

States, covered with wild grass, at that time untouched by the hand of civilized man—some of it within a mile of his home—the boy wondered to what might be due the mighty movement. What could be the attraction? What did these people seek?

He learned that the caravans he saw were but a fraction of a host, for by nearly every road across the State like droves were moving. He was impressed, but found no answer to the half-formed thought. Like most students who have passed the age of ten, he failed to observe that the emigrant is not seeking for, but fleeing from, a power—one that is felt rather than perceived.

Under this impulse the boy began to think as best he could within the circle of his limited experience, and some three years later he discovered that books had been written on a subject called political economy—a term that hitherto he had not known. The driest of these he eagerly devoured, and soon learned that the so-called conflict between capital and labor was the expression of an abused concept. He has not found it necessary to depart from the statement he formulated at that time, namely, "Naturally there is, and logically, there can be no conflict between capital and labor."

Trowbridge remained on the farm until twenty-two years of age, but varied this honorable industry by teaching school during the winters after he arrived at the age of eighteen. Subsequently he attended the Illinois State Normal University, graduating from that institution in 1885. During the latter year he was married to Alice C. McCormick, daughter of Professor Henry McCormick, vice-president of the State Normal University. Afterwards he was superintendent of City School, at Lacon, Illinois, for three years, during which time he studied law. Mr. Trowbridge practiced law in Chicago for eight years, and removed to Bloomington, Illinois, in 1896, where he has continued a large and remunerative practice of the law up to the present time. After this year it is his hope and expectation to devote a large part of his time to studying and writing on economic and philosophical questions. His taste and his natural and acquired equipments in these directions give strong promise of valuable results.

It was in the year 1883 that Trowbridge first read "Progress and Poverty," which he says is "an original work of great power and clearness, in which was first elaborated the doctrine of taxing ground for public revenue."

This work, the criticism it received, his previous reading on economic matters, and his native taste, all conspired to induce him to undertake the labor of producing a work on economics. Ten years elapsed before this undertaking was completed, but the book appeared in 1893 under the title of "Bisocialism: the Reign of the Man at the Margin." This work has challenged the

attention of the serious and capable. It will not have much effect on others. After reading it one gentleman said, "His ideas are so hard and set." This gentleman evidently preferred what is soft and loose. Bark defaulters would prefer that sort of bookkeeping—they need it in their business. Another critic wrote: "I cannot see that it adds anything to the learning of economic literature," and yet it is probably impossible to find elsewhere in print the theory of interest set forth in "Bisocialism."

Many other points might be cited, but a review of his work is not here intended. To those who read it, however, there will be revealed a strong, patient, moderate, yet stern nature.

While Mr. Trowbridge has been, and is, a successful lawyer, while no failure has marred his career, still the growth of the inward life has always proved more attractive to him than the glory of outward achievement.

#### TOUR OF JOHN Z. WHITE.

John Z. White began his eastern trip with a dinner at Cleveland, Ohio, at which there gathered a number of our friends who are making arrangements for a series of meetings some time during the coming winter. Single Tax men here as elsewhere are anxious to discover the best method of carrying the good news to their friends and neighbors. How can we popularize the doctrines of Henry George? The only reply to this question is to point to the work of George himself—agitate, proclaim the truth. Is your life worth more than his? Thomas Jefferson said something to the effect that all history proves that mankind will continue to suffer under the burdens that oppress him so long as those burdens are endurable, rather than indulge the effort necessary to be rid of them. There comes a time, however, when they will bear no longer. When that time arrives they will make changes, and those changes will be wise, or otherwise, according to the degree of knowledge the people possess. The time for agitation and education, therefore, is the period preceding the time of change—with us that time is "now." "Now, now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation." For it does not require a prophet to foretell a change of some sort in the not distant future.

The Chautauqua at Findley Lake, New York, was visited and an address on the Single Tax was the cause of quite a discussion. One good farmer said, "Well, you have given us something to think about, anyway." We have some good friends at this point, but most of the crowds at these gatherings prefer amusement. The fact that fundamental economics are admitted as subjects of discussion, and that the discussion can be carried on without animosity is cause for congratulation. That this was

accomplished is shown by the fact that it was proposed to "repeat the offence" at the same place next year. The explanation was continued to quite a group on the grounds after adjournment of the regular meeting.

