of contract was altered. Instead of the ship owners being paid per head on the number *embarked*, they were only paid per head *on the number landed alive*; so that the ship-owners lost by every person who died on the passage. This form of contract changed the whole face of things. Attention, or the efficient stimulus of interest, was directed to the causes of mortality; ventilation and other appliances were sedulously attended to; the merchant, at his own proper cost, provided a medical officer to take charge of the convicts, and the remuneration of that officer was proportioned to the number landed alive. The result was a mortality of only one and a half per cent. The forty-eight to sixty-eight on the hundred, or more than half, were then, in the earlier voyages, simply murdered—not wilfully, but by selfish and criminal neglect. *If the salaries of municipal officers, the income of physicians, the pecuniary interests of all who are concerned with the public health, could be reached in the same way, we should soon reach the minimum of disease and mortality; a shocking case; but are not people dying all around us from similar causes, the neglect of governments and the selfish greed of landlords and others?"*

All this by way of introduction. If we are a godly people—if cleanliness is next to godliness—if moral and scientific enlightenment should bring ability to resist disease and freedom from it, why then, with the increase of Christian knowledge and the dispersion of ignorance have we had everywhere an increase of doctors, medical colleges and hospitals? If we are what we claim to be—highly civilized and still progressing—why is there not yearly less need for doctors, less of disease and less need for hospitals? Why do we keep on discovering complaints like appendicitis, not known years ago, and which involve skillful and expensive operations, which more often than not appear to kill the patient? In Montreal we have the Notre Dame Hospital, the Montreal General Hospital, the Royal Victoria, the Hotel Dieu, the Western Hospital, the Women's Samaritan Hospital and various others of public nature, as well as some flourishing private institutions, and now comes the proposition that the city shall put up an expensive *dual hospital* in one of the public parks for contagious diseases. Does increased enlightenment, does advancing civilization, does higher mental culture and scientific education necessarily mean greater liability to *disease*? I say no—*emphatically* NO. There must be *causes* at work to produce this state of things not commonly recognized, and the sooner we *discover* them and deal with them, the better for humanity.

What are the main causes of disease? Have they any connection with the Land Question? How would taxation of land values affect those causes? These are the vital questions of my paper: meet them fairly and squarely, and I think before the evening is over I can convince you the Single Tax is the chief method by which to do away with the hospitals or stop their growth, and, in fact, make them dwindle away where they now alarmingly flourish.

What are the causes of disease? Let us answer that by asking what are the known conditions essential to good health? Must we not have sunlight in plenty, fresh air in abundance, pure water for drinking and washing, sufficient of good food, enough of proper clothing, proper shelter from cold and wet, and also proper occupation which shall afford due exercise to body and mind—occupation in which there shall be the elements of hope and satisfaction, in which reasonable intelligent effort shall have its just reward?

If these are the essential conditions for the maintenance of health in a person born healthy, then must not the non-observance of these conditions, the want of the elements named, be the *causes of disease*?

Let me fall back on medical evidence to convince you in the matter. Says Dr. Nichols again:

“For light, have darkness or deep shade or gloom, and you shall see pallor, a feeble circulation, a low vitality, tuberculous disease, scurvy, goitre, blindness, deafness, deformity, idiocy, a miserable life, and a premature death. Thick curtains will give a fashionable pallor to the complexion, and they will also give many fashionable diseases.”

Dr. Koch, the celebrated German scientist, speaking on the subject of tuberculosis, said:

“The overcrowded dwellings of the poor they had regarded as the real breeding places of tuberculosis. It was out of them that disease always cropped up anew, and it was to the abolition of these conditions that they must first and foremost direct their attention if they wished to attack the evil at its root, and to wage war against it with effective weapons.”

A short time ago a Paris correspondent claimed that tuberculosis and alcoholism were on the increase in France because of the increase in the taxation there of foodstuffs. He contended that there was relatively more tuberculosis in France than in England, because the British system did not tax the workingman's food and enabled him to live cheaply as compared with his French neighbors with their protective system. He advocated the complete removal of taxes from necessities to superfluities and a careful attention to sanitary provisions. Such a man ought to be ready for a tax on land values.

Nichols again says ordinary impure air is an abundant cause of disease—foul air fails to invigorate and fills the system with impurities, leaving it a prey to scarlet fever, smallpox, yellow fever, typhus or cholera.

Again: Bad food, insufficient food or too much food must be the causes of disease; also men die of famine. In London, in some seasons, there are coroners' inquests every day, with the verdict “Died of Starvation.”

“But where one dies of such actual and immediate want, many sink slowly of disease brought on by insufficient and improper nutrition. The common food of the very poor in England is bread—the dry, alummy, adulterated bread of the bakers for the poorer classes, who make large loaves by over-raising, destroying the nutritive properties of the flour. The bran, which is the richest part of the wheat in flesh-forming nutriment, is reserved for cattle. This bread is eaten, perhaps with a little grease (dripping) or cheap manufactured butter, made of horse fat, or bone fat, or better dry, with a weak infusion of something called tea, sometimes colored with a white liquid, which one may see retailed in the streets of East London as milk at a penny a quart. Refuse potatoes, stale cabbage and turnips, and staler herrings form the usual diet of hundreds of thousands. Only the more prosperous

achieve the luxury of a bit of pork and some potatoes for a Sunday dinner. There is always the temptation to buy what is cheap, and in animal food cheap generally means nasty. Extravagant as may be the prices of West End London tradesmen, the poor actually pay for rent, food and clothing more in proportion to what they get than the rich. Their *rents* are higher, their food, even to pennyworth's of tea and sugar, pays a larger profit. And the stuff they get, after being robbed in price, weight and measure, is not fitted to maintain them in health—is, on the contrary, a fertile source of disease and of premature mortality, producing low types of fevers, bowel diseases and scrofula."

With these statements in mind there is no cause to wonder at the fact that of 11,000 men in Manchester who volunteered for service in the War in South Africa 8,000 were at once rejected, and eventually only 1200 were able to meet the standard tests.

"In beautiful Edinburgh," said Professor Patterson at a recent meeting of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, "they found that in 1901 complaint was made that some three thousand children were living in a state of destitution and semi-starvation, and that of these 700 were living under such deplorable conditions that it was necessary to withdraw them from their homes and to find for them temporary relief in a shelter."

Mr. Bramwell Booth, in his report of the Salvation Army social operations at home for the year ending 30th Sept., 1901, gives the following statistics :

"Meals supplied at cheap food depots, 2,958,099 ; cheap lodgings for the homeless, 1,615,768 ; cash received for food and lodgings, £35,825 ; applications for work registered at labor bureaus, 11,246 ; persons received into factories, 3,515 ; number for whom temporary or permanent employment has been found, 10,372."

On Dec. 14, 1901, the Baroness Burdett Coutts, asking aid for the "Destitute Children's Dinners Society," wrote a letter to the *London Times*, in which she said :

"The number of dinners given last season was 158,855, and the children's little contributions toward the cost of them amounted to £ 309, 13 s., 4 d. The work was carried out by those in charge of it with careful supervision, sympathy, and thoughtful kindness. . . . The importance of continuing those dinners long enough to produce some lasting effects upon the children's physical, moral, and mental health has received special attention. The report from which I have already quoted, says, 'There are no starving children in London outside the Poor Law.' They are underfed. They are weak, rickety, sickly children whose constitutions and frames want a tonic. It is vital, therefore, that the healthy, vitalising meals should be of sufficiently long continuance for each child to act as a tonic to the constitution. To give a dinner ticket here and there, now and then, is no use in this direction. It is simply throwing away the money of the charitable.

"Many of the men fighting for their country in South Africa were lads who in their childhood found their share of food and comfort in our dining rooms where the foundation of their manhood was laid."

What food for thought we have here? And what argument for the taxation of land values when we reflect that these children are the offspring of men and women who pay to land-owners annually for the right to live in London alone (exclusive of house rent and taxes) the sum of 85,000,000 dollars? Why are these children underfed? Why are they paupers? Why do they live on the verge of starvation and a certain select few extort so much money from their parents for no service whatever but only a permission to occupy land no landlord ever made or could make? Would these children not be better housed, fed and clothed if the parents had not to pay this enormous ground rent first out of their earnings, and accept that which was left for their sustenance?

Anent housing problems, Sir Robert Giffen says :

"If the Glasgow Corporation are to make a great impression on the housing of the poor, they will have to accommodate in the end probably 100,000 families."

Speaking of the Rowley district, Glasgow, the medical officer recently said overcrowding was on the increase. On one occasion he served notices upon a row of houses, and a number of people had to sleep in the streets for weeks. People were unable to obtain houses. One of the councillors on Monday suggested that the Council would have to provide refugee camps.

"To this it may be added that as refugee camps would require to be built on land, the Council would have to settle with the landlords before the camps were built. If access to the land was obtained, the people would find means to build houses for themselves."

Mr. Taylor, London County Council, told the Glasgow Corporation Housing Conference last month that the L. C. Council had paid no less than £100,000 per acre for land for housing purposes.

Impure water is a cause of disease.

In 1858 a ship with 500 men on board lay in the river Hooghly for six weeks in the hottest weather without losing a man, while the cholera raged on all the vessels around her. The chief difference was that while the crews of the other vessels drank the river water the crew of the unscathed vessel had an unlimited supply of distilled water. It is unnecessary to prove to you that bad drainage and also bad sewerage or none at all, and also bad, cheap plumbing, are frequent causes of disease.

Says Dr. Nicholls :

"Insufficient clothing, and the lack of comfortable shelter from the inclemencies of climate, are frequent causes of disease. A cold week in winter raises the mortality of London hundreds above the average. In a church or chapel crowded with poor, in winter, one can scarcely hear the preacher for the coughing. Bronchitis, and inflammations of the lungs or its lining membrane, carry off great numbers. Children die of croup, whooping cough, and congestive diseases. Then cold makes people huddle together and shut out the air, so that, if they do not perish of chill, they are weakened and filled with impurities for lack of ventilation. Cleanliness is neglected for a similar reason. The skin is clogged with dirt, and its horny surface is less sensitive to cold, but its functions are suspended, and the body thereby diseased. A 'cold' is the suspension of the action of the skin, and a thereby increased and disordered action of the mucous membrane. And so poverty, in its lack of the necessaries and comforts of life, is a very serious cause of disease, which disease intensifies poverty and its miseries."

Nichols continues :

"*Excessive labor*, especially protracted labor in unhealthy conditions, in heated workshops and factories, in bad air, in cramped positions, and exposed to irritating dust or poisonous vapors, is a fruitful cause of disease. Steel filers, brass workers, workers in mercury, arsenic, lead and antimony, workers in shoddy factories and bakeries, are short-lived and suffer from special diseases. Lead causes constipation and paralysis; the makers of lucifer matches are liable to a horrible necrosis of the jaws; metallic dust, and even the flour of mills and bakeries, clog the lungs and cause consumption. But shoemakers, tailors, milliners, artificial flower-makers, suffer scarcely less from the bad air of crowded and unventilated shops and factories. Among all our manufacturers there goes on the manufacture of disease and death. The agricultural laborer is laid up with rheumatism from hard work, exposure and too much cider. The town artisan dies of bad air, dust and beer. Literary men break down early with sedentary brain work and stimulants. There is no healthful order of industry, but a great disorderly battle of life, with its wounded, disabled, dying victims.

"Depressing emotions favor tendencies to disease. Dread, fear, terror, seem to have a

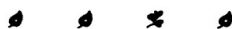
very direct influence upon the spread of epidemic diseases, while courage resists them. Those who attempt to fly from plague or cholera fall victims; those who manfully face them and help to nurse the sick, commonly escape. Care, the anxiety of the poor about their means of living, reduces their vitality and makes them an easy prey to the physical causes of disease.

"Epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases have a double origin; first, in the exhaustion and impurity which make the liability to disease, and secondly in the contagious matter or determining cause of the particular form of disease.

"Small pox, for example, is a disease of filth, spreading chiefly in the poorer quarters of large towns, in bad air, and where unhealthy conditions offer the predisposing causes. Small pox matter, however carried or blown about, produces small pox in those who are susceptible to its influence. The clean and healthy, the pure and strong, often entirely escape this and other contagious diseases. Bad air and absence of light are evident causes of tuberculous diseases. Six to eight hours a day is time enough for any kind of severe or monotonous toil.

"Dyspepsia and constipation are causes of numerous maladies. Dyspepsia comes from bad diet, bad air, and nervous exhaustion."

There are various other causes of disease which cannot be enumerated here-to-night, but those mentioned are, I believe, the most important agents in filling our hospitals, and indeed render those important institutions in our present imperfect state of civilization absolutely necessary. Therefore let it not be understood that I deprecate hospitals. When a man or child has small pox, scarlet fever or any other disease, or when a boy has broken a leg or had a hand torn off in a factory wheel, by all means let us see that they have the best attention that human love and ingenuity and medical skill can devise; but if there be ways by which small pox and scarlet fever can be prevented—if, by wise precaution, factory accidents can be prevented or minimized, is not the ounce of prevention worth a pound of cure?



. . . THE . . . IMPROVED ALPHABET

BY MISS MYRTLE STUMM.

[Read by her at the Conference of the Women's National Single Tax League, Thursday night, June 26th, at the Tuxedo, New York City.]

A is for Avarice, ancient as Adam;
(For the things that he wanted, we know that he had 'em)
The greed of this world is a thing to regret,
And it makes life so wretched for those who can't get.

B is for Beef-trust,—a late happy thought,
Of someone who thinks we *eat* more than we ought.
And the former glad cry of the full dinner pail
Is turned to a dry bread and vegetable wail.

C for Co-education,—a lucky experiment.
(If I were a man I'd like ladies where e'er I went.)
This old-fashioned notion of keeping them out of things
Just hinders progression, like the clipping of chicken wings.

D stands for Drunkenness. O what a curse!
For the folks who imbibe may from bad go to worse.
Some drink without reason, and others to drown
All the sorrows they suffer, from poverty down.

E's for Expansion. 'Tis a dangerous thing
For an old hen to force a duck under her wing.
How very much better this method would be,—
To help the duck waddle, but let it go free.

F stands for Freedom,—a word that inspires !
On its altar we're burning perpetual fires.
How unselfish to hold it from so many others,
And keep for ourselves what's not *good* for our brothers !

G is for Good-will on earth to all men,
When Single Tax reigns and the land's free again ;
When wars over islands and diamond mines cease,
And white men and black dwell together in peace.

H for Humanity, always the same.
Some striving like heroes, some meriting blame.
How mighty the voice that shall call the long roll,
And answer our questions, and judge every soul.

I stands for Ignorance,—cause of stagnation,
Superstition and bigotry, crime and starvation.
If the day schools taught Suffrage, and night schools Single Tax,
On these awful conditions we'd soon turn our backs.

J is for Justice,—far better than charity,—
A trait that's distinguished by being a rarity.
It's hard to be just without being severe,
And hard to be generous ; isn't it queer ?

K stands for Knowledge,—an excellent thing
(Except in small doses) for pauper or king.
If we all knew as much as we think that we do,
There would be many wise men, and fools but a few.

L is for Liberty, fought for and won ;
And we thank our forefathers for what they have done.
Our nation is prosperous, rich and admired,
With only few drawbacks and things not desired.

M's for Monopoly,—always an evil,—
Invented by man and encouraged by devil.
Corporations and trusts, and some syndicates too,
Weave a web of unrighteousness hard to break through..

N stands for Nonsense, which has its own place.
Mirth, laughter and sunshine are good for the race.
Real sorrow comes oft to disturb and depress us,
But a light heart will make our friends rise up and bless us:

O's for Oppression, that grinds with its heel
The folks who are *down* in the world, but can feel.
In sweat-shop and tenement, striving to live,
They accept in their ignorance what the Fates give.

P is for "Progress and Poverty" too,—
The name of a book that is great as 'tis true.
Could the world only pause and just read it in chorus,
There would be many rifts in the clouds that hang o'er us.

Q stands for Question.—We all want to know
Why the coming of Single Tax *does* seem so slow.
 But if we would work as one did who is gone,
 Our dark social]night] would soon shine with the dawn.

R's for Religion,—a good thing to tie to.
 We can't shake it off, and it's wicked to try to.
 But it's hard to be good and treat everyone fairly.
 (That's why a clear conscience is met with so rarely.)

