

holders, found themselves indebted to land holders for employment or favor and in such a position that they were not free agents, even, to act for their own benefit. Incidentally we may observe that if a struggle is to come over the single tax, the sooner we reach it the better in the interests of order and success. With the steady drifting of lands into the hands of relatively a smaller number comes a degree of dependence for the right to live of a majority upon a minority, which more than counterbalances the growing difference in relative numbers.

If one lesson more than another is to be deduced from our experience in Hyattsville, it is that the line of natural growth of Single Tax thought and work is in municipalities, and from municipalities to the counties and, long afterwards, to the state and nation.



## THE STORY OF THE DELAWARE CAMPAIGN.

(For the Review)

By HAROLD SUDELL.

The Winter of 1894-5, found Single Taxers in a discouraged frame of mind. A long fight for Free Trade had ended in the emasculated Wilson Bill, and the '94 election had gone so overwhelmingly Republican as to forbid hopes of any early revival of Free Trade agitation.

And so, when, in the Spring of '95, Jackson H. Ralston suggested an attempt to introduce the Single Tax by concentrating all work on one State, it met with ready acceptance. He named Delaware as the best place, his main reason being that the State was small; was very evenly balanced politically; was within easy reach of a number of large cities where there were strong Single Tax Clubs; its Constitution contained nothing inimical to Single Tax, and, in and around Wilmington, the State's largest city, there had already been some work done.

A discussion as to the best State ensued, but while this was still being argued, the Philadelphia Single Tax Society decided to inaugurate a Delaware campaign, and on Saturday, June 15th, it sent a number of speakers into Delaware, and that evening open-air meetings were held in Wilmington and a number of adjacent towns.

As soon as it became known that the campaign had begun, contributions commenced to come in, and a little later the National Committee appointed a committee of three, the late A. H. Stephenson, of Philadelphia, Jackson H. Ralston, of Hyattsville, Md., and Harold Sudell, of New Castle, Del., to supervise the campaign. The first named was elected Chairman and the last Treasurer of the Committee. They appointed Frank Stephens, of Philadelphia, to take charge of the meetings, &c., and under his direction a wonderfully active campaign was soon in progress. As far as money and men would allow, the whole State was covered every Saturday, the speakers distributing literature in the afternoon and holding meetings in the evening. In the northern end of the State, which was more easily reached, meetings were also held through the week. Later in the Summer, Dr. Longstreet, with a large tent, was brought on from Texas and toured the State.

At first the work was done almost exclusively by outsiders, but, as the campaign progressed, some very efficient speakers developed among the local men, and this greatly aided the work.

A vast amount of literature was put out—indeed the State was, as Frank Stephens phrased it, “ploughed with a book and sown with the seed of a great

thought." One of the most efficient agencies was *Justice*, a Single Tax weekly paper, published at first in Philadelphia and later in Wilmington, some thousands of copies being distributed every week.

When the weather grew too cold for out-door work, in-door meetings were begun and a series of Sunday evening meetings held in the Wilmington Opera House during the Winter were particularly successful. The opening meeting was addressed by Henry George, and a threat made by the City Solicitor to have him arrested for talking politics on Sunday, drew him an immense house and hundreds were turned away, being unable to obtain admittance. But, although police officers were present at the meeting, no such attempt was made. Following him, at succeeding meetings, came such men as McGlynn, Maguire, Garrison, Simpson, Shearman, Hearn, Post and Crosby.

With the Spring of '96, the out-door work was taken up with redoubled vigor. As travelling expenses to the lower Counties were high, paid workers were stationed in a number of the principal towns there, and on foot, on bicycles, or in carriages, they systematically worked the surrounding country, doing hand to hand work, distributing literature and holding meetings in the villages. At one time three tents were afield.

And the results appeared to be very gratifying. A large number of converts had been made and at the Democratic primaries, held during the Summer, in several instances, Single Tax candidates beat the regular Democratic nominees. From all points we got the same cheering news of numerous conversions to the Single Tax belief.

But troubles appeared. As members of the Legislature and of a constitutional convention to draw up a new State Constitution were to be elected at the November election, political action became necessary. The Campaign Committee were strongly persuaded that it was not wise to form an independent party and that our political action should be confined to indorsing those candidates of either party who would pledge themselves to support Single Tax measures. But a large number of local men, deluded by our rapidly increasing numbers into thinking they could beat both the Democratic and Republican parties, were insistent that a Single Tax party should be organized. About mid-summer a conference was called to decide on a plan of action and the attendance was gratifyingly large. A very decided difference of opinion, however, developed, and an unfortunate attempt to debar any but local men from taking part in the discussion disgusted a number of those present and they left the hall, refusing to take any further part in the campaign. It was finally decided to form a Single Tax party, putting on the Legislature and Constitutional Convention tickets those candidates of either party who would give the required pledges.

Our recruits had come mostly from the Democratic party and some of the Democratic politicians decided to try and stop our growth by having our speakers arrested on the charge of disorderly conduct. The first attempt was made in Middletown, but it was thwarted by the Justice of the Peace, before whom the prisoner was taken, declaring that he had done nothing wrong and discharging him from custody. But in Dover, the capital of the State, a more bigoted Justice was found and two speakers arrested there were sentenced by him, on their refusal to pay a fine, to thirty days' imprisonment. The Governor's attention being called to this, he denounced the arrests as an outrage and released the prisoners by granting them a pardon. But further arrests followed and the Governor, presumably yielding to political pressure, took no further action. This went on until about thirty prisoners were in jail and then the town authorities, dismayed by the cost the town was being put to, ceased the arrests and mob law was threatened. Preparations had been made for another meeting, but the local men, apprehensive that an outbreak

would occur in which our men must inevitably suffer, entreated that meetings be stopped, which was done. Meanwhile, legal proceedings looking to the release of the prisoners had been begun and these finally terminated, after some of the men had served out their term, in our favor (on technicalities however, for the question of our right to hold meetings could not be brought up) and the remainder of the prisoners were freed.