At Pittsburgh, Pa., two meetings were held. The first on Sunday morning in a church in that good city. It proved a very delightful gathering whose members needed no diagram to explain either jest or argument. If we are to judge by our meagre experience, smoke does not injure the intellectual capacity—perhaps, though, they are acclimated. Pittsburgh ought to be one of the favorite cities of the United States. It is decidedly picturesque in its natural features, but look at the condition in which some of the people live. We know of soldiers living in barracks or military reservations, like stalled horses or cattle, but here are families of men, women and children living inside the old stockade of which we heard so much at the time of the Homestead labor troubles. They are living in much poorer surroundings than one sees at military reservations. Perhaps they are as well situated as the soldiers in the matter of hygiene, but there is an utter absence of anything in the way of stimulus to an existence that shall include the slightest aspiration above animal requirements. We do not know just how, but understand that in some way a revenue is drawn from the toil of these families which in part is used to provide other communities with books—and, incidentally, one individual with cheap notoriety. Pittsburgh is probably no worse than other places, but somehow it seems more bald in its misery. The enormous productive power expressed in the great Westinghouse establishment and other similar concerns, in such close association with evident and extreme poverty, served to emphasize the tragedy of our time. Poverty is seemingly deepest where the power to produce is greatest.

The Chautauqua at Cumberland, Md., was next visited. At this point it was hoped Rabbi J. L. Sterne would be seen, but the good Rabbi had removed to New York, where he will no doubt continue the energetic work so persistently carried forward in Cumberland and vicinity. There are some Single Tax men in and about the city, though it is likely more have, like the Rabbi, left for a point of more extended survey. Several of our friends, however, appeared at the meeting devoted to the doctrines of Henry George and were ready with praise and good wishes. The audience was "distant" at first, but gradually yielded, and a good many were desirous of fuller knowledge of the subject. They were of course referred to E. B. Swinney, 720 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, for literature. Chautauqua circles show the life of our people—as, in truth, does each variety of

association. Bring the people together, and whatever is common to all of them will appear on the surface. At the Chautauqua the one thing desired, and for which the people are willing to pay, is amusement. They will, however, give some time to serious matters, provided—always provided—no adverse criticism of existing social and religious conditions is indulged. There seems to be a feeling that in these matters any jar is likely to prove fatal. There is a feeling that something is wrong, and most people are afraid to pull the wrong into the light. Many questions were asked at this meeting, and there was some talk of arranging for local meetings for the purpose of further study.

The capital of "our beloved country" was visited and three gatherings were addressed, all of which were productive of discussions both enjoyable and profitable. If any Single Tax man or woman finds occasion to visit Washington, we urge a careful examination of the Congressional Library building as another illustration of our social paradox. The building is a veritable poem; the estimated cost was reduced by Congress; the less amount thus offered was not wholly used, and the balance was returned to the coffers of Uncle Samuel. All of these results, achieved by the same people who permit the growth and development of the combinations that are just at present enjoying a view of themselves at the hands of Thos. Lawson, in *Everybody's Magazine*, reveal the possibilities for good and evil that exist side by side throughout our civilization. These antagonistic forces prevent a complete development in either direction, and any arrested development is in some degree abnormal; and certain it is, the abnormal cannot last. When we realize that the Congressional Library building is but the result of rational adaptation of means to ends, with beauty and justice for objects, and that the Lawson combinations are the results of the adaptation of means to ends, with that which is ugly and unjust as necessary objects, we perceive how very small are the obstacles that lie in the pathway leading to the good, the true, and the beautiful. The forces by which wrong are done are identical with those by whose aid righteousness is achieved. The difference is wholly in the plan of adjustment—and control of the plan is entirely within our volition.

A pleasant dinner was given at Baltimore and a very enjoyable afternoon spent in looking over the burned district and in interviewing the city officials who have charge of the rebuilding of that portion of the city. It is admitted by these officials that the land burned over was worth more the day after the fire than it was the day before. As a result none of them were at all anxious to maintain the popular notion that the value of land is caused by the

improvements made upon it. Here was land not only without improvements, but covered with a mass of rubbish that would cost a very great sum to clear away, yet this land was, and is, worth more with all this obstruction to use than when fitted for general business with all of the previously existing improvements. It certainly presents an excellent condition for Single Tax "explanation," and our good friends, W. J. Ogden and Dr. Hill are not slow to take advantage of the opportunity—neither are the landlords.