S is for Single, and **T** is for Tax,—
 A powerful doctrine that faces the facts
 Of the misuse of land, and the sure consequences
 In this God-given world, where *man* puts up his fences.

U's for Utopia—land of perfection !
 Where they need no reforms and desire no correction !
This country would be just another such place,
 If we had Single Tax and no problems to face.

V is for Vegetable—fit food for man !
 This meat-eating business is quite a bad plan.
 It makes folks ferocious ; it's costly to buy it ;
 If you wish to improve, just drop meat from your diet.

W's for Woman, both the old and the new,—
 Great workers for Suffrage and Single Tax, too.
 They now love fine raiment, high heels, a new bonnet—
 Education will change this ; you may depend on it.

X is a letter I could not apply
 On a word in this queer alphabetical pie.
 But **X** looks very nice, and its place you can't fill
 When it's used to embellish a ten-dollar bill.

Y is for Yawn, and I hope you won't do it,
 Because I am trying my best to get through it.
 If you think it quite easy to make better verse,
 Just try one or two, and perhaps you'll do worse.

Z is for Zeal. If we have it and use it
 We'll get Single Tax just as soon as we choose it.
 A few more workers with endless ambition
 Will soon bring about this much-hoped-for condition.

& now that you've listened to twenty-six rhymes,
 I hasten to thank you just so many times ;
 And I trust that not one in this Single Tax throng
Dares to wish that the alphabet wasn't so long.



“Have you ever been to the country, Maggie?” a woman asked a child of the tenements.

“Oh, yes, ma'am,” replied the girl, her face brightening at the recollection.

“Where did you go?”

“To the cim'tery when Johnnie O'Reilly died, an' we had a grand ride. It was beautiful.”

SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine of
Single Tax Progress

Edited and Published by
JOSEPH DANA MILLER, at 62-64 Trinity Pl.
New York.

Mrs. CHARLOTTE E. HAMPTON, Associate

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—In the United
States, Canada and Mexico, \$1.00 per
year. Payable in advance.

Entered at the Postoffice, New York, as Second
Class Matter.

SUMMER NUMBER.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

To all our subscribers renewal notices have been sent. Those who have not responded are urged to do so. This is the first number of the new volume, and single taxers who believe that a national organ should continue must give the REVIEW all possible encouragement.

Renewal notices have not been sent to our foreign subscribers, so they will kindly take this as a notification that their subscriptions which began with the number issued in July 1901, have expired, and that renewals are earnestly requested.

The paucity of news in this number must be laid to the inactivity of single taxers during the Summer months. Little is being done; but with the approaching Autumn we may look for many interesting happenings. Our friends must not forget the commemoration of the birth of our leader. This should be marked with more than usual significance in the number and character of the meetings held, and the insistence on the importance and value of Mr. George's teachings. Will our friends also bear in mind that the REVIEW should have early and full reports of these meetings wherever held, and they should be held wherever three or more single taxers can meet. The day is not far distant when the entire civilized world will join in such celebration.

In this number we bring to a close Mr. Lewis H. Berens' paper on Gerrard Winstanley. Mr. Berens has done his work admirably.

One cannot forbear calling attention to the prose of Winstanley, so strong, so simple, not unlike in these respects the prose of his greater and more distinguished cotemporary, John Milton. The character of this prose is not unworthy of the subject matter of his great plea for human liberty. It has the dignity and loftiness of tone befitting the language of this advocate of those principles which have descended to the single taxers of this generation.

Gerrard Winstanley was a man, a fearless soldier of the truth, a devoted lover of his kind. With what simple directness he speaks, and at times with what prophetic insight! His teachings seem to have been obscured by the larger happenings of his time. They bore no fruit in the generation that he strove to enlighten. But were they, then, altogether fruitless? Who of us shall dare to say? For him who speaks out of his time, who utters truth for which his fellows are not yet ready, there is only contempt, and when he is gone, forgetfulness. But is the word, therefore, spoken in vain? We cannot believe it. In the endless purposes of God nothing is in vain. The work of Winstanley was the seed which somewhere found its flowering. Some mind received it and transmitted it, and slowly the great truth must gather volume. Winstanley did not live in vain.

The Direct Legislation Record published at 44 Hill street, Newark, N. J., continues to appear full of interesting matter and communications from all parts of the world relative to the progress of the movement. Our old friend, Robert Tyson, of Toronto, publishes as a supplement to the *Direct Legislation Record* the *Proportional Representation Review*. Both of these are published quarterly and are doing excellent work in their chosen field.

Who would expect a single taxer to furnish an elaborate argument for the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment? Yet Bolton Smith, of Memphis, Tennessee, sends us in pamphlet form such an argument, delivered as an address before the Mississippi State Editorial Association, on May 22nd. Mr. Smith has been looked upon as a single taxer, and probably believes himself one. But there is a hiatus in his philosophy somewhere. There can be no economic freedom without political freedom. They are corollaries of a true social state, and are inseparable. Equality in the use of the earth, and equality before the law—to this state the world must come, and when it does so the curious phantoms that now affright it in the form of race questions and fear of Negro domination will have disappeared, never to return. But how curious it is that a single taxer should be found to crouch in terror before such shapes of the imagination!

The *Single Tax* of Glasgow has changed its name to *Land Values*, the term with which the movement in Great Britain is more commonly associated. With the June number it begins its ninth year.

CLARENCE MOELLER.

Again it is our sad duty to chronicle the death of one of our most active workers—Clarence Moeller, of Chicago. His death occurred in April. Mr. Moeller was born in 1857 of New England parentage. His early life was spent on a farm, and later he became a school teacher in a small Connecticut town, and from that became a shoemaker. He left that trade when he came to Chicago 23 years ago, hoping to forge to the front as a school teacher. In this hope he was disappointed, and he again resumed the last, in which business he was occupied up to the time of his death. He was vice-president of the Chicago Club, which adopted the following resolutions at a memorial meeting held to do honor to his memory:

Whereas, That in the death of Clarence Moeller the Chicago Single Tax Club has lost one of its ablest members, and humanity one of its strongest friends and champions, be it further

Resolved, That the office of vice-president of this club, which he held at the time of his death, remain vacant to the end of the term, and that his chair remain draped for a period of thirty days.

Among his eulogists at this meeting were Father Thomas E. Cox, Alfred T. Johnson, and General Herman Lieb.

Clarence Moeller was a devoted friend of the great truth, and he saw it with wondrous clearness and followed it with unflinching faith.

PERSONALS.

Under the title of "Noted Political Irritants of Greater New York," the *New York Herald* of Sunday, April 6th, gave short sketches of the work of Dr. Parkhurst, Anthony Comstock, Frank Moss, Carl Schurz, and others. Among these "political irritants" it included Lawson Purdy, of whom it spoke as follows:

"Since the death of Henry George, E. Lawson Purdy may be entitled to be called the leading political irritant on tax matters. While believing in the single tax which Mr. George spent his life advocating, Mr. Purdy does not urge it as the sole tax reform. The recent mortgage legislation and the bills passed by the last Legislature changing the corporation laws met with vigorous criticism from Mr. Purdy. Mr. Purdy asserts that our tax system discriminates in favor of large estates and corporations of large capital, and against small property owners and small industrial and business companies. It is Mr.

Purdy's view that the tendency of legislation is to compel the consolidation and aggregation of capital interests, and unduly to favor vested rights as distinguished from personal rights. Mr. Purdy is a lawyer in active practice, a college man, young, enthusiastic, with a good presence, and a pleasing public speaker."

H. Jay Brown of St. Joseph, Mo., is a real estate agent as well as a single taxer. In a recent pamphlet advertising the properties that he has for sale, he says:

"According to the laws of all civilized countries God made the land for the exclusive use of the man who holds the title deeds and a clean abstract. The man who owns the land owns the water on it, the sunshine and rain that fall upon it, and the gentle breeze whose soft caress lulls to sweet forgetfulness. If his title is good he owns all within and below his boundary lines for a depth of about 4,000 miles."

Frank H. Warren, our colored brother, whose scheme for the single tax colonization of Africa by Afro-Americans from this country has received some notice in our columns, recently lectured on this topic before the Detroit College of Law, of which Mr. Warren is a member.

Sydney Brooks is one of the most intelligent and liberal correspondents on the *New York press*. This from a recent letter in the *Commercial Advertiser*, a republican paper of this city, is worth noting. Of course Mr. Brooks' communications are not edited in the office, and what he believes he says, and what he says is printed.

"The empire (of Great Britain) in short, is one of commercial peace. But on the day it resolves itself into a protectionist union, it becomes an empire of commercial aggression. It drags England into the raging war of tariffs; it provokes retaliation; it alters the whole spirit in which Englishmen have built up their empire and faced its responsibilities. There could, therefore, be no more momentous event in Great Britain's future than the formation of an imperial Zollverein. Most Englishmen whose opinion is worth having believe in addition that there could be no more disastrous event."

Our old friend Edward McHugh, whom so many of us remember with affection for his splendid qualities of head and heart, is president of the Liverpool Society for the Taxation of Land Values. He has the following communication in the *Liverpool papers*:

"Why not seek our local taxes where the land speculators gather their unearned riches—namely, from land values? Public improvements add nothing whatever to the intrinsic values of houses or buildings. Then why should houses and shops be taxed to pay for public improvements? Public improvements do unquestionably raise the value of land, and not of buildings. Then should not the value of land be taxed to pay

for them? Why should the man who uses land to provide convenience for his fellow citizens be taxed more than the other man whose use of the land (or neglect to use it) creates a public nuisance? Increased population necessitates increased taxation. Increased population and increased public expenditure cause increased land values. Is not the increased land value in every way suited to satisfy the growing need for local taxation? Why then not reduce—if not abolish—taxation on buildings, and increase it on land values? The labor problem is: How shall all men willing to work always find an opportunity to work, and thus produce wealth? The taxation of land values, by destroying speculation and forcing valuable land into use at its true economic value, and at the same time relieving industry from the burdens that now weigh it down, will solve the housing problem, the wages problem, and the ever increasing burden of local taxation."

JOINT MEMORIAL MEETINGS.

GRAVE OF DR. MCGLYNN DECORATED— HENRY GEORGE'S MEMORY HONORED.

Commemorative meetings in honor of Dr. McGlynn and Henry George were held on May 30th under the joint auspices of the Women's Henry George League and the Dr. McGlynn Monument Association.

The first meeting was held in the afternoon at Dr. McGlynn's grave in Calvary Cemetery, where several thousand people assembled at 3.30 o'clock, sang hymns, and listened to addresses by Sylvester L. Malone and Henry George, Jr. After decorating Dr. McGlynn's grave the assemblage followed the speakers to the tombs of John R. Feeny and Dr. Edward Malone, where floral tribute were placed also.

In the evening the joint meeting was held at Civic Hall, 128 East Twenty-eighth Street. Sylvester L. Malone was the first speaker and eulogized the departed leader of the Anti-Poverty movement before introducing Mrs. John S. Crosby, President of the League, as the presiding officer of the evening. Among the speakers was Henry George, Jr., who said:

"It is time for us to be rebaptized in our faith. What Henry George and Dr. McGlynn taught us was the cure of that disease which is the canker eating away our civilization and destroying not only the individual but whole races. While the growth of the Anti-Poverty movement may not be apparent to the world at large, it is true, as Henry George so often said, that like the seed whose first growth is downward, the growth exists. It is now growing downward into the minds of men, and we must wait for it to appear above the soil."

John Sherwin Crosby, Hamlin Russell, and Anita Truman also spoke.

THE MCGLYNN MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Dr. McGlynn Monument Association held an outing at Clarion Point, Saturday, June 12th. A large crowd attended, and in the course of the afternoon President Sylvester L. Malone read correspondence between himself and the Scottish Single Tax League.

The Dr. McGlynn Association, learning of the intention of the Scottish League to name one of the stalls of the great Bazaar in honor of Dr. McGlynn, sent a framed copy of the famous Sarony portrait of the Doctor and some of his now rare addresses to the Bazaar.

In his letter Mr. Malone wrote:

"We hope it may find place of honor at your Dr. McGlynn Stall and later permanent position in the headquarters of your Single Tax Club. May all the magic in the name of Dr. McGlynn help you in your efforts to advance the cause for which he lived and died."

The following reply was received by Mr. Malone as he was starting for the outing and was received with great applause when read by him to Dr. McGlynn's friends.

John Paul, for the Scottish League, writes:

"At the Executive Meeting of the Scottish League held on the 10th of June, the Portrait was formally presented by Mrs. Hamilton in your name and gratefully accepted.

"It has been much commented upon and has led to many a warm recollection of the good work Dr. McGlynn was privileged to do for our movement. The Bazaar was a great success from every point of view, especially in view of the great amount of good educational work it enabled us to put in during the course of twelve months.

"Our ideas are steadily making headway here and frequently they blaze out into the open, sending a shiver right through the fence-sitting politicians.

"The most important feature to chronicle at present is a Conference on the Taxation of Land Values which is being promoted by the Glasgow Corporation, to be held in London at an early date. It will be composed of representatives from rating authorities throughout the country and will no doubt set down another milestone on our way to parliamentary action."

CONVENTION OF THE LIBERAL DEMOCRACY.

On June 7th the Liberal Democracy of New York state held its convention in Cooper Union. The convention is chiefly of interest to us by reason of the prominence of a number of well known single taxers, and because of the demand of its platform that land values only be taxed. It also opposes "an unjust distribution of wealth due to the monopoly of natural opportunities and the creation of special privileges." Edgar L. Ryder, of Westchester County, was nominated for Governor, and Daniel B. Casley, for State Treasurer. Both of these gentlemen

have done good service to the single tax cause in the years past.

The object of the new party is to thwart the designs of the reorganizers and to make the Democratic Party truly democratic. Hill's plans for party harmony came in for special criticism by those who took part in the proceedings.

Judge Samuel Seabury, of the City Court, presided, and there were about two hundred delegates present. Pictures of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, John P. Altgeld and Henry George adorned the wall. The Liberty Bell was adopted as the emblem of the party. Charles Frederick Adams was among those who spoke, and Judge Seabury's speech in opening the convention was remarkable for its clear presentation of democratic principles.

EDGAR L. RYDER, NOMINEE FOR
GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, ON
THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC
TICKET.

Edgar L. Ryder, of Westchester, single taxer and nominee for Governor of the Liberal Democracy, comes of the stock of the oldest settlers of New York state. His ancestor, Jacob Ryder, settled in Westchester County before 1690, having emigrated thither from the colony of Massachusetts Bay, or which his grandfather had been one of the earliest settlers. Mr. Ryder's grandmother was Rachael Van Cortlandt, grand-daughter of William Ricketts Van Cortlandt, a Revolutionary patriot. Her uncles were Pierre Van Cortlandt, first Lieutenant Governor of the State of New York, and Phillip Van Cortlandt, Lieutenant Colonel in the Revolutionary Army. On the paternal side, his ancestors were Jeffersonian democrats, when it was unpopular to advocate the principles of the great father of democracy.

Mr. Ryder is a graduate of Columbia University, of the class of '82, of which class Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, was also a member. He was twice returned to the Assembly from the Third District of Westchester, in 1893 and 1894, and enjoys the distinction of being the only democrat who ever carried that normally strong republican district twice in succession. He was again nominated in 1901 although absent from the nominating convention and without his knowledge, and although defeated carried his own town against a republican majority of four hundred and ran ahead of his ticket through the district. Mr. Ryder's legislative career was marked by an independence of action which alarmed the machine politicians of his own party. Long before David B. Hill had obtained his unenviable notoriety, Mr. Ryder, in the Assembly and on public platforms, denounced his pretences and showed the intrinsic hollowness of his democracy.

Mr. Ryder's work, however, was not

merely critical. In 1895 he introduced a bill adopting the Initiative and Referendum for New York state, and was successful in having it passed by the lower house. After nine years this measure has had a tardy recognition by being accepted almost unanimously by the voters of the State of Oregon in the election just closed. Many other beneficial measures bore his name, but the reactionary tendencies of his party were too powerful to permit of their enactment. Republican and democrat, friend and foe, alike admit it that his conduct was guided by a single purpose, the welfare of the people.

