

taken by the Japanese was to double the land tax, just as Mr. Gladstone's first step in 1854 was to double the income tax. In the eighteenth century the land tax used to be the most important source of revenue, and Adam Smith used to say that on this account the country gentlemen were generally much less inclined to war than "the moneyed interest." But, unfortunately, at the end of the century, when war became chronic, the country gentlemen who supported Pitt insisted that the land must not be further taxed, and so, when taxes had been laid on every article of consumption and the Minister was still at his wits' end, he had to invent the income tax, instead of developing and improving the system of land taxation. But we believe that Radical financiers in the immediate future must, after retrenchment, look for national revenue to the license duties and for the local revenue to a rate upon the owners of ground values."

It ought to be said that the *Speaker* is no radical or labor paper, but a liberal journal of high character, resembling the *New York Nation* in its appearance and the high literary merit of its contributions and its editorial pages.

NORTHWESTERN TERRITORIES.

To those who are looking for the adoption of the Single Tax idea, it may be welcome news to learn that some progress is being made in the N. W. T. of Canada. The first of January of this year a new Local Improvement Ordinance came into effect organizing from three to six townships into Local Improvement Districts. A District Council is formed by electing one Councillor from each township, and this body has charge of all local improvements, with power to levy a tax of not less than 1¼, nor more than 5 cents per acre on land. There is no provision for statute labor on the roads, and all taxes are payable in cash.

Being a Councillor of the District in which I live, I am in a position to give the workings of the Ordinance. The policy of "land taxation" in vogue in the N. W. T. is not theoretically the Single Tax, but a land tax. But it will be seen that selecting the land as the best subject for taxation is in line with the Single Tax theory, and to some extent the tax falls heavier on the more valuable land; for, in practice, it is found necessary to expend more money in the more thickly settled districts in which towns and villages are situated and where travel is heaviest, than in outlying districts where settlement is sparse.

The District Council of which I am a member levied a tax of 4¾ cents per acre, or 7 dollars per quarter section of land, and the only kickers were men who are holding more land than they can use, some of whom are threatening to sell out and leave the country. Apart from a small government grant to schools, all taxes for the

maintenance of rural schools and for local improvements, are now levied upon the land exclusively. And this system applies to the whole of the N. W. Territories, and even Americans, who are coming here by thousands, and who have been accustomed to paying taxes on "all they possessed," take very kindly to the system and are writing back to their friends left behind, telling them that we don't tax everything here—only the land, and that but a small tax.

GEO. PRICE, Olds Alta, N. W. T.

REV. HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

(See *Frontispiece*.)

Herbert Seeley Bigelow was born at Elkhart, Indiana on Jan. 4, 1870. He attended the public schools of that city, also the preparatory department of Oberlin, and graduated from the Western Reserve University and from Lane Theological Seminary.

Mr. Bigelow became pastor of Vine Street church in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1886. The history of this church makes it a peculiarly fit abiding place for him. It was organized in 1831 by supporters of the abolition movement, who seceded from a Presbyterian society because that society was pro-slavery. The seceding members organized a Presbyterian church, but it subsequently became Congregational. Josiah Strong was pastor of this church at the time he wrote "Our Country." The society, more persistently perhaps than most others, has advocated the doctrines of human liberty, and for this reason, if for no other, Herbert S. Bigelow is very properly its pastor at the present time.

He came to this church without any idea of participating in a great social movement. In fact he, in common with the dominant thought of the educated class of that day and this, believed the miseries of the poor were the normal results of their own short comings. His personal experience in the "least prosperous" life of a great city opened his eyes to the fact that social injustice is a powerful factor in determining the results of individual life.

As the pastor asserted the fact of social injustice, opposition grew in the church whose history had been so interwoven with the cause of freedom. And, curiously, the matter was brought to practical issue over the admission of a negro to membership. The membership of the church was inclined to resist, but Mr. Bigelow was able to hold them to their own traditions. He even hopes that the American people may be held true to their traditions, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

The more heavily the burden the poor were compelled to carry weighed upon his spirit, the more earnestly did he plead for their relief. But in like degree, the opposition grew, and the resignation of Mr. Bige-

low was offered to the church officials. The resignation was refused by a vote of eighty to sixty, and the minority of Christians began a series of persecutions, in spirit very similar, to those visited upon the abolitionists who founded the church.

