

THE Golden Age will be ushered in when governments conform to the same ethical principles which universally obtain among men: When governments shall, for their necessary expenses, make full use of their only legitimate source of revenue, the rental value of land: When consequently, all other taxes shall be abolished: When land speculation and land monopoly shall cease: When all men shall enjoy an equal right to the use of the Earth: When commerce between nations shall be as free as it now is between the states of the Union: When the philosophy of Henry George shall have become a beneficent reality.—HENRY WARE ALLEN.

TARIFFS A MENACE TO PEACE

[Extracts from an address by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at Southampton, L. I., Sept. 2, 1929.]

THE certain and revolutionary result of the shift which has taken place in the centre of gravity of human interest is to put wealth in the position which liberty used to occupy. This displacement more than anything else explains the extraordinary decline of political liberalism which has taken place in both Europe and the United States. 'It bores me to hear you discuss liberty,' said a young Oxford man, who is now a member of the House of Commons. He was perfectly sincere and he spoke the language of his generation. For him at least, and for millions like-minded with him, the centre of gravity of human interest had definitely moved from the politics of principle to the politics of interest, from problems of liberty to problems of wealth.

"A stupendous amount of nonsense has been written about the economic interpretation of history. Of course the gainseeking motive has never been absent from human life and human society, but time and again and for long periods of time it has been so far in the background as to be without measurable influence on the course of events. Moreover, when the gainseeking motive is confronted, as it so frequently is in the life history of men and women, by an alternative based on character, on high principle, on large intelligence, it often goes to the wall.

"The present eclipse of liberalism is so plain that he who runs may read. In part, this eclipse may be due to the fact that what were once distinctive liberal principles have now been either accepted or assimilated by groups and by parties which do not proclaim themselves liberal. In still larger part, however, this eclipse is due to that shift in the centre of gravity from liberty to wealth, which has already been described. The enormous influence of this dominant motive on all human conduct and on all public policies is plain. It controls an increasing number of individual lives and it is shaping most powerfully the policies of nations both new and old, for the production and distribution of wealth is distinctly a collective or group act rather than an expression and revelation of individuality, as is the case in letters, the fine arts or philosophy. In the field of scientific research, individual achievements of the highest order fortunately remain.

"The economic interest is now bound up closely, although we must hope not permanently or even for any considerable time, with that extreme form of nationalism which brought on the great war and which was sent to its destruction by and through that war. If narrow nationalism, built on a truly political foundation, could not do better than it did, what can possibly be expected of a narrow nationalism that is built on an economic foundation? The world is just now standing at a crossroads. It may take the path in one direction which will make agriculture, industry, commerce, trade, finance, the fortunate means of uniting the whole world, of increasing its prosperity and of buttress-

ing its peace; or it can take the opposite path which will turn the nation into narrow-minded, unsympathetic, jealous and quarreling neighbor and so prepare the way for another cataclysm which, if it should come, would mark civilization's end.

"What are we going to do about it? Where shall our influence be thrown? Shall it be for a repetition of the old stupidities, the old ignorances and the old antagonisms or shall it be for a new world order in which selfish competition shall be supplanted by kindly and large minded cooperation? That is in substance the crucial question which at this moment awaits answer by leaders of opinion in every land.

"It so happens that passing events in our own country offer excellent illustration of the alternative which is before the world.

"It is perfectly possible for Congress in enacting new tariff legislation to advance or to set back the prosperity and the peace of the world. The time has long since gone by when tariff legislation is purely a domestic matter. For the United States, as for Great Britain, for France for Germany, for Italy and indeed for almost every land, tariff legislation is primarily international in its incidence and in its more lasting results. Plainly the time has not come nor is it in sight when Richard Cobden's ideal of absolute freedom of international trade is possible even if practicable. The differences of level between the industrial systems of various nations are still too great to permit entire freedom of trade without overturning much that we should all like to keep secure. On the other hand, the goal of any tariff system should be, as Garfield long ago declared it to be, an increasing freedom of trade and international intercourse. In other words, tariffs established for other purposes than revenue are not ends in themselves, but means to an end. When those ends are achieved, the means toward them may be dispensed with."

