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PUBLISHERS' NOTES.

Our subscribers will please take note of the date stamped upon the wrapper. If this shows that subscriptions have expired, they are urged to remit with any arrears that may be due. They are also asked to bear in mind our club rates of ten subscriptions for \$5. Let all our friends help swell the circulation of the REVIEW.

Will our correspondents bear in mind that what we want above all things is news, more particularly that sort of news that illustrates the progress of the movement?

The Manhattan Single Tax Club has purchased a permanent home at 226 East 62nd street, this city, and will remove on May 15th, at which time the new club house will be dedicated.

THE COOPER UNION DEBATE.

The REVIEW is pleased to present a report in full of the debate between Louis F. Post and Prof. Clark, of Columbia, in this city in February, together with sketches that follow of the lives and work of the principals in that debate.

It is important to call attention to one point raised at the close of the debate, when Mr. Post asked his adversary a question, to which Prof. Clark frankly replied. We call especial attention to the answer, because Prof. Clark here makes a concession which is absolutely fatal to his principal contention—viz., that the abolition of land monopoly would be unjust unless landlords were compensated for their loss of land

values. The distinguished professor admitted that slavery might justly be abolished without compensation to the masters, because slaves are men and have rights. But he made a distinction as to land, saying that land has no rights.

What Prof. Clark ignored in making this distinction was the fact that chattel slavery and land monopoly are but different modes of depriving some men of their personal rights for the benefit of other men. You can enslave a man by decreeing that he shall be a chattel; but you can also enslave him by decreeing that he shall have no opportunity for using land except as he bargains for it of a land monopolist. Henry George illustrates this in "Progress and Poverty" when he says: "Place one hundred men on an island from which there is no escape, 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."

It is not for the sake of the land, as Prof. Clark apparently supposes, that single taxers would abolish land monopoly. It is for the sake of disinherited men, of men whose natural and social rights are thereby withheld. Though the land is not a man and has no rights, the landless are men and have rights. If, then, chattel slavery may be justly abolished without compensation, because it deprives men of rights (which Prof. Clark concedes), it follows that land monopoly may be justly abolished without compensation, for it also deprives men of rights.

THE TWO PRINCIPALS IN THE COOPER UNION DEBATE.

LOUIS FREELAND POST.

(See Frontispiece.)

Louis Freeland Post, eldest son of Eugene J. Post and Elizabeth L. Freeland, born near Vienna, a small village in northern New Jersey, November 15th, 1849, has been closely associated with the single tax movement since 1881. At that time the movement had no name, but as it grew it took on successively such names as "land nationalization," "land and labor," "anti-poverty," and, in 1888, the "single tax." Mr. Post turned his attention to the subject while an editorial writer on *Truth*, a New York daily paper of the early eighties.

Prior to joining the editorial staff of *Truth* he had practiced law in New York, having been admitted to the New York Bar in 1870. His education was obtained at the village schools near his birthplace, partly at Vienna and partly at the neighboring village of Danville, and also at the old Twentieth street school in New York, under the principalship of David B. Scott. He left

this school in 1864, and in the same year became an apprentice to the printers' trade at Hackettstown, N. J., on the *Gazette*, working later at Bradstreet's in New York and in the job office of the Brooklyn *Union*.

Beginning the study of law in 1867, and supplementing it with the study and practice of Munson's phonography, he was prepared to accept an offer, made soon after his admission to the bar, of a law and stenographic clerkship in South Carolina, where he lived and worked from 1871 to 1872, and for part of this time was associated with Ben Pitman in reporting the Ku Klux trials at Columbia. Having meanwhile married Anna Johnson, of Hackettstown, he returned to New York in 1872 and opened a law office. About a year and a half afterward he was appointed an assistant in the United States district attorney's office, being then active in Republican politics; but as chairman of a Republican Congressional convention, in 1874, he came under the whip of the party machine, controlled by Chester A. Arthur, and, though not independent enough to disobey orders, he was prompted by the experience to withdraw from politics and resign his office. Several years subsequently he was in active private practice, and participated professionally in several prominent dramatic litigations, including contests over stage rights to "The Shaughran," "The Two Orphans," "The Celebrated Case," and "Evangeline."

In 1879 one of his clients began the publication of *Truth*, and by degrees Mr. Post took up editorial work upon that paper, becoming, in 1881, the editor-in-chief. While doing this work "Progress and Poverty" fell into his hands. It effected his immediate conversion to Henry George's views. With George himself he soon afterward became acquainted, and the two remained intimate friends until George's death. It was as an advocate of George's doctrines that Mr. Post ran for Congress in New York in 1882 on the Labor ticket, and for attorney general of New York in 1883 on the Greenback ticket. Soon after his campaign for Congress in 1882, his advocacy of George's doctrines and related labor questions in *Truth* brought on a disagreement with the principal proprietor, his former client, and Mr. Post severed his connection with the paper and resumed his law practice.

When George ran for mayor of New York in 1886, Mr. Post devoted most of his time to editing the *Leader*, the daily campaign paper of the movement, in which he was assisted by a host of newspaper men. Day by day, when they had finished their regular work on the papers that employed them, they gave their services to the *Leader*; and out of these volunteers, doing double duty daily, a complete staff was organized—managing editor, city editor, and al-

together with as fine a corps of reporters as had ever served on any paper. The *Volkszeitung* (the socialist German daily) freely contributed the use of its plant. Nobody was paid for service on the *Leader* except the mechanics, who received full union wages. The editions ran up to 35,000, which was a large circulation for an evening paper in those days. At the close of the campaign for which he had volunteered, Mr. Post returned to his regular work, voluntarily leaving the *Leader* to other hands.