They attempted to try him for heresy without specific charges, maliciously assailed him in the newspapers, tried to excite fear of personal violence, and finally endeavored to starve him out by withholding his salary. Old members have left, but new ones have taken their places. After a long contest, in which a Christian spirit, in one or another sense, was exhibited on both sides, the Vine Street Church is now on a secure financial footing, and Herbert S. Bigelow is its pastor. He is there to serve God and man as his opportunities shall enable him; firmly believing that all activities of men, whether open or secret, public or private, should, and ultimately must, conform to the spirit of Him who said: "Love one another."

Mr. Bigelow has participated in political activities as the method best calculated to advance the good of mankind. But the desire, the hope, the inspiration, is to induce men to apply to social questions those methods of simple, common, honesty, that are the accepted guides of private life, viz.: perfect equity to each individual concerned. "Do unto others (all others—not just a few others) as you would they should do unto you."

MEMORABLE EXTRACTS FROM SERMONS OF REV. HERBERT BIGELOW, PASTOR OF THE VINE ST. (CINCINNATI) CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

THE SABBATH DAY.

The sacred thing in life is not ecclesiastical law, but human happiness. The Sabbath was made for man. As a day of rest, it is labor's greatest boon. Let us make it a day of joy and gladness.

Why should religion glower at the children that over-run the fields and parks from sweatshop and factory where the joyous little drudges grow old so young? Berry stains on the thin, pale lips are as holy as Scripture texts. The lad whose shoulders are stooped over a machine all the week may need a ball field more than a Sunday School. Hallowed be the day which places a wreath of wild flowers upon the waif of the slums and bids the children of toil make merry with the dancing daffodils.

—Sermon, Sunday, March 6, 1904.

THE RELIGION OF LINCOLN.

Once after granting a pardon which saved the life of a soldier, Lincoln turned to a friend and said: "Say of me that I plucked

a thorn and planted a flower, wherever I thought a flower would grow."

Measured by the standards of the church he was a heretic. Yet his glowing faith in humanity and the right is like a pillar of fire, still leading us, as by the hand of God, out of the house of bondage.

—Sermon, Sunday, February 14, 1904.

SENATOR HANNA.

To the hour of his death, however, Senator Hanna execrated as altogether wrong and revolutionary, the plan of Henry George to clear the way for industrial peace by the abolition of land monopoly. He did not see the relation of the land question to the labor problem. The owners of the bare land in New York City take nearly two hundred million dollars a year in ground rent. Capital and labor quarrel over what is left. Those two hundred millions represent social values which are appropriated by individuals.

Thirty years ago, in Iowa, a farm hand got \$20 a month. He will not get more to-day. But now, to become an independent farmer, he must pay from \$50 to \$75 for land worth \$10 then. Owing to the steady appreciation in land values, it is increasingly difficult for capital and labor to find profitable employment. The door of hope is being closed to those who toil, while capital that is invested in monopoly privileges yields an increasing return. There can be no statesmanship worthy the name which ignores this tremendous factor in the industrial problem. Men will come and men will go, but industrial strife will not be abated until we have statesmen who will dig through the sand-heaps of monopoly and lay the temple of industrial peace on the solid rock of justice.

—Sermon, Sunday, February 21, 1904.

The victims of monopoly have found a new champion. A Cardinal has turned agitator. In a cathedral, it is declared that economic conditions are radically wrong. The silence of the church is broken. From a high place of authority comes the plea that justice be done to the overworked and underpaid labor of America.

This is the burden of a remarkable sermon delivered by Cardinal Gibbons last Sunday in the City of Baltimore.

After a careful investigation, the Cardinal had discovered that there are people in Baltimore who toil ten or twelve hours a day for six or eight dollars a week. This pittance must suffice for rent, food, clothing, and other family expenses. This, the Cardinal calls "starving wages."

It does credit for his head and heart that he has, not apology, but condemnation for the present-day conditions under which some become suddenly rich, while "the toiler, with the utmost thrift and economy, can scarcely keep the wolf from the door."

