## TITLE DEED-WHAT IS IT?

dress Delivered by Judge Frederick N. Dickt, of the District Court of Ramsey Co., Minn., at the Henry George Birthday Dinner at St. Paul, Sept. 2, 1911.

e it the object of this inquiry is not to asthe common characteristics of a deed, of ument itself; but rather to bring to a plain curate view what a deed represents and for. For a title deed is the authenticated e of its holder's ownership in something. it that the deed holder owns? Is it land, something else?

a popular delusion that when one prohimself a title deed to land, he becomes her of the land described in his deed, and en known as a land owner; but, as a matact, he is not the owner of the land, and e nature of things he can never become

one purchases a watch or a knife, or any ticle of personal property, he acquires the ownership of that article. It is his absond he may take it with him wherever he d have and hold it as his own. But the of the earth and cannot be removed, and vays remain where God placed it, and for on cannot be the subject of private ownn the absolute sense, any more than can or air become the subject of private The most that may be done with the individual is to occupy and enjoy its nd privileges to the exclusion of other al members of society. And from this it hat a title deed is not (like a bill of sale) of the absolute ownership of land; but an authenticated evidence of the deed ight to occupy and enjoy for his private a limited portion of the earth for either or indefinite period to the exclusion of individual members of society.

he question may arise what difference make? Is not this a mere formula of thout any real difference of meaning? stantial difference does it make? judgment it makes a deep and funda-ifference. He who enjoys the use of the does not own is a tenant, and not an

ifference. He who enjoys the use of the does not own is a tenant, and not an ad every so-called owner of land is a land not an owner, because he cannot, from this be so, the inquiry will undoubtedly is the landlord? From whom does he right? Of whom is he a tenant? This is the real gist of this inquiry, for, as I the doctrine of the Singletaxer, it is ental principle that the land belongs aborimarily and ultimately to society—to

all the people— and that the individual land owner is only a tenant of society and holds all his rights subject to the paramount rights, requirements and necessities of society as such, as opposed to the rights and requirements of individuals as such. By this I do not mean that Singletaxers deny the rights of private and exclusive individual occupation of land. They do not; they not only recognize it, but insist upon it. But they do insist also that the private holder's rights are held from society and that the requirements and necessities of society are paramount to those of the individual. It seems to me from the nature of things this position must be correct.

This is not a novel view. It is simply a very obvious fact which it has not been particularly necessary to emphasize heretofore. It has, however, been long recognized, and that it is a correct principle is demonstrated by several of the most important principles of our law.

Consider, for instance, the law of eminent do-When society, acting through its business organization, the state, desires for any purpose of society to recover possession of any portion of its domain, it has the absolute right under our laws to do so against the objection and protest of the so-called individual owner, contrary to his wishes and without his consent. If the state desires any portion of any private holding for a public purpose, for a highway, a railroad, a canal, a public park, a children's playground, or a school house, it simply takes possession of the land and ousts the private holder, whether he be willing or not. True the state compensates him for any pecuniary loss he may sustain through being ousted; but even the amount of such compensation is fixed by the state through the medium of its courts, and not by the individual holder.

Now this right can be based upon but one of two principles. Either that might makes right (which is an immoral principle and has no place in any theory of social statics), or upon the more rational and logical principle that society owns the land; that the individual occupies it subject to conditions imposed by society, and that the needs and requirements of society are paramount to the rights of the individual; and society may recover possession of its own land whenever it is needed for any appropriate social purpose.

It may be said generally then, that a title deed is the authenticated evidence of one's right to occupy to the exclusion of the other individual members of society a limited portion of the earth, which right he holds from and as a tenant of society, and to which right the requirements and necessities of society as such are paramount.

