

prices received saves the city the cost of the department several times over.

When the railroads found they couldn't brow-beat the city into giving them \$3,000,000 worth of land for nothing they finally decided to talk business on the union depot project—negotiations for a depot are now going on.

The department of weights and measures now means something—householders save over \$1,000,000 a year by dealers being compelled to use honest weights and measures. Get the detailed figures at the City Sealer's Office.

The Park Department has acquired 282 acres of land, improved 162 acres, built 10 miles of roadways, 15 miles of sewers and drains, 5 miles of walks, 9 bridges, 7 shelter houses, comfort station and equipped 7 playgrounds.

Water Meters reduced the water bills of 90 per cent of the consumers and raised the bills of 10 per cent—the actual saving to consumers in 1906 being \$200,000; 1907, \$245,000; 1908, \$280,000; 1909, \$300,000—total for four years, over \$1,000,000.

Public gambling suppressed for the first time in Cleveland's history by Tom Johnson—gamblers no longer make Cleveland their headquarters. Low saloons and dives have been put out of business—a uniformed policeman in front of the door did the work.

The city's bonded indebtedness is \$29,000,000—Cleveland's assets are \$85,000,000. The City's debt has increased about \$14,000,000 while the city's assets increased during the same period \$36,000,000. On a basis of a population of 550,000 Cleveland's debt per capita is \$53.93; Cincinnati, \$136.00; Baltimore, \$84.00 and Pittsburgh, \$66.00.

For the five years prior to the city's acquiring the garbage plant, when the work was done by contract, taxpayers paid \$3.24 per ton for collection. For the four and half years the city has operated the plant the cost has average \$1.69 per ton and the city owns a plant valued at over \$200,000.

Since Tom Johnson has been mayor, Cleveland has had clean streets for the first time in her history—downtown merchants no longer compelled to have the streets cleaned at their own expense. Cleveland is the first city in the country to wash its streets—28 flushing wagons do the work well.

The lake front case has been vigorously prosecuted and court decision secured which says property valued at at least \$20,000,000 belongs to the city—a former administration attempted to turn over this property to the steam railroads for nothing. Mayor Johnson as a citizen temporarily prevented the consummation of the deal, and by his taking office within three days of his election, in April, 1901, permanently obstructed the scheme. His work at that time has meant millions of dollars for the city.

## GARRISON'S CARDINAL CAUSE.

Address of Louis F. Post, at the Memorial Meeting to William Lloyd Garrison in the Park Street Church, Boston, October 16, 1909.

I purpose speaking of Mr. Garrison in connection with a cause that appealed to him as the cardinal cause of our time. In the middle years of his life there had come out of the West a man with a message—the "Prophet of San Francisco" they called him. He proclaimed the birthright of every child of God to an equal place on God's footstool. It was an old, old message. "The earth hath he given to the children of men." But in the complexities of modern industrialism, the influence of the old message was dying away. Henry George gave it a new birth and a scientific baptism. His eloquent words rang out across the world, and among those who caught the sound was William Lloyd Garrison—our friend of this memorial meeting.

It was in 1888 that Garrison listened to the message of George. At that time it had accidentally taken on the name of "the single tax," and Garrison heard of it as a panacea for poverty. He questioned its virtue in this respect, but he questioned with mind "wide open on the Godward side," and he questioned George himself. It was the beginning of an intimate friendship which ended only with George's death. Mark you, now, the reply he got: "You say you do not see in the single tax a panacea for poverty. Nor yet do I. The panacea for poverty is freedom. What I see in the single tax is the means of securing that industrial freedom which will make possible other triumphs of freedom."

That reply struck home. Our friend became a protagonist of the single tax—a leader in the same cause of freedom for which, as Henry George said in the same letter, his "father in his day led the van."