At Wilmington, Delaware, a banquet was held at the Clayton Hotel, with an attendance of probably one hundred and fifty. The subject for discussion was the referendum. The need of a popular check on some notorious characters in public life is more and more keenly felt, and the gathering, which included many of the leading citizens of Wilmington, were evidently well pleased with the moderate tone of all the ideas advanced. The papers gave a very full and favorable account of the banquet and programme. Mr. Francis I. du Pont is quietly calling on all citizens to take a somewhat more definite and emphatic interest in public questions with the intention of bringing to public business a portion of the common sense that is customarily exercised in the conduct of private affairs.

A dinner party was attended at Philadelphia, and the Single Tax men of that good city are worth while. They are intense, and they mean to make this world a better place to live in than it ever was before—they know what they want and they know how to get it, if there is not too much opposition.

At Meriden, Conn., a debate was arranged with a prominent Socialist, and Mr. Cary, on the relative merits of the Single Tax and Socialism. The audience was not friendly to the Single Tax position at first—was apparently merely curious as to both Single Tax and Socialism, but before the close of the discussion the vigorous defense of the institution of private property brought most of the body to our support. Mr. Cary is a strong advocate of his "ism," and is evidently sincerely of the opinion that Socialism offers the only plan whereby labor can be equitably compensated. He, like most of those who believe with him, thinks competition has broken down in practice, when, in fact, it has never been fairly tried. They are like those who insist that representative government has proved a failure, when the truth is that the world has never given us more than a very partial trial. We do not desire a change of any of our American institutions, but do desire a change of some details of the governmental machinery whereby American ideals may be realized.

A dinner by the New York and Brooklyn

Central Labor Unions, which was designed as a first step toward amalgamation by those bodies, was given on Aug. 21, and was a very enjoyable occasion. Among the better features of the evening was an address by the celebrated "Mother Jones" who had but just returned from the mining regions of Colorado, and, being a lover of truth and justice, felt herself and all honest citizens to be outraged by the condition of affairs her investigations revealed in that State. The address on "The Duty of Labor in the Present Crisis" was received with great approval and much applause. The affair was thought to be a great success, and did not adjourn until an hour past midnight. A. J. Boulton, of Brooklyn, was toastmaster—and a good one.

Meetings were also held at Bridgeport and Hartford, Conn., and an open air meeting was attended at 125th St., New York. The boys are doing good work at this point.

A number of meetings were held in Rhode Island. Governor Garvin and his secretary, Robert Grieve, together with a goodly number of their associates are carrying on a continual agitation for improved social conditions. Meetings were held in three churches, also an address made before the Young Men's Christian Association, and before a session of the University Club, on which occasion Col. Robert P. Brown was host. Three or four other gatherings were attended, and at all of them a hearty invitation to call again was extended. Through the good offices of the Governor, Mr. White was given excellent opportunities to present our views, and the chief executive was highly pleased with results.

At New Bedford, Mass., six meetings were held, including the North End Merchant's Club, Men's Union, Board of Trade, South End Merchant's Club, and the Central Labor Union. S. S. Tabor is possibly the most energetic of local Single Tax men, and anyone who shall surpass him in persistent endeavors will truly deserve a crown of glory. These meetings were beneficial, in that all sorts of people attended. At the Board of Trade the president of the New Bedford Gas and Electric Co., Geo. R. Stettson, asked a number of questions, to the very great pleasure of some of our friends who also were present. The president of the Board of Trade, Rufus A. Soule, who is ex-president of the Massachusetts State Senate, volunteered the opinion that municipalities should assume control of public utilities as far as experience shall demonstrate to be necessary in order to eliminate private monopoly of the common right—that is, the right of way, or the opportunity to do business. If experience shall show that this end can be attained only by complete public operation—well, when public operation it is. New Bedford is

all right. Local papers gave considerable notice—critically and otherwise.

