

dentally. The one issue was taxation reform. The republican candidates against whom the issue was made were those in some way connected with the present unjust distribution of taxation, or whose offices, if elected, could be used to continue that injustice. Every one of those candidates was snowed under by democratic and independent republican votes. The only republican on the local ticket who escaped defeat was Judge Phillips, and he was saved only by a small majority, although there was at one time a disposition to allow his candidacy to be unopposed.

A clean ticket and a single live issue, appealing to everyone alike without regard to political differences, and an aggressive campaign on that issue—that is the story of the campaign in Cuyahoga county and of its magnificent success.

Now turn to the campaign in the state outside of Cuyahoga county and mark the difference, both in the methods and in results.

The democratic state managers rejected the counsels of Mayor Johnson to fight the state on the taxation question. They took the line marked out for them by their republican opponents. They were afraid of the taxation issue and preferred to fight on the old partisan lines. So the republican and democratic candidates and spellbinders went up and down the state mouthing the old platitudes, making pretense of fighting each other on old issues that are no longer live issues, and invoking the shades of the dead and gone to keep their party followers in line.

The result was what was to be expected from such folly. The republican state ticket has been overwhelmingly elected. The legislature is heavily republican, notwithstanding the solid democratic delegation that will go to Columbus from Cuyahoga county, and democratic losses are reported in democratic districts to offset the sweeping democratic victory in the republican county of Cuyahoga.

If Mayor Johnson's policy had been adopted and carried into effect throughout the state as it was in this county, there would be a democratic governor and a tax reform legislature at Columbus in the coming year.—Editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of November 7.

If even the Newtonian philosophy were not permitted to be questioned, mankind could not feel as complete assurance of its truth as they now do.—John Stuart Mill.

PUBLIC IGNORANCE CONCERNING THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF HENRY GEORGE.

An address delivered by Charles G. Helfner at the Henry George Birthday banquet in Seattle, Wash., September 2, 1901.

I honor the man who is willing to sink
Half of his present repute for the freedom
to think,
And when he has thought, be his cause
strong or weak,
Will risk t'other half for the freedom to
speak,
Caring naught for the vengeance the mob
has in store,
Let that mob be the upper ten thousand
or lower.
—Lowell.

This gathering is only one of many held to-night throughout the United States to pay tribute to the name and fame of Henry George—a man who thought, and dared to speak. Upon this sixty-second anniversary of his birth it is eminently fit and proper that students of political economy and sociology should seek to hold firm faith, and awaken new interest, in the teachings of one of the greatest and noblest men that the nineteenth century produced.

Henry George did not write for only one people, nor for any particular time; he wrought for all men and for all time. Truth is the same yesterday, to-day and forever, and Henry George spoke no word and wrote no line that he did not believe to be the truth. No Spencerian recantations are found in his writings.

He was brave. It requires a high degree of moral courage to speak the truth always. He formulated his own motto when he said:

I propose to take nothing for granted, but to bring even accepted theories to the test of first principles. I propose to beg no question, to shrink from no conclusion, but to follow truth wherever it may lead. If the conclusions that we reach run counter to our prejudices, let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural, let us not turn back.

If during his eventful life he ever deviated in the least from the high course thus marked out, even his opponents have not remarked it. And the best test of his fidelity to truth is found in the fact that the book from which I have quoted has been translated and published in the French, German, Italian, Dutch, Swedish, Russian, Japanese and Chinese languages. Few American authors have been thus honored or so widely read.

It is the most to be regretted, therefore, that so many of his countrymen are so densely ignorant concerning one of their greatest men, and know so little of the mighty truths which he uttered.