Asserting that it was impossible for the existing economic situation in Europe to continue long, Dr. Butler maintained that a new economic administrative unity on the Continent with an increasing measure of free trade among its component parts was in the offing.

"Given a coherent, reasonable and well-administered economic union, there would appear to be no reason why the same conditions—high wages, mass production, cheap and quick communication, and installment buying which prevail throughout that free-trade area which is the United States, should not quickly come to prevail throughout another free-trade area which would be the economic union of the United States of Europe.

"From both these great economic unities the British Commonwealth of Nations stands apart, and it is that fact and its implications and possibilities which are likely to govern and direct British policy, domestic and foreign, for a generation to come. An alternative before the British Commonwealth of Nations would appear to be either to join the economic union which will be the United States of Europe, or to institute a new and third economic union, world-wide in its scope and magnificent in its proportions, on the foundation of the British Commonwealth of Nations itself. * * * * *

"If to the United States of America, there were added two additional economic unions, the United States of Europe and the British Commonwealth of Nations, each protecting a huge and widely diversified area over which absolute free trade would prevail, Cobden's ideal would have come near to accomplishment, although in a form which he himself could hardly have forecast."

"It is plain that all these problems and considerations are the accompaniment of that change of the centre of gravity of which I am primarily speaking. If men were chiefly concerned with the form of political institutions, with representative government, with the protection of civil liberty, with poetry, philosophy and the religious life, then the most significant and striking individuals would be leaders of the people, poets, philosophers and religious teachers. The fact that they are not is a measure and an index of the change which has taken place."

"What is to be the end of it all? Surely it would be a sorry day for the world if zeal for liberty, if poetry, philosophy and religion were permanently to remain in the background and were to cease to hold their once dominant place in the life and the minds of men. It would be a long step backward if, through the substitution of wealth for liberty, men were to become permanently materially minded and gradually to slip back into the state of industrious and contented ants. A way must be found to correlate this new economic motive and ideal with the older intellectual, political and religious motives and ideals and to enrich each by the other. That this is no easy task goes without saying.

"First of all, men must be made conscious of the contradictions that have come into their lives through failure to realize that this centre of gravity has shifted. Americans of the officeholding and office-seeking class continue today to quote Jefferson and to roll up their eyes and to boast at the name of Lincoln, while flatly contradicting in thought in feeling and in act the most precise, the most fundamental, and the most far-reaching teachings of these great leaders of men. The same is true in Great Britain. Many a man calls himself a Liberal today, who, by the influence and his vote, is going quite contrary to the example and the teachings of Gladstone and of Campbell Bannerman.

"Everything would seem to depend upon our capacity really to know what is going on. This means the acquisition and the use of the power to think. It means the acquisition and use of the power to discriminate between rumor and fact, between hope and accomplishment. It means the possession of a body of principles of life, of thought and of conduct that will offer both a baseline from which to measure and a cornerstone on which to build in approaching the understanding and interpretation of these new phenomena in the world.

"It is my own belief that there is no necessary opposition between these two centres of gravity. I think it can be shown that as liberty is a chief interest and ideal was the natural outgrowth of circumstances and happenings that preceded it, so wealth can be shown to be related to the zeal for liberty. We must not let them quarrel and set up opposition one to the other. We must not let them, either singly or in combination, dominate the lives of men and nations for the production of a more of narrow, selfish, unsympathetic nationalism. We must expend every energy to make both defense of liberty and the production and just distribution of wealth a means of building the moral fiber of individuals and of nations, and of bringing the peoples of the earth into increasingly close friendship, interdependence, understanding and cooperation for high purpose."