One meeting was held in Fall River, where the great strike is in progress among the cotton mill operatives. The meeting was well attended—mostly by the men usually referred to as "laboring men." This term always suggests the notion that some men are not labor men. If the suggestion is based on truth, one might well inquire as to how those who are not labor men get a living. Is it possible to live without working? What has become of the Bible saying, "He that does not work, neither shall he eat?" The newspapers of Fall River gave us considerable space, but, while the audience appeared to understand, the reporters were apparently unable to "get the hang" of a democratic idea. May be they have so long reported plutocratic sentiments that the sense of equity has become dull. In describing the nature of landlordism the statement was that "we have to yield a part of what we produce in return for permission to work; and it is by virtue of a grant of legal power that these men get this amount." The reporter wrote: "We have to yield what we produce to grant the legal power for these men to get that amount." The distinction between land and rent is quite beyond these gentlemen. Instead of concentrating our efforts on a single State, would it not be a good plan to concentrate on the reporters. One paper managed the matter somewhat better, however, and reported as follows:

"In the Skinner's Hall last night John Z. White, of Chicago, delivered a highly entertaining lecture on 'How to Prevent Strikes.' Mr. White is a very clever and witty speaker, and his stories were of merit and well told. He spoke in part as follows:

"The chairman has recommended that we should not believe anything that comes to us from editorials in certain newspapers, Democratic or Republican. I would suggest that after all, possibly there are so many editorials of a political kind that all cannot be wrong, even though they tried to make them wrong. When a man talks all the time, as editorial writers do, he is bound to tell the truth once in a while, if only by mistake. However, I shall have to concur with the chairman upon the idea that you should arrive at judgment of your own, and I shall caution you in advance not to believe anything I shall say. I do not appeal to your belief. I hope you will understand what I say, and understanding it, will be able to pass your individual judgment upon its merits. I shall refer to political matters, but do not ask you to join or sever your connections with any political party. I appeal to you as American citizens, simply as men. I appeal to your understanding alone, not to your belief.

"I have read some interviews with pastors in your city relative to the strike here. Only one of them seemed to have

any degree of wisdom; the rest were all kind and sympathetic, but did not know anything about the matter. This man said if we consider any method of settlement of this disturbance we must consider the whole industry, not a part of it. When a business man makes up his balance sheets to see whether he is making or losing money he wants the whole account. This is the correct idea. Let us consider the whole industry. Spinning and weaving cotton cloth is not the whole matter, for you would spin a long time before your toil would supply you with a loaf of bread. Other toilers are raising grain, rearing cattle, etc., for your need, while you are making cotton cloth for them, and thus a consideration of the "whole industry" (and it is the only reasonable method of investigation) leads through many exchanges.

"Why do we work? Is it not because we become hungry and cold if we refuse? Is not the reward of the toiler wages? Is it not true, therefore, that an inquiry concerning strikes is an inquiry concerning wages?

"I must have clothing and shelter in order to live. Every man, woman and child on this earth must have food, clothing and shelter or die. I can get food, clothing and shelter only by work. No man ever got food to eat or clothing to wear or shelter for protection except by work. Of course it might be someone else's work, but until labor begins there is no food or no shelter. There is not an article of food or clothing in the world that was not produced by human toil. Labor is cash payment of nature, and here we meet the test question—to whom, when these things are made, do they rightfully belong? The answer to that question is the answer to every question in the whole industrial world. The answer to that question will determine the question of wages. It will determine the cause of strikes. It will determine the power of society. It will determine the equities as between men upon the material field.

"When any article is produced who rightfully owns it? The thing primarily belongs to the man or group of men that participate in its production. Labor primarily owns all wealth, in justice, not a part of it. That is the basis of the institution of private property. The fact that one individual or other individuals associated with him produce wealth is what makes property sacred. It would not have been in existence except for the exertions of these individuals. Therefore does this group own it, each in proportion to the amount of labor he has contributed to its production. The property right is originally with the laborer. You can't sell labor. You can't buy labor. We talk about buying and selling labor, but we talk about the sun rising when it doesn't rise, but appears to rise. We sell the property right in our product. We call it getting wages. You get the pro-

duct of my labor, not my labor. You get the product of my skill, not skill itself.