It will be of interest to single taxers to know the manner in which Mr. Ryder became a convert to our principles. In answer to such inquiry by the REVIEW, Mr. Ryder writes us as follows:

"I became a single taxer in Minneapolis in 1886 and my conversion was brought about by my own foolishness in accepting an opportunity to debate against the George folly. I was positive I could knock out any such fallacies as proposed by that man George. To make his economic demise complete I bought a copy of 'Progress and Poverty,' and gave it a careful study. After taking I was not so sure. I read it again. The debate never came off with me on the anti-George side. I helped to organize the Minneapolis Single Tax Club and became its secretary. I had recently graduated from Columbia College and knew everything in consequence, until I had the conceit knocked out of me by 'Progress and Poverty.' If I had never attempted that debate, or rather a preparation for it, I might have remained a respectable member of society, still thinking I knew all there was to know. I have never lost my enthusiasm for the cause and I have been 'ammering, ammering' ever since. I date my education, not from the time I graduated from Columbia, but from the time I read 'Progress and Poverty.'"

BOOK REVIEWS.

Economic Tangles is a neatly bound 12mo., comprising 220 pages. The volume consists of essays divided into chapters, only loosely related, on economic and social topics, and is a collection, for the most part, of Mr. Judson Grenell's contributions to the *Sunday News Tribune*, of Detroit. Following its preface are words of commendation from Hon. Tom L. Johnson, J. B. Howarth, F. F. Ingraham, and others known to our readers.

These essays are written with no pretence to exhaustive thoroughness; they are of the character such as we look for in papers of the better sort whose contributors are allowed large freedom of expression, and from whom we expect sober, serious and thoughtful pronouncements. It should not be forgotten that now as in the past essays have been rescued from newspaper obscurity that have

constituted genuine contributions to literature. The time has gone by when we can afford to sneer at newspaper articles. But it remains, nevertheless, true that articles so written, because of the necessity of appealing to the purely superficial sympathies and intelligence of the general reader, are apt to lack the weighty character, the thoroughness of detail, and carefulness of preparation which we look for, but do not always find, in articles prepared for books.

These essays, however, though written in popular style, are by no means lacking in solid information and generalizations that are the result of much thought. If they make no claim to literary distinction they have a usefulness that is more important, for they are the presentment of principles clearly apprehended and stated with much force and cogency.

As an example of the qualities indicated, and the line of reasoning pursued, we quote this paragraph from the Preface:

"Economics have so close a relation to continuous prosperity that employers and employed are equally interested in comprehending the laws governing the production and distribution of wealth. These are not difficult to understand. Like the figures in the multiplication table there is a certain relation between land, labor, capital and wealth, and once the student learns the value of each of these elements in the world of industry, he is able to grapple with seemingly inextricable problems which might otherwise lead him astray. There are many byways in economics, however, which look at times so broad and substantial, and are trodden by so vast a multitude, that the wisest are apt to be misled into taking the false for the true. Still, when the real value and dependence of each of the factors in trade and commerce are once realized, it is not so very hard to differentiate the thoroughfares that lead to the equitable distribution among wealth producers of their products, from those that tend to concentration and unjust apportionment."

One of the most admirable chapters is that entitled "Makeshifts for Justice." So, too, is the one entitled "Half a Loaf vs. No Bread." From the chapter "Strikes and Injunctions," we venture to quote (page 34):

"What is strange about all this is that the men should be content with so little. They are the producers of all the wealth with which they are surrounded, yet the niggardly bestowal of a fraction of it will quell all tumult and restore peace. Marmontel, in an address in 1757 in favor of the peasants of the north, put into the mouth of an imaginary orator these words:

"The land which saw you born has repudiated you; the laws have excluded you from this common inheritance; you have cleared it, but others possess it; you and the ox yoked to the plow are put on the same level. Nature called you to a share in its domain, but tyranny has pushed you aside

and says: You are not men; live like the beasts, to serve and obey me."

On page 94, from the chapter "Makeshifts for Justice," the following is worthy of quotation:

"Why do young nations, in a new country, advance so rapidly in civilization, in the diffusion of wealth, and in the general prosperity of the masses? Simply because in a new country there is more liberty than monopoly; a chance for everybody to the extent of the ability of each, and a free field for the expansion of trade. But after a time the social structure feels the grip of the octopus, and wealth and poverty begin giant strides—one to ease and luxury without work, the other to want and distress with work. And all this because society has allowed—nay, insisted on—the private control of that which no man produced, which was here before the foot of man ever pressed the earth, and which will remain after the last man has disappeared. The monopoly of the soil, with its wealth of minerals, is at the very foundation of all our industrial ills. It is the first great error of civilization on which all other wrongs are based. Remove this, and most of the others will fall of their own weight."

Mr. Grenell has long been one of the best-known single taxers in Detroit, and has been ready at all times with tongue and pen to aid the good cause. It is therefore a pleasure to be able to accord this book a cordial recommendation. It is published by Mr. Grenell and printed by the Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Company, of Lansing, Michigan.

Michael Davitt's *History of the Boer War*.*

"After resigning membership in the British House of Commons, in October, 1899, as a protest against a war which I believed to be the greatest infamy of the nineteenth century, I proceeded a short time afterwards to the Transvaal to see and learn more about the little nation against whose liberty and land this crime had been planned and executed."

Thus begins the few words of preface with which Michael Davitt opens his story of "The Boer Fight for Freedom." It is an interesting and valuable work which Davitt has done, and it will provide an armory for those who feel called upon to defend the Boer cause against the indictments which Conan Doyle, appearing for the other side, has included in a book which has had a wide circulation and of which much is being made by those who believe England's course to have been justified.

But without discussing the points in a controversy not germane to the purposes of this publication, and over which, indeed, our brothers on the other side of the Atlantic are divided, this book will be of interest to all

*Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Large Octavo, 608 pp. Price, \$2.00, net.

those who know Michael Davitt as a single taxer, and as one who was among the first to proclaim the gospel of the land for the people, and to aid with his sympathy and encouragement the leader of that movement in the days when Henry George raised the standard in Ireland and called for volunteers.

The following, touching upon the land system of the Transvaal, will be of interest:

"No country of Europe can boast of a better land system, or of one more favorable to the chief and foundation of all industries. The system was an occupier ownership, subject to a tax by the state; not per acre, but per farm. This tax was not to exceed forty-rix dollars (rix dollar: about one shilling and sixpence) or to be less than six rix dollars and a half, annually; the amount between the extremes to be regulated according to valuation by authorized persons. Owners of farms or of ground values living outside the Transvaal were to pay double taxes. . . . The transfer and registration of land was made quite simple and involved no costly lawyer's search for title and the rest. All such sales were to be registered at the Landrost's office; the cost of the transfer and registration of a farm being less than ten shillings."

Nearly all the Boer generals were personally known to Davitt, and his estimates of them seem for the most part to have been justified by the results of their campaigns. Joubert, brilliant in defence, but lacking in those qualities that would have enabled a more pushing and resolute general to have struck a staggering blow on more than one occasion, Davitt holds in high esteem, while at the same time indicating his shortcomings. Of Cronje, much the same criticism is made. It is clear that Davitt regards Louis Botha as the ablest of the Boer generals, and the battle of Colenso as the most notable of the many Boer victories, "a day," says Davitt, "forever memorable in the annals of true military renown."

The many engagements are related with much apparent care and some spirit. Whether Davitt's criticisms will stand the test at the hands of military experts, it is impossible to say, but the battles are set forth with great circumstance of detail.

Of one general on the Boer side, now dead, single taxers will think with some tenderness. That is Joubert; we do not know if he was a single taxer himself, but he knew of Henry George and his work, and when in this country sought him out and spent some time in his company. He visited the Manhattan Single Tax Club in this city, and in the book of the club reserved for the autographs of visitors, appears in bold characters the signature of the distinguished Boer leader.

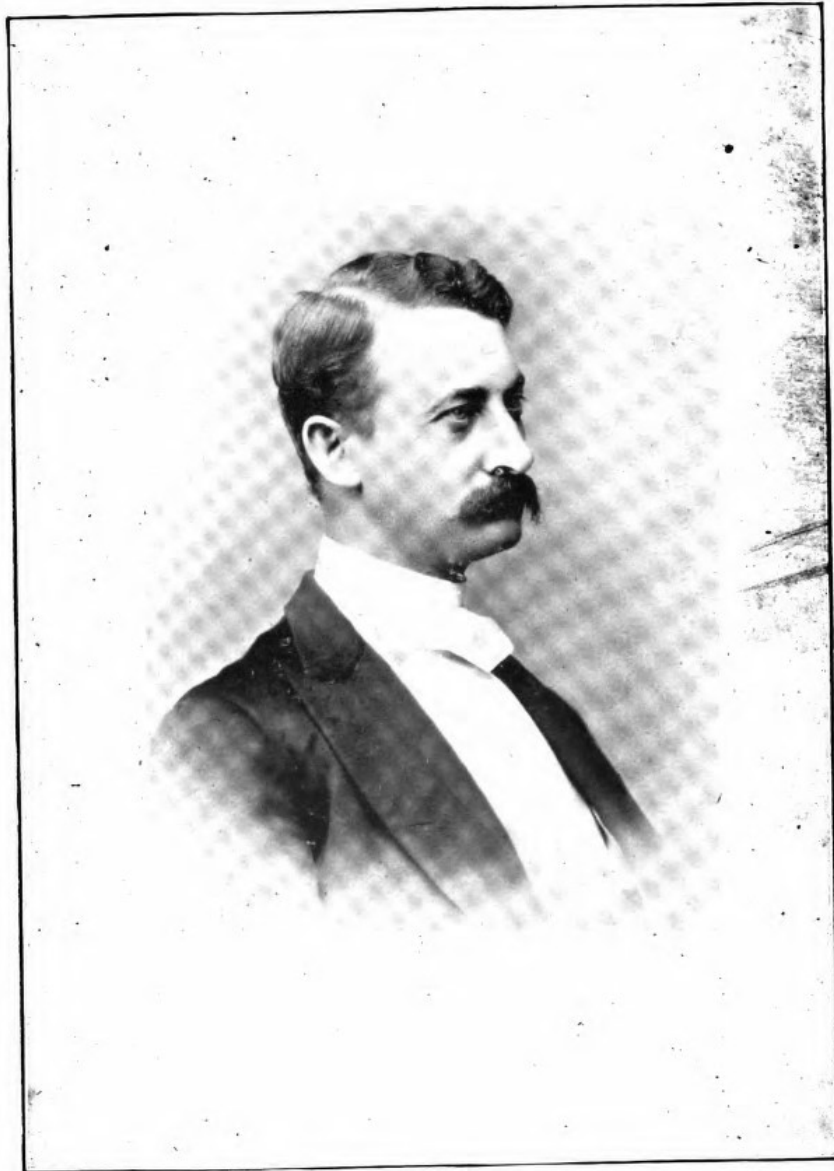
—J. D. M.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY, WHO IS LEADING THE REAL DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF PENNSYLVANIA.

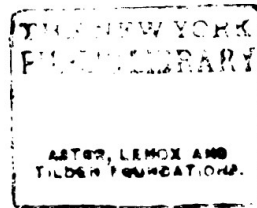
Warren Worth Bailey was born on a farm near the little town of New Winchester, Hendricks County, Ind., about twenty miles west of Indianapolis, January 8, 1855. His father and mother were native Kentuckians and former slave owners. Several years before the breaking out of the war, his father, the late Elisha Bailey, who took more or less interest in politics in Kentucky, tendered freedom to all his slaves, about fourteen in number, and advocated the general abolition of slavery on moral grounds. Owing to this action the elder Bailey became very unpopular in Kentucky and just at the breaking out of the war he removed to Indiana on the farm where Warren Worth Bailey was born, in the belief that in this northern state he would find himself among friends. On the contrary, he was regarded as a spy from the South and in spite of all his protestations that though he had been a slave owner he was at heart an anti-slavery man, the Union Home Guards kept him under surveillance during the entire period of the war.

About the close of the great conflict, the elder Bailey removed to a prairie farm in Edgar County, Ill., about eighteen miles north of Paris. Here for about three years Warren Worth Bailey was a cowboy, herding several hundred cattle for one or two dollars a month. About 1868 the Bailey family removed to Kansas, Ill., and there he entered the Indianapolis and St. Louis Railroad telegraph office as a "plug." After serving two years in this capacity he became a full-fledged operator, and was assigned to duty in the telegraph office at Shelbyville, Ill. Later he went to the Union Stock Yards in Chicago, where he was a telegraph operator for a few months, when he was employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad company to take charge of the telegraph office at Shreve, O. From there he went to Upper Sandusky, O., where he was employed when the panic of 1873 came. A ten per cent. reduction in wages induced him to tender his resignation, when he returned to Kansas, Ill., and entered the *Weekly News* office as a devil along with his brother, E. H. Bailey. Each served in this capacity three years, when they went to Carlisle, Ind., in the Wabash bottoms, and became the owners of the Carlisle *Democrat*, which was established in March, 1877. Though the editors were among the youngest in the State, the Carlisle *Democrat* soon took rank as one of the most progressive political papers in Indiana. The editorial work of Warren Worth Bailey attracted wide attention. He became a free trader in 1878.

In 1879 the Carlisle *Democrat* was removed to the historic Old Post, Vincennes, Indiana, where the Bailey Brothers bought the Vincennes *Reporter*. Consolidating the two, they changed the name of the paper to the Vincennes *News*, which was issued as a



WARREN WORTH BAILEY.
(See page 40.)



weekly for some years. It was very aggressive along free trade lines, and attracted wide attention for its radical utterances. It was about the first paper in the United States to strongly advocate the adoption of the Australian ballot, and though the *News* was bitterly denounced through the State for its advocacy of this beneficent ballot reform, it remains to the credit of that paper that Indiana was one of the earliest States in the Union to adopt the Australian ballot. In 1887 and 1888 the *News* was published as a daily, but it went to the wall, the Bailey Brothers making an assignment.

Without a dollar in the world they found themselves in Chicago in 1888, where they soon found employment on the newspapers, W. W. securing a reportorial position on the *Chicago Evening Mail*. Some few months later he became an editorial writer on the *Chicago Evening News*. This position he held for five years, during which time he became a very strong advocate of the taxation of public franchises. Victor Lawson, the proprietor of the *News*, deprecated Mr. Bailey's insistence in pressing this question, but he managed to weave the central idea in a greater part of his editorial work on the *News* that the streets of Chicago belonged to the people and that corporations using them should be assessed the value of them. About 1890 Mr. Bailey, who had for several years been a convert to "Progress and Poverty," was chosen president of the Chicago Single Tax Club, which held meetings every week in the parlors of the Grand Pacific Hotel. This position he held for three or four successive terms and under his management of the society it grew in membership from a handful of men and women to a most pretentious and influential organization of more than one thousand very earnest men and women, many of whom were among the most prominent business and professional men in the city.

One of Mr. Bailey's policies as president of the Chicago Single Tax Club was to present at every meeting night some able talker against free trade or the single tax, and then for one hour turning the batteries of the Single Tax Club against the speaker. Many an able man went to the Chicago Single Tax Club at the invitation of Mr. Bailey, full in the conviction that he would make monkeys of the single taxes and show them the utter fallacy of the single tax, but at the close of the meeting found himself so completely routed by the logic of the single taxers that he would meekly admit to the audience that he had underestimated the virtue and strength of the single tax cause. The single tax society in Chicago became a powerful factor during this time in forcing public attention to the great question of franchises, with the result that Chicago is now irrevocably committed to public ownership of all public utilities. Though Mr. Bailey was the first to persistently keep this question before

the people of Chicago, and though he found it very difficult at that time to get his editorials in the *News* without being blue-penciled, there are few if any of the great papers of Chicago now that are not radically in favor of the principle early advocated by Mr. Bailey.

In February, 1893, Mr. Bailey and his brother became the proprietors of the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, *Democrat*. It was through the late Henry George, who recognized in Mr. Bailey a writer of ability on economic questions, that he was induced to locate in Johnstown. Mr. George's son Richard was at that time a resident of Johnstown and he frequently visited there. It occurred to him that the field was a fine one for Mr. Bailey's talent, and he urged Mr. Bailey to purchase the Johnstown *Democrat*, which was at that time a losing venture. The vitality thrown into the *Democrat* by the Baileys soon attracted attention in all directions. It has since 1893 up to the present time been a most persistent advocate of the single tax, the taxation of public franchises, the abolition of all special privileges, the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and woman suffrage.

