

In Carter	"	3		3	"	"	180,000 acres
" Iron	"	5	"	8	"	"	118,600 "
" Butler	"	7	"	4	"	"	116,286 "
" Riley	"	13	"	7	"	"	127,600 "
" Mississippi	"	14	"	own .....			64,640 "

Making a total in these 14 counties of..... 1,218,783 acres

The most conservative estimates place the amount of land thus monopolized in that portion of the State lying South of the Missouri River at thirty millions of acres.

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## PROGRESS AND POVERTY,

(For the Review.)

By JOHN BAGOT.

(This article is a description of the work which is the text book for those engaged in the war for the Single Tax. It is printed for the benefit of those who have not yet read the book, with the hope that it may induce them to seek a closer acquaintance with the most inspiring volume of the century. Mr. Bagot is the editor of *Middleton Guardian*, of England, a paper which is an influential advocate of our doctrines).

In the year 1865 a young printer stopped a man in the streets of San Francisco and told him he wanted five dollars. The man asked him what he wanted the money for, and the reply was that his wife had just been confined, and that there was nothing to eat in the house. The money was paid over. "If he had not given it me," Henry George afterwards said, "I think I was desperate enough to have killed him."

This young printer had a big struggle with poverty, and it set him thinking how it was that as countries progressed and gained in wealth, it became harder for the great majority of people to earn a living. He afterwards saw little children fighting for crusts of bread picked up in the streets of New York, and he thereupon made a vow to seek out and do his utmost to remove the cause which condemned children to lead such a life.

That resolve never left him, and in the year 1879 appeared the author's edition of "Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions, and of Increase of Want with increase of Wealth," set up in type by himself and his friend, after D. Appleton & Co., the great American publishers, had declined to take the risk of putting the book before the public. The book was printed by an old schoolfellow of Henry George, by name William F. Hinton, and in a very few years its fame became world-wide. The book has since been translated into several languages. It is going strong to day, and is the text-book of all effectual efforts to settle the social problem.

The civilized world is filled with the fame of Progress and Poverty. And people who have not read the book advocate the taxation of land values as the first step in social reform. That is because George's teachings have permeated the thoughts of men and women, who instinctively recognize the justice of the reform, though they know nothing of its author.

The reason why Progress and Poverty moves the minds of men and moulds their convictions in a way never before achieved by any other work on political economy is that in it economic law is shown to harmonize with natural law, and so to justify the ways of God to men. Where the so-called political economy, still unfortunately taught in our great educational institutions, fails to account for or find a solution for such important problems as involuntary unemployment and poverty, this great book not only seeks out and demonstrates the cause of and the remedy for these evils, but also convinces the student and determines him to work for the great reform.

Progress and Poverty includes an interesting introduction, ten books, making in all forty-three chapters, and an eloquent and impressive conclusion, "The Problem of the Individual Life." The end of this inquiry sought is the cause that produces poverty along with growing civilization and wealth. Political Economy, the science that treats of the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, should answer the question with the same directness that arithmetic determines that two and two make four: but when he goes to the authorities, the utmost confusion is created in the mind of the student. Professors disagree with each other on fundamental points, and in no case are they able properly to define wealth, the object of which the science treats. But more than this, they have written into the science fallacies of so cruel and atheistic a nature, that it has become a bye-word among those who seek the uplifting of their fellows, and has caused them to stigmatise Political Economy as the "dismal science." But Political Economy is not a dismal science. Rightly understood and applied it will solve the serious problems that are now engaging the attention of so many of us. Henry George understood the science, and if we follow him, we too may learn the cause of advancing poverty amid advancing wealth; we too may point to the remedy.

Seeking the cause of poverty first in the laws of the production of wealth, George deals in two books with the important question of wages and capital, and population and subsistence. He examines and refutes a mass of errors taught by so-called economists. Wages, he shows, are not drawn from capital, but are produced by the labor for which they are paid. Capital is neither land nor labor, but is part of that wealth produced by the union of the two that is set aside for the assistance of labor in producing further wealth. The Malthusian theory, that population has a natural tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence, is proved to have no foundation. There is nothing in the laws of production, properly understood, to account for the distressing poverty we see in all civilized states.

Two most important books are then devoted to the elucidation of the

laws that govern the distribution of wealth. The first of these contains eight chapters, dealing with rent, interest, spurious capital, the law of interest, wages and the law of wages, and finally, after in the first place showing the necessity for these laws harmonizing, George demonstrates the correlation of these laws, and explains the position thus attained. This solves the problem. It had suited previous teachers of Political Economy to describe the laws of the distribution of wealth as of man's devising, whereas the laws of production are natural laws. They declared that the province of Political Economy ceased when the act of production was complete. John Stuart Mill said: "The distribution of wealth is a matter of human institution solely. The things once there, mankind, individually or collectively, can do with them as they like. They can place them at the disposal of whomsoever they please, and on whatever terms." But Henry George proves this to be an infraction of the natural law, and clearly shows that while the laws of production are material laws of nature, to which the word "ought" cannot apply, the laws of distribution are ethical, and their infraction leads to diverse ills in the body politic, chief among which is that of poverty.

To show how the laws of distribution, rightly observed, will solve the problem of poverty, it is necessary to point out that, while all wealth is produced from the application of labor and capital to land, the product is distributed between the landowner, the capitalist, and the laborer, in the shape of rent, interest, and wages. This is a natural process, and no human laws or customs can either abolish or modify it. But while rent, interest, and wages are the result of natural law, and cannot be abolished by human regulation, it is manifest that a monopoly of the land by a comparative few of the population unjustly reduces the returns to labor and capital. George proves that, in consequence of land monopoly, wages and interest tend constantly to the lowest point at which labor and capital can be reproduced. Any increase of production above that point is swallowed up by the holders of land. They are masters of the situation. Increase of population, improvements in the arts and in the habits of the people, and all other national progress tend constantly to increase rent and to reduce wages.