But the legal proceedings were costly and the concentration of energy in Dover had necessarily caused a slackening of effort elsewhere. And, while this was going on, the political tide was rising, and an unusually bitter fight was developing. The nomination of Mr. Bryan brought the money question strongly to the front, and, as time went on, it became increasingly difficult to interest people in questions other than those which were being nationally discussed.

A State Convention of the Single Tax party was held and a full ticket was nominated, the Democratic Presidential Electors being endorsed, and headed the ticket. This endorsement of Mr. Bryan lost us some of our followers, but it was undoubtedly the wish of a very large majority of the party.

But in spite of this, when the National campaign reached its height, our weaker-kneed converts began to fall away and to return to their old parties, on the plea that they could not afford, with National issues so important, to vote a third party ticket.

This had been foretold by one of the Republican politicians early in the Summer. He said to the writer: "I have been very much surprised to find what a large number of converts you have made, especially among the more intelligent of the working classes. If the election were held now, you would poll a vote that would amaze the politicians. But you will not be able to hold them until after election, for when the regular political parties begin their work, they will pull away from you, back into their old parties, at least three-fourths of your present followers."

And so it proved. When the election returns were in, the Single Tax ticket had polled a little short of 1,500 votes in a total of about 38,000.

This was a great disappointment, not only to the local men, but to the outsiders who had contributed so liberally to keep the campaign moving. About \$25,000 had been spent and the results did not seem commensurate with the expenditure and the work which had been done.

The effect of this was felt at once in an almost immediate and total cessation of contributions, and we were compelled to carry on the work on a very much smaller scale.

The Legislature, when it met, rejected all the Single Tax measures which were introduced, and to make matters worse the Constitutional Convention inserted in the new Constitution, in its article on Taxation, a clause, which was specifically meant to make it impossible to introduce the Single Tax into Delaware, without first changing the Constitution, a difficult thing to do. This clause directed that in all assessments of real estate, both land values and improvements, must be assessed. But this was loosely worded, for assessing and taxing are two separate and distinct functions, and it is the opinion of leading lawyers that it can be easily circumvented.

The local men, with some little outside assistance, kept the campaign going and the party retained its place on the ballot for several elections, but with a steadily decreasing vote, and this was finally abandoned. The work since then has been exclusively educational.

But, although political work seems to have waned, the result of past work is becoming apparent in the gradual change of public opinion. A separate Assessment Bill, separating absolutely improvements and land values (necessary under the Constitution as a preliminary to the Single Tax, and a measure

which would furnish most valuable arguments in its favor, particularly with the farmers,) has twice passed the lower House, and the second time it received a majority of the vote cast in the Senate, but lacked one vote of the needed majority of the whole body. Two more votes could have been secured for it had we had the money to put some one in Dover to lobby for the Bill, so it failed for the lack of a trifling sum. In the last Legislature, a "local option in Taxation" Bill passed the lower House, but was defeated in the Senate. The Democratic State platforms, year by year, have been broadening on the question of taxation, and this year's is notably good, being as follows:

"We favor abolishing all State taxes on merchants and manufacturers and similar licenses, and abolishing the local taxes on the live stock of farmers, and we declare our desire to be that our representatives in the Legislature shall enact suitable Statutes to this effect. We favor a permanent system of registration, and the abolishing of the registration fee of \$1.00 as a prerequisite to voting."

Bills designed to do these things have, in the past, been introduced in the Legislature by Single Taxers, and have been defeated. The fact that the Democrats are now taking them up is an evidence that the seed sown is germinating.

And the future seems hopeful. One of the recent converts is Francis I. duPont, a member of the well known family of Delaware powder makers. He has instilled into the work renewed vigor, and is now carrying on in Wilmington a very active campaign along the lines of the Initiative and Referendum. Under his guidance some fruits, in the shape of enactments which will make the Single Tax a possibility, on a small scale at least, should soon be reaped, for there is in the State a strong underlying Single Tax sentiment which we have not yet been able to avail ourselves of.

And it is the opinion of the writer, that Mr. Ralston made no mistake when he pointed to Delaware as being the shortest pathway to the Single Tax. But we underestimated the difficulties in the way and expected a too early victory. Only those who participated actively in the campaign can know the intense bitterness of the opposition we had to face. But this is gradually weakening, and when success does come (as come it will) we shall know that we were too easily discouraged by seeming failure, and that active work was stopped too soon.



## REVOLUTION vs. EVOLUTION.

### Karl Marx Socialism or Henry George's Single Tax—Which?

(For the Review.)

By L. P. CUSTER.

Few students of human progress but will agree that State Socialism in politics, with its declared revolutionary programme, is a menace to social order and renders insecure popular rights. We may differ from one another on the soundness or unsoundness of philosophical socialism, but when we look back over the pages of history and see how all violent revolutions have been brought on by political intrigue and strife, we know beyond cavil that, if the present day socialist party gains sufficient strength to alarm property interests and those in control of governmental affairs, those whose interests are thus affected will not hesitate to set in motion agencies for the thwarting of such a movement without regard to constitutional mandate or popular rights. Such a state