

back not only to the soil, not only to natural resources, not merely to land in even its widest physical significance, not alone from towns and cities to farms, nor by a moderately fortunate few; to him it meant as well, back from the custom of land monopolization, back from the grinding capitalism that land monopoly breeds and nurtures, back from the exploitation of labor, back from poverty in the midst of plenty—from all this, “back to the land” in order to open fair opportunities for the full enjoyment by all the people of all the benefits of advancing industrial processes. Not “back to the land” for a primitive life for any; but *forward*, through restoration of the land, to civilized and civilizing lives for all.

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In associating this comprehensive meaning of “back to the land” with Henry George, there is no thought of chaining so great a gospel to any man’s altar.

Nor indeed is there ever such a thought when we pursue the subject in his name. No appeal is made to him as to one in authority, or to an original inventor or discoverer, or the founder of a cult. With few exceptions was he himself ever so impatient as with contentions for his priority of invention or originality of discovery of the substance of the civilizing message his name is identified with. He never claimed it as his own, and never so regarded it. He had no other solicitude about it than that the people should see it, understand it, and adopt it as theirs. Whether this were with credit to him or no, was not alone his least concern; it concerned him not at all. The relationship which Henry George regarded himself as holding to the message he proclaimed, was in no wise as of one having authority; it was simply that of an expositor, a teacher, an apostle.

Precisely so in spirit are his words always quoted in these columns, and his activities recalled. Whenever we recall his activities, it is because he was truly a great leader. Whenever we quote his words, it is because his is the best expression of that gospel of “back to the land” which constitutes the substance of the message his eloquence and devotion have made the civilized world listen to.

It is best for its reasoning; best for its completeness in form and its clarity of exposition; best for its wealth of suggestion, for the aptness and effectiveness of its practical proposals, and for their adaptability to institutional differences of time and place; best for its simple eloquence, its heart-felt appeal, for the common sense that characterizes every part, and for its consistency as a whole.

There is no idle or worshipful boast in this superlative estimate of the expression Henry George gave to the substance of that message.

Among the intelligent of every country and class, he can no longer be either over praised or depreciated with effect. For, scattered broadcast now, the message as he delivered it may be read by every one, and each may form a personal judgment.

To all intelligent persons who take the pains to do this, our estimate is submitted as an impersonal and moderate statement of fact.

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HENRY GEORGE, JR.*

It is nearly thirty years since Henry George, Jr., a candidate now for Congress from New York, first saw and first heard in public speech a man then hardly known who has since risen to high political power by renouncing the economic faith he at that time adhered to, and which is still Mr. George’s faith and the platform on which he is making his Congressional campaign.

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It was at a dinner of the Free Trade Club of New York City, and in the early '80s. Parke Godwin, Captain Codman and other veteran free traders were among the speakers; and at the guest table where they assembled there was a single vacant chair. It remained vacant until the eating was over and the speaking had got well under way, when a bustling young man came pressing through the party to that table of honor at the far end of the room and took that empty chair.

He seemed the younger for the white heads about him. On his nose were eye glasses, and he showed his teeth. But what made this striking man most striking in that company of free traders whose doctrines committed them to peace, and where plain evening dress prevailed, was the fact that he wore soldier clothes.

That was really less out of place, however, than it seemed. A member of the “National Guard”—the official name for the organized citizen soldiery of New York—he had come over to the dinner from a drill at his regimental armory.

“I asked one of the club members,” Mr. George has explained, “who this confident-mannered young man might be; and I was informed that his name was Theodore Roosevelt, that he was one of the most active members of the Free Trade Club, that he belonged to an aggressive little band of wealthy young men of the region of Gramercy Park,

*A portrait of Mr. George goes with this issue of The Public as a supplement.

where Samuel J. Tilden had lived, and that while nominally a Republican he was forcing his way into politics in defiance of the bosses."

Presently the young soldier-politician-reformer-freetrader was introduced to speak. "He delighted my young soul," said Mr. George in telling of it, "by smiting Protection hip and thigh." There was to be no pottering with the iniquity for *him!* We should give no quarter to it! We must strike it to the heart and kill it!

