Henry George on the Single Tax, Australia, and Federation.

At a great Single Tax Conference in New York in the first week of September Henry George delivered the following address:—In your applause that greets me there arises in my memory the parting cheers that gave me Godspeed from the men of Australia. (Cheers.) I wish that it were in my power to give you the hand grip; I wish it were possible that I could convey to you that electric thrill of brotherhood that I know they would feel of whom I am thinking could they stand here tonight. There is nothing else like it — this union in a noble cause all over the world.

The men who see the truth we see, the men who struggle in the fight we struggle in, are one all over the world. (Applause.) I have come back to you from around the world. I come back to you with a firmer faith and a clearer hope; I come back, too, with the assurance that we are on the march to victory. (Applause.) We struggle today, the morrow is ours. There is no greeting that I could receive, no sight that could meet my eyes so inspiring as this sight of single tax men from all parts of the country. (Applause.) Not single tax men of New York, not single tax men of the American metropolis of the Empire State.

The men who sit on this platform tonight, and the men who sit on these benches are from every State in the Union; every State in the Union, from Maine to Texas, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific is represented here, and there are the men who represent the vanguard of those who will save the republic (Applause.) Greatest and freest land under the sun. Our friend spoke the words of his love, and not, I think, of his cool judgment. Great land it is; fair land is it; but freest land? Think of it! (Laughter.) I landed today, as you said, 450 of us, on the wharf, and we waited there two hours to have our baggage searched. (Hisses.)

I have been sailing seas that when I was a boy were white with American sails; seas today unfurrowed by an American keel. Why? Because Americans are not free to build ships or to sail them. (Applause.) I have been travelling over the greatest route of the world's commerce, where you hardly see an American passenger, and an American merchant never. Myself and my wife the sole Americans on a great ship; and on the Fourth of July the subject of an effete monarchy stuck under my eyes an English paper containing an account of how "Boss Buckley" ruled San Francisco. (Applause.) And I knew, as you know, that it was true. Greatest and freest country! Why, you are not free to buy half-a-peck of apples and go out and try to sell them without a license.

The greatest and freest country in the world? Look at the picture that is presented in the capital of the American republic today. Congress, the Congress of the United States, protracting its session into the dog days. For what? To pay by grants of spoliation from us for money that was raised to bribe and buy a presidential election. (Applause.) Greatest and freest country under the sun? I remember when the republican party was born; I remember, as William Lloyd Garrison remembers, what hopes flashed up; I remember the promises of its youth. What is this party, as represented in the three great departments in Washington today, doing? Why, the trusts come there to claim, as though by right, the power of fettering the industry, to claim the power of taking the proceeds of the labour of Americans from Americans, as though it was theirs to take

and no man's to deny. (Applause.) No, I am not proud of the American republic, and no man who loves his country, no man who has ever realised what that banner might represent, no man who has ever felt what was the height of her destiny, how she might lead in all good things in the world can be proud today of the American republic. (Applause.) But I am as never before hopeful of the American republic. (Applause.) Not yet. Freedom is not here yet, but she will come, aye, she is coming. (Applause.) And the men whom you represent, the men who today stand for the principles of Thomas Jefferson, the men who today strive not for the rights of a class, not for the rights of labour, but for the rights of men — (applause) — the men whose motto is there, "free trade, free land, free men" — (applause) — are the vanguard of the men who will yet make the American republic what she ought to be; the men who will make her a beacon light to all the world, and carry her to her true place, the leadership of nations. (Applause.)

Why, if we had done nothing more than to secure, as far as it has yet gone, the triumph of honesty in the adoption of the Australian ballot system, we should have done something that would give us hope for all the future, and I congratulate you, men of New York, I congratulate you especially, upon the victory that has been won in your State; the victory that has been won in forcing, by sheer force of appeals to public intelligence and to public spirit and to public virtue, that reform into law with the signature of David B. Hill. (Applause. A voice cried, "It was uphill work," which created much laughter.) More the honour, then, for its accomplishment, and there is still more uphill work to be done. (Applause.) But that work is being done faster than we dared to anticipate, and of that this conference is one of the proofs to me.