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL SINGLE TAX CONFERENCE.

When Mrs. John S. Crosby, president of the Woman's National Single Tax League, let fall the gavel which opened the second conference of that body in the parlors of the Tuxedo, New York City, mingled with anxiety for the successful fruition of her labor in bringing together the largest number of regularly accredited delegates yet attained, those present glowed with pardonable pride.

There sat before her a truly representative class of women, representative of the virile land which bore them, representative of the professions, the arts, the home, and in that yet larger and greater sense, knowledge of the fact that they were economic factors bound with men to direct the destinies of this country and determined to apply their reason to the task.

Three years ago a number of single tax women formed a separate organization in Washington, D. C., not in derogation of nor antagonism to the men of the Capital City who had done wisely and well, but proceeding upon the theory that it might be possible to reach and hold members who from diffidence could not be drawn into a mixed club. Every courtesy was extended by their brothers in the faith, financial and moral support was accorded, and the open meetings enthusiastically attended. Thus encouraged, the idea suggested itself that a National Conference be called, and a National League, if possible, effected. Credit for the inception of the project lies, probably, conjointly with Helen Hartnett Mitchell, of Kansas, and Mrs. Jennie L. Monroe, of Washington, D. C.,

but they were ably seconded by other members of the Club, who threw open their homes to visiting delegates and loyally assisted in perfecting details and making the undertaking an assured success. It sat in the morning hour during the month of February, for three consecutive days, and during that time effected its purpose, adopted a constitution and by-laws, elected a full body of officers, listened to several eloquent and distinguished speakers, and parted with every indication of wider activity and centralized effort for good. The leaven worked. During two years it spread and permeated. A sensible provision in the constitution gave to individual single taxers the right to join the League upon the payment of one dollar annually to the National Treasurer, the membership carrying with it the right to vote. In this way a nucleus could be formed in any community round which gradually new converts could rally and eventually a club be formed, the fee of each club being five dollars. No better illustration of the effect of personal effort and sincere conviction is necessary than the astonishing results attained by Miss Anthony and her faithful followers in their long struggle against prejudice and precedent—those twin tyrants who break rebels to their rotten code upon the rack of public opinion, until a dauntless tongue or pen puts them to rout.

So it is hoped this League may grow and wax powerful enough to give its aid to measures of tax reform in the several States and Territories of the Union.

The expense incurred in the holding of the second conference of the League had been generously met by personal donations on the part of single tax sympathizers in New York City, and the delegates, who were the guests of the resident members and most lavishly entertained on their visit, met in elegant apartments where light and air were as free as they hope to make the land.

The morning sessions, beginning at 10:30 A. M., on June 26, continued until July 28, and were devoted to routine business, general discussion, and the delivery of several notable addresses. The Rev. Father McLaughlin, a venerable priest, and coadjutor of the late Father McGlynn, opened with the Lord's Prayer, and spoke touchingly of industrial feudalism versus chattel slavery, exhorting his hearers to overthrow the former, not by force of arms, but by law and reason, and release from a thralldom more galling than ever encompassed the negro, the white slaves of today. Miss Eva J. Turner of Brooklyn, N. Y., delighted her auditors by an able exposition of the "World's work," as a preferable theme to "Woman's work." The scope of her subject was worthy of its presentation. With perceptions peculiarly rare she struck to the core of all reform work and measures, the purpose, the principle and the life of the individual. Miss Turner forced home upon her hearers the

conviction that they themselves were the best exemplars of their teachings, and exhorted them to plain living and high thinking. Mrs. J. L. Monroe of Washington, D. C., next addressed the Conference upon the necessity for and benefit to be derived from organization. Mrs. George, who was present, received a warm expression of regard from the delegates and visitors who crowded about her eager to meet the gentle helpmate of the illustrious dead.

The night reception, held in the brilliant red parlors of the Tuxedo, was a notable affair—notable in the gathering of distinguished men and women and the intellectual tone which pervaded it. Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox assisted Mrs. Crosby and the reception committee in receiving the guests. Mrs. Wilcox has given of late the aid of her brilliant pen to the cause with beneficent results. The seers of the earth have been its poets—they have seen always with the spirit's eye. Before them flashes the vision beautiful of a hope terrestrial, the world and Christ which "is to be," and words are woven into prophecy.

Before the program of the evening began refreshments were served. Miss Friese rendered a piano solo, and Judge Seabury, of New York, made the address of welcome, which was briefly responded to by Miss Bessie A. Dwyer, of Washington, D. C. A vocal solo by Miss Bastow was followed by an original alphabetical poem by Miss Myrtle Stumm. Mr. Carl Venth gave a violin solo, and encore, after which Mr. Bolton Hall read several of his fables. Mr. John S. Crosby then spoke upon the single tax, a theme which never fails to inspire him to eloquence, and Mr. Richard George concluded the evening with some interesting reminiscences of his father.

* * *

Upon the day following, June 17, the Conference promptly convened in business session, Mrs. J. L. Munroe, National Treasurer, submitted a report showing admittance to the League of the Women's Single Tax Club of Brooklyn, N. Y., the Woman's Single Tax Club of New York, N. Y., the Woman's Single Tax Club of Washington, D. C., and the Woman's Single Tax Club of New Haven, Conn., besides seven individual members scattered throughout the Union.

Mrs. August Lewis, of New York City, was unanimously elected an honorary member.

Mrs. Florence Burleigh, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, read the resolutions reported, and with a single omission, they were adopted as follows:

Whereas, the single tax philosophy is based upon the truth that all men having the equal right to live, have an equal right to the use of the earth from which they draw the means of living and to the full product of their labor, and

Whereas, the Woman's National Single

Tax League is organized for the purpose of securing the adoption of the single tax, therefore be it

Resolved, that the Conference of this League sends its greeting to the Fairhope Colony, Alabama, which is making the best attempt possible under the present laws to establish the single tax.

Resolved, that this Conference extends its appreciation to those newspapers which have published single tax articles and reports of single tax work.

Resolved, that this Conference protests against the cruel treatment of the miners and the enormous price of coal, both of which would be impossible if existing tax laws were enforced and the mining lands assessed on the same basis as other lands.

Resolved, that this Conference calls the attention of the public to the hampering of business, the ruining of buildings from the use of soft coal, the hardship imposed upon the public by the high price of coal and to the interference with the usual public school supply of coal by reason of such high prices.

The constitution as amended, was then carefully considered, and adopted. Copies of it can be secured by application to the National President, Mrs. J. S. Crosby, 7 West 108th st., New York City, or Mrs. J. L. Munroe, Treasurer, 150 A st., N. E., Washington, D. C.

The President then introduced Miss Ida Hibbard, who read an admirable paper upon Henry George and his life work. This will be printed in pamphlet form and circulated by the League.

Mrs. Florence Burleigh, of Philadelphia, Pa., delighted her audience by a too brief talk. Analyzing the different reform movements, suffrage, temperance, social purity, organized charity and others, she portrayed the limitations of each in turn.

The evening reception was quite as largely attended, the parlors being filled. Music opened the program, a vocal solo by Mr. Peter Aitken of Brooklyn, who received a hearty encore. Miss Anita Truman, of New Haven, Conn., who needs no introduction to progressive thinkers, delivered an address upon woman's work for the single tax. Miss Anna George, who possesses a voice of rare sweetness, sang, and graciously responded to an encore; and Mr. Lawson Purdy gave a concise account of the practical progress of the movement in the various State Legislatures. Mr. J. S. Crosby responded to a demand for a few words; and Mrs. J. L. Munroe spontaneously declared that referring to Mr. Purdy's recent remarks anent the difficulty in amending State constitutions, that speaking generally she abhorred constitutions and regarded them as retarders of political reform—the dead tying the hands of the living.

* * * * *

On June 28, the morning hours were devoted to unfinished business and the election

of national officers. Mrs. Kate A. Freeman, who had acted as secretary pro tem, was especially remembered, and was commended for the quality of her work, and Mrs. Crosby, as presiding officer, and the New York members for their munificent hospitality. So gracious indeed in this regard was the spirit manifested as to lead to the remark that only the Weather Clerk had escaped, a regrettable oversight, as that gentleman had furnished a particularly fine article of weather.

The officers elected were in three instances re-elected, Mrs. Crosby, Miss Dyer and Mrs. Munroe. They are in full as follows:

President—Mrs. John S. Crosby, 7 West 108th st., New York.

Vice-President—Miss Bessie A. Dwyer, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. Kate E. Freeman, 890 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Recording Secretary—Dr. Mary D. Hussey, East Orange, N. J.

Treasurer—Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe, 150 A st., N. E., Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Florence Burleigh, 5636 Morton st., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Gussie W. Pomeroy, 233 Orchard st., New Haven, Conn.

The Conference then adjourned in a body to Fort Hamilton, where they enjoyed the hospitality of Mrs. Henry George, who tendered them and her host of friends a public reception, assisted by her daughter, Miss Anna, and her son, Mr. Richard George. The guests partook of refreshments, and were entertained by music, instrumental and vocal. They lingered until the sun was low in the horizon, being loath to depart, but when they did so it was in hope of even a better day and brighter hour for the cause which lies so close to their hearts.

BESSIE AGNES DWYER.

OHIO AS A STORM CENTER.—A REVIEW OF THE WORK.

[Expressly for the Review.]

BY J. B. VINING, SEC'Y OHIO SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

Ohio is fast becoming the center of the Single Tax universe; aside from Colorado, I know of no state in the Union that is so filled with unrest. We are surely in the travail of a new birth. Just now a chaotic state exists owing to the recent decision of the Supreme Court which has declared unconstitutional much of the law governing our municipalities. Here in Cleveland it has done away with the so-called "Federal Plan" and, unless changed, will displace all of Mayor Johnson's cabinet.

For more than a year past, dating from Mayor Johnson's election in the spring of 1901, one event has followed upon the heels of another in such rapid succession that there

has hardly been a week that has not given rise to something new and startling, and the prime mover in all this has been Tom Johnson.

Just prior to the spring election in 1901, the writer in company of Herbert S. Bigelow called at the home of the Johnsons. We also met there Mr. and Mrs. August Lewis. The conversation had not proceeded far when Mr. Johnson turned to us and said:

"Gentlemen, I am being asked twenty times a day to stand as the democratic candidate for mayor in the coming election. The time has come when I must answer either yes or no. What do you think I should do?"

Mr. Bigelow was ardent in his belief that it was the very thing to be done. Mr. Lewis was not well enough posted on local affairs to judge of the probabilities of success and asked the writer what would be the chance of Mr. Johnson's election. I told him that Tom Johnson was the most popular man with the common people that we had, and that I had no doubt of his election, although it would be a bitter fight. However, I was opposed to his running.

I had just completed a tour of the state in the interest of the single tax cause, in which we had planned to have Mr. Johnson speak at some twenty towns, and didn't take kindly to the idea of giving this up. Besides, I had hoped for a larger tour in the near future, taking in England and, perhaps, Australia. Mrs. Johnson was opposed from the start to "Tom's" being mayor of Cleveland.

Mr. Johnson interrupted the arguments by saying: "You people miss the point. There is but one thing to be considered. You all know that I have dedicated my life to a 'cause.' The only question to be considered is, Will or will it not be the best thing for 'our cause?' Why, I would be a candidate for constable if by so doing I could best advance the single tax."

This is the center, the main spring of the man's actions, as the history of the past year has shown. Later in the year, at our George Memorial meeting in September, speaking on the same platform with Dean Chas. D. Williams, Rev. Chas. Eaton, Louis F. Post and Herbert S. Bigelow, Mayor Johnson said:

"Nearly every day some of my good friends tell me that they are in hearty accord with the work I am doing; that they indorse my administration and hope I will keep right on; but that they have no use for my single tax views. I tell them that these things which they endorse are the first steps towards the single tax. I tell them and I tell you that my acts are all based on the philosophy of Henry George. He is the one who has furnished me with a guiding principle by which I measure and plan all efforts for public good."

It is an old story now, how last fall Mayor Johnson was the cause of the democrats selecting the best ticket that this county has ever known; how he got out the old circus

tent he once used in his congressional campaigns and held nightly meetings in all parts of the city, and how the entire ticket was elected, giving the democrats not only the county offices of treasurer and auditor, but sending a full delegation of fourteen members to the legislature.

Our old campaigner, Billy Radcliffe, S. T., was also in this fight, putting in a week on our busiest thoroughfares, speaking noon and evening.

During this fight, the writer went the rounds with the mayor one night, beginning with a debate in one of our colleges at 6 p. m.; by eight o'clock we were twenty miles south of the city where a meeting of some two hundred farmers were addressed; then a drive of ten miles to the big tent meeting on the outskirts of the city.

At the country meeting the mayor told the following which has gone the rounds of the press and is now in tract form with Mr. Johnson's picture on the cover.

After speaking on the issues in State and county for some half hour, the mayor, as is his custom, called for questions. A venerable old gentleman, with long, white whiskers, arose and said: "Mr. Speaker, I have a suspicion from what I have read in the papers, that Mayor Johnson desires to place all taxes on land. Will you please tell us about that?" Someone then called out, "Tell us about the single tax." Replying to the elderly man, the mayor answered: "Most emphatically, No!" He paused, then continuing: "But if you mean that I have a desire to place all taxes on land values, I answer most decidedly, Yes! If you want to hear about the single tax, I will stay with you a little while longer and let my tent meeting in the city wait, while I say to you that if it were not for this idea called single tax I would not be here to-night. This is the reason that I am what I am and making the fight which we are now in. A tax on land would be an unjust and iniquitous system of taxation, but a tax on land values would be the most just and blessed system that the world has ever known. It would be of more service to humanity than any legislation ever known. Farmers are great owners of land, but not of land values. We have land in our city that sells at the rate of five million dollars per acre. Any of you farmers got land as valuable as that? In New York City there is land that sells for fifteen million dollars per acre. Got any land in this neighborhood at that price? To answer my friend's question I will tell of a little talk I had one day with Congressman Pierson, of Tuscarawas County, when we were in Washington together. Pierson was a farmer and he said to me one day: 'Tom, I cannot go your single tax, as it would be a hardship on the farmers, and they already have more than their share of the burden of taxation.' I said: 'Look here, Pierson, if I thought the single tax would increase the farmers' burden, I would not

stand for it for one minute. In fact, if I did not know it would be the greatest blessing to the farmer and the workmen in the city I never would advocate it again. I can show you that the single tax will lighten the farmers' burden as compared with the present method. Let me ask you some questions, to see if we can get at the facts in the matter. How much, Mr. Pierson, of the present tax burden do you think the farmer bears?' 'Well,' he answered, 'the farmers constitute over half the population of the United States, and I should say that they pay at least 60 per cent. of all taxes.' 'Very well, let's call it 50 per cent. to be safe.' 'No, no,' said Pierson, 'that's too low; they pay more than 60 per cent., rather than less.' 'All right; but to be safe, let's call it 50 per cent. Now, Mr. Pierson, I want you to tell me how much of the value of land the farmers have in the United States? Please take into consideration all the valuable coal lands, the iron, silver, gold, copper, and other valuable mines—the water power privileges, the railroads and their terminals, including street railroads, telephones and telegraphs, for these are built on the most valuable lands; all the gas and electric lighting rights of way, built on land of great value: all the city lots, some of which are worth more than a county of farming land. I want you to take all these into consideration, and then tell me how much of these values of the United States the farmers have.' Mr. Pierson said: 'Well, I should say, less than 5 per cent.' I said, 'Call it 10 per cent. to be safe.' 'Oh, no no; that's entirely too big; that's double.' 'Well, we will call it 10 per cent. anyway. Now don't you see that if the farmers are paying 50 per cent., that if all the taxes were raised by a single tax on land values the farmer, since he has but 10 per cent.—you say 5 per cent.—would pay less; that his taxes would be reduced five times? That instead of paying one-half, as now, he would, under that plan, pay but one tenth?'

'I declare, Tom, I never looked at it in that light, and I guess you have got me.'