But Mr. George's joy over Mr. Roosevelt's strenuous free-trade speech was not long lived. When this valiant reformer went to the New York legislature, as soon after that he did, he quickly found it sore work, too much like kicking against the pricks, to try to make independent headway against the bosses. So he surrendered. Resigning from the Free Trade Club, he wrote a letter to Poultney Bigelow saying he had concluded that he "must become regular," that he must work inside the Republican party organization and get outside of extraneous movements.

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Mr. George was at that time employed by the Free Trade Club, of which his own and his father's friend, Poultney Bigelow—son of the venerable democratic Statesman, John Bigelow, and himself a distinguished journalist and author, and an intimate friend of the present Emperor of Germany as well as of Mr. Roosevelt—was one of the leading members. Not long before, the younger George had come to New York with his father, the author of "Progress and Poverty," from San Francisco, where in the printing establishment of William Hinton the boy had worked when "Progress and Poverty" was first put in type. He had set some of the type upon it himself. Not San Francisco, however, but Sacramento was his birthplace. While his father was "picking" type on daily newspapers in that capital city of wooden cottages and mud streets, Henry George, Jr., was born there on the 3d of November, 1862.

Delicate of health in childhood, though rugged enough now, he did not go to school until his eighth year. For the same reason his schooling thereafter was slight and broken. The most agreeable among his recollections of it are of his declamation contests with David Warfield, famous now as an actor, whose simplicity of manner and musical voice affected George pleasantly back in the days when they were school boy rivals for oratorical honors.

Although Mr. George had but little schooling, he had the greater advantage perhaps of intimate

companionship with his father and the intellectual stimulus of his father's Socratic method of encouraging his children to question all things rationally. Also through his father's encouragement he acquired the reading habit, which he has indulged throughout his life, over a wide range of subjects and books but with political economy and political history and science as the center of it all.

When less than seventeen he left school for good, and teaching himself shorthand became his father's secretary, a service in which he continued, with breaks at intervals, until the early '90s. In the beginning—it was before the days of typewriting machines—he copied in handwriting most of the manuscript of "Progress and Poverty," as the author's amanuensis. When the father went first to Great Britain in the Land League days, as special correspondent for the "Irish World," the son began work as a reporter on the "Brooklyn Eagle," then under the editorship of Thomas Kinsella. As democratic a Democrat as ever wrote miles upon miles of editorial matter, Thomas Kinsella was the editor who made for "The Brooklyn Eagle" a place of influence in the State, which it lost when it lost him and which it has never regained. The managing editor at that time was Andrew McLean, editor since of the "Brooklyn Citizen" and one of the most distinguished of the early converts to "Progress and Poverty."

After some reportorial experience, the subject of this sketch became again his father's secretary, going with him upon his cyclonic lecturing tour through the British Isles in 1884. He was present at the Glasgow City Hall in that year when his father spoke there to the historic Scottish meeting out of which have sprung a group of devoted apostles, and from which may be traced a current of agitation that has made Great Britain now the center of the fight for that which Henry George taught. This is the fight that rages around that Lloyd George land tax Budget which came triumphantly out of the British elections of 1910, wherein the younger George, twenty-six years after the Glasgow meeting, and twelve after his father's death, was a popular campaign speaker in support of the cause that Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Alexander Ure were leading.

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A little more reporting work in the United States after his return from abroad in 1885, some further service for his father as secretary in the preparation of "Protection or Free Trade," a secretarial experience with the managing editor of "The North American Review" (James Redpath,

founder of the Redpath Lyceum), some supplementary work at writing fictitiously signed articles for that magazine, a round of campaign speeches in his father's contest for Mayor of New York in the Labor campaign of 1886, some miscellaneous service on the "Standard" which his father started in 1887, and Henry George, Jr., became the managing editor of that paper. He served as such with skill and fidelity through trying experiences during his father's long absence in Australasia and on his trip around the world in 1889.