Mr. Garrison's early life in the atmosphere of radical abolition sentiment had prepared him for participating in the single tax movement. He realized the divine power of freedom among men. It was the same passion for human rights that identified him with so many other causes. To the unthinking, each of those causes seems alien to the rest. But they are intimately related. The principle of freedom runs through every cause that William Lloyd Garrison ever espoused. Did he stand stark and strong as his father had, for the rights of the Negro? It was from no unbalanced sentiment for one race. It was not for the Negro as Negro. It was for the Negro as man. If he deplored our wanton subjugation of the American Indian, our narrow-minded exclusion of the Chinese, our indefensible conquest of the Philippines, it was not because he loved Indian or Chinaman or Filipino above the Caucasian. It was because they, too, are of the human

race. When the "square deal" was at issue, all men looked alike to William Lloyd Garrison. He was a democrat—a fundamental democrat, as Jefferson was; as Lincoln was; as George was; and he not only believed in his democracy but he believed also in putting it into practice. He identified himself with the cause of universal peace for the same reason, and consequently with the cause of universal free trade. The life-blood of fundamental democracy flows through them both. Likewise with the cause of woman suffrage. To William Lloyd Garrison this was not a sex question; it was a man question, a human question. He was a democrat who so believed in his democracy that he made it the touchstone of all his convictions.

If he was more devoted to the single tax cause than to any of the others—and whoever knew him well knew that he was—this was not from lack of love for his other causes. You had only to disparage one of them to him to be assured of that. The single tax cause came first with him because its democracy includes and vitalizes the democracy of all the others.

With its basic principle of equality of right to the use of the earth; with its correlative principle of universal free trade; with its economic result of private earnings for private wealth and social earnings for social wealth—with these characteristic elements, the single tax cause stands for democracy in its most fundamental, its most comprehensive, its most effective form. Given equal rights to the earth, given universal freedom of trade, given their full earnings to all who work and social earnings to the commonwealth—grant those conditions, and how could any class or any race be exploited? how could self-respecting women submit to disfranchisement? how could warfare be tolerated any longer? Establish those fundamental demands of the single tax cause to which William Lloyd Garrison was so devoted and for which he argued with such "sweet reasonableness" and convincing eloquence, and all other rights would tend toward adjustment on the basis of democratic equality.

Was our friend over hopeful in thinking so? Then look at the obverse of his idea. Establish everything else as you will, without establishing the single tax in principle, and at best you only vary the forms of your reforms. The iniquities you condemn will not be gone, and reaction will always be imminent. Need we go further for an instance than to the case of the American Negro? He has been freed from chattel slavery; but has he not fallen under the blight of a serfdom which for many of his race is worse than chattel slavery—save only for the title deeds? Suffrage! The law gives him that. But what is political suffrage under economic serfdom? Even when recognized in form, Negro suffrage is a

mockery in fact. This is not because the Negro is a Negro. If you look into the matter, you see it to be as true of great masses of disinherited whites at the North as of the disinherited blacks at the South.

"Place one hundred men upon an island from which there is no escape," wrote Henry George, "and whether you make one of these men the absolute owner of the other ninety-nine, or the absolute owner of the soil of the island, will make no difference either to him or to them. In the one case as the other, the one will be the absolute master of the ninety-nine—his power extending even to life and death, for simply to refuse them permission to live upon the island would be to force them into the sea." And George added this significant practical thought to his figure of a mythical island: "Upon a larger scale, and through more complex relations, the same cause must operate in the same way and to the same end."

On this great island in space which we call the earth, and through the ever growing complexities of economic relations which we think of as industrial evolution, are we not tending toward the condition of George's mythical island in the sea—a condition in which the privileged ones whom the island owner typifies will be absolute masters of all the disinherited whom the ninety-nine represent? If land monopoly holds sway, then personal liberty, peace or war, and the suffrage, whether of men or women, will be at the command of the interests that own the earth.

The point was concisely made by our friend whose memory we honor here. "The land owner," said he at the Saratoga debate in 1890, "controls a natural opportunity essential to the existence of human beings, which he can lock up or withhold from them at pleasure, his interest growing with their needs."

And we must not imagine that land monopoly is a menace only where natural resources yet remain to be conserved. Its greatest menace is in the centers of industry where modern land capitalism is taking over to itself all the dreadful powers that we are accustomed to associate with feudal landlordism.