People constantly tell me that I am over-sanguine. I did not think that it would be possible at this time to assemble at one end of the United States a representation of the active single tax men from all parts of the country as has been assembled here today and as will assemble here tomorrow. (Voice: "Don't forget Canada." Applause.) No, I ought not to forget Canada when I speak of the United States. In these respects I include Canada. (Applause.) I hope the time may come, and come soon, when between Canada and the United States there will be nothing more than the line which divides Pennsylvania from New Jersey. (Applause.) And as the single-tax men would annex Canada, so would I annex the Australian colonies, and annex the English speaking countries on the other side of the water. (Applause.)

What is the real line that divides us to-day? Different forms of Government? Simply the tariff line. Throw down the tariff line; give between Canada and the United States the same freedom of exchange that exists between the States of the American Union, and we would rapidly become in all respects one. Do the same thing between the United States and the Australian colonies, and in spite of the distance, so great would be the commerce, so large the intercourse, that we would essentially become one people. (Applause.)

Strike down the tariff between us and our brethren on the other side of the water and you would have to take your choice on every day of the week between an afternoon and a morning boat. (Applause.) Aye, the destiny of this republic ought to be something more than to merely carve into states of her Union the country that lies between Canada and Mexico and the Atlantic and Pacific. It ought to be hers to lead in that greatest of great political movements — the federation of the entire English speaking race. (Applause.) And she could do it were she simply true to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, did she simply not try to restrict liberty under the

name of giving protection, but to give freedom, to trust liberty and to hold fast to her. Nor is this mere sentiment. I would have that freedom of intercourse between all the nations of the earth, beginning with the English-speaking nations, provided a beginning was to be made, not merely for the sake of the great league that would be represented, but for the sake of the individuals of whom our nations are composed. I think the more a man travels the more he sees of the world; the more he realises that the whole earth and not any little part of it was created for man. (Applause.) And his tastes and desires can only be satisfied where he can take the best from every clime; where he can enjoy the instruction that comes from seeing all parts of it.

I think the more a man travels the more he sees of this world; the more he sees that it is not a poor world but a rich world; that if there is poverty today all over the world it is not from want of productive force; it is not because the Creator has been a niggard; it is simply because everywhere men's energies are restricted; it is simply because everywhere men are denied the most fundamental of the natural rights of man. (Applause.)

Our aim, and it is the same everywhere, is not merely to banish animosities, to still prejudice, to unite the nations; it is to abolish poverty; it is to take away forever that unnatural thing, undeserved poverty. (Applause.) And that, too, not by protecting men, not by coddling men, not by condescendingly attempting to do something for any class, but by the simple means of assuring to all men equal rights, by the simple means of opening to all men those opportunities for the employment of their powers that the Creator of this world has given to them. (Applause.)

As you may see from this meeting, the rapid growth our principles are making all over the United States, so it is all over the English speaking world. In Australia the movement is going forward as steadily and as rapidly as it is going forward here. Their course has been very much like our course. At the first raising of the standard men came around it who did not fully understand what it represented. All sorts of plans and half-way measures were suggested, and there was for a long time a desire to hold together two sets of men who cannot possibly work together — the men who wanted freedom and the men who wanted protection. That day has passed in Australia. (Applause.)

As you may see from the changing of the names of the league from Land Nationalisation League to the Single-tax League. Under that simple but expressive name the single-tax men of Australia, the men who hold our principles and stand for our purposes, are banded together to fight all forms of monopoly and to strike down wherever they can protection, and through that to lead to the striking down of the last robber, the robber who takes all that is left, the monopolist of the soil. (Applause.) In England, during the time that elapsed since I was there before, I found a steady and a rapid advance going on. Why, in London, "you know" — (laughter) — they actually passed through the council and almost passed through Parliament an edict to strike down the bars and gates with which the aristocratic owners of certain portions of London protected the streets, but at the last moment the defenders of property rallied, and they got a clause in the bill providing for compensation to the owners of these bars and barricades. (Laughter.) Good thing. Under that proposal to compensate owners for barriers and gates — and why not as well make a proposal to compensate the owners of public-houses for taking away their licenses — lies a larger question. The question is whether the owners, or the gentlemen who please to call themselves owners of the land of England, are to be compensated whenever the rest of the people

of England put in their claim for their share of it. It is now absolutely certain that no such compensation will ever be given. (Applause.)