The "Standard" having finally gone into the ownership of William T. Croasdale, the subject of our sketch became a Washington correspondent. While in that service he heard Congressman William McKinley champion his protection measure in the House of Representatives years before he was President; saw "the boy orator of the Platte," Congressman William J. Bryan, spring into national fame with his masterly speech against Protection two years before his first nomination for the Presidency, and otherwise knew Congress as it was when Tom L. Johnson, Jerry Simpson, James G. Maguire and John DeWitt Warner were notable figures there.

One of his friends in Washington at that time was Daniel F. Goodloe, a personal friend of Lincoln, an anti-slavery Democrat of North Carolina before the Civil War, and during the war an editorial writer on the Administration organ in Washington. Another was the venerable and scholarly Fox, who had been Henry Clay's secretary at a still earlier period in our national career. Through both, Mr. George got life and color out of the historical narratives and documents of those earlier times in the Republic to the study of which he was devoting all the leisure he could command.

In 1891 he transferred the seat of his activities as newspaper correspondent from Washington to London. Here he made the acquaintance of Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, William Stead, Helen Taylor (step-daughter of John Stuart Mill), and Cardinal Manning. Of this democratic Cardinal he speaks and writes as he does of Tolstoy—"a great spirit no less than a great mind."

Further newspaper work succeeded Mr. George's return to the United States: editorial writing for a Washington paper, and a period of two years in Florida, first as news editor and then as managing editor of a Jacksonville daily under the editorship of Loretta S. Metcalfe, at one time editor of the "North American Review" and afterwards the founder of "The Forum."

After a business venture in Cleveland in competition with the Bell telephone monopoly, in 1895

and 1896, Mr. George again joined his father, this time to assist in the preparation of "The Science of Political Economy." But the first mayoral election for Greater New York coming on in 1897, his father was drawn into the campaign as the candidate of the Jeffersonian Democracy, and dying just before its close was succeeded in the candidacy by Henry George, Jr.

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In later years and since his marriage to Marie M. Hitch of Chicago in 1898, Mr. George has traveled extensively—as an observer, writer, and lecturer—in the United States, Canada, and Japan, and in a trip around the world in which he visited Tolstoy on the way. In 1900 he was a candidate for Presidential elector on the Bryan ticket in New York, and in intervening times he has published in magazines and newspapers investigations into the Pennsylvania anthracite strike, the Colorado gold mine strike, and the steel trust, the copper trust, and other monopoly organizations. He is author of "The Menace of Privilege" and of "The Romance of John Bainbridge," published by the Macmillans, in which his investigations furnished material for the warnings of the one and for the romantic story of the other.

Mr. George has done much lecturing since his father's death, on subjects principally within his own wide experience and observation. He is one of the regular lecturers on the list of the Henry George Lecture Association,* along with Herbert S. Bigelow (vol. vii, p. 388), Peter Witt, Charles Frederick Adams (p. 532), and other platform speakers of the democratic as opposed to the plutocratic type. On Sunday of the present week Mr. George spoke on the platform of Ford Hall, Boston, as the first speaker in the fourth series of the famous Ford Hall meetings, his subject being "Has the Single Tax Got Anywhere?"

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At the Congressional convention of the Democratic party for the Seventeenth Congressional district of New York, and independently at the Congressional convention of the Independence League for the same district, Mr. George was nominated last week as their candidate for Congress.

The Seventeenth district, in the upper and westerly part of Manhattan, is normally a Republican stronghold. It is now represented by William S. Bennet, a Republican whose record in Congress is that of a supporter of Speaker Cannon as the Republican "boss," and of the Aldrich-Payne-Taft

*Frederick H. Monroe, Manager, 856 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

tariff bill against which the whole country is in revolt. Congressman Bennet is making his campaign as a Taft-Roosevelt candidate.

Inasmuch as the strong progressive current now running through the country in both parties is felt in Mr. George's district, it is believed that his prospects of election are more than fair, notwithstanding the traditional complexion of the district, and that unless political signs are all at fault he will be a member of the next Congress.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

OREGON RAILROAD AMENDMENT.