William Lloyd Garrison looked upon the social institution under which that can be done as an immoral institution. He was beguiled by none of the materialistic subtleties, however reputable their source, which make against moral standards and against the rights of man. In the report of that Saratoga debate of 1890, a paper opposing the single tax precedes Mr. Garrison's. That paper rests its theory of property rights upon municipal law, and denies the moral law. As if by direct retort in righteous wrath, Mr. Garrison's paper begins with this straightforward challenge: "My theme is the *justice* of the single tax." And then he elaborates: "Unless a reform is based on

solid ethical foundations, it has no claim to the consideration of mankind. Demonstrate that it cannot be sustained in the court of morals, and there is no need of adducing material evidence against it." By the moral test, therefore, he tried the single tax, and this was his verdict: "No other reform in the world's history has been more considerate, more absolutely just, more in the interest and security of property, more scrupulous regarding individual rights, and more truly conservative." His verdict is indeed out of joint with the opinion of the landlord class of feudal England, of the land-capitalist class of plutocratic America, of land monopoly classes everywhere. We are at liberty, of course, to trust them; but let us remember—*He* had no selfish interest to serve; *he* was not sitting in judgment on his own case.

Men who assail great wrongs with great sincerity are often thought of as pessimistic. So thought the butterfly of the ant until the crisis of the season came. Our friend did not escape this imputation. But if such men are pessimists, it is as Daniel was a pessimist among the butterfly optimists at Belshazzar's feast. Garrison was no pessimist. He was an optimist of rarest vision. He believed that righteousness is the highest expediency—aye, the only expediency. Garrison's plea was for justice; not for justice though the heavens fall, but for justice *lest* they fall.

Our friend could not live to see his democratic causes victorious. But what of that? He had the opportunity, an opportunity open to every one of us, to do democratic work, and he did it. This after all is the brighter crown. To be in at the victory! Any coward, any fool, any knave, can do that if he happens to be alive. Though Garrison be not in at the victory, it was his privilege and his greater honor to be in at the work. Like his father, he was among those whom "Progress and Poverty" describes as having toiled in "the advance, where it is cold, and there is little cheer from men, and the stones are sharp and the brambles thick," to help cut a trail which "progressive humanity may hereafter broaden into a high road."

Definite in his ideals, confident of their actuality, loyal to their demands, our beloved friend has faithfully traveled the straight and narrow path which to his view led on toward their practical realization. All unconsciously he has characterized himself in describing the character of one of your New England men. Of that man these are the words he wrote me once: "One of the best of men; ethical in thought and courageous in speech; he never puts his hand to a bad cause nor turns his back upon a good one." That describes our friend of this day's memorial as well as it does the good man of whom he wrote it.

Is it too much to say that "William Lloyd Garrison" is a name which should stand hereafter in

common thought, not for one apostle of freedom but for two?

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### GARRISON'S LAST WORDS.

Editorial in the "Free Trade Broadside" for October, Dictated from His Death Bed by the Editor, William Lloyd Garrison, and Corrected by Him in Proof the Day Before He Died.

Editorial comments on the Payne tariff bill are superfluous in view of the expressions of the press of the country since the farce was enacted. The minute fraction of decline claimed by the stand-patters is absolutely negligible as a relief to consumers. The cost of living still increases, and effective opposition to the tariff will be manifested by the consumers, whose incomes will be less adequate than ever.

But even more potent than the material argument must be the moral effect produced by the shameless revelation of tariff-making, so completely and transparently exhibited by the dissensions of the Republicans in Congress. The open avowal of selfish motives reveals a moral callousness shocking to people never before so plainly confronted with the facts. The bitter divisions among protectionists themselves are bound to change the direction of party politics. More than ever the moral and religious sentiment of the country is aroused, nor will it be easily allayed.

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In view of the general condemnation of the tariff as one of spoliation in behalf of special interests, any serious attempt to cure the evil by gradual reduction becomes ridiculous. Only a lunatic would advocate the gradual suppression of a forest fire or an epidemic of Asiatic cholera. No less impossible is it to curtail and gradually extinguish the cancer of protection. It is as alien to democracy as was the institution of slavery. Neither can exist with a truly free government. Two irreconcilable forces are grappling, and neither can give quarter to the other. It is a struggle of war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt.

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As never before, with all the sophistries torn away from the false system, we see distinctly the foe which confronts us. The councils of free traders will no longer be weakened by opportunists and temporizers. "Under which king, Bezonian? Speak or die," will be the straightforward question to be answered. That we have reached this important point is illustrated by the noble letter of John Bigelow (which we print in another column) and by the recent utterances of Charles Francis Adams, whose long forbearance regarding vested interests was notable. Plain words and unwelcome truth are now in order, and we face the