I think I do not do my fellow citizens an injustice when I say that a majority of them have no true conception of his purpose and teachings. The popular estimate of him both as a man and as an author is erroneous. He is frequently unjustly regarded as having been simply an agitator, as a man with only one idea, who sought to revolutionize society and existing property rights by urging the enactment of some impracticable, hair-splitting theory termed the "single tax," and the enforcement would result in absolutely destroying title to land, and in compelling those who have to divide with those who havenot. This estimate which, I submit, I have not overdrawn, could not be farther from the truth. He did, indeed, attack existing social and economic theories and conditions, but the remedy he offered took from no man what he had earned, deprived no man of the fruits of his efforts and labors, and prevented no man from accumulating wealth or achieving fame. Is there a man who wants more than he earns, who wants the results of other men's efforts and endeavors, who wants the wealth created by others or the community? If there be, him only has he offended. He held that the present system of taxation is unjust, that the lowliest child born into this world has an equal right with the child born in a palace to have air to breathe, water to drink, and land to live on, without paying tribute therefor; and that governments had no right in the sight of God or in the light of the teachings of Christ to give the control of those rights, advantages, or privileges, which nature or the community has created, into the hands of the influential few as against the claims of the undesigning many. Hence it was to overthrow entrenched wrong and unjust precedent which he saw everywhere around him, that he devoted his highest endeavors and the best years of his life; and he died as he had lived, clad in the armor of truth, his face toward the foes of justice, fighting "For the cause that lacks assistance, 'gainst the wrongs that need resistance."

He was a man of exceptional mental power, a careful observer, a close reasoner, cautious in arriving at conclusions on anything less than overwhelming evidence. He had traveled far and observed much, and from observations and study he concluded that the chief cause of poverty was to be found in the unjust and inequitable system of taxation prevailing not only in this country, but in almost all others. Now the power to tax one is of

the most far-reaching prerogatives of governments. It carries with it the power and evils of confiscation. It is as old as government itself, and in its various applications it has attached not only to man in his own person, but has claimed and collected tribute from every form of industry, toil, accumulation and possession. The evils and inequalities growing out of the exercise of this power have been as numerous as the capabilities of the human mind to conceive. Driven to desperation by the extravagance of dissolute monarchs and rulers, official treasurers, almost from time immemorial, have exacted contributions from every person and valuable thing within the inexorable arm of the law. With the military to exact compliance, resistance on the part of the subject has usually been futile, while alleged necessities from within and dangers from without have been the ever ready excuses to justify, placate and appease. The longer an injustice exists the stronger, and to some minds, more sacred it becomes, and thus methods of taxation, defensible in the beginning on grounds of equity or morality, have been reenacted by parliaments and congresses, and tolerated, sustained and upheld by the masses. Indeed, it would seem that for thousands of years governments have acted upon the theory of the French financier, Colbert, who somewhat cynically declared that "Taxation was the art of so plucking the geese as to secure the largest amount of feathers with the least amount of squealing." In plain truth, I do not hesitate to say that every form of indirect taxation was designed to conceal theft, has been perpetuated to cover extravagance, and is the legitimate outgrowth of Colbert's financial philosophy. With all our boasted intelligence, our people are the innocent instrumentalities in the hands of sentiment and tradition. Else how shall we account for the incongruous theories concerning taxation which have grown up amongst us, and in one form or another have been enacted into statute laws?

More than 100 years ago Adam Smith laid down four canons of taxation, the first of which is:

That the subjects of every state ought to contribute to the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy from the protection of the state.

Instead, however, of acting upon that principle, it would seem that governments have sought rather to obscure and evade it. It would be diffi-

cult, indeed, to find much of the essence of that great canon in the taxation laws of this country. Syndicates, combinations and trusts have been organized in every conceivable form, and, ostensibly, for every conceivable purpose to escape personal liability on the part of the promoters thereof, to smother competition, enhance prices, reduce wages, monopolize trade and conceal the evidences of wealth from the eyes of the assessor or tax collector. Or, failing in this, flagrant and open bribery has been resorted to to accomplish the same result. Evasions of the law regarding the listing of personal property for taxation have become the rule, rather than the exception. What in the early days would have been considered a crime has, in these later days, come to be looked upon as a virtue by men of large corporate wealth holding extensive personal estates. Nor is this all. The most vicious teachings have been inculcated into the minds of the American people, especially regarding the effect of certain methods of taxation. A few years ago, back in Iowa, I heard political orators solemnly declare to the evident gratification of their audiences that a customs duty of 25 cents a bushel on corn, wheat and oats resulted in an increase to just that extent in the prices of those cereals.

This was believed, notwithstanding we exported millions of bushels and imported none. Hence a certain political party was to be eternally glorified because of its solicitous care for the farmer. Now that our manufacturers are successfully competing with those of other nations in the markets of the world, we are told by these same orators that this same customs duty, by some inscrutable process, has worked a reduction in prices. The gravity of the situation appears when we reflect that a majority of our people evidently believe both these absurd propositions.