Having solved the problem, Henry George proceeds just as clearly to indicate the remedy. Discarding all palliatives, which only end in increasing the power of landowners, he maintains that the only way to cure the evil of involuntary poverty is to remove its cause. Poverty deepens as wealth increases and wages are forced down while productive power grows, because land, which is the source of all wealth and the field of all labor is monopolized. The remedy therefore for the unjust distribution of wealth and for all the evils that flow from it is to make land common property.

In the chapter, "Justice of the Remedy," it is shown that if a man has a right to himself, to the use of his own faculties, and to the fruits of his own exertion, if it be wrong to hold him in slavery, then he must also have the right to freedom of access to the means of subsistence. That is a basic right, and before it all considerations of unrestricted private property in land must bend.

The way to accomplish this is by the State gradually taking over the rental value of land by taxation. The Single Tax on Land Values is a natural tax, and therefore the best tax. It would not place a fine upon production; it would be easily and cheaply collected and the whole amount of it, less the cost of collection, would go into the public coffers; it could be actually appraised and there could be no fraud: and no one would be differentially treated, all paying according to the benefits they received from the community.

The great gain that would accrue from this reform is shown to be perfect human freedom. In the scramble for what is left of the world's wealth after the payment of rent, there are many besides the landowners who contrive to live in comfort and even luxury. The vast majority of people, however, fare badly. But under the regime sought for by Henry George all men would be free to take advantage of natural opportunities, and there would be a constant ebb and flow in the possession of wealth. While all who worked would have enough and to spare, the tendency would also be towards a leveling in the actual possession of wealth. Into the affairs of human life, as in all natural things, would enter the principles of equalization and compensation.

When George wrote his chapter on "The Law of Human Progress," the Darwinian and Spencerian theories were fashionable. Much has happened since to justify the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone's adjuration to keep an open mind. The accepted theory of that time, and probably yet to a considerable extent, was that the progress of civilization is the result of forces that slowly change the character and improve and elevate the powers of man, that the difference between civilized man and the savage is that of a long race education which has become permanently fixed in mental organization; and that this improvement tends to go on indefinitely to a higher and higher civilization.

Henry George confutes this. History is against it. So also is the existence of such nations as the Chinese. Experience is against such a view. Anyone who looks about him can see that the civilization we now enjoy is but a veneer, and that very little would be required to bring about a return to utter barbarism. Civilization is not a thing that passes from father to son, but is essentially a matter of social order and justice. It passes from hand to hand like skill and knowledge, and so the virtues and vices of one generation pass to the next for correction or development.

The law of human progress is association in equality. This does not mean equality in wealth any more than men are equally tall or strong, but it does mean that there shall not be such striking disparities as those we now see around us. The cause of social disparities is the power possessed by some to make others work for them without rendering equivalent service in return, and this power arises primarily from land monopoly. Take that away, and compel all who can to earn their own living, and then the law of human progress will come into force.

The concluding chapter of "Progress and Poverty" is characteristic of the author. In the "Problem of Individual Life" we are told that, although all doubt respecting the first cause of all things and the future beyond death

will certainly not be removed by the restoration of the natural order, many stumbling-blocks to faith will disappear. On the occasion of Henry George's visit to Cardinal Manning, it was remarked that they had travelled to the same goal of faith in God from opposite directions. "I loved the people," said George, "and that love brought me to Christ as their best friend and teacher." "And I," said the Cardinal, "Loved Christ, and so learned to love the people for whom He died."

The Single Tax cause is the cause of Christ and of His disinherited brethren, and the only real progressive reform is that as taught in "Progress and Poverty." All other reforms, under existing circumstances, but enhance the value of land, and so perpetuate the evils under which all civilized nations groan, and from the consequences of which we have very much to dread. But the movement for the Taxation of Land Values is a root reform; is indeed, as Henry George puts it, the only remedy for involuntary poverty. In it there is hope, because it is based on equal justice to all.

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## PROPAGANDA AMONG THE FOREIGN BORN,

*(For the Review.)*

By C. M. KOEDT.

(The author of the succeeding article is the Danish consul in Chicago. The suggestions made by Mr. Koedt deserve the attention of our readers. These are matters too, which the Literature Committee of the Fel's Fund may profitably consider).

I have sometimes wondered why the Henry George movement has practically no following among our foreign population—those from non-English speaking countries. Individual followers there are, of course, but their number, it appears, has failed to crystalize into societies and hence to add strength to the demand for a transfer of the unearned increment of land from private to social uses.

The United States census of 1900 says 34.3 per cent. of the population were of wholly or partly foreign parentage, including 13.7 per cent. of foreign born. Thus, just to mention one city, there were in Chicago: 19,349 of Austrian parentage; 76,480 of Bohemian; 11,206 of French Canadian; 6,608 of French; 16,563 of Danish; 416,755 of German; 6,966 of Hungarian; 26,810 of Italian; 41,055 of Norwegian; 109,711 of Polish (German); 17,219 Polish (Russian); 38,589 of Russian; 100,176 of Swedish; 5,847 of Swiss; and many thousands more of others, from non-English speaking countries.

There are about 1600 foreign language newspapers and periodicals published in the United States.

Exclusive of Church affiliations, Political organizations, and Labor-Unions, these people have, conservatively estimated, more than two thousand