

over the country to-day land speculation rampant ! In the greater and lesser cities, in the towns and villages ; in the farming and timber and mineral regions ; in the East, the West, the North, the South ; all through the great valley of the Mississippi—there has been marked increase in speculative rent.

This means—what ?

It means that land, the natural factor in production, is made increasingly harder to get. It demands and must obtain as the price of its use a larger and larger share of the fruits of production. Labor and capital—capital being in reality a form of labor, being produced by labor from land—labor and capital must be content to divide between them a less and less share of production, until suddenly somewhere in the chain of exchanges this circumstance or that, trifling at another time, snaps the strained general credit and banks call in outstanding loans and refuse new ones. Loans are the breath of industrial life, and being cut off, mills and factories stop, commercial enterprises fail, multitudes of workers are thrown into idleness and the country sinks in the grip of an industrial depression.

On the one hand are large stocks of commodities of all kinds, and the cry is that there has been an over-production ; but this seems to be true only because, on the other hand, a large mass of workers suffer enforced idleness and hence are unable to buy. Land speculation has produced the idle workman and the over-stocked merchant.

This is what we see enacting about us at this hour. The currency panic was only the small thing at the top that snapped general credit. At the base of all production monopoly has been making land, the natural factor, artificially scarce, until the starting of a pebble at the mountain crest was all that was needed to precipitate an advalanche into the valley below.

How prevent these depressions ? By preventing land speculation. How prevent land speculation ? By taxation. Lift all the tax burdens from labor and the fruits of production, and pile them on land values regardless of improvements—on ground or economic rent. That would destroy land speculations—kill land monopoly. The price of land would not then mount to eat out industrial prosperity ; and an industrial depression in what should be a country of plenty for all, would thenceforward be a thing of the past.

#### ADDRESS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

It is a pleasure and refreshment to meet this gathering of friends, united in a great cause and alive with intelligent purpose.

The present apathy of the Single Taxers was the reason given for calling this convention, an apathy, it seems to me, more apparent than real, While no enthusiastic meetings like those of the days of the anti-poverty movement catch the public eye, the cause itself has neither slumbered nor slept. It has outgrown the kindergarten stage. It has political significance in all English-speaking countries and an indirect influence in other lands.

We can never return to that stage of exaltation when the new truth burst

upon our vision and we could speak of ourselves as "we few, we happy few, we band of brothers." The faith has spread and we are many. The evidence is that politics takes no notice of the few. They are negligible, having no voting power. The growth of a movement may be measured by the eagerness of parties and office-seekers to attract its converts, an indication not without danger to the moral standards of a reform. The charm of office and the haste to witness quick results tempt many from the strongest ground a reformer can occupy, uncompromising insistence on justice.

For the Single Tax fire was not kindled by a mere economist, although we claim that Henry George's political economy shames that of the school-men. But hardly one of us would be sitting here to-night, had Progress and Poverty been addressed to our intellect and understanding only. I never yet knew an ardent worker in the cause who did not come into it because his heart was filled with pity for the victims of the present evil civilization and his soul stirred by a purpose to alter the wretched social conditions abounding. With us it was a conversion and a baptism. Always at the fore we kept the picture of the wrong resulting from man-made laws which condemned to lives of hopeless poverty our brothers despoiled of their birthright. The Single Tax evangel appealed to high emotions and nobler passions. Without these, the most correct economic demonstration of our policy excites at best but a languid interest.

But when our dear friend and leader took the platform it was not alone his clear reasoning that enchained his hearers. It was the moral glow and sincerity of the man which magnetized and drew to himself kindred souls. The discussion of the Single Tax method, following every address, was indeed illuminating to those with like aspirations for humanity, but to the average man who thinks lightly upon such subjects they had little force. One reason that propaganda meetings of late years have been apathetic, is because we have forgotten the greater in the less, and tried to teach economics when we ought to thunder morality and justice.

It is well to recognize another fact. When a new reform starts, organization is essential to gain its ideas a hearing. Newspapers ignore them and a handful of adherents have to spread the light in the modest way open to them. The case is changed when those ideas have conquered indifference and are discussed by the accepted organs of popular opinion. Thirty years ago our doctrines were delusions and heresies. To-day they are treated with respect in quarters where once they failed to rise to the level of a professor's contempt.

But the most convincing evidence of the progress of our ideas is seen in practical politics and statesmanship. The glorious struggle in Cleveland, which for the fourth time seats the bosom-friend and tireless apostle of Henry George in the mayoralty chair, marks the imperial advance of our movement. Here is a politician who has never once evaded or toned down the issues pressed upon him as a Single Taxer. Nor has he concealed his motive to open opportunity to fellow-men by pleas of expediency or fiscal advantage. In the Single Tax is found the one weapon to smite privilege and exalt democracy,

and he has wielded it in masterly fashion. The people have responded because their sense of justice could not resist his appeal. How many small meetings, where speakers are switched off from the vital discussion and set to answering primer questions like that regarding the loss of the poor widow who owned valuable land, would be necessary to equal the effect of this world-wide Cleveland lesson ?

In England what contention has the right of way in the next session of Parliament? The Scottish Land bill, three times passed by the House of Commons and at once thrown out of the Lords, soon however to return. The ghost of the Prophet of San Francisco will confront their lordships not less than its living presence confronted the Scottish Duke of Argyll. And, pleasing thought, the Mayor of San Francisco, Edward Robeson Taylor, was the helpful friend and benefactor who assisted the Prophet by counsel and judgment in the preparation of Progress and Poverty. So does the whirligig of time bring about its revenges !

Personally, therefore, I take a minor interest in the revamping of early Single Tax machinery. It is well to maintain an organization where light and literature may be supplied to opening minds, but be sure, if one can judge by previous successful reforms, the nearer the goal, the less interest will organizations be able to command. The very neglect of them indicates the success of our propaganda.

I congratulate you upon the aspect of the movement to which our lives are pledged. So great has been its progress in the past ten years that our one poignant regret is that Henry George is not here to see it with his mortal eyes and to cheer us to further effort by his ever inspiring voice. "His soul is marching on."

#### ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR GARVIN.

On this occasion I address my remarks to those present who are not Single Taxers. In the ten minutes allotted me I can touch upon but one phase of the great subject and in outline only.

As individuals you try to get what you earn. This is proper, because if the one who earns does not receive his wages they go to others who do not earn them, and a double wrong is done. With the mass of mankind it is not only right but necessary that they should receive as large an income as possible, in order that they may obtain a decent living.

Whilst striving earnestly for the highest possible wages, the workers are not alive to the fact that they are earners, not only as individuals, but also in their social capacity. As members of an orderly community they are producers of value. The wages so earned are deposited in a kind of bank, but are never drawn out by the depositors.

The bank referred to is the land, which according to the best authority and in accordance with reason, is the gift of God to all the children of men. Land values are created, not by the land owner, but by the community. The pos-