Is it any wonder that we have been groping in a wilderness of economic doubt regarding taxation when such things are believed?

There was work, indeed, for the great mind and heart of Henry George. He took this abstruse subject, and having mastered it himself, proceeded to elucidate, illustrate and make plain. That he is misunderstood is due simply to the fact that he has not been read and studied. Throughout all his writings, whether considering taxation

in the abstract, whether demolishing the "manufactured to order" arguments of Herbert Spencer, whether replying to the duke of Argyll, or answering the far-reaching but untenable statements of Pope Leo, there was ever the broad, humanitarian spirit of fairness, of justice for all men, high or low, rich or poor. He blamed not men, but conditions and precedents; he attacked not men, but systems; and recognizing that selfishness is inherent in us all he acknowledged an Astor or Vanderbilt to be as much a victim of circumstances as the poorest man in the land. He opposed war, stood for peace, and pleaded for liberty, freedom and opportunity for all men in all climes. Art and literature, science and invention, statesmanship, education and enlightenment—these were the heights toward which he would have led us all. He hoped and prayed and pleaded and believed that there shall come, from out this noise of strife and groaning,

A broader and juster brotherhood,
A deep equality of aim, postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
There shall come a time when each shall
to another,
Be as Christ would have him, brother
unto brother.

There shall come a time when brotherhood
grows stronger

Than the narrow bounds which now dis-
tract the world;

When the cannons roar and the trumpets
blare no longer,

And the ironclad rusts and battle-flags
are furled;

When the bars of creed and speech and
race, which sever,

Shall be fused in one humanity forever.

—Lewis Morris.

When the world knows and com-
prehends the mighty purposes set in
motion by Henry George, nations
will cease to wage wars for conquest
and subjection; they will be actuated
by higher motives than the sale of
rum and gunpowder and opium, and
the conquering of continents for com-
merce and spoliation. The energies
of men will be devoted to the ame-
lioration of the condition of man-
kind, not its enslavement. For—

Were half the power that fills the earth
with terror,

Were half the wealth bestowed on Camps
and Courts,

Given to redeem the human mind from
error,

There were no need for Arsenals and
Forts.

The warrior's name would be a name ab-
horred,

And every nation that should lift again
its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forevermore the curse of
Cain.

—Longfellow.

While the world pays homage and

builds monuments to its conquering chieftains and war heroes, I prefer rather to treasure in the hearts of men the memory of one who had no ambition but to do good and be just, no aspiration but "to mark out the path and make clear the way up which all the nations of the earth must come in God's appointed time," and who "dared for a great cause to fight, to suffer, if need be, to die."

Speak, History. Who are life's victors? Unroll thy long annals and say, Are they those whom the world calls the victors,

Who won the success of the day?
The Martyrs, or Nero? The Spartans
Who fell at Thermopylae's tryst?
His judges, or Socrates?
Pilate, or Christ?
—W. W. Story.

Changing only the terms, I make his own language at once the measure of his life's work and his epitaph.

He sought the law and justice. And as his nobler nature developed there arose the desire higher yet, that he, even he, might somehow aid in making life better and brighter, in destroying want and sin, sorrow and shame. He turned his back upon the feast and renounced the place of power; he left to others to accumulate wealth, to gratify pleasant tastes, to bask themselves in the warm sunshine of the brief day. He worked for those he never saw nor could see; for a fame, or maybe for a scant justice, that could only come long after the clouds had rattled upon his coffin lid. He tolled in the advance, where it was cold; and there was little cheer from men, and the stones were sharp and the brambles thick. Amid the scoffs and sneers that stabbed like knives, he builded for the future. He cut the trail that progressive humanity might hereafter broaden into a highroad. Into higher, grander spheres his desire mounted and beckoned, and a star that rose in the east led him on.

This is the height and breadth and depth of his mighty purpose, which, let us hope, will grow and blossom till established justice and equality shall be the heritage of all men through all the lengthened years.