It is most gratifying to know that the Cardinal does not commend charity, but urges that economic conditions be changed so as to enable men to earn by industry and honesty "a comfortable livelihood."

But how shall these conditions be changed? This is the most momentous question of the age. How does the Cardinal answer it?

In the first place, he says, "Agitate the question." Agitation will bring the facts to light and teach one-half the world how the other half lives. By agitation, the air is stirred, the sky is cleared, healthy discussion is provoked.

Most Worthy Cardinal, thou almost persuadest me to be a Catholic. If anything could counteract the influence of my early training, it would be to see the church hold that high ground which the Cardinal has taken and throw the weight of his mighty influence on the side of this most Christian business of improving social conditions.

I rejoice that I am able to quote the authority of one so widely respected, in favor of the divine right of agitation and healthy discussion of remedies for social ills.

—Sermon, Sunday, December 13, 1904.

THE SHIBBOLETHS OF IGNORANCE.

The fact is their gospel of free will and individual responsibility is but half the truth. Environment is one of the factors of destiny. These unfortunates have been hardest hit by a social order which would seem to us a monstrous thing if our eyes were not blinded by custom. Why is there not always work in abundance for those who wish it? My Reverend Sir, drop your phrases about the fall of Adam and the blood of Jesus and tell me, why should there be, at any time, a lack of employment for men? Have you tried to answer that question? Do you really want an answer to it? I half believe you do not. I speak the words of Henry George. Already I see a supercilious curl on your lips. What do you say? "Crank!" "Panacea!" "Patent nostrum!" Those words are the shibboleths of ignorance.

Henry George answered the question. He showed that industry is half strangled by laws which confer private monopolies upon the few, and impoverish the many by artificial restriction of the natural opportunities of employment. Put the taxes where they belong, upon land values. Stop taxing men for doing things. Make it ruinous for speculators to hold land out of use. Will that bring the Millenium? Will that secure to laziness a full stomach? No, but it will be the recognition of an economic law which is just as real as the law of gravitation. Learn the laws of Nature. That is the beginning of wisdom. Obey them, that is the will of God. The program of Henry George will do more than a thou-

sand years of preaching to make impossible this shameful spectacle of able-bodied men starving for lack of work, in a country where boundless resources could well employ the labor of the world."

—Sermon, Sunday January 10, 1904.

There has been no increase in the rate of wages corresponding to the increase in the productiveness of labor. Have we not five bridges spanning the Ohio? Mighty triumphs of civilization! Yet it was only yesterday that a father surrendered two of his four children to a charitable institution because the wage he received as a clerk in a railroad office was not sufficient to support them all. This father could not have fared worse in this country a century ago, yet those were the days of ferry boats and stage coaches and hand tools.

Neither has the capitalist absorbed a larger share of this increased production. As a matter of fact, the rate of interest has gone down, and the capitalist, as capitalist, gets less than ever before.

But not so with rent. While interest and wages have stood still, rents have gone up. On the great average, wages and interest remain on a dead level, but rents shoot skyward. When our forefathers wanted to live and work on Manhattan Island, the Indians required of them but a few strings of beads. But this generation, before it pays interest on capital or wages to labor, must pay the Astors a tribute of hundreds of millions. It is into that ever-enlarging maw of the land monopolist that the first fruits of our advancing civilization go. Ground rent is the sponge that sucks up the wealth of the nation.

—Sermon, Sunday, January 17, 1904.

ESSENCE OF SLAVERY.

The essence of slavery is this, that a man should be deprived of the fruits of his labor. The money which is taken from us in the form of ground rents, war revenues, and monopoly profits is the equivalent of our labor and the proof of our slavery. The want adds in our newspapers have taken the place of the old auction block, and the pangs of hunger do the work of the overseer's whip. Slavery remains. The landlords and the tariff barons alone have a mastery over the fruits of men's labor which is vastly more valuable to them than was the labor of the negro to the chattel slave-holder.

—Sermon, Sunday, January 24, 1904.

