

cised by these people who have gathered great patents together, which they hold out of use to sustain monopoly. We have the tremendous privilege which the mass of the people never understand, that the railroads of this country are run for two purposes—one for the rake-off for the bankers in handling the securities—the other to run the railroads as a means of giving illegal favors and privileges to the great trusts and monopolies which these institutions control, and which favors are denied to their competitors.

So we find that there privilege is organized, and when we encounter the political machinery we do not find it subsidized by speculators in land as such, but subsidized by the possessors of privilege of some other kind than land. So if we are to develop a new political party, it has got to be by setting up the thin edge of the wedge upon which all intellectual far-seeing people can agree, and which has in it the essence of the idea in which all of us believe.

"We have tried in New Jersey a plan to take a part of this great programme, to wit: that there is here in the East the Anthracite Coal Trust and that it is created and maintained by two privileges. One is that a little group of people have got all the land containing anthracite coal and the other is that the same group of people have got possession of all of the railroads that run into the coal lands. We say that the remedy is for the State or the Nation to buy enough of this land which is held out of use to suppress competition, and to lease it upon moderate royalties to competitors of the Coal Trust; and we say that that alone would be useless because the channels of transportation are held by the same group, and therefore we say, not because we are socialistic, but opposed to privilege, that we must buy and operate one of the railroads to insure equality in transportation to the competitors of the trust, and we say that that will destroy the Coal Trust. I repeat that I have never seen anyone that could state the principles of Single Tax to a miscellaneous audience and get it across, but I have never seen any audience that would not take that proposition and swallow it whole. Once you get them to see that nobody has the right to own all the land containing coal, they will see that the same rule applies to the land upon which we raise cabbages,—but we don't have to say that now. The job immediately is to get people to think, and everybody hates the Coal Trust except the managers of the political parties. The rank and file of the people hate it and if you can harness that prejudice and hate and justifiable hostility up to the great idea that the Lord Almighty never created the coal lands in Pennsylvania to be held as a monopoly, you have applied to politics the fundamental principle of Single Tax, and it will grow of itself.

Now that is my contribution to the spirit of this occasion.

"This is a tough time. It is low tide. There never was a time in the thirty odd years I have been in active poli-

tics when ideas were so utterly repugnant to the average man. There never was a time apparently, when people were so disillusioned, cynical and despairing as to any intellectual proposition. I tried to interest a brilliant friend along those lines, and he said, "What is the use? When a Rudolph Valentino can drive Charles W. Elliot from the first page to the twenty-first page of the *New York Times*, what is the use of trying to talk to the American people about any serious subject?" And it is so. It is possible that the Great War was the natural and inevitable culmination of this tremendous force in civilization which we call privilege, and of which there are other forms beside that of land privilege. It may be that that old privilege idea has been shaken to its foundation, and I hope that this is so.

"But for the moment we are passing through a wave of reaction. The brilliant ideas that were set up and held out in such wonderful language by Woodrow Wilson have proved such an utter absurdity in their results that there is a tremendous wave of re-action and of despair and hopelessness that now spreads over the mass of the people of the whole world. But that is the time for those who see clearly and who understand the truth to hold fast until the tide turns, because if this universe is organized upon moral laws, the tide must turn. And so, as we come here tonight to pay our tribute of honor, respect and gratitude to these distinguished guests of the evening, let us take heart and renew here our courage for the battles that are yet to come."

ADDRESS OF FREDERIC C. HOWE

Mr. Lebuscher: "We expected to have among the speakers tonight Mr. Amos Pinchot, but this evening I received a telephone message from Mrs. Pinchot that he came home about mid-day feeling ill and is tonight under care of a physician. He send us his sincere regrets. But we have with us Frederic C. Howe, who was the friend of Henry George and the trusted associate of Tom L. Johnson in Cleveland. He will say a few words." (Applause.)