'So I say to you farmers here to-night, that this single tax, of which I am proud to be an advocate, would be to the overburdened farmers and workmen the greatest boon, the greatest blessing, the greatest God-send that any country ever knew. I wish you good-night.'

One of the mayor's acts, that has caused him harder fights than almost anything he has undertaken, was the appointment of an annual board of equalization, which placed our public service corporations on the tax duplicate for an increase of some \$20,000,000.

The State Board of Review—all republicans—refused to let this stand, however, and later the courts upheld their action. Since then the legislature has come to the rescue of the corporations by taking away the mayor's power to appoint this board.

True to his promise, the mayor succeeded in getting the Council to pass an ordinance granting a new company a franchise for a three-cent street railway. But again the courts have held that this ordinance is illegal, so that hopes for a cheaper ride are for the present deferred.

On the heels of this comes the Supreme Court decision mentioned in the beginning of this letter. So that at the end of Mr. Johnson's first year in active local politics, things look somewhat discouraging. However, they are not as bad as they look. Mr. Johnson has carried the city three times in a little over a year, and to-day the people are so aroused at the manifest endeavor of the corporations to thwart their will, that I have not a particle of doubt that the mayor could more than duplicate the last three elections. Never before have the common people been so alert and active on the questions of public policy.

We are just through another fierce fight with gas companies who have left no stone unturned to prevent a rival company who offers gas at thirty cents per thousand feet (our old company gets eighty cents) entering the city. The franchise has been granted the new company, not, however, until much talk of bribery had taken place. This has gone so far as to lead to the arrest of one person who is said to have given a councilman two thousand dollars to oppose the granting of the franchise. All of which goes to show that the old adage, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," is not without force.

One of the innovations of the present administration which has caused much talk during the past year is the matter of pardoning prisoners from the workhouse.

At the head of the department is Rev. Harris R. Cooley, a thorough convert to George's teachings. Mr. Cooley was formerly pastor of the little church in which Mr. Johnson holds membership and is one of "Tom's converts."

Well, Harris Cooley hasn't much respect for prisons as they are conducted, and it didn't take long for him to let it be known. Two men commit the same crime and are given a sentence of thirty days and twenty-five dollars each. At the end of thirty days, one has money, pays his twenty-five dollars, and is a free man; the other has no money, and is kept in prison for that reason and no other. Mr. Cooley holds this to be the same as imprisonment for debt, and has pardoned many such cases. This raised a great howl among the self righteous, and for a time things were pretty warm. However, both the director and the mayor held that they were doing the right thing, and kept on pardoning such prisoners as they thought might be thus benefitted.

The following is a sketch of one of the pardoning days:

Mayor Johnson philosophized on married life and the relation of the single and home-

less man to the saloon at the meeting of the pardon board one afternoon. "Get married and settle down," was the advice he gave to the prisoners he discharged. Of the twenty-four men ranged before him in striped coats, with petitions for release, he pardoned twenty, and also one who had not filed a petition. Three women who made like applications were refused.

"Do you notice," said the mayor, musingly, as case after case came up before him, most of whom have been arrested for intoxication, "what a large majority of these people are unmarried? If you men had got married and settled down," he said, turning to the prisoners, "you would not now be here. You fellows that have no homes drift into the saloon, which seems to be the only comfortable place to go, where you get into all sorts of trouble.

"How many of you will get married if I let you go?"

The prisoners grinned sheepishly and some looked as though eager to promise.

"Never mind," said the mayor with a wave of his hand. "If I let you go—get married. You needn't promise. I don't like promises. I have found that those of you who are profuse with promises generally break them. Make up your mind to a thing, then do it. Don't promise."

One of the most pathetic cases, one which won the most sympathy from the mayor, was that of Elmer Burns, who was charged with petit larceny. Burns admitted having stolen \$8. He told his story in a manly, straightforward way, which at once won the sympathy of the pardon board and even were it not for the presence of his wife and three baby girls who had come to plead his cause he would probably have been released.

"Why did you steal the money," asked the mayor.

"I was out of work," said the man, "and had nothing with which to buy food for the children. The \$8 seemed to fall into my hands and I couldn't resist the temptation." In the prisoner's lap sat a curly, brown haired baby of three. With big, sombre, blue eyes she watched the mayor as he discussed the case. The man had made a good impression, but the case entailed a real crime and was not ordinary intoxication, so the mayor hesitated. While he was discussing the advisability of letting the man go, the little girl tugged at her father's coat sleeve, looking up into his eyes. "Papa, let's go home," she said. "Why don't you come home, papa, with mamma and me?" The prisoner leaned over the curly brown head and there were tears in his eyes. He said nothing, however. But the case was settled.

"Go home and support your family," said the mayor. "Here's five dollars for the baby," and the mayor handed over a bill to the prisoner's wife.

Burns walked out of the room, his face radiant. "I don't think we have misplaced

our confidence in that man," remarked the mayor.

An aged and decrepit old man of sixty-six years next appeared before the mayor. "Philander Fox," was the tremulous reply in answer to a query as to the man's name. The secretary read the charge, "Awfully dirty."

"There's no statute against refusing to wash," said Mayor Tom. "Give him a piece of soap and let him go."

Then followed a little comedy of errors. John Welsh was called forward.

"Your name Welsh?" asked the mayor.

"Yep."

The case was considered and it was decided to let the man go. Welsh got up to walk with a smile on his face.

"What are you laughing about?" demanded the mayor.

"Nothing."

"Oh, you are. You can't come that on me." Then the case was reconsidered and it was found that the man, although his name was Welsh, was not the one who had filed the application for pardon. Welsh No. 1, his smile entirely vanished, was led back to his cell, while Welsh No. 2 was brought out and discharged.

"Change your name," said the mayor, "you nearly missed your freedom."

Nothing that has happened during the past winter has shown Mayor Johnson's grasp of the taxation question better than his appearance before the joint taxation committee of the House and Senate:

He had been preceded by a long list of speakers, who had argued at length on the various measures before the committee. Committee and audience were alike tired. Yet Mayor Johnson was given the closest attention from the outset, was frequently interrupted by applause, and when he sat down amid a vigorous hand-clapping, he was at once surrounded by a crowd eager to shake his hand.

Mayor Johnson spoke on the Willis-Chamberlain and excise bills. "There is one feature of this bill and its neighbor," he said, "of which I wish to speak. That is the injustice this legislation will do to the people of Ohio. I have never seen any scheme of taxation proposed by any set of men as iniquitous as these. Between the corporations in this State, the proposition is to tax at the same rate stocks worth \$10 a share and stocks worth \$800 a share. That has not one element of fairness in it. It can't stand the test of equity or of business sense. It is the most outrageous proposition as a tax proposition that I have ever seen. It is bad enough between individual corporations of this State but it is worse as between domestic and foreign corporations. The plan is to burden heavily the people of Ohio who are unwise enough to incorporate for business in this State

"The heavier burden is on the Ohio cor-

poration. Is there anything fair in that? Is that the taxation that any great party ought to adopt or any citizen ought to uphold? I don't advocate retaliation. This is not a proposal of retaliation, but of unfair dealing with your own people. That is a charge you never can escape from at the hands of the people of Ohio. You have heard the insurance people argue against the taxation of their policy-holders. It is not possible to put a burden on these foreign insurance corporations without having it fall upon the policy-holder. It is another scheme to tax the people who insure the lives of our citizens which will fall on the poor people who are trying to protect their homes and families against want. It is another scheme to fight the corporations and drive them out of the State. No party, no matter how strong, can stand the result of such a policy.

"Why are you doing this? It has been shown that steam railroads of the State sell on the market for \$534,000,000. You can't show \$34,000,000 of their securities owned in Ohio. Where are they owned? In the east. The New York Central owns one railroad. Others have the rest. The property is all owned outside of the State. The stockholders are paying less than their share of taxation by \$4,000,000 a year, by the same rule on which the farm property of the State is assessed. Instead of getting this valuation on the duplicate you are proposing to burden your own people, the thousands of small corporations doing business in Ohio. That is not good politics; that is not good sense. No party can stand the result of such a policy.

"The scratch of a pen can correct this. The supreme court has said that the legislature can correct it. You are letting these people escape \$4,000,000 in taxes; you are letting them go by, and you are putting the burden on the myriads of small corporations. You won't get your revenue. You will only drive them out of the State.

"Other public service corporations are paying \$3,000,000 less than they should measured by the standard of the taxation of farms and homes. There is a chance to add \$7,000,000 to the revenues of the State. A bill covering half a page would do it. You propose to add to the burdens of the weak, to tax the insurance protection of the poor, to burden the small corporations of the State instead of accepting this plan. The people of Ohio are a liberty loving people who insist on justice and equity. They will not submit to treatment of such a kind. And then you will not gain the revenue you need.

"I am a citizen of Ohio before I am a partisan. I would like to see this legislature do the right thing no matter what party dominates it. It is going to be the record of this legislature that it has allowed these great interests to escape and has placed the burden on the little corporations.

"The governor of this State has advocated

the separation of taxes and it is a good proposition. But separation of this kind is not a good proposition for any man or any party to adopt.

"If it is good politics I don't see it; if it is good morals I don't see it. No leaders are strong enough to line up a party on this proposition.

"When I come down into your county, Brother Willis," the mayor said in conclusion, turning to the Republican leader and author of the bill, "and talk this on the stump, what will you say? What will your answer be? Can you deny that you have failed to tax the railroads and public service corporations? That you have placed the burden on the small fry and let the big fish escape?"

Personal work among single tax men is being done in nearly all parts of the State.

In Cincinnati, besides Herbert Bigelow, who gives much of his valuable time to the cause, we have Daniel Kiefer, ever alert and active, Walter Reecher, Thos. Hunt and many others.

Columbus has an energetic group of George men, chief among whom is Frank H. Howe. Mr. Howe has been a great aid to the Cuyahoga delegation and Mayor Johnson during the past winter.

Down in Marietta, O. P. Hyde carries on a propaganda almost single handed. He is at the head of the Polen Lecture Bureau and for two years has kept Rev. Polen in the field with little interruption; this, too, with a very small amount of outside help.

Billy Radcliffe, S. T., uniquely original and constant, is ever at the front in new ideas for showing "the cat." Billy never tires, and I venture to say has made more converts than any other man in the State.

This reminds me of one of Billy's latest. Last year his landlord talked of putting up a \$50,000 sky scraper on the lot where Billy now has his hotel. Investigation showed this landlord, as it has many others, that such a building would increase his taxes about a thousand dollars per year, and so the project fell through.

This gave Billy his cue. He had a large white sign painted in black letters, which read:

\$1,000 Fine.
Any Man Erecting a \$50,000 Building on
This Lot will be
FINED
\$1,000 Each Year.

Of course, everybody reads it, and likewise everybody wonders what Radcliffe is driving at now. If they had ever "seen the cat" they would know without asking.

Three thousand Chinese troops have been sent to Southern Mongolia, where the people are in revolt against the severe indemnity taxation. The inhabitants are determined to fight, saying they are assured of the assistance of 30,000 disaffected persons.

News.—Domestic.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT BY STATES.

CALIFORNIA, OAKLAND.—*Special Correspondence*, Edgar Pomeroy.—Mismanagement, a charter with a "dollar limit" clause, a deficit and a great cry for improved streets, more schools, parks, lights, and fire stations, is giving active Oakland single taxers a splendid opportunity to get in their work. The floundering and incompetence of the public officials in their efforts to find a way out of the mess is only driving another nail in the coffin of the present system of taxation, and illustrating that the single tax is the only system left that will give relief. To raise the much bragged of "dollar limit" tax on personal property is not possible under the present charter and would probably drive property across the bay to San Francisco if it could be raised. What, then, are we to do?

On April 7th the Mayor presented his annual message to the people stating the conditions, urging a bond issue of \$2,000,000. In addition to this he urges "a special tax on occupations, vehicles and such other things as appear practical." He also suggests a tax on all bicycles in use. The last part of the message recommends a municipal water supply, but fails to offer a practical method for obtaining same. A \$2,000,000 bond issue would not cover the acquirement of a water plant, for it is already spoken for almost entirely. The Water Company is capitalized for \$7,000,000, and it seems to be generally understood that not less than \$4,000,000 would buy the business.

Oakland's present bonded indebtedness is:		
1872	Interest at 8 per cent.	\$ 16,000.00
1874	" " 8 " "	43,000.00
1892	" " 5 " "	220,000.00
1897	" " 4 " "	126,000.00

Total Bonded Debt \$405,000.00

Now the Mayor unwittingly shows what he considers the "best interests" of Oakland to mean and also where the source of revenue for the proposed improvements should be looked for. Here are his own words:

"It is said of a man who is seeking a city or town for the purpose of locating a business or investing capital, that some of the first questions he asks are: What is the financial condition of the city? What is the tax levy? Is the valuation of property for tax purposes high or low as compared with its real value?"

"This (the Health Department) is another very important department of the city government, the records of which are always carefully examined by intendent locators. A city may have all the best advantages for business, manufacturing, schools, churches, etc., but if its sewer system is deficient and location unhealthy, its population and valuation of property will decrease instead of increase."

"The interests of Oakland have always been close to my heart, but never more so than now."

"There are many things our city needs, and some of which must be supplied if we wish to progress, *increase our property values*, and keep pace with our rapidly increasing population."

Here at last is the real inwardness of it all. We must have improvements so that more people will come to Oakland and thus increase our property values. Of course even Mayor Barstow knows that the only kind of property that increases in value as population increases is land. Other things, by the economy in production and distribution incident to a close and enterprising community, are more easily obtained; are cheaper, to use a commoner word. So Mayor Barstow's idea of the real interests of Oakland is exactly the same as that of the water, railroad and gas monopolies. He shows still more emphatically in another place, that he only considers *those who have* as the real citizens of Oakland. Those who produce are evidently merely wild nomads, for, referring to the recent labor troubles, instead of commending the peaceful behavior and wonderful discipline of the striking teamsters, stevedores, etc., he says:

"I think it remarkable that there have not been more murders, hold-ups and robberies, and that the lives and property of our citizens have been so well protected, and peace and security preserved; it is all due to our brave and efficient Police Department."

The single taxers of Oakland were quick to point out that in this phenomenon of an increase of land values coincident with improvement, might be found the revenue to pay for the improvements; but history repeats itself. So long as single tax discussion is academic we may, once in a while, secure a little space in the great daily and evening papers which (don't) print the news, but when they see it "coming home," they close the door.

I took the trouble to write some of the leading San Francisco and Oakland papers asking them, as they would not permit a *free* discussion, what they would *charge* for a column once a month or so for the use of the single taxers. This elicited various diplomatic replies.

Baffled in this effort, as chairman of the Pilgrim Brotherhood Programme Committee, I got the "Mayor's Message" as the chief topic at our April meeting, and presented it myself. The members of the Single Tax League turned out and we had a spirited and intelligent discussion. Then on May 27th, Councilman Wallace presented the full text of the proposed Bond Issue, and we gradually got hold of the situation, which resolved itself into this: For Bonds: The Council, Mayor, Water Company and kindred interests. For municipal ownership of

water first: single taxers and some few others. Most of the "others," however, were still in favor of bonds as well, plus the Mayor's scheme of taxation; but on June 20th, at a big meeting of the Brotherhood, a strong resolution, demanding municipal ownership of water first was unanimously carried, although for a time it looked like a division.

The papers have persisted in calling our meetings an endorsement of bonds, but the resolution "rattled" them. The *Enquirer* this time gave us a fair report; the *Tribune*, which is a monopoly sheet, garbled it as much as they dare, and omitted all mention of the resolutions, while the San Francisco papers ignored the meeting altogether. Nevertheless, I think we have started a snowball down hill. It will get bigger and bigger as it goes, and when it reaches the bottom will soon have water enough for all.

The average charge per household for water now is \$40 (Forty Dollars) per annum, just about twenty times what it should be, and in addition to this the company has placed meters everywhere, so that any household using over a certain amount is fined extra.

I can not conclude without saying that we are eagerly watching the fight in Colorado.

—LOS ANGELES.—Every single taxer in this city and vicinity has his ear to the ground, metaphorically speaking, listening to what Mayor Tom Johnson is doing in Ohio. At the same time, we are also eagerly devouring every scrap of information obtainable concerning the important campaign in progress in Colorado in behalf of local option. The general belief is that Johnson will win in his fight against Hanna and the Devil, though both of those notorious monopolists are known to be tough characters to overcome, even when encountered separately. United as they now are, the firm of Hanna & Satan is a hard one to overthrow. But Truth is immutable, and Justice must sooner or later prevail.

