

SOME EARLY LEADERS OF THE MOVEMENT

Some slight biographical details of those prominently mentioned in the early and historical part of this work may be thought desirable here. These must include only the outstanding figures, since even the briefest mention of the many who have served the cause as writers, orators, or politicians would take too much space, and are, at all events, part of the history of the movement. The Life of Henry George has been told by his son, the late Henry George, Jr., in one of the notable biographies of literature; Hon. Tom. L. Johnson's autobiography has appeared in "*My Story*" and the *Life of Joseph Fels*, by his widow, Mary Fels, tells the story of a life that is full of inspiration to those who would do something for humanity and know the way to do it. Next to Henry George as one of the "fathers" of the movement is

DR. EDWARD MCGLYNN

Born in 1837 in Third street near Second Avenue in New York City. He was of pure Irish origin, his father and mother coming to New York from Donegal in 1824. Archbishop Hughes was a friend of the family and was early attracted by the bright mind of the boy. When Edward was fourteen the Archbishop sent him to the College of the Propaganda in Rome to study for the priesthood. He was ordained at twenty-two, receiving the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was chaplain in the U. S. Army 1862-5.

For twenty-two years he was pastor of St. Stephens in New York City. The first clash with his ecclesiastical superiors came over the school question. Father McGlynn maintained that secular education was the business of the State, not of the church.

Dr. McGlynn was a member of the Irish Land League, and when Henry George promulgated his land doctrine McGlynn became one of its first converts. On Sept. 29, 1886, Archbishop Corrigan expressly forbade Dr. McGlynn taking part in a George meeting advertised for the following Friday evening.¹ Dr. McGlynn announced that he would address the meeting notwithstanding the prohibition, but that he would refrain from attending other meetings during the campaign. The meeting at Chickering Hall was filled to overflowing, and Dr. McGlynn pronounced an eloquent eulogy of Henry George, then candidate for mayor. He was suspended for this act of disobedience. He gave many interviews to the press reiterating his views on the land question, and insisting that on matters relating to his duties as a citizen he was free to act, and that only on churchly matters did he owe obedience to his superiors. He was ordered to go to Rome, and he answered through Dr. Burtzell, at that time one of the greatest canonical authorities of the church, that he would go as soon as

¹See page 9.

his health permitted, provided that he was first reinstated in his parish and an authoritative public statement made that his land doctrines had not been condemned. On June 10, 1887, came the order from the Pope excommunicating him. From that time he lectured before the Anti-Poverty Society and before many an enthusiastic meeting of his parishoners who stood loyally by him. His case having been re-opened, Dr. McGlynn visited Rome and had an interview with the Holy Father. This was followed by his re-instatement in 1892 to full honors in the priesthood. He died as pastor of St. Mary's church, in Newburgh, N. Y., January 7, 1900.

His re-instatement was a full vindication of his stand for the independence of the priesthood in economic and civic matters. He died as he had lived, a loyal son of the church, true to his priestly vows and undeviating in his faith in the canon. By his unconditional re-instatement¹ the ruling powers of the church tacitly condoned his venial act of disobedience and left the priesthood free to reject or accept the doctrine of human rights as taught in *Progress and Poverty* and echoed by Bishop Nulty, of Meath, Ireland, in his famous pastoral letter to his diocese.

WILLIAM T. CROASDALE

Mr. Croasdale was a Delawarean by birth and a Quaker by inheritance. He founded, at the age of thirty, in the early seventies a newspaper in Wilmington called *Every Evening*. Later he became editor and titular owner of the *Baltimore Day*. In 1885 he went to New York and became editor-in-chief of the *Star*. Later he joined Mr. George in the editorship of the *Standard*, in the service of which he died at the age of forty-eight. In 1890 he was nominated as democratic representative to Congress from the Seventh District of New York—the first Single Taxer to be nominated for Congress in the East. He threw himself into the campaign with his usual energy, hopeless though it was from the start. "A strong man and well-equipped," said the *New York World*. "He would be an able and influential advocate of tariff reform in the next Congress," said the *New York Times*.