All along the varying lines by which advances are being made to some settlement of the social question, to some solution of the labour difficulty, effort is converging, either intelligently or without knowing it, to the simple plan of taxing land values. (Applause.) Even the Socialists, the most active and intelligent of them at least, in their agitation are as a practical measure steadily putting forward this idea of taxing the land values. (Applause.) Here, in England, in Scotland, in Australia, men say to me what country will be first? The Australians think it will be Australia, and they have reason to think so. The first country to impose a tax upon land values irrespective of improvements was South Australia. (Applause.) In Great Britain, both in England and in Scotland, the men think their country will be first. Perhaps it may. If one of the Australian colonies steps to the van so much the more glory for her. If, indeed, the first carrying out of our principles is to be beneath the Southern Cross, it will become a cross of promise to us. (Applause.) If it is to be in Great Britain, then we of the United States will glory in the leadership of the men of Great Britain. (Applause.)

Bat I have always had faith that in spite of everything, every force to the contrary, that the men of the United States would have the glory of being first in the lead. (Great applause.) The numbers and the character of the men who have come to this conference; the knowledge of the men that they left behind them, but who are represented in their presence; the knowledge of the energy, the intelligence, the determination, tho patience, and the unwearied industry that is being given to this movement in every State, aye, in every hamlet in the United States today, are to me the promise that the movement that we have begun is to go forward to victory here faster than we have dared to dream. (Applause.) See how much has already been accomplished in the conversion of leading men of the democratic party to democratic principles. (Applause and laughter.)

They are absolutely becoming careless of whether they are called revenue reformers or free-traders. (Applause.) And at last, at list, we have reached the American farmer. (Applause.) At last the American farmer is beginning to ask, and to ask with some intelligent idea of the answer, whether he is as prosperous as he ought to be in such a well protected country, where everything is protected. (Applause.) The Judge is right. Whether they oppose as or whether they support us, they are still doing our work and aiding our movement. Denounce the single tax and men will want to know what this single tax is; and no man who does want to help his fellows; no man who realises that his best interests are the interests of his neighbours and of his fellow citizens; no man who has the good of the community at heart; no man who is governed by fairness, can know what the single tax is without becoming a believer in single tax doctrines. (Applause.)

All over the great civilised world, as here, the labour question becomes more and more pressing. All over the civilised world today, in the newest of countries as in the oldest, in Australia, as in Great Britain, the feeling is deepening. The present constitution of society is unjust, and it is becoming more and more unsupportable. The only thing that can remedy that injustice; the only thing that can settle the labour question, is the thing that we propose. (Applause.) Labour combinations won't do it; strikes won't do it; profit sharing won't do it; co-operation won't do it; the dealing out of cold victuals to the masses won't do it. (Applause.) The only thing that will do

it is justice. (Applause.) The only thing that will do it is to carry into effect the gospel of every people — to give to every man that which belongs to him as a man; to leave to every man that which his own energy, his own skill, his own industry added to the sum of wealth. That is simply the single tax. (Applause.) What we propose is no nostrum; what we propose is simply the taking for the community that value which belongs to the community, because created by the community; and of leaving to the individual, be he capitalist or be he labourer, be he rich or be he poor, folly and unimpaired, the entire reward for his labours. (Applause.)

All over the world men are, as it were, crowded together — to take up and carry on the similitude suggested by our chairman — crowded together, pressed together; wanting order, wanting light; under conditions which make it impossible that they should develop their faculties. They are crowded and pressed together so close that other men walk on their heads. (Applause.) The way of combinations, the way of trust unionism, the way of banding together in little organisations and fighting the pressing up army will do a little for the men who are in the ring with the forces; but it cannot do anything for the whole body. The way of single tax is that of striking down all barriers that crowd men together; the easting down the fences and letting them out on God's soil, in God's fresh air, and under God's sunshine. (Applause.) As this way and that way proves insufficient; as this way and that way, this palliative and that palliative, are considered and found wanting, men must concentrate upon the true way; the way of liberty, the way of equal rights, the way of assuring to every individual the full right to use his powers, and the full security that he shall enjoy their result. (Applause.) I feel tonight, and in this gathering, more than I ever felt before, that there is now no power on earth that can keep back this movement — that it most go on to victory. (Long continued applause.)