COMMUNICATIONS

J. R. HERMANN'S TRIBUTE TO F. H. MONROE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:—

The death of Fred Monroe takes me back thirty years or more. I had just finished a speaking tour of Missouri. I was less than thirty years old. I passed through Chicago and stopped to visit the Single Tax Club at Handel Hall. Mr. Monroe was its president, its very life. He was young and full of enthusiasm and he invited me to the platform where I gave a detailed account of my trip through Missouri. In the audience were John Z. White, Louis F. Post and others.

After the meeting I had several talks with Monroe and got his viewpoint and his plans for the future. He had been a successful book agent in Denver and for that matter was a successful book agent all his life. He told me his plan was to organize a movement patterned on the Y. M. C. A., that the Single Tax movement could get support from moneyed men just as the Y. M. C. A. did, and was the backbone for young men like we both were. That looked plausible to some extent though I had my misgivings. I never felt they would give much to the real thing. I went to Peoria for the winter and stayed with Robert Cumming and Jimmie Hill. Monroe told me if I could get some favorable comment on my ability as a speaker he thought he could get money to keep me on the road. I then made speeches

in the state of Illinois and got much favorable comment from the reporters regardless of the topic. I sent copies to Monroe. The following summer I went to Colorado to campaign for the Bucklin Bill. In the meantime Monroe went ahead and raised money for John Z. White.

Last Spring I was genuinely glad to clasp his hand. However great our differences, he had done much to revive interest in the movement. At this meeting I experienced one of those indefinable impressions that this was the last time I should ever talk to him. He did represent a real figure in the movement and kept eternally at it no matter how often he was snubbed, knocked down or beaten. Despite our differences I could not but honor him.

J. R. HERMANN.

ASHLEY MITCHELL APPLAUDS THE CONFERENCE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

We had a fine Conference at Edinburgh, the tone was splendid throughout, and we got great publicity, especially in the Scottish papers. We have received at the Tothill street office a letter from one of our members in Scotland who says that people were asking him, "Who is this Henry George that everyone is talking about?"

I feel sure that the Conference will have helped to make the sentiment stronger for a definite move in the next Budget by Philip Snowden. President Hennessy's address was brilliant and will live in the records of our cause. He started the Conference on a high pitch which seemed to be the key note throughout, and if any one had suggested that we were not preaching the full gospel of Henry George no answer would have been necessary; the atmosphere of the Conference was the proof.

The social gathering on July 30 to commemorate the Jubilee of "Progress and Poverty" was extraordinarily significant. I only wish that all the devoted followers of Henry George had been there. We had a most suitable address from Mrs. Anna George deMille, followed by shorter contributions from representative men of different countries who with a few words added impressively to the occasion. Notable among these speakers were Messrs. Canning, Millikin, and Holt of the United States, Albendin of Spain, and Jacobs of England.

The American delegates added to the effectiveness of the Conference, both Baldwin and Murphy doing good work, and Chester C. Platt, and Messrs. Thompson and Roebuck of Canada. If Mr. Platt who contributed effectively himself does not do credit and full credit to the American delegation you can ask him for me to strengthen it.

I hope you have a good conference at Pittsburgh and as I cannot be with you there, take my best wishes for its success and remembrance to all my friends gathered there.

Huddersfield, England.

ASHLEY MITCHELL.

HENRY GEORGE AGAIN CORROBORATED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

There can be no doubt that the institutions and customs of a country exert a powerful influence in moulding the character of the population. The institutions and customs that are now at work in Russia moulding the character of the future population of the country are:—First: The common ownership of all natural resources. Second: Free trade among the members of the Soviet Union. Third: The general diffusion of education. Fourth: The general absence of Sunday work. Fifth: The eight hour work day in the industries. Sixth: The general interest taken by the youth of the country in athletics. The last mentioned influence should have a good effect on the physique of the people. There are sport clubs in all parts of the country, and the sports are not commercialized as they are in some countries. The absence of Sunday work and the eight hour day give the workers time to attend meetings and discussions, and should promote the general intelligence of the people. Free trade promotes honesty, truthfulness