Ralph Hoyt, at single tax headquarters, is receiving Ohio news every week through copies of the *Cleveland Plaindealer*, which are sent hither by order of Mayor Johnson from headquarters in Cleveland. They are read with intense interest by all who desire to keep posted on the great struggle in the Buckeye State. The universal belief is that Johnson will continue to win victory on victory till the top round is reached. Very sanguine are we also as to the outcome in Colorado, but without losing sight of the fact that a tremendous monopolistic power is arrayed against the Bucklin amendment. We all desire to do something toward aiding the brave men there who are making such a determined fight for this initial movement on the line of equitable taxation.

Mr. J. G. Stevens, of Sacramento, has been spending a few weeks in Los Angeles, accompanied by Mrs. Stevens. They left here

for the East, intending to spend some time in Chicago and go thence to Philadelphia, Mr. Stevens' former home. He is one of the most enthusiastic single taxers in California.

Mr. M. W. Conkling, a brilliant attorney, and one of our ablest single tax speakers, has returned from a long sojourn in an interior mining district, and is now "on the war path" endeavoring to induce the democratic party of this city and county to become truly democratic and put plenty of genuine Jeffersonian democracy into its platforms for the coming campaign. If all professed democrats in California were of the right stripe there would be a campaign of education this season such as has never yet been known on this coast. And the chance for winning in many districts and cities would be good. As it is, the outlook is not specially encouraging, though every real single taxer, from James G. Maguire to the humblest man in the ranks will stand by the flag of equal rights for all and special privileges to none, regardless of what may be the result at the polls.

It is not thought best to attempt holding any public meetings of either our single tax forces or the Tom Johnson Club during the short evenings and beach-going days of the ensuing three months; but sometime in the coming fall there will probably be an "arousement" on those lines which will astonish those who now imagine that single tax principles are dead in this region of unlimited climate.

Barney Haughey, Esq., of Denver, paid our headquarters a brief visit not long since, and he seemed quite inclined to locate here. He is full of enthusiasm for the single tax, and very hopeful of a favorable outcome at the election in Colorado which is to settle the fate of the Bucklin amendment.

The democracy of this county and city will ere long have a chance to show its colors on the question of taxation. Such Jeffersonian democrats as Clarence Miller, W. S. Creighton, Ralph Hoyt, Frank Hart, Byron Welcome, M. W. Conkling, J. H. Blagge, H. F. Dessau, and many other single taxers are intending to make their influence felt in the conventions and other gatherings whenever opportunity is available.

Ralph Hoyt is now writing for the Colorado Single Tax Press Bureau, and thereby aiding the local option movement in that State, besides continuing his writings for many other papers in various portions of the country. All such work is done by him without pay from the newspapers benefited by it.

W. St. Clair Creighton, vice president of our club here, made an address before the Men's League of Christ's Church here, taking for his title, "The Gospel according to St. George." He spoke in part as follows:

"In days of old, the ax and the stake, the dungeon and the rack, excommunication—ostracism at least—were ever ready for those

who would strike fetters of iron or shackles of ignorance from the children of men. To-day the reformer finds no such rampant lion in his path; but he must encounter something equally dreadful—I mean the mule. It is the people who think with their heels, instead of with their heads, who sometimes make the single taxer weary.

"A grim saying obtains which links death and taxes as the 'inevitables.' The association of these two is really intimate and sequential, and not that of unrelated resemblance. 'Death or taxes' would convey the actual alternative. To illustrate: The national government, failing to obtain revenue through taxation, direct or indirect, must suspend. The state and county, bereft of their sustaining revenues, must cease to be. The municipality which gathers no corporation taxes must disincorporate. The individual who fails to pay the tax of alimention must die. Hence, we have taxation or death.

"Taxation is always a fighting question. 'All the great battles for freedom,' said Edmund Burke, 'have been fought about questions of taxation.'

"Where, then, should taxation fall? Under existing tax laws no one can escape either direct or indirect taxation. This, in theory, would seem correct, if there were equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation; but, in practice, it is well known that the vast weight of taxation now falls upon labor and the modest accumulations of the middle and well-to-do classes. Large wealth escapes lightly, and will always do so under existing tax systems. Every tax is a shiftable tax but one.

"Where, then, should taxation fall? Upon money? No. Money is 'crystalized labor,' and to tax it is to enhance its rental value, and thus impose a burden upon enterprise, and thereby the multiplying hands of the involuntarily idle are denied opportunity. Upon houses? Live stock? Produce? No; you must not discourage industry or improvements by fining the man who builds a house or digs a ditch, or who raises cattle, hogs, poultry and breadstuffs to feed the many-mouthed world. Why should the benefactors of the race be singled out to be the tax-burden bearers, rather than those who without being creators of wealth are the appropriators of it—the toll-takers at the gates of natural opportunity.

"There is a source from which all taxes may equitably be drawn. The source from which all the present wealth of the world has been drawn is practically limitless in resources. The physical earth is an exhaustless treasure house. It is entirely adequate to bountifully furnish forth sustenance and all material comforts not only to the present population of the world, but to the successive generations of men to the latest bourne of time. But only labor can evoke this wealth, and afforded a fair opportunity to do so, will pro-

duce it in such measure as to assure the laborer's independence. His 'fair opportunity' can only be brought about by prohibiting the monopolization of land—the source of all wealth. How, in practice, can this be accomplished? By the imposition of a single tax upon land values. Under what method of procedure would such assessment be levied? By imposing the maximum tax upon the most eligible site for business in the greatest center of population. The next highest tax would be levied upon the site next in importance as an opportunity for money-making, and so on. In every city there is a business center where the tide of activities runs highest. For the privilege of doing business in such an eligible quarter the ground rent of such business sites should be commensurate with the privilege enjoyed, and should be paid to the government."

CONNECTICUT.—*Special Correspondence*, Anita Trueman.—New Haven single taxers are feeling uncommonly hopeful. It was even suggested, a day or two since, that if progress continues to be as rapid as it has been during the past few weeks, we may get the single tax here while other cities are still fighting for it.

At the first meeting of the Board of Aldermen, after Alderman Trueman took his seat, a Fourth of July committee was appointed, and Alderman Trueman was made chairman. This enabled him to arrange to have the Fourth of July oration delivered by John Sherwin Crosby.

The great single tax orator was presented to a large audience, including representatives of several Connecticut towns, and numerous visitors from New York, by Mayor John P. Studley. Mr. Crosby's address was all that his friends expected, and far more eloquent than the usual Fourth of July oration, as was attested by all present, and by the press. He gave a careful analysis of the Declaration of Independence, with special reference to its bearing upon present conditions.

On Saturday evening, Mr. Crosby talked at a meeting of the New Haven Women's Single Tax Club, a newly organized society. On Sunday he addressed two large audiences, in two of the leading churches of the city. Everyone is so well pleased, and interest in the movement is spreading so rapidly, that measures are already on foot for another lecture by Mr. Crosby in one of our theatres.

Alderman Trueman has also been appointed chairman of the Committee on Streets, and in that capacity is investigating the past record of this department of the city government. The results are exceedingly interesting, and provide excellent material for further educational and practical work.

The New Haven Women's Single Tax Club was organized about a month ago, and was represented in the Convention of the Women's National Single Tax League by Miss Anita Trueman and Mrs. Gussie Pom-

eroy. It is expected that the next annual convention of this League will be held in this city.

The local press and its agents seem to be in harmony with the work which we are doing. Excellent reports of Mr. Crosby's addresses were given, and the *Sunday Union* published an interview with Mr. Crosby, presenting the single tax very plainly and fairly. The *New Haven Chronicle*, an illustrated weekly, will publish an article this week.

Perhaps, the College being closed, single tax will become the fashion. By the way, a munificent Vanderbilt has recently bought a piece of very valuable land in the heart of the city, and presented it to Yale, that another dormitory may be built. This means another deduction from the grand list, as all College property is exempt from taxation. Hurrah for Yale!

ILLINOIS.—Special correspondence, G. J. Foyer. It is with much regret that the Chicago Single Tax Club records the death of its vice-president and staunch advocate of justice. Clarence Moeller, died after a brief illness, April 22d. He was a character of which there are not many, one always standing for the whole truth, at all times and under all circumstances. He could detect the crookedness of men, discover their motives and unmask their schemes, He was a master of logic and one who at all time could quote the so-called authorities on political economy. The newspapers of this city gave their readers news regarding his sickness and of his death from small article in the columns, recognizing in him a man of ability and a master of economics. Clarence Moeller was neither high in the so-called politics of the day, nor in the financial world. He was one of the honest sons of toil, laboring at his daily trade, a machine operator in a shoe factory. His last words were "Tell the boys to keep fighting for the Single Tax." In him the Single Tax cause, for which he lived and died, has lost one of its ablest expounders and defenders.

Our organization in this city is nearly complete. On the 13th of June for the 4th time a convention of Single Taxers was called "To arms to form and storm the wall." The Single Tax cause is without a doubt growing in this city owing to our method of propaganda.

The political organizations recognize the power of our movement, and the democratic party at a recent meeting called upon us in the hope that they could induce the club to unite with them. A committee of five was selected from our organization to call upon their advisory committee. At this meeting two of our number were selected to go before the mayor and the democratic committee, but as our representatives insisted upon the single tax being made the issue, nothing was accomplished. The growth of the

single tax vote will, however, compel the party that desires to win to stand for the single tax.

We shall have a candidate upon the ballot for every county office to be filled in the coming fall election. Already have we classified 2,000 names into their respective districts. These names are of men who, at some time, have been members of our club, or, who have at some time given their names at our meetings as being in favor of the single tax. With a nucleus such as this we expect to form an organization fit for action. If our efforts in this campaign are rewarded as they have been in the past, we shall obtain a party standing. A party standing! This no other single tax organization has ever had!

In the past it has been our motto to follow in the wake of crooked politicians, who stand for either a half truth or no truth at all, in the hope that in the general jumble of things a fraction of our truth, might accidentally be gathered in. You cannot deceive the politician, who has made politics a life study. You can not sneak a cause so great into practical triumph. The label of every commodity distinguishes it from other commodities. The purchaser does not buy the label, he buys the goods. Things without a label are suspicious looking, and will not sell things with incorrect labels confuse the mind. There is but one label for single taxers; it has already been placed upon them and there it shall remain.

The attendance at our regular meetings are as large for this season of the year as can be expected when a campaign is not on. On the third of June the club occupied their new quarters for their weekly meetings in the large theatre hall of the Schiller building. It is the intention and full determination of single taxers here to continue the political method of spreading the truth. Experience of the past has taught us that in this way alone can the great moral reform for which we stand be brought about. Single taxers elsewhere who have the courage of their convictions, and who desire to bring about their reform must have the courage to stand for it. The expense of a campaign is very light; all that is necessary is a little energy and a few dollars for the printing of petitions. Obtaining signatures on your petition will bring you in contact with thousands of voters who never heard of the single tax, and others who will be pleased to see you and willing to help the work along by getting a few names. The voters are not afraid of the single tax, and are anxious to learn. There have been many callers at our office seeking information and light. Our club is in a very healthy condition. Every one that chooses can play a star part. We have so many political jobs (in sight) that I need not state that there is no scramble for office! The fund in the treasury is ample to carry on our movement in this city. Every

campaign brings with it new recruits of the working kind. The energy of the club is marvelous. The beginning of each campaign gives it new vigor, and we work for the cause as though its early triumph depended alone on the work that each of us can do. There is no standing against enthusiasm of this kind, and it is widening and extending.

LOUISIANA, NEW ORLEANS.—*Special Correspondence*—We took up a collection for the benefit of the Colorado campaign which brought forth contributions amounting to about \$140, a good part of which came from New Iberia, where Mr. E. T. Weeks and others keep the pot boiling. Professor Dillard and Mr. R. H. Cage are deserving of credit for their performance of the rather thankless task of soliciting the subscriptions. It was due largely to their efforts, with some assistance from perhaps one or two others that the amount was raised.

There is nothing going on here in the way of propaganda work, or at least no concerted action; but the irrepressibles, of whom there are perhaps seven or eight, keep on pegging away with pamphlets and tracts, and occasionally we break into the newspapers with a communication. Professor Dillard has frequent articles in the *Harlequin*, a bright weekly, with a fairly good circulation and increasing influence, and whose editor, Mr. Y. M. Leveque, is a single taxer.

MISSOURI, ST. LOUIS.—*Special Correspondence*, L. P. Custer—The St. Louis Single Tax League discontinued its meetings early in May and will not have any more until early in September, when it will celebrate the anniversary of Henry George's birthday.

Although the single taxers are not doing much in the way of organized propaganda, they are nevertheless very actively engaged in the more practical methods of getting before the people, through politics of a strenuous kind.

The split in the ranks of the public ownership movement here, of which I spoke awhile back, has not been closed up, but is wider than ever, so far as the leaders are concerned. Its too long a story to go into, in detail, but suffice to say that the working organization—that is, the party composed of workers, who were the backbone of the new movement a year ago, are together in one faction under the name of "Public Ownership Party (allied,)" while the other faction under the leadership of Mr. Lee Meriwether, supported by those who might aptly be called "dress-paraders," are conducting a vigorous campaign—on paper, so I am led to believe.

Each faction has an organ, the "allies," with the name "*St. Louis Referendum*," and under the editorial management, at this time, of L. P. Custer, and the Meriwether organ, named "*The Public Ownership Leader*," being conducted under his personal supervision. The break in the ranks of the

leaders appears to be beyond repair, neither side exhibiting any signs of relenting, although I am persuaded that an election will demonstrate to one side or the other, that it might as well go out of the business of politics in this city.

The allied party has a city and state ticket in the field, a majority of the city ticket being made up of members of the St. Louis Single Tax League.

The chairman of the central committee, C. H. Osterwisch, was until recently, the president of our league. The executive committee chosen by ballot in the city convention, is composed of three single taxers and two trades union men. There is a drum corps of thirty men fully uniformed and equipped, a glee club is being organized, and the organization will probably be able to carry the bulk of the public ownership vote of the city, which amounted to 29,500 in the count and probably 50,000 actually, a year ago. Everybody, except those interested directly or indirectly in special privileges, is in favor of our principles, the main feature, at present, being direct legislation, a strong campaign for the submission of an amendment to the constitution at the next session of the legislature, being conducted throughout the state. Dr. Wm. Preston Hill, a wealthy single taxer, is taking a very active interest in the movement, and spending money freely to promote it. S. L. Moser, who was associated with the late John J. McCann, when he was making his great fight for just taxation in this city and state, has been out in the state most of the time for the past year, working for this cause, and it is probable the amendment will be submitted by the next general assembly. Dr. Hill is also taking a very active interest in the Colorado campaign for local option in taxation. He had 100,000 pamphlets printed at his own expense for distribution in that state, and is going out there himself later on. He will probably speak at Grand Junction in August, when there will be a monster gathering at that point, in attendance at some kind of state encampment or other important event. In addition to this he has engaged Dr. Frank J. Tyrrell, a noted divine of this city, to go to the centennial state to speak for the cause. He is thoroughly posted on the subject and is a strong believer in the George philosophy. Dr. Tyrrell will prove a tower of strength to the movement.

Dr. Hill could have the nomination for congress on the Allied Public Ownership ticket, if he would accept, but his health is such as to deter him from shouldering the responsibility. He has bought property in Tuscon, Arizona, and expects to spend the winter months in that territory.

Mr. William H. Priesmeyer, another wealthy adherent of our cause, was all through the west last winter taking in the coast cities and returning via New Orleans.

He took with him a large quantity of our literature for circulation as a free gift. His nephew, Henry Priesmeyer, who holds a responsible position in one of our big business firms, is also a "Crossdale single taxer," and, if space would permit I could go on and speak of many in this city who are doing valiant work for the cause.

NEW JERSEY, ORANGE.—*Special Correspondence*, M. Cecelia Hollister.—During the winter just past Mr. L. E. Wilmarth, of Brooklyn, in his original and instructive manner, conducted a class at Orange, New Jersey, in the study of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty."

