

confident of re-election for several reasons. The district was regarded as 'safe' for a Republican. The boundaries had been so arranged as to make it a pocket borough for Republicanism. Two years ago Mr. Bennet carried the seat by a majority of over 8,000. He was a favourite with the New York City delegates for Legislative honours. He had a very extended personal following on account of his interesting personality and his willingness to do personal service for both Democrats and Republicans. Against this, I was little known in the district up to the time of my nomination. We put into the field the finest body of speakers in this city and went along on radical lines appealing to progressive Republicans as well as to Democrats and Independence Leaguers.

"The thing that most amazed my opponents and continues to amaze them was the strength we developed by our avowal of the whole free trade and Single Tax faith."

Joseph Dana Miller wrote at the time the following interesting account of the contest:—

Henry George, Jr., won his fight for a seat in Congress from the seventeenth Congressional district of New York after a spirited campaign in which he gained the good-will of the voters of his district. In a district normally 6,000 to 8,000 Republican he won by a majority of 1,721 over William S. Bennet. Mr. Bennet has represented the district for three terms. He is popular as a handshaker and vote-getter; he is a "stand-patter," and voted for every increase of duties in the Payne-Aldrich tariff. He stood upon his record as a high tariff man and belittled the arguments of his opponent that the high cost of living was due chiefly to the tariff.

It was one of the few Congressional districts in which the tariff was directly and persistently assailed. It was the only one in which free trade was openly and boldly preached without equivocation. The candidate frankly announced himself as a free trader, and went even further than his enthusiastic speakers in the clear-cut radicalism of his utterances.

Many votes, it is safe to say, were cast by Republican Free Traders, of whom there are many in this district where the Single Tax and abolition of all tariffs have been preached by the adherents of Henry George for many years at the corner of Seventh Avenue and 125th Street. This was one of the causes which helped.

Mr. Bennet's failure to accept Mr. George's challenge to debate the causes of the high cost of living was made much of by the George speakers, and undoubtedly influenced many voters.

One of the chief causes of success was the candidate himself. His speeches were strong appeals, manly, dignified and free from the arts of the politician. Something of the loving simplicity of heart and mind that come to him from his great father were manifest to the voters of his district, and drew to him the support of independents. In the high-minded and honourable treatment he accorded to his opponent, refusing to take advantage of certain openings which a less punctilious swordsman might have eagerly availed himself of, he took to himself the high knightly counsel:—

'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius; we'll deserve it.

In all his efforts for the Commonweal, Henry George has the loyal and enthusiastic support of his wife, and readily acknowledges how much this means to him at all times.

SPEECH IN CONGRESS

(The following is extracted from the Free Trade speech made by Henry George, Jr., in Congress on June 10th, 1911. The occasion of the debate was the Bill to reduce the tariff on wool and manufactures of wool.)

To him that produceth, to him should go the fruits thereof. This is getting to be the current of thought. Consequently I believe that just so surely as this country shall establish an income tax that surely will the mass of those who pay it become active in quest of some substitute tax. They will be far more active against an income tax than they may now be against a tariff tax, because an income tax is direct in its incidence. It can be seen plainly by the man who pays it. Therefore income-tax payers will rebel against this tax upon their industry. They will look for a tax that will raise revenue, but not tax thrift.

What tax will do that? A tax on land values will do it; do it absolutely. It will fall on privilege, and not any part of it on toil.

This brings us to a consideration of the single-tax philosophy. I am a single taxer. I do not believe in taxes upon any kind of industry, or upon anything that comes from industry. I believe the whole burden of taxation—Federal, State, and municipal—should fall upon monopoly. I believe it should fall upon the mother of all monopolies; upon the earth; upon that value which comes to any piece of land not by reason of the toil of its owner—for all improvements should be exempted—but from the development of the community; from social growth and social improvement.

That part of New York City known as Manhattan Borough, Manhattan Island, comprises land officially valued at more than three thousand million dollars. The island was bought from the Indians by Dutch traders in the seventeenth century for \$24 worth of calico and glass beads. Yet now that same piece of land stands on the tax books at three thousand millions. That is the official value of the ground alone. It does not include the value of buildings or other improvements of any kind. Who made the increase in value from \$24 to three thousand million dollars—who but all the people? The coming of population did part; the birth of babies did part; the laying out of streets, the making of great public improvements, the general toil, the building this island into a great centre of production, of manufacturing and trade made parts. Social growth and social improvement brought the value to that piece of land. Why should it not be taken into the Public Treasury for social uses? Why not abolish all other taxes and take by taxation this publicly-made value for the uses of government—municipal, State, and Federal?

To tax land values, ground values, alone is not a mere dream. It is not the utterance of a man so far in the advance of practical affairs as just to be listened to for a brief hour and then be dismissed. My colleagues, it is a principle that is now and here. It is claiming the grave attention, shaping the legislation, of the advanced nations of the earth. It is in the Orient; it is in the Occident; it is in the Antipodes; it is amongst the progressive people to the north of us with whom we are seeking closer ties; it has made a momentous, convulsive drive forward in Great Britain.

Now I believe that this single tax would meet better than any other form of taxation the four canons of taxation. It is the most equal tax. It falls upon men according to the natural bounties they have in their possession. The man who has little pays little. The man who has much pays much, so that it is the most equal kind of a tax.

Then it is certain. It is not intermittent and wavering. It falls regularly, so that all dependent matters can be arranged accordingly.

In the next place, it is direct. It can not be shifted. It stays where it falls. There can be no addition of this tax to the value of the land. The landowners are getting as much as they can get now. They are not waiting for taxation to put up the price of their land. On the contrary, any proposal to put a tax on values immediately causes a discouragement on the part of some owners who have idle lands, and the tendency is for the price of land to go down.