It was a three cornered fight. Mr. Croasdale had been placed in nomination by the County Democracy, Edward T. Dunphy was the Tammany nominee and William Morgan the Republican.

His nomination was a direct challenge to the organization. He had reason to be proud of the support he received. Many of those who appeared publicly in advocacy of his election were the saving remnant of New York's democracy. Many were famous at the time; many have since won distinction. Here are some of the names: Thos. G. Shearman, Chas. W. Dayton, afterwards N. Y. City Postmaster and Supreme Court Judge, W. B. Hornblower, A. Augustus Healy, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, Everett P. Wheeler, Calvin Tomkins, Walter Page, E. Elery Anderson, Cyrus Sulzberger, Henry De Forest Baldwin, Lindley Vinton, Gilbert D. Lamb, Walter S. Logan, and Hon. John De Witt

¹See the Single Tax and the Catholic Church.

Warner, the latter at the same time Tammany and County Democracy candidate for Congress in another district.

Among those who manned the trucks, speaking night after night, were A. J. Wolf, E. M. Klein, James MacGregor, W. B. Estell, Louis F. Post, Gustave W. Thompson, William McCabe, Alfred Bishop Mason, W. E. Hicks, James E. Gilligan, Joseph Dana Miller, and many others. Henry George spoke at many of these meetings.

It was the general opinion among the better informed that Dunphy was an absolutely useless Congressman. But in spite of this, and because the candidacy of William T. Croasdale was overshadowed by the municipal campaign, because the County Democracy was weak, and owing also to the fact that Mr. Croasdale's vote came largely from pasters, the election resulted in a triumphant victory for Mr. Dunphy. Despite the fact that it was the only Congressional fight in the city that aroused any interest, Mr. Croasdale's vote was insignificant by comparison with his two opponents. The official figures were these:

William T. Croasdale (County Democracy).....	2,713
William Morgan (Republican).....	4,701
Edward T. Dunphy (Tammany).....	11,633

But it was one of the astonishing results of this election that fully two-thirds of Mr. Croasdale's vote was made up of Republican and Tammany Hall ballots, the County Democracy appearing to have had hardly any vote at all in the 7th Congressional District. So the vote though small was significant, since these two-thirds, or nearly 2,000 voters, had either to place Mr. Croasdale's individual paster or write his name on the ballot.

In this Congressional campaign John DeWitt Warner, also a Single Taxer, was elected a member of Congress from the Eleventh District by a majority of over 7,000 in a total vote of 25,000, the two Democratic organizations being united in that district.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN

Author of *Natural Taxation*, was born in Birmingham, England in 1834. If we except the tuition he received from a gifted mother he was self-educated, for at thirteen his school days ended. He was endowed with extraordinary powers of analysis, great intellectual ability, and a prodigious memory. These helped to make him the foremost exponent of free trade in this country, and he could overwhelm the defenders of protection by the use he was able to make of their own figures and statistics.

Mr. Shearman was by profession a lawyer and figured as counsel in many a *cause celebre*, among them being the trial of Henry Ward Beecher. His appearance as counsel in this case was not due solely to his professional interest, but to his friendship for and belief in the innocence of the accused Brooklyn pastor.

His *Natural Taxation* is his chief work. It is a powerful plea for the adoption of the Single Tax and a searching arraignment of current modes of taxation. Mr. Shearman had come to the Single Tax by a different course of reasoning than that which had guided Mr. George to the same conclusion. The latter saw in it a mode of industrial and social emancipation and laid his chief emphasis on that phase of the great controversy. It must not be assumed, however, that the famous lawyer who espoused the cause of "the prophet of San Francisco" was himself neglectful of its social consequences. Though he represented what has come to be known as the "Single Tax Limited" that distinction for all practical purposes is scarcely important at this time. The special treatment which Mr. Shearman accorded the subject was indicative rather of a difference of intellectual temperament than any real difference of opinion. In our own day, Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, of Boston, in his *A. B. C. of Taxation* and *Principles of Natural Taxation*, together with a great variety of useful pamphlets, has been the special and able protagonist of that side of the propaganda for the Single Tax of which Mr. Shearman was the untiring apostle.