"If each man who toils gets what he produces there will be nothing left for anybody else. That is a very important part of the labor question. Do you get what you produce? You make a stove and you get wages enough to buy a cover. You make a wagon and you get wages enough to buy a wheel. Andrew Carnegie, the great Scotchman, said that the most surprised he ever was in all his life was when he learned that the man who did the work was not the man who got rich. Andrew Carnegie discovered that some way or other there was a trick in the combination whereby the men who did the work were not the men who get rich.

"It is true, as stated, that all wealth is produced by labor, but labor of itself can make nothing. Labor must be placed in possession of the natural material of which articles of wealth are made. This material is called "land." At every step in production there is the conjunction of land and labor. Land is owned by a relatively few. It therefore follows that wealth is divided between those who own the earth and those who work upon it. These funds may be called the wage fund and the rent fund, and payments of whatsoever nature must be made from one or the other—including public taxes.

"To-day nearly all taxes are laid upon wages. As a result labor supports the owners of land by paying rent to them, supports government by paying taxes, and, as a consequence of failing to tax rent, it becomes profitable to hold land vacant in anticipation of future rent. This forces labor to produce at an enormous disadvantage, because being forced, by the high price of vacant land in our cities, to inferior lands, their toil is less productive. Further, being thus scattered, the expense of government becomes abnormally large; with the result that we not only support landlords, but rent is artificially high; we not only support government, but taxes are artificially high; we not only must produce in order to live, but production is made artificially low. Added to all this is the fact that the difficulty of making a living stimulates dishonesty, and we come to enjoy the blessings of boodle.

"Remove taxes from industry and place them upon the value of land and all the above enumerated effects will be reversed.

"We the people have enacted and are enforcing regulations whereby some men are given legal power through the force of which they levy tribute upon every man who toils. We yield that which we produce and then wonder why we are poor."

At Boston meetings were held in various parts of the city. The first was a dinner, which was very favorably reported.

The Newton Single Tax Club held a meeting on Sept. 26th. This meeting was reported in the *Newton Journal*.

Addresses were also made in Boston before the Franklin Square House, the Building Trades Council, the Polishers' Buffers' & Plasterers' Union, when the chairman, Geo. W. Lever, said on shaking hands at the close, "That's the best labor speech I ever heard." The work was also noted editorially in the *Boston Herald*.

A good meeting was held in Worcester, Mass., which was attended by professional and business men, and a full representation of officials of trade unions. Prof. A. T. Chamberlain, of Clark University, presided. Our friends insist that only the largest hall in the city will answer for the next visit to Worcester. The Single Tax men of that city are earnest workers.

### News—Domestic.

GEORGIA, ATLANTA. — (Special Correspondence.—Wm. Riley Boyd.)—The people of the South are confronted by the problem, How shall the rural home be made secure and good order preserved? Some recent acts of lawlessness by negroes, followed by cruel law-breaking and outrage by the whites, suggest a need for radical changes. If it be possible to induce on the part of the idle negro in the cities a migration back to the land, if access to the land were made possible, if the law-abiding negro be protected under the law, not outside of it, and the law-breaker of *both* races be sternly dealt with by our "best citizens," we might look for substantial gain in material prosperity. Only a small percentage of negroes commit nameless outrages, only a small number of whites engage in lynchings of criminals; the majority desire the reign of law, and in time will have it. The Single Tax applied would rid us of nearly every hindrance to advancement. The occupant of the land becomes conservative and law-abiding. Continue to advocate our cause and the South will feel the impetus of a better civilization.

ILLINOIS, CHICAGO.—(Special Correspondence.—G. J. Foyer.)—The members of the club here have given much discussion to the coming Presidential campaign which seems to interest little those active in the various reform movements. The conservative Single Taxer can see little or no hope in capturing the Democratic Party, and looking in this direction the goal seems further off than ever. The Single Taxer who has been in favor of political action credits himself with being "disgusted" once more, while the most of the Single Taxers have vowed to vote for Roosevelt or Tom Watson, and go so far as saying they would register their protest by voting for Debs. First Bryan and 16 to 1 is getting close to us, next Tom L. Johnson is going to capture Ohio. Then everything goes