Bishop Potter takes the ground that wages are going up while interest is going down; that labor is annually getting a larger share of the profits of industry; that, if anyone is entitled to our sympathy, it is the capitalist; but that everything will come out all right and that matters will regulate

themselves. Trust to luck and cheer up. That is not the advice one would offer to a school boy who has a difficult problem to solve. No school boy would expect the problem to come out all right anyway. But with this problem of the distribution of wealth, the Bishop tells us not to be worried; that it will solve itself.

To illustrate his notion of the relation between capital and labor the Bishop refers to the elephants that are used in the far East to load, unload and stack lumber. Their intelligence seems wonderful and their ability beyond conception. As you look closer, however, you see a little black figure on the neck of each elephant. Watch him closely and you will see that his bare heel rests with an intermittent pressure on the neck of the huge animal he rides, and there you have the secret of the whole business. The brute obeys the man. That is how the genius of capital uses labor—by invention, construction, organization and direction.

Is that the secret of the whole business? Does that metaphor go to the root of the matter? Does it not rather ignore a factor of very great importance?

The little black figure on the neck of the elephant is not a capitalist. He is a hired man. He is just as clearly a laborer as the elephant. He works with his head, it is true, while the animal works with his trunk. He is none the less a worker. The inventors, organizers and directors of industry are, properly speaking, workingmen. The capitalist can buy one kind of labor as well as another. It often happens that laborer and capitalist are combined in one person, where a man not only owns but also superintends a factory. His share then will include his earning as a manager as well as the interest on his capital. Each man should be rewarded according to his abilities. The vital question is this: Are there any who reap rewards, not by reason of their labor or their ability, but by reason of social advantages and monopoly privileges which are conferred upon them by law, and which make them masters, not only of the elephant of labor, but also of the man on his neck?

—Sermon, Friday, February 7, 1904.

A PLEA FOR ORGANIZATION.

In our Spring issue, Mr. F. G. Anderson, one of our devoted Swedish workers in the cause, whose address is Jamestown, N. Y., made a strong plea for a national organization. We think the time has come when this matter ought thoughtfully to be considered. In a later letter to the *REVIEW* Mr. Anderson says, "If my plan is not practical let us evolve some other."

Certainly our weakness is in the absence of organization. Our work could be better systematized with organization, and whatever line of action might be adopted the work could be made far more effective—

Such an organization is needed to take up the matter of an official organ that could be made a power for good, and that could be given a wider circulation than the *REVIEW* now has. Congressional and Legislative action could be influenced perhaps to some purpose, for the power which politicians respect is that of organization.

In a letter to the *REVIEW* Walter H. Roebuck, of the *Canadian Single Taxer*, whose experience entitles his opinion to consideration, says, "We should have an international organization. The need for this has long been felt, and the sooner we get together and form one the better it will be for the cause. When Johnson was at work in Ohio there should have been an international organization behind him with speakers and literature. Let us do something along these lines that will put the movement on a strong footing. It is absolutely necessary for us to get together and know each other if we are to work with the heart that is required for success."

As a preliminary to such organization why cannot a conference be called for some date in the coming Autumn?

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The two national conventions of the great parties have met, have nominated their candidates and formulated their platforms. On the tariff question one party affirms the principle of protection, and the other without affirming it refuses to deny or question it. Both hint at revision when necessary. One, however, insists that such revision must be undertaken by the friends of the tariff, but as the other party does not say it is the enemy of the tariff, this difference is not vital. Among the supporters of Judge Parker there are many whose friendship for the tariff amounts to positive devotion. Champ Clark, in a remarkable speech in the convention, took occasion to deny that the Democratic party is a free trade party, from which it follows that it, too, is a protection party.

There is little for the Single Taxer to do in this campaign but to point out the inefficacy of proposed remedies, and to refrain from active support of either party. This is in a way fortunate, for we have been accustomed to sacrifice too much in the past for too little.

We have received from Nankin, China, copies of a free translation into Chinese of Herbert Spence's "Social Statics" with Chinese illustrations by Dr. W. E. Macklin and Mr. Li Yu Shu. Also Patrick Edward Dove's "Theory of Human Progression," the book published in 1850 and which contained the germs of the doctrines which Henry George perfected and popularized thirty years later. This work of Dove's is a "Translation of the Idea, but with Chinese Illustrations," by Dr. W. E. Macklin.