At the election of 1887 he was the labor candidate for district attorney of New York city; and, in 1888, the Labor party having disintegrated, he went with George into the Democratic party, in answer to Cleveland's famous message inviting the country to turn toward free trade. This association brought him, in 1894, a Democratic nomination for Congress from a New York district; but he made his acceptance dependent upon permission to wage a radical free trade fight, and that being refused, though by a small majority in the convention, he declined the nomination.

Meanwhile, from the first publication of the *Standard*, started by Henry George early in 1887, until its suspension in 1894, Mr. Post was continuously connected with it. Mr. George intended terminating its publication at the close of its fourth year, but William T. Croasdale urged the importance of continuing the paper, and arranged to relieve Mr. George of the responsibility by himself becoming the editor and publisher. Croasdale did not live, however, to complete his first year of management, his death occurring eight months later; and at his dying request Mr. Post assumed the work, becoming the responsible editor in August, 1891, with George St. John Leavens as publisher, and so continuing until the suspension.

Nearly a year prior to this Mr. Post's wife had died, leaving one son, Charles J. Post, now a magazine illustrator; and late in 1893 Mr. Post married Alice Thacher, then editorial assistant on the *New Church Messenger* and one of the editors of *The New Earth*, her editorial associates on the latter being Alexander J. Auchterlonie, John Filmer, and L. E. Wilmarth.

Beginning soon after the suspension of the *Standard*, Mr. Post made three lecturing trips over the continent, explaining single tax doctrines. His lectures, with copies of the diagrams he used, were afterward put into book form and are now published by Frank Vierth, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. These lecturing tours occupied his time until 1896, when he went upon the editorial staff of the *Cleveland Recorder*, where he remained until 1898, leaving Cleveland then to begin the publication of *The Public* in Chicago.

Mr. Post was temporary chairman of the

State convention of the United Labor party of New York held at Syracuse in August, 1887. He was also chairman of the first National Single Tax conference, held in Cooper Union, New York, in the Summer of 1890, and of the second National Single Tax conference, held in the Art Institute, Chicago, in 1893.

The first of these conferences was a memorable occasion. Among the 200 delegates from widely separated parts of the Union were Henry George, William T. Croasdale and Robert Baker, of New York; Arthur H. Stephenson, of Pennsylvania; William Lloyd Garrison, of Massachusetts; L. E. Hoch, of Michigan; Tom L. Johnson, L. E. Russell and William Radcliffe, of Ohio; Edward Osgood Brown and John Z. White, of Illinois; C. J. Buell, of Minnesota; Martin Williams and "Pa" Chase, of Missouri; W. E. Brokaw, of South Dakota; James W. Bucklin, of Colorado; H. F. Ring, of Texas, and James G. Maguire, of California. Judge Maguire had but recently left the judicial bench in San Francisco, and Mr. Hoch was at the time mayor of Adrian; but with these exceptions there was not a public man in the convention, and Mr. George was the only one whose fame was extensive. Even Tom L. Johnson, though reputed to be a millionaire, was unknown outside of financial circles. Since then both Johnson and Maguire have made strong records in Congress; Maguire has been a Democratic candidate for governor of California; Bucklin has served with honor and usefulness in both houses of the Colorado legislature; Baker has just passed into the lower house of Congress, and Johnson has come into national notice as a leader in the Democratic party. The platform adopted at this conference was drawn by Henry George and reported by a committee of which he was chairman.

Though the Chicago conference lacked some of the impressive features of that at New York, it was made notable by the appearance of Dr. Edward McGlynn before a national single tax gathering. Photographs of both conferences have been preserved, McGlynn being a figure in one, and George in both.

Since starting the publication of *The Public*, Mr. Post has done but little public speaking, except at meetings in Chicago and the immediate neighborhood. Among his few speaking trips to distant points was his visit to New York in February for the purpose of the debate with Prof. Clark, which is reported in this issue of the REVIEW.

PROF. JOHN B. CLARK.

(See Portrait.)

Prof. John Bates Clark, Post's adversary in the Cooper Union debate, was born at Providence, R. I., in 1847, and was edu-

cated in the public school, Brown University, Amherst College, University of Heidelberg, and the University of Zurich.

He has held professorships of Political Economy at Carleton College, Amherst College, and Columbia College, where he now is, and besides has held a lectureship at Johns Hopkins. He was for two years president of the American Economic Association.

Prof. Clark has published a number of works, among which are "The Philosophy of Wealth," "The Modern Distributive Process," "The Distribution of Wealth," "The Control of Trusts," and perhaps over a hundred monographs and contributions to the economic journals.

"My work," writes Prof. Clark to the REVIEW, "has been chiefly in formulating a system of economic theory in which static phenomena, or those that do not depend on progress and on change in the form of society, are first studied by themselves, and dynamic phenomena, which result entirely from change and progress, are also studied by themselves. Wages, interest, and profits are the chief subjects of these works, and an effort is made to show that they depend, respectively on the productive powers of labor and capital and on changes in the manner of utilizing them which result in increasing their efficiency." In this way Prof. Clark states the economic aim of his many writings.

Prof. Clark is probably in advance of most of his fellow thinkers on economics.

Many of the philosophic generalizations in his writings will seem hardly worth the trouble it takes to impart to them the air of scientific method. But he really believes in economic freedom, as he understands it; is opposed to monopoly, as he understands that, and is much further out of the jungle than most of the professors who occupy chairs of political economy in our universities.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE—THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

At the invitation of the Women's Single Tax Club of New Haven, Conn., the Third Annual Conference of the Women's National Single Tax League will be held in that city on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, June 25, 26 and 27, 1903. In view of the success attending the last conference, it is but reasonable to anticipate a much larger gathering this year. An interesting programme is being prepared, and the delegates will be given a reception by Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox at her Summer residence, Short Beach.

Single tax women of the country are invited to join the League and attend the con-