The first meeting was held January 8th, at which twelve were present, about one half of whom had read "Progress and Poverty," and were avowed single taxers. The others were entirely unacquainted with Mr. George's writings.

The first lesson was so well received that it was decided to meet every week until the book was finished.

At the second meeting new faces appeared, making the number nineteen. The interest thus manifested was kept up during the entire winter, our largest attendance being twenty-seven, the smallest eleven, the average twenty-two. Business calling Mr. Wilmarth away about the first of May, it was decided to adjourn until next winter, Mr. Wilmarth kindly consenting to then meet with us and continue the study of the book, which we had not quite finished.

At the last meeting of the class it was proposed that we present to the Orange Free Library a full set of Henry George's works, provided they should be considered acceptable.

The books were accepted, and are now on the shelves of the Library as "the gift of Mr. Wilmarth's class." We hope, however, that they will not permanently remain on the shelves, but will be read and their teachings accepted by the citizens of Orange.

OHIO, CINCINNATI.—The Henry George Club of Cincinnati is still retaining its interest in the Colorado campaign by the distribution of literature and the raising of funds to carry on the work there. We are also making preparations to celebrate Henry George's birthday on a grand scale this year. The celebration will be held at the Cincinnati Zoo Gardens, on Saturday, Sept. 13th, 1902, with Tom L. Johnson as the stellar attraction. Mr. Herbert S. Bigelow will be master of ceremonies; we also expect to have two or three other speakers of national reputation. Not having had a definite answer from them yet, it would be premature on my part to name them. This celebration will be open to the general public, and we naturally expect to have a large very crowd. We will try to obtain reduced rates on all the railroads that day, so as to enable our friends from a distance to participate in the event.

WISCONSIN, OSHKOSH.—*Special Correspondence*, John Harrington.—Five years ago the Wisconsin legislature established a state tax commission. A year ago the legislature created the new office of county supervisor of assessments, one for each county, to be elected by the county boards. They are paid about \$1,000 per year, and with some eighty counties in the State, and other incidental expenses connected with the office, this new effort to reform taxation is costing the people of this State about \$100,000 per annum. Heretofore local assessors have assessed property at values ranging from fifteen to seventy-five per cent. of true value, resulting in a very unequal distribution of the burden of state and county taxes. The new county supervisors are working under the general direction and supervision of the State Tax Commission, and in turn have general supervision and control of the work of local assessors, of which there is one in each town and village and usually a board of two or three in each city.

The law requires the State Tax Commission to call a general meeting in February of all the county supervisors of assessment, for instruction and general discussion as to the law, their duties, methods, objects, obstacles to be overcome, and work to be accomplished. The county supervisors in April are required to call a similar meeting of the local assessors in each county for similar purposes. It is a well conceived and well organized system for its purpose—in theory at least, although rather expensive. It is constructed upon the wrong principle, for it is a vast centralizing machine, whereas taxation being essentially of local concern, the underlying principle should be to localize rather than centralize.

Our aggregation of officers have two great objects in view at the present time: (1) to equalize the assessments by securing the assessment of all property at true value. (2) To secure the placing upon the assessment rolls of a vast quantity of personal property, especially of the intangible sort that has hitherto escaped taxation. (3) The State Tax Commission has a third object in view in which the county and local officials are not officially concerned—namely, to increase the rate of taxation upon railroads, telegraph, sleeping car, and express companies, and other public service and public franchise owning corporations up to a just proportion with the general rate of taxation.

I had the pleasure and profit of spending some time recently at one of the county meetings above referred to. It was a fine illustration of the tendency of the ordinary mind to run off into petty details. Much time was spent in discussing the practicability and desirability of getting all the five dollar watches and bicycles, spring lambs and calves, and other little things that will pay about ten cents each on the tax rolls. Such important propositions as the natural

tendency of land to appreciate, and of buildings to depreciate, were not even thought of. Perhaps, under the laws of our State such consideration would be scarcely proper. Certainly our taxing officers, both State and local, show no disposition to make it proper if it is not. They are all pretty well blinded by the old superstition of "equal taxation of all property." I think it would create quite a panicky feeling among them to point out the fact that there are two kinds of property, the value of one created by individual effort, and of the other by the growth and progress of the community; and that all taxes might be taken out of the values created by the public, so that progress, effort and industry might be unburdened. If they did not become panicky, it would be because they could not see it after it was pointed out. The latter must be the fact, for it has surely been pointed out often enough. I have been told that one of the State Tax Commissioners remarked recently that the single tax is a scheme of land nationalization, which shows how ill informed even prominent men may be.

I have predicted that our new system, or rather our new machine to enforce an old system, will result in failure. It will have a little spurt of apparent success, as they all have, and then things will fall back into the old ruts. It will cost us a million dollars or so to learn the old lesson over again. For fifty or seventy-five years the same thing in some form has been tried in state after state, followed by inevitable failure. In New York and Massachusetts, where strenuous efforts have been made to secure the taxation of all personal property, more of such property proportionately is now escaping taxation than ever before. It will be the same here under our present system. But some good will be done; for the present agitation, the governor, the State Tax Commission, the county supervisors, the assessors, the members of the legislature, and all the politicians are talking tax reform; and a little true education on the subject must of necessity infuse itself among the people and a few sound laws may be secured. One correct step was taken by the last legislature when it passed the law requiring the separate assessment of land and of the buildings and improvements. This State is not likely to be a leader in true tax reform, but we all have our eyes on the men of the hour, who are making history like Tom Johnson and Senator Bucklin. I think it a safe statement, too, that even in Wisconsin the ripening process is nicely going on, and that he who can read the signs of the times can find much encouragement. We are not likely to be the first, but we are certain not to be the last in adopting a correct system of taxation.

News—Foreign.

ENGLAND.

In our October number we laid before our readers the minority report of Judge Arthur O'Connor on the subject of land values and local taxation. Judge O'Connor was one of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to examine and report on this subject. A separate report relating to Scotland and Ireland has just been issued, and Judge O'Connor takes occasion to further emphasize his views. As to Scotland, he says:

"The evidence which has been submitted to this Commission by witnesses from Scotland in no way invalidates, but in many respects confirms and illustrates, the views and the principles which I have endeavored to set forth in a separate report relating to England and Wales.

"That principle is applicable to every country alike, and to every modification of social and administrative conditions. As England belongs to the people of that country, so Scotland belongs to the people of Scotland; and if the consent of the majority for the time being, under the name of existing law, secures to a section only of the community an endowment which embraces all the land of the country, urban and rural, the plainest dictates of equity would seem to require that that endowment should at any rate be charged with whatever may be necessary to defray the costs of the general needs of the community."

Referring then to Ireland, his Honor says:

"In the application of this principle it makes no difference that there is now in progress in Ireland a process of transfer of ownership to the quondam occupying tenants, for with the ownership will be transferred also the equitable liability to furnish, in proportion to valuation, whatever may be necessary for the general and local needs of the community."

The twenty-first annual general meeting of the Land Nationalization Society of England took place on May 10th, at Essex Hall, in London. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. The following resolutions introduced by Mr. Charles Wicksteed were adopted after some debate, in which the socialistic members endeavored to amend the word "chief" for some term of lesser import without success.

"That as land is the first necessary of all life and industry, and further, that as the gift of nature and not a product of labor, it is absolutely limited in quantity, this Conference regards its monopolization by a section of the community as a serious violation of the rights of the rest. It therefore urges that the efforts of reformers should be strenuously and unitedly directed towards the abolition of landlordism because it endows a privileged class at the expense of the producers, confiscates improvements and so re-

stricts them, and by its action in both town and country is the chief cause of overcrowding on the one hand and of rural depopulation on the other."

We quote from the speech of Mr. Wicksteed in introducing the resolutions:

He said I always find it an exceedingly difficult thing to say anything that I think worth while saying to a company of experts, but I suppose we have really come here more to gain sympathy and inspiration for the work that we have to do, and I take it that we have here a great number of hard and enthusiastic workers in our cause. The chairman mentioned something about the Thames embankment, which reminds me that the Duke of Buccleuch delayed the formation of that embankment for over 20 years. How much he benefited I do not know. He used to own 450,000 acres of land, and he had ten large residences, all of them a great deal too big for any one man to enjoy. Four hundred and fifty thousand acres of land mean a strip of land one mile wide from John O'Groat's house to Land's End. I am a leaseholder of his, and at the end of about 60 years, my successors will have to give up a beautiful house, on which I have spent many thousands of pounds, to the Duke. How willingly would I give my rent to my countrymen for the privilege of occupying that piece of ground! How unjust it is that the Duke of Buccleuch should take it, and also all my property too! What a direct robbery of the people this is, and not through the original sin of humanity, but from the wrong of our present land laws. I think that we all feel that our civilization is founded upon a gigantic and overwhelming wrong, and no healthy structure can be built until that wrong is removed. It is founded not upon the rights of industry but on the rights of robbery, and the men who seized land, and their heirs, are perpetually rewarded for that great robbery, and as long as this continues, the more we make the more they take. There is no diminution of poverty; there is simply an accumulation of useless, dangerous wealth in the hand of a few. We cannot too clearly impress all that we come in contact with, that the unearned increment whose misdirection our present land laws permit means a corresponding amount of undeserved poverty, and that misery and poverty and the humiliation to our civilization are the direct effects, not of a few odd landowners, but of the system of land laws under which we live. Where do all these ever-increasing millions come from? Do they come from the rich, the idle, the drunkards, the thieves? Oh, no; they come from the hard-working, honest poor. It is a cruelty and a misery, and every one in this room, I feel sure, feels this, that the perfectly incredible failure of our present civilization, in spite of all our enormously increased wealth, to keep vast masses of men from the most grinding and degrading poverty shows

that there must be something wrong in the foundations of that civilization. We think it is private ownership in land. No one ever made an inch of land, and the great Maker never sold any man an inch of land. But, above all these matters in my opinion, what makes Land Nationalism of such supreme importance is the ethical question. When I read "Progress and Poverty," I called it inspiring. Henry George breathed soul into us. It was no longer a bit of political economy. In my opinion, a reform which merely aims at making us more comfortable, and easier in circumstances, and so forth, without at the same time developing the character, is of no avail. The laws of the nation rest in the character of the people, and it does not matter if the best Land Nationalization law could be passed to-morrow, if the public spirit could not keep that character up, it would probably be worse than useless. Free trade in land is of no avail. It has been tried in all our colonies and the very same evils are growing up there as here. We should shun as poison the establishment of a system such as peasant proprietorship. The tendency of which is to make men selfish. A reform to be healthy must improve humanity, must have nothing in the form of privileges or vested interests—must lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. It must make us all feel ourselves an integral portion of society; that it is our duty to protect society. It must give us common aspirations, not with a class only, but with the whole human race. It must make us public spirited, and must enable us to go forward, step by step, leaving behind us the sordid misery of the age. It must reward those who have faith in righteousness and bless those who love mankind by seeing a better generation growing up around them. (Cheers).

Not all members of the Land Nationalization Society are single taxers; there are socialists among them, and many who will cling to the idea of compensation, but this convention was notable as indicating the real drift of thought in Great Britain, and the growing appreciation of the fact that the land question must be settled by absorbing land values in taxation. Nothing is said in these resolutions of state ownership. The seconder of these resolutions was W. P. Byles, an Ex. M. P., and one who has no economic delusions of any kind. We quote from that part of the speech reprinted in our bright little English contemporary, *Land and Labour*:

Mr. W. P. Byles, of Bradford, seconded the resolution. He said: It is no doubt because this resolution has been so ably moved by one of the champion law reformers of the day, that I have been asked to undertake the unimportant task of seconding it. I am sure there is no land reformer here who has not heard of that workman who, wandering somewhere on a ducal estate, met

the landlord, who asked him, "What are you doing my good fellow? Do you know this is my land?" "Well," said he, "I must be on somebody's land, I have none of my own, sir." Sir Frederick Pollock, who, I think, is the greatest authority living on the English Land Laws, thought so far as he could make out, the general public has not a right to be anywhere except on the King's highway, in parks and public places which have been dedicated to public use, and I think he adds, on the foreshore between high and low water marks. Now, if you go on to the high road you are asked to "move on"; in a public park, which you probably help to pay for, you are not allowed to sleep; and if you go on to the foreshore I would advise you not to encamp there. I think it was Mr. Morley who once said that the land question was throttling the development of our towns. I am sure there must be many great towns represented here. I come from one and I can speak for it. The land question is throttling the development of our town. We are increasing largely our municipal tramways. At certain points there is great congestion of traffic, and if we could only get an acre of land there pull down a brewery and set it back it would be an immense public convenience, but the fact is as the chairman has so well expounded to you we have increased the value of that land to the individual owner so much, by our public improvements, that we cannot afford to buy it now when we want it, and even if we could afford to buy it, we cannot, without going to Parliament to ask for permission. You in London, for instance, need some of us in provincial municipalities to show you how helpless you are. When your London County Council wants to give you water, Parliament wont let them; when it wants to run a tramway on one of its great streets, it has to apply nine or ten times to Parliament for permission. Even your ¼d. omnibuses have been stopped by Parliament (A voice: the steamers.) I am coming to them; and, finally your great splendid waterway, which divides this enormous population of five millions in twain, is shut up by Parliament. I wonder that this mass of people, the greatest that the world has ever seen, should sit down helpless under this treatment by Parliament. My resolution speaks of the present land system as confiscating improvements and restricting them. The fact is, we are creating "social property," as John A. Hobson calls it, which we do not get, but which goes to somebody else; we are creating more wealth than we can consume, and putting the balance into a bank which charges us interest upon it, instead of paying interest upon it. The society in whose interests we are met, aims to correct this by getting the land for the people, and into the hands of the people. At present, the land of this country is owned by those who are dead or not born. We want it for the people who are living upon

it. I think the moral is that we must alter the constitution of Parliament. Our municipalities are unable to move. Parliament hinders and does not help the attack upon any of these monopolies, and it is not likely so long as you pack those benches with the gentlemen who own the land and are receiving themselves wealth which you are creating, that laws shall be passed which should transfer the property they are enjoying into your possession. Do not any longer set cats to watch cream. This land question is the very gospel of politics, and I am delighted to meet so many reformers who are devoting themselves to that reform. (Cheers.)

WEST AUSTRALIA.

The following is from our breezy little West Australian contemporary *Taxation*, of Kilgarlie. Its mention of some of our devoted brothers of the antipodes whose names are so familiar to us, will be of interest:

"No matter where a single taxer speaks some hobnailed politician, who hopes to plant his number 10 on the floor of the House by always howling Labor with a big L, prates about what the Labor Party has done for the single taxer. One does not hear the single taxer bragging about what he has done for the Labor Party. It is, however, just as well to take stock occasionally. In New Zealand there is absolutely no labor party in the Australian sense. John Ballance was a single taxer and introduced the land reform, and it has been kept going by that big jawed Irishman, O'Regan, barracking in season and out of season. Another of New Zealand's ablest politicians, Geo. Fowlds, was elected for Auckland in spite of the labor element, with a big L. In New South Wales the land tax was carried through by Geo. Reid. The Labor Party helped it is true, but if the Freetrade Party had not taken the matter up it would have been in the air yet. Take Queensland. Sir Samuel Walker Griffiths got the local single tax before the Labor Party was thought of. The party has been a power in Queensland for years, and the progress of our movement has practically been at a stand still. In South Australia just the same tale has to be told. In West Australia we will only cite one little incident. At the last Federal elections the single taxers circulated 35,000 copies of *Taxation* all over the colony during the campaign, and not an issue but barracked hard for the Labor candidates, and the present writer drew the editor of the *Westralian Worker's* attention to the matter, the reply was, that paper could only support their own candidates. They wanted two seats out of six, and, beyond a miserable inch or two, no mention was made of our candidate in return for what we were doing. The change has to come quick and lively. The land question is the bottom question, and we're going to have it settled. If the Labor Party are going to waste session after session on their tin pot reforms that have practically no effect, we'll

have to 'get together' and put some single taxers in the House. We already note with pleasure some signs of change in the support of Mr. Thomson for the Central Province and Crawford Vaughan in South Australia. In this article it would just be as well to point out that if single tax leagues are to be kept out of conferences because they will not support indirect taxation there is going to be some trouble. We are after justice for the whole of the people, and while we are fighting for that it shall go hard, but we will see that some small measure is dealt out to us."