Portland, Ore., October 12.

Bearing witness to the care, skill and rare intelligence with which a legislature does its work is the pamphlet issued by the Secretary of State of Oregon, containing copies of all measures submitted to the voters at the November election.

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At the urgent request of citizens, newspapers and commercial bodies, the legislature proposed an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the creation of railroad districts and the purchase or construction of railroads, or other highways, by the State, counties, municipalities and railroad districts.

It is an amendment to Article XIX, but when it came out of the legislative mill it was labeled an amendment to Article IX; so the Attorney General has had to make a note of that blunder for the information of voters and to keep the record straight.

The proposed amendment is the result of the bottling up of Oregon by the Harriman roads—the Oregon Railway & Navigation Co. and the Southern Pacific Co. Harriman himself was often appealed to, but was indifferent, except to say on one occasion: "If Oregon is so anxious for more railroads, why doesn't Oregon build them?" At least, that was the substance of his contemptuous reply to the request for more railroad facilities. That was in 1908, and, taking him at his word, during the legislative session of 1909 the Portland Chamber of Commerce and other associations of business men stormed Salem, and after many urgings, persuaded the legislature to submit this amendment, which gives the people of Oregon freedom to throw the railroad monopoly off their backs.

Remember this, for subsequently the newspapers and associations of "business men" experienced a change of heart—or was it pocketbook?

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The effect of the submission of that amendment by the legislature was marvelous, for within a few weeks the railroads suddenly discovered about 50,000 square miles of Oregon that have no railroads, and began to take great interest in "developing Oregon."

Naturally, the first development began in the newspapers, and since February 19, 1909, the day the amendment was submitted, the newspaper linotypes have been laying track in this State at the

rate of about 42 miles a day. Verily, the linotype is the greatest track-laying machine ever invented. The woods, plains and valleys of Oregon were suddenly jammed with engineering corps running railroad lines faster and closer than ever spider ran her lines, and for the same purpose—to catch flies. It is, and has been, mostly political track-laying.

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The flies were caught. Judge Lovett, head of the Harriman system, came to Oregon with a special car and his solemnity; James J. Hill came with his wacry against "extravagance"; and Louis Hill came with his motor car. They talked "development"; the newspapers and business men who made a holler for "State railroads" shut up tighter than a clam at low tide; and when the time came to file an argument for the railroad amendment, and have it printed in the Secretary of State's pamphlet, so as to make votes for the amendment, they really didn't see the necessity for the amendment.

However, an argument was filed by Col. C. E. S. Wood, W. S. U'Ren and other men, not in favor of building State railroads, but asking the people to take into their hands the power to build them—to have that power ready for any future emergency. For that is all that the amendment proposes.

The Constitution of Oregon does not prohibit the building or owning of roads by the State. There is no such prohibition in any State constitution. What the Constitution of Oregon prohibits is the creation of a State debt of more than \$50,000, or the partnership of the State with any private corporation. The purpose of this amendment is to remove the prohibition against the issuing of bonds by the State for railroad purposes; it permits the issuing of bonds for highway purposes, and none other; it does not permit any sort of partnership between the State and a private corporation, nor will the State be able to alienate any of its highways.

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"The amendment is but one more step in line with the people's resumption of those great fundamental powers which naturally belong to them," says the argument filed in favor of the amendment. "The great mistake was made when in the beginning, by reason of the strangeness of the situation, railroads were permitted to be owned by private parties. It was the first time in the history of the world that any nation ever turned over to private interests its whole system of highways, the great arteries of commerce which take toll from every one."

The railroad interests have not seen fit to file an argument against this amendment, but here and there various objectors have asserted that a State should not go into the railroad business because it would impeach the wisdom of the forefathers—especially those who never heard of railroads, but Lincoln advocated State ownership of railroads by Illinois; that it is a new departure—which isn't true and wouldn't be an argument if it were true; that the experience of other States in the railroad business has been disastrous—which is a "short and ugly word," in view of Georgia's experience with the Western & Atlantic, not to speak of the successful