Mr. Howe said: "I have a confession rather than a speech to make. I came here tonight because I wanted to see Anna George. I came here because I wanted to see Senator Hennessy, and I came here—well, I haven't been to a Single Tax dinner since 1914. I have hardly been to a radical dinner since 1914. Most of that time, I have not wanted to go to a radical dinner or a radical meeting. But tonight I wanted to come here to meet you people again. My mind went back to last summer when *The Survey* printed a symposium on "What Has Become of The Pre-War Radical," and most writers said, 'O those radicals wanted to change people over. They wanted other people to be like themselves. They were unhappy beings who felt that God made human beings not in His image but in their image, and they cannot be

appy because of the error He had made.' Well, in answering that in my own mind, I said: 'Now that is strange. The radicals I lived among haven't been that kind of people. They have been as good as the Chinese; they said: 'People are good. Institutions are wrong.' And among practically all of that liberal group, it was the Single Taxers who stood out, thinking straightforwardly into defects of our institutions rather than about the evil inside of some men and the goodness in other men. We thought scientifically and straight. We weren't carried away by the Billy Sundayism of reform, and I am rather proud of myself (although I do not understand quite how it came about) that I, a mid-Westerner, village born, ecclesiastically environed, believing in evangelical religion, should have not wanted to make other people like myself—I only wanted them to think and use their own minds.

"And the second reason I think, why I wanted to be here, was that during those intervening fourteen years I haven't been with many people who used their minds—I have been with a lot of people in high places and in low, but their minds do not work. They do not work when they come up against self-interest. That is where the mind always stalls. But Single Taxers, whether rich or poor, have had the intellectual capacity and the intellectual courage to go through with their thoughts, and that is a rare thing. So your chairman tonight was pretty nearly right when he said something to the effect that this is the most distinguished intellectual gathering in New York City. Its quality is not to be found in University Heights, or in the University Clubs. I do not find it in Bar Associations, Medical Associations, or among philosophers or scientists.

'Now a word about Henry George. I remember many men talking about the prescience of Shakespeare, the perfection of his historical references—his intimate knowledge of law—how he never alluded to any subject without a sure and revealing touch, and with a compendious knowledge. A wondrous thing about Henry George to me was not alone the brilliancy of his style, the marvels of his political and economic insight, but the profundity of his scientific knowledge, a profundity which squares with that of the biological researcher. I have gone through life thirty years since I first read his great book and still find that it squares with every truth. I believe, then, that those here who have received something of the philosophy of liberty through Henry George have had rather more wisdom than is vouchsafed to most people. And I think, despite our lack of political achievement, that we should hold confidently to this power of truth. The honesty of purpose and integrity of mind of the Single Taxer is bringing forth many other fruits than the immediate Single Tax, and in the end it will surely bring forth the Single Tax. Our mission is to continue to see the truth and tell it to the world.'" (Applause.)

Mr. Lebuscher: "Some years ago I saw a very little girl in the home of her parents playing with a little monkey. She was barely more than a baby at the time, and I watched her progression to womanhood and to the maturity of her powers with a great deal of interest. You know it is a hard thing for anyone to be the son or daughter of a great man. I remember Henry George, Jr. often deplored to me that he bore his father's name, and, although he lived for a score of years after his father, he was modest enough never to drop the Junior. He would never trade on his father's name. At Copenhagen, Mrs. deMille was received by the representatives of many nations with great acclaim, not only because she is the daughter of Henry George, but because of her own intellectual ability. Now Anna George deMille is going to address you." (Applause.)

RESPONSE OF ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE

Mrs. deMille said:

"Believe me, I do understand the honor that is paid me tonight is not to me at all but to, and I will use the Danish words, 'Henry George's Datter.' It is Henry George's Datter, I know, that you honor tonight, and I myself am very, very humble. There are some of you here, I have heard, who are not Single Taxers, yet I hope you will go away a little bit converted. I have come to tell you about the Copenhagen experience. It was really a thrilling experience to me. I have come to know that Denmark is noted for other things beside its culture and its pastry. The country itself was a continuous delight; the lush grass of the little farms, the sleek and garnished cattle, the lovely little, clean, well-kept farm houses and the sort of staid people who were running those farms; people who seemed to have a strange uplift in their faces, that thing that comes to lovers of the sea—a sturdy dauntlessness that I think, perhaps, was given to them by their Viking ancestors. So it seems to me they are going to carry on, and find the promised land of high individual and national destiny, perhaps more quickly than we in other parts of the so-called civilized world are finding it.

"It was an amazing experience in many ways and to meet these people from seventeen different countries, all going to that one little far away country to carry forward the cause we have dedicated ourselves to, was a great thrill to all of us. It is a thing that I wish you all might have had. I wish you might have seen Senator Hennessy presiding. He was the politest presiding officer I ever saw, and when you think he is Irish, it is more wonderful than ever, for he just declined to quarrel with anybody.

"They have a curious way over there of asking you to make a speech without any warning whatever, and I learned those words 'Henry George's Datter' to my consternation very often. I had to learn how to look intelligent in five languages, as intelligent as I could look, for the ability to make speeches in three or four languages