NEW ZEALAND

Last March the County of Southland, in the middle island of New Zealand, which has an unimproved land value of £30,000,000, adopted the Local Option in taxation law by a vote of 919 to 574, after a vigorous and exciting contest. This result shows that the people of the middle island are determined not to be left behind their neighbors of the North island in securing for themselves the benefits of the taxation of land values.

SOUTH AFRICA.—JOHANNESBURG.

Land Values of Glasgow, gives a report of the debate in the City Council, which we quote:

"On Wednesday, March 26th, the Johannesburg Rating Bill, to which we referred in our last issue, was submitted to the Town Council of Johannesburg.

"The Chairman, Mr. W. St. John Carr, in moving the reading of the Rating Bill, pointed out that the principle underlying the Bill was that the only rateable property should be land in respect of its leasehold, freehold, or quit-rent value; and that buildings should not be rated. He contended that the value of land within the municipal area was not due to the individual enterprise of the owners, but to the collective industry and enterprise of the community and the expenditure of public money. Hence, by making land values the basis of assessment, the community would share, if only to an infinitesimal extent, in the value due to its industry and enterprise, and the expenditure of its own revenues. He pointed out that such a system of assessment would induce those who held land for speculative purposes to be more ready than hitherto to make it revenue producing, or to dispose of it on reasonable terms to those who would put it to practical use; and also that it would encourage citizens to acquire land to build on and improve, without fear of being fined, by increased taxation, for so doing. Hence the general effect would be to induce people to build on and improve land, to reduce rents, and to make houses both cheaper and better. In conclusion, he pointed out that rating land values only would not involve a greater burthen on the stand-holders and land users

than heretofore, but on the contrary, owing to the broadening of the basis of assessment, would tend to lessen it. And, finally, that it would not weaken, but rather strengthen, the credit of the town.

"Mr. F. Lindsay, in seconding the motion, pointed out that there were two important principles contended for in the Bill. Firstly, the assessment of land value only; secondly, legislation with a view of preventing the individual, whose holding or interest in the land is assessed, shifting responsibility for the payment of such assessment on to others. He emphasised the fact that, while the assessment of land value tends to reduce both the rental and selling price of land, the taxation of buildings tends to make rents higher and accommodation worse. In conclusion, he contended that their object was to make each citizen bear his fair share of taxation, or pass his interest on to those who were willing to pay the taxes justly leviable in respect thereof."

One member in opposition to the bill said that the gentlemen responsible for this bill, "seem to have absorbed some of the single tax heresy so favoured by Henry George and the Sand Lot Orators of San Francisco, but discredited by thoughtful economists." Moreover, he thought "the innovations of the Bill, even if they were correct in principle, ill-timed and inexpedient," and likely to interfere with the borrowing powers of the community.

Mr. W. Hosken said that he thought they were all agreed on the principle of levying rates on the freeholder, who in the past has escaped scot free. He expressed his surprise at Mr. Jennings' deprecatory allusions to one of the greatest men America had produced in modern times—Henry George: and referred to the effrontery of the Johannesburg *Star*, which he thought should be rechristened *The Fossil*, in making similar references to a man who was held in high respect by tens of thousands and possibly millions of English speaking people."

Mr. Andrew Mackie Niven, who may be the first mayor of Johannesburg, said opposition to the measure could come only from those land monopolists and land speculators, whether individuals or corporations, who did understand the question, but whose selfish anti-social interests were diametrically opposed to those of the rest of the community. He defended the proposal as democratic, as a direct benefit to industry and to the industrial classes, be they rich or poor. In conclusion, he contended that there would probably never be a more favourable opportunity to initiate such a just, beneficial, and necessary reform in the system of assessment.

Land Values in commenting upon this new departure says:

"In the discussion on the Johannesburg Rating Bill, it was pointed out that in 1898 the total valuation of Johannesburg was, in round numbers, £14,500,000, of which £6,-

000,000 was represented by buildings and £8,500,000 by land or site values; and that to day (in 1902) there was a valuation of probably £27,000,000, of which only £7,000,000, was represented by buildings and £20,000,000 by land or site values. The taxation of site values will, however, soon alter this state of affairs, and break down the monopoly of land, to which alone it can be attributed."

Remarkable as it may seem it is reported that this bill has the approval of Lord Milner.

NORTHERN WESTERN TERRITORY.

It may not be generally known that in the North West Territories we have what is called here "the system of land taxation." For road purposes it is a specific tax of \$2½ per ¼ section of land. For school purposes the tax is levied on land according to value, and all improvements and personal property are exempt. This, however, only applies to rural districts; cities and villages may include improvements and personal property.

Ranching and agriculture are the principal occupations of the people, and those that do the pioneering readily support a system of taxation that catches the fellow who expects to profit by their pioneering. The "land tax" gains strength as the people become better acquainted with it. For without any special knowledge of economic problems, they see that it makes the mere land speculators contribute their share towards public expenses; and, at the same time, tends to make land speculation less profitable for them.

The single tax, with all that it implies, is no better understood here than in other localities. But I believe Premier Haultain, of the N. W. T. legislature, to whom we are indebted for the policy of "land taxation," must be much of a single taxer. For two years ago the ordinance, which before was optional, was made mandatory with respect to improvements on land and personal property for school taxes in rural districts.

But our "land tax" has but little effect on land speculation, which is now at fever height. Within the past two years land has more than doubled in price. Railroad lands are sold on the installment plan, and in hundreds of cases three to five dollars an acre have been netted on a single installment. This amounts to quite a sum on a block of half a dozen sections of land. Speculators prefer investing in unimproved land, and in whole sections; it sells better.

The small farmer is fast becoming a thing of the past. The poor man can easily take up a homestead, but when he has got it he finds it of no use to him without capital: he can no longer farm with the "hoe;" and to get the necessary capital means many years of hard toil and stinting. So, as a rule, he takes the quicker method of selling out to a speculator, and moves farther out with his capital to start anew.

In this locality, nine-tenths of the homesteads are for sale, the owners thinking that at present prices the money would be worth more to them than the land; for as yet land rents for scarce anything.

—GEORGE PRICE, Olds, N. W. T.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The most important political convention ever held in British Columbia has just closed its labours. The call to the convention was issued by the Western Federation of Miners, and responded to by the labour unions, single tax associations and socialistic societies of the Province. As a result of this convention a new party has been formed and a platform of principles adopted. For the last two years the Province of British Columbia has been in the grip of a most incompetent and mercenary set of politicians whose only aim seems to be to sacrifice the natural resources of the Province to the greed of corporations, and to load the people with a debt which in proportion to population would suggest the advisability of repudiation. This condition of affairs was mainly responsible for the calling of the convention, and to that extent has good come out of evil.

There were five pronounced single taxers at the convention, and twelve socialists. The socialists captured the office of temporary chairman while the single taxers devoted their whole energies to the platform. When the report of the committee on platform was presented, Clause 2 read as follows: "The application of a land tax that will discourage large holdings and prevent monopoly." Through the efforts of Alister Thompson, of Kamloops, Robert Macpherson of Vancouver and Alfred Parr of Ymir, this was changed to read as follows: "That we gradually abolish all taxes on the producer and the products of the producer, shifting them on land values;" and, further, this clause was given first place in the platform.

By one stroke the single tax has been placed before the people of British Columbia and must be up for discussion at our next elections.

I enclose you a copy of the platform, and would call your attention to the fact that the only clause dealing with the question of revenue is Clause 1, which reads: "That we gradually abolish all taxes on the producer and the products of the producer, shifting them on land values."

The convention was composed of sixty delegates representing the most radical elements among the trades unionists of the Province. The name of the new party is the Provincial Progressive Party, and the members of the convention separated with the understanding that the new party must "keep in the middle of the road."

—THOMAS HOWELL, Kamloops, B. C.

CANADA.

Single taxers are scarce in this locality. I have been doing what I could by distributing pamphlets, etc. discussing social reforms from a single tax standpoint, and the holding of public meetings where such subjects as "How to raise wages," "How single tax would benefit the farmer," and "Christianity and Social Reforms" have been prescribed with special reference to the important part single tax plays in all these, to increase the number of the faithful, with fair success. In one important point we are much in advance of other parts of this continent: viz., in that our local government has specially provided for the easy adoption of single tax in our municipalities by local option. A majority of resident rate-payers by signed petition can have the single tax on land values adopted and the rate may be as high as four per cent., and if the petition is presented for two years in succession the assessment of land values exclusive of improvements becomes the permanent system. In rural school districts it is compulsory to assess land values only.

Such legislation proves that the equity of single tax has been accepted by those in authority here. It is well known that the more important members of the Government and many of their supporters are firm believers in Henry George's theory of taxation, hence the specially favorable treatment of single tax in the local option laws.

I am quietly working to have the single tax assessment adopted in this town. The bulk of the town belongs to a syndicate with headquarters in Winnipeg, and they have raised the price of town lots far beyond what they are worth and have produced no value themselves, so that an assessment based on land values would by falling heaviest on the townsite trustees, force them to contribute their fair share of taxes, and at the same time will decrease the cost of building lots to the users.

—A. S. THOMPSON, Alta, Can.

DR. McGLYNN'S RESTORATION.

[Mr. Michael Clarke corrects some erroneous assertions by a Jesuit Father.]

The following letter, which explains itself, appears in a recent issue of the *Glasgow Observer*, a Catholic paper published in Glasgow, Scotland:

Sir:—I beg that you will kindly permit me to correct some grave errors which appear in an article on "the case of Father McGlynn," published in your paper of February 22nd. First, let me deal with the most serious error. In telling of Dr. McGlynn's "reconciliation with the Church," the writer of the article, Father Hull, S. J., says:

"It was not till 1892 that Father McGlynn decided to seek reconciliation with the

Church. Three conditions laid down by authority were complied with—a written retraction of his erroneous tenets, together with a statement of his views on social economy, for inspection or revision, and a promise to pay a visit to Rome. These being fulfilled, Satolli, the Papal delegate, declared Father McGlynn free from ecclesiastical censure, and he was restored to his priestly faculties on December 24th."

The statement here made that "a written retraction of his erroneous tenets" was one of "three conditions laid down by authority" and "fulfilled" by Dr. McGlynn is absolutely untrue. There was no such condition "laid down" or "fulfilled." Dr. McGlynn neither then nor at any other time, ever made, either written or otherwise, any retraction of his "tenets." The true history of the "reconciliation," perfectly well known and a matter of public record here in America, I shall, with your permission, give as briefly as possible.

Shortly after his arrival in this country as Papal Ablegate, in the autumn of 1892, Monsignor (now Cardinal) Satolli requested Dr. McGlynn, through his friend and counsel, Rev. Dr. Burtzell, to put in writing and submit to him a statement of his "tenets" on the land question. Dr. McGlynn did so. He put in writing, in Italian and English, a full exposition of his views and doctrines on land ownership, which he had been teaching and preaching on public platforms for several years. The document was sent to Monsignor Satolli, by whom it was referred to four theologians of the Catholic University at Washington, who, after full examination of it, declared that it contained nothing contrary to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Then the Ablegate removed the ecclesiastical censures and restored Dr. McGlynn to his status and faculties as a priest.

These are the main facts, and they are confirmed by the subjoined statements of Dr. McGlynn, Dr. Burtzell, and Monsignor Satolli. As soon as he was informed of the judgment of the theologians and of the intention of Monsignor Satolli to remove the censures, Dr. McGlynn addressed a letter to the Monsignor, in which he said:

Monsignor:—I am very happy to learn that it has been judged that there is nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine in the doctrine taught by me, as it was explained by me in the exposition of the same which I sent Your Grace, and I rejoice that you are prepared to remove the ecclesiastical censures.

A few weeks after Dr. McGlynn's restoration Dr. Burtzell (presently Rector of St. Mary's Church, Rondout, New York) made to the public press the following statement on the subject:

"I myself wrote one of the expositions which were given to Mgr. Satolli. He was presented with two separate statements—one by the Doctor himself, written in Italian, with an English translation added, and the

other written in Latin. The latter I myself wrote, and it was presented to Mgr. Satolli after Dr. McGlynn had expressed his approbation of it. Dr. McGlynn's restoration through the mediation of Mgr. Satolli is a simple declaration from the Holy See that his views of land ownership are permitted to be advocated by him, not being contrary to the laws of the Church.

In 1894 some ill-informed or malignant persons having asserted that Dr. McGlynn was compelled to "retract" before being restored, Monsignor Satolli gave for publication a contradiction, in which he said:

"The conditions on which I absolved Dr. McGlynn by authority received from the Holy See were that he should make a thorough statement of his views and doctrines in regard to social economy, and present them to me, and I would examine them and submit them to four doctors of divinity for examination. The conditions were fulfilled, and it was acknowledged that nothing Dr. McGlynn did or said was opposed to Catholic doctrine."

These facts and statements sufficiently refute Father Hull's assertion that Dr. McGlynn made "a written retraction of his erroneous tenets."

Father Hull also says that "early in 1887 Father McGlynn was summoned to Rome but refused to go," and that "again he was summoned to present himself in Rome within a space of forty days, failing which he would *ipso facto* incur the penalty of excommunication."

There is here a grave error which consists in the omission of an important part of the second order to go to Rome. In answer to the first order, Dr. McGlynn stated that the condition of his health did not then permit him to go to Rome, and that his medical attendant had positively forbidden him to attempt to make the journey. The second order was not merely an order to go to Rome, but an order to go and also to retract the doctrine he had been teaching. Here are the words of the telegram from Cardinal Simeoni to Archbishop Corrigan as translated and furnished to the Press by Archbishop Corrigan himself:

"Give orders to have Dr. McGlynn again invited to proceed to Rome, and also to condemn in writing the doctrines to which he has given utterance in public meetings, or which have been attributed to him in the press. Should he disobey, use your own authority in dealing with him."

In view of the decision given later by the Pope's Delegate that the doctrines referred to contained nothing contrary to Catholic teaching, we see how wisely Dr. McGlynn acted in not yielding to the unwise command to retract them. Evidently there had been no proper examination of his tenets, and the Roman authorities had been misled by misinformation, even as Father Hull has been. When the proper examination was made,

Catholics were left perfectly free to believe and teach these doctrines. The Papal Delegate's action was sanctioned by the Pope, who gave a most honourable reception to Dr. McGlynn, when he went to Rome some time after his restoration.

Father Hull quotes from the London *Tablet*, a British Tory paper, that "all right-minded Americans were astonished and scandalised at a Catholic priest like Father McGlynn holding up the banner of Anarchy and Socialism." But if Dr. McGlynn's doctrines were and are Anarchy and Socialism, so then must have been, and must be, the judgment of the four Catholic theologians, declaring those doctrines to be not contrary to Catholic teaching—a judgment confirmed and adopted by the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Satolli, and even by the Pope. To Father Hull I leave the task of "straightening out" this little difficulty. I am, etc.,

MICHAEL CLARKE.

(Formerly Secretary of the Anti-Poverty Society, of which Dr. McGlynn was President).

AN ECONOMIC STORM SIGNAL.

(John J. Murphy in N. Y. Evening Post.)

SIR: Your Washington letter of June 5th indicates the existence of a movement in the West, which should give the thoughtful cause for serious alarm. The reported advances in the price of farm lands, must seem to many, who can recall the similar movement of a dozen years ago, the skirmish line of the next panic. How far the main body of the army lies behind is immaterial; the important consideration is that the movement has begun.

Inflation of land values, due to speculative investment, is the most dangerous form of financial activity because of the apparent stability of the security upon which money is obtained, contrasted with its utter worthlessness when the boom has collapsed. The world-wide panic of 1892 found the United States an easy victim because of a condition produced by a similar movement to that of which your correspondent now gives warning. In the East the growing tendency to increase taxation on landed property has checked speculative investment in this direction materially, so that dealers in real estate have complained that it was impossible to sell except for immediate improvement. Apparently the rising tide of prosperity has overcome in the middle West this wholesome conservatism, and the boom is on. It is, of course, hopeless to look for any check to its destructive course.

The latest number of *Why*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is "The Story of My Dictatorship," without abridgement. The form of this enterprising little publication is especially neat and attractive.