

and Habeas Corpus, and parliamentary government. A lot of Englishmen and sons of Englishmen and Irishmen assembled at Philadelphia in 1776 and promulgated the idea of equal rights to all—the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. But that was twelve years before the United States came into existence.

#### NEW YORK'S LEAD IN WEALTH AND POVERTY.

We are now leading the world in per capita wealth, and also leading the world in poverty. That is to say, we are far ahead of any country in this world, in proportion to our population, in the matter of pauperism and the cost of its support. Now let us get ahead of all others in the enactment of justice, to be followed by the gradual abolishment of poverty and the constant increase of blessings and happiness for all the people.

#### NEW YORK TO THE FRONT.

Will New York never go to the front for humanity? Can't we now take a place in the front ranks of progress and civilization? Let us now do something for suffering, starving humanity. Let us get ahead of all other states in adopting the great principles of justice embodied in the taxation of land alone, and in freeing industry from all taxation.

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#### ADDRESS OF JOSEPH F. DARLING.

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(Mr. Darling, who followed Hon. George Wallace, is ex-assistant Attorney General of this State, and a Single Taxer of long standing. He it was who as a young man first brought to Henry George's attention Dove's "Theory of Human Progression.")

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In regard to the bill under discussion, the underlying principles of which, your comments upon the argument of Mr. George Wallace show that you understand, I have a few words to add from the standpoint of the general economic situation

The march of privilege has arrived at such a point in this country, that not only has wealth concentrated into a few hands, as the speech of Senator La Follette of March 26, 1908, pointed out, into the hands of a very few men who almost absolutely control industry, prices, and wages, but this control is so constituted, so constructed upon a basis of interwoven special interests, that we have, as the *New York Press* of November, 1908, admits, Socialism in Production already installed, practically speaking, but not Socialism in distribution. I do not need to explain to this committee, so alive to the importance of the economic question, how this co-operative combination of conspiracies are, in effect, proof against the attacks of attorneys general and district attorneys, not one per cent. of trust crimes being discoverable, nor one per cent. of that one per cent. being reachable by the courts, even under the most favorable conditions. Nor do I need to explain how wages, salaries and the rewards of professional men and of the hard-working owners

of small commercial and agricultural businesses, are being forced lower and lower by the decreasing power of the people to buy goods and services, caused by unemployment, underemployment and the enhancement of prices; the latter caused in turn by railroad and great industrial and distributing monopolies, and land monopoly.

I do not have to explain why the Steel Trust, whose chief bondholder is Mr. Carnegie, is able to boast that it could exist independently of tariff reduction and the abolition of rebates, nor how it could welcome these reforms in order to destroy independents; nor how its monopoly is based in the last instance on unused natural opportunities, monopolized and held out of use by it and others who either will not sell, or hold at inflated prices.

Now, if, as Socialists claim, it be true that the tendency to concentration of industrial power and, concomitantly, the control of wages, prices and big and little business, is irresistible, if it be true that trustification is openly verging upon one big trust of all the trusts—which condition already exists secretly—if it be true that this central power, which through wages, prices and the present deadly competition of employed with unemployed—is forcing us down more and more into a feudal slavery—is unassailable by all the means heretofore advocated by our leading statesmen—then it is plain that the remedy is that either this government must own all the trusts and operate them under receiverships or what not, and that we must soon have a Socialist Republic—or else that privilege must be attacked straight in front, and in some more efficient manner than our party platforms have hitherto advocated.

The most efficient method is along the lines set forth by Mr. Wallace in his argument. Does not the action of the legislatures of New Zealand, Australia, Germany, Alberta and British Columbia, in forcing land into a proper and natural use at a natural price; does not the political campaign in England for the taxation of land-values; does not the action of various general and local governments in assuming the ownership of public franchise monopolies; do not these world-wide legislative activities *morally oblige* the New York legislature to investigate this remedy of Henry George, now receiving so much attention everywhere except where it is most needed, namely, at the head-centre of monopoly, New York, or must we fall back upon the Socialistic remedy for this hideous un-American *imperium in imperio*, for this secret industrial government that governs our civil government, which controls our destinies, and which will crush our children and grand-children down into a still more remorseless serfdom, all opportunities being even now held at a prohibitive price to the ordinary citizen, and being now to a great extent in the hands of a relentless and callous oligarchy of tyrannical philanthropists—God forgive the term!

And, if you do not act to arrest this concentrative tendency here, where the power of the enemies of the government and people is chiefly exercised, then what else can we understand from your omission except that you believe that the proper remedy is Socialism? Does any statesman offer any other

than these two roads? Either the taking back of privilege by the people, or Socialism? It is common knowledge now, that regulation, prosecution, abolition of rebates, reduction of tariffs, are mere farcical attacks on privilege; are admitted to be insufficient and inefficient.

Therefore, by your action at this session, you will say whether you believe that the Henry George idea of attacking privilege by taking it back from its possessor, is better than the Socialistic idea or not. They, the Socialists, would take property as well as privilege and organize industry governmentally.

Which school is right?

The bill for transferring the taxes now collected from a fraction of our personalty, to the houses and homes and structures and establishments of our common people—as well as upon the land—seems to me entirely unresponsive to the demands of that social unrest which is the capital of the demagogue who attacks all popular institutions indiscriminately. The demagogues have an excellent further opening against the legislature, if it transfers taxation from watered securities (even though but little is or can be collected from them) and places it on our houses, and structures for work and business—all structures and improvements being products of labor.

Yet, *if you do nothing*, this legislature will suffer even more than others from popular impatience and from demagogic appeals.

Show the people that you understand and will advance them materially toward freeing the natural opportunities, locked up in the land, and thus toward freeing mankind to use the land at a natural price, at its true value, and the same triumph awaits you that the liberal legislators of other lands have earned and received; a triumph that will echo around the entire world. Gentlemen, in this time of popular revolt, when bosses can promise you nothing securely, legitimate political capital is easily within your grasp. You can be the recipients of the spontaneous thanks of a grateful people.

You owe nothing but enmity to the great System of Special Privilege, which now, through its hypocritical ultra-respectable statesmen, *guiltily silent as to the illimitable economic graft of the Great Special Interests*, are attacking the legislature, the supreme source of popular power, next to the people themselves.

Has one newspaper given credit for any one good action of any one member of this legislature, except to newspaper (and, hence, to System) favorites?

We Single Taxers are personally indifferent to what this particular legislature may do. But it is a matter of public interest for you and for us. For twenty-five years we have worked toward a success that is now admittedly such in other lands than our own. We have waited and watched the slow development of our ideas from when they were the subject of ridicule by the cheap politician, to now, when they are recognized by so many thinking men whom you know, as the central economic truth of this day and generation, namely: Public Ownership of Public Property; Private Ownership of Private Property.

Is it not worthy of your study?