It is no part of my province in this discussion to point out the logical consequence of this principle. It is, however, one of the rudiments of the Singletax principle, that the increment of value which is added to land solely through the activities of society and not by the effort of the individual owner, belongs to society; that it is wrong and unjust to allow the individual owner to appropriate to himself such increment of value, and that it is right and proper for society to appropriate for the purposes of society such social increment of value, or so much thereof as it needs. Just what the practical application of this principle would mean it is impossible to point out in any brief discussion, but a very casual consideration will convince one that its practical application in many of the great questions which are now before the American people for adjustment would be of tremendous consequence.

## THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Recollections, Twenty-five Years Afterwards, of the Political Party Out of Which Socialism and the Singletax Came Into American Politics.

Written by Louis F. Post, for The Public.

## First Part.

In the summer of 1886, Henry George consulted me upon his becoming that year the Labor candidate for Mayor of New York. This was not the Greater New York of his second campaign, but that older and smaller one in which at the time of his first there were hardly more than ten thousand voters above the Harlem River. As we had been intimate friends for five years, there was nothing diplomatic in our interview. He asked his question bluntly, and in replying I did not conceal my lack of confidence in his candidacy.

It was with the authority of experience, too, that I spoke. Regular party organization and third party politics were familiar to me in some of their ramifications, and I had a low opinion of both. The former I rejected for its political corruption, the latter for its political weakness. With a quizzical smile, therefore, I asked my friend how many votes he would be content to get. He hesitated until, with my smile still in action, I interrogatively suggested 10,000. "Oh, no", he replied; "while I wouldn't expect to be elected and don't want to be elected, I do want a vote large enough to dignify the cause I should represent, and 10,000 wouldn't do it. I shouldn't care to run unless I can get 30,000."

It seemed to me about as probable that Henry George would wake up a multi-millionaire the next morning as that he could poll 30,000 votes for Mayor of New York at the next election, and I advised against his becoming a candidate. But I had miscalculated his qualities for popular leadership.

## I. The Beginning.

Within a week or two after consulting me, Henry George published a letter which completely changed my view. It was in reply to a communication from James P. Archibald as secretary of a political conference committee of Labor unions.

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The conference Mr. Archibald represented resulted from recent high handed legal proceedings against militant Labor organization.

There had been a strike of waiters at a beer and music restaurant on Fourteenth Street. The strike having proved successful, arbitrators agreed upon terms of settlement, one condition being payment by the restaurant owner of \$1,000 toward the expenses of the strike. This sum was paid to a Labor committee which turned over every penny to the waiters' union and got from it no benefit whatever. Yet members of that committee, three honest and simple German workmen, were convicted of extortion—a high grade of robbery under the New York statutes. Judge George C. Barrett, who presided, had encouraged the verdict of guilty by suggestive mannerisms at the trial, mannerisms for which he was noted among lawyers. They made mere stenographic notes almost useless, without the aid for emphasis and gesture of a phonograph and moving pictures synchronized. Not only did Judge Barrett seem to influence the jury in this case—perhaps it wasn't necessary, the jurors being of the employer type—but he disclosed his class animus further by those innocent-minded working men to three years at penal servitude in the State prison at Sing Sing.

Intended, no doubt, to make an example calculated to cripple labor unionism in strikes, Judge Barrett's severity had an opposite effect. It drove labor unions organically and indignantly into politics. Not with immediate results, to be sure, be yond the scare it gave the "superior classes," but with an effect in favor of unionism which still survives and has ever since strengthened with the years. Outraged and angered at this wanton judicial assault by a typical high grade judge-for Judge Barrett was all of that, beyond cavilfor Judge Barrett was all of that, beyond cavilfor a defensive policy. It resulted in definite action by the Central Labor Union.

That body had evolved from a Cooper Union meeting of Labor organizations brought together in January, 1882, by the energy of Robert Blissert. In January, 1882, by the energy of Robert Blissert of sending a journeyman tailor, for the purpose of sending a journeyman tailor, for the purpose of sending encouragement to the Irish on the basis of the "no rent" which had recently issued from Kilmainham jail. Formed immediately from Kilmainham jail. Formed afterward upon recommendation of the "no rent"

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