The great and glorious statesman whose memory every gentleman would revere, the late Lord Chatham . . . thanked God that America had resisted the claims of this country. But "all the calamities are to be ascribed to the wishes and the joy and the speeches of the opposition!" Oh, miserable and unfortunate ministry! Oh, blind and incapable men! whose measures are framed with so little foresight and executed with so little firmness that they not only crumble to pieces, but bring on the ruin of their country, merely because one

rash, weak or wicked man in the house of commons makes a speech against them!—Charles James Fox (1781).

Hower—I hear that Changley has a permanent job.

Neumiller—Yes; he's a soldier in the Philippines.

G. T. E.

Petersbe (moralizing) — Do you know, if you didn't smoke you would save about \$600 every ten years?

Smithington (thoughtfully) — You don't smoke?

Petersbe—Certainly not! I haven't for 20 years.

Smithington—Then I suppose you have got \$1,200 to show for it?

The particular moral—or joke—of this modern fable is that Petersbe was forced to admit that he hadn't saved a cent.—Leslie's Weekly.

"The king has given several thousand medals for meritorious service in South Africa."

"The Boers are not getting any medals?"

"No; but they may, if the recipients of the British medals go back to South Africa."—Puck.

"Hello, central! Give me one triple nought, south."

"What?"

"Don't you catch it? One zero, zero, zero, south."

"Wh-a-t?"

"South one double nought nought."

"Can't you speak plainer?"

"One thousand, south—ten hundred, south. Get it now?"

"Oh, you mean south one ought double ought. All right."—Exchange.

"You have rated me as having \$1,500 worth of property!" roars the citizen.

"Precisely \$1,498.03," says the assessor, upon reference to his books.

"Making me out a poor man and thus liable to taxation, when in point of fact I am amply rich enough not to be taxed at all! I—I—"

But here the citizen becomes incoherent, such is his indignation.—Puck.

"What do they mean in Europe by the 'American peril?'"

"Oh! They're afraid that America will sell goods so cheap that everybody in Europe will be able to buy them."—Puck.

BOOK NOTICES.

A unique and valuable reference book for economic students and politicians interested in economic subjects is Max Hirsch's "Material for Comparisons Between New South Wales and Victoria, Great Britain, the United States and Foreign Countries," published by the Renwick Press, Mel-

bourne, Victoria, Commonwealth of Australia. The especial value and significance of this logically arranged and copiously indexed collection of facts and statistics is due to the fact that New South Wales has been a free trade country long enough to test the effect of that policy upon social conditions, while Victoria, its next neighbor, has been a pronounced protection country. Mr. Hirsch's materials, therefore, afford an opportunity for comparing the commercial and sociological effects of these two policies, and this comparison is strengthened by utilizing materials from Great Britain and the United States.

"Peace or War in South Africa" (London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex street, W. C.), by A. S. Methuen, has attracted phenomenal attention in England, as it is now doing also in the United States. The book is in its sixth edition, and at this no reader will wonder. It is from the pen of a member of the London publishing house of Methuen & Co., a Briton who did not always sympathize with the Boers, but whose examination into the subject has resulted in this most judicial condemnation of his own government. It is in fine literary form. It is instinct with high moral principle. And, though never weak, it is pervaded by a spirit of fairness, patience and moderation, which go far toward securing candid consideration from even hostile readers. Beginning with the impressive parallel of the American revolution to the South African war, Mr. Methuen moves on into an interesting historical narrative of South Africa down to 1896. Then follow the circumstances which culminated in the outbreak of the war, and a critical review of the military campaign, the book closing with a discussion of the whole matter and suggestions looking to honorable peace. Copies of valuable documents are contained in an appendix. This book may be had in this country upon application to the Transvaal league, room 14, No. 88 La Salle street, Chicago.

MAGAZINES.

—In the Pilgrim for November (Battle Creek, Mich.: J. Willis Abbot, editor) Henry George, Jr., has an article on the practical progress of the single tax movement in legislation.

—The principal article in the Ethical Record (New York, 46 East Fifty-eighth street; 75 cents a year, 15 cents a copy) for October-November is by Felix Adler, on "The Character and Achievement of Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles."

—The fall number of the Single Tax Review (New York: Joseph Dana Miller and Mrs. George P. Hampton, 62 Trinity place. Quarterly, \$1 a year; single copies 25 cents) gives in full Judge Arthur O'Connor's minority report of the British royal commission on taxation, in which Judge O'Connor

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