This tax can be seen. It is not the kind of a tax that falls and no man knoweth how much or where. There lies the land and there lies the value and there falls the tax.

And then it is the most economical tax in its incidence. It lays no burden beyond the revenue received from it. It is cheap in the collection. This tax is not like a tariff tax. That falls upon things coming into the country. To the extent of the tax and the volume of the things so imported is the revenue that goes into the Public Treasury. But the tax on imports enables an increase in the price of similar commodities made in this country. There is not a cent of revenue from this home production. In the case of the tax on land values, the more the tax the less the speculation, and, therefore, the lower the price of land. So that in application, it is the most economical of all taxes.

But, Mr. Chairman, I do not stop with the canons of taxation; for that, after all is said, is a fiscal question. I want to direct attention further. It relates to the great industrial questions of our country. This land tax does not mean merely a better way of raising revenue, a more economical way, a more direct way, a more just way. It means far more than that. It means the opening to the use of labour and capital the vast quantities of land now shut off by speculation.

There is no real scarcity of land anywhere. There is no scarcity even in the city of New York with its great population. With all its great tenements, with all its swarming humanity—and within certain blocks there are four and five thousand beings—I say that with all that congestion, the most concentrated population on the globe, it has been computed that there is land enough inside the corporate limits of the city to give to every head of family from one-eighth to one-quarter of an acre of good ground. I am not proposing to divide the land. I am explaining that there is no such thing as a scarcity of land there. There is land enough, but most of it is held out of use. Great areas are vacant on the outskirts, and you can go along Broadway and Fifth Avenue, the greatest and proudest thoroughfares on the whole hemisphere, and find vacant lots, and one and two storey shacks and shanties where there ought to be imperial buildings.

Why is this? Because the penalty of holding land out of use is so slight that men can pay the small tax and yet, owing to social growth and social improvement, and the consequent increase in value, realise handsome profits by the speculation. Some men acquire fortunes in a short time by simply getting hold of a piece of land, sitting down, and letting society do the rest.

This is so in every State; it is so in every village, town, and hamlet of our country. It is so throughout the agricultural regions; it is so throughout the mineral and timber regions. Apply this tax and you tax out the speculators, you tax in the users, you produce a new order in the United States.

We, of all the peoples of the world, ought to be the most advanced. We have drawn from the nations of the earth their best in brawn, their best in heart and hope; not the old, not the diseased, but the young, plastic with youth, ready to mould themselves into our conditions. They have poured in, as to the land of promise, their many bloods and produced the richest mingling that ever gave the life fluid to a new country. Soon we shall number a hundred millions, scattered over a vast territory more varied in soils and climate than has ever before been the heritage of a nation, welded into a homogeneous whole, with one language, one body of institutions, one code of laws, one democratic form of government. We ought to be the greatest people, because we have the greatest possible opportunities. But what are we doing to rise to these opportunities? We have instituted a condition by which a few own the country. A few here, a few there, practically control villages, towns, cities, counties, and almost whole

States. We have a landlordism greater than anything conceived in Great Britain or Germany or in the Orient. We have the greatest landlords that have ever been seen. Should we meet this condition, should we apply taxation to land values so as to break down land monopoly and throw open the soil of our country to our fast-growing population, a prosperity will come such as will dumbfound mankind and give to America the glory of carrying civilisation to a point higher than ever reached in the destinies of the race.

THE SON OF A PROPHET

Few tasks are so hard as being the son of a great man.

When that man has not merely attained the highest rank as author and orator, but has successfully assailed vested wrongs esteemed venerable by the custom of the centuries, the task of being his son is appalling. For men instinctively contrast the son's actions, not with the actions of that father in his youth, but in the full glow of his mature manhood.

The obscurity which kindly shielded the errors of the father's earlier years has changed to a pitiless glare exposing every action of the son.

Thirty-seven years ago, the Prophet of San Francisco raised his voice in the California wilderness and declared that the poverty which shadows progress everywhere, in what we call our civilisation, has its root in the private ownership of the land on which and from which all men must live. The festering slums which cluster around our palaces, the vice and crime lurking in the shadow of our churches, the ignorance bred beside our schools, famine stalking where granaries burst with grain, shivering nakedness beside warehouses filled with wool, and, deadliest of all, our social crimes, children toiling while their fathers are perforce idle, and in all cities women forced by famine to sell their very souls for bread.

All these that lone Prophet declared to be fruits of human laws which made the land God gave for the use of all the private property of a few, to be used or withheld utterly from use by the many, as these few might decree.

Nineteen hundred years ago a Nazarene carpenter preached similar doctrines to some fishers by the Sea of Galilee.

Privilege crucified him between thieves. But his doctrines of the equal Fatherhood of God, of the equal Brotherhood of Man, whispered fearfully by slave to slave, and spread by the mouths of prisoners and fugitives, won their way despite sneers and scars, burnings and battlings with beasts in the arena.

Then privilege stole his livery for its service, and in the name of justice consecrates injustice, in the name of righteousness teaches slavish submission to iniquity, invoking the law of God to sanction laws of man which deny and defy God's laws.

With a faith that never faltered, an energy which never slackened, an ability as writer and speaker unequalled in our times, this new Apostle of Equality wrought ceaselessly till nineteen years ago death crowned him martyr to the cause of man. But long ere this he was cheered by the recognition of the truths he taught, in every corner of the earth.

Though scribes and Pharisees sneered and the Rulers and Chief Priests strove to harass him, the common people heard him gladly as they had heard his Nazarene predecessor centuries before. And it came to pass that before death came the truths he taught found acceptance in every country on earth.

As boy and man, from the day of the publication of *PROGRESS AND POVERTY*, Henry George, Jr., was his father's right hand.