The author of *Natural Taxation* died in 1900. So formidable is this side of Single Tax teachings, and so thorough and powerful is the argument that, like *Progress and Poverty* which carries the inquiry into broader fields, the conclusions of the work have never been successfully assailed.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

The son of the great abolitionist, was an early disciple of Henry George. He was born in 1838 and spent nearly all his life in Boston. He was educated in the Brimmer and Quincy schools, and after leaving high school at the age of eighteen he entered the banking business at Lynn. He was later cashier of a bank at Dorchester, but in 1864 forsook banking for the woollen business. Later he was a dealer in commercial bonds and paper, and in 1900 he retired from business.

Mr. Garrison was active in many movements. The *Evening Post* of this city, in an appreciative notice, said of him, that "He never set his hand to a bad cause and never turned his back upon a good one." It was inevitable that the movement begun by Henry George would ultimately secure his splendid apostleship. The tale of that conversion is interesting. It must not be thought that Garrison was without his misgivings even when he had finally dispelled the notion that Mr. George was a sort of unnatural demagogue prepared to apply the incendiary torch to the very pillars of the house. For there was about Garrison, despite his anti-slavery connections, something of the Brahmin caste of New England. But so quickly responsive were his moral sympathies that he was drawn to George as steel travels toward the magnet even while he was yet under the then popular hallucination as to the dangerous character of the man and his teachings. Garrison's difficulties were ethical, and in an illuminating correspondence, in which is shown these two

great souls, one grandly confident of the moral strength of his position, the other pressing his inquiry with a single passionate purpose, and that the securing of the vital truth, these difficulties were finally resolved. Garrison soon hastened to announce himself a disciple of the cause to which the anti-slavery fight, which had engaged the energy of his father, necessary though that was as a prelude, was but as the capture of a redoubt to the siege of Christendom.

Mr. Garrison died in 1909.

TOM L. JOHNSON

Elected three times mayor of Cleveland, and known as the best mayor of the best governed city in the United States, "Tom" Johnson, as he was christened and long familiarly known, was for many years one of the foremost Single Taxers in the United States.

He was born in the South and reared in the luxurious home of his father, a cotton planter. At the close of the Civil War he found himself the penniless child of an impoverished Confederate officer. His father had served on the staff of General John C. Breckenridge. Tom secured work in a rolling mill in Louisville. At fifteen he entered the office of a street railroad in that city where his promotion was rapid. He became secretary of the company.

From Louisville he went to Indianapolis, and in 1880 bought a small street car line in Cleveland. A design for a fare box and other inventions gave him his first start. In Cleveland he fought Mark A. Hanna, at that time a great figure in the railroad world. From Cleveland he went to Brooklyn, and with his brother Albert succeeded in gaining control of the Nassau road as it was known at that time.

It was in the middle eighties when Mr. Johnson bought a copy of *Social Problems*. He followed its reading with *Progress and Poverty*. A new world opened to him. He challenged his lawyer, the late L. A. Russell and his partner, Arthur J. Moxham, to point out a flaw in the reasoning. Unable to comply they objected to the premises, but Johnson convinced them that the premises were sound.

Mr. Johnson took the first opportunity to meet Henry George, and a warm friendship sprang up between them which lasted till Mr. George's death in 1897.

Mr. Johnson served as a member of Congress where his voice was raised for free trade and the Single Tax and where he voted for the first straight Single Tax measure acted upon in a legislative body. At this time there were other Single Taxers in Congress, Jerry Simpson, of Kansas, Judge Maguire, of California, and John DeWitt Warner, of New York. The Single Tax measure received the vote of these members, together with that of Mr. Harter, of Ohio, and Mr. Tracy, of New York.

In 1901 Mr. Johnson was elected mayor of Cleveland and twice re-elected. His administration attracted nation-wide attention, as did Mayor Pingree's administration in Detroit, and Mayor Brand Whitlock's in Toledo. It is an

interesting circumstance that all these three great city administrators believed in Single Tax. He died April 10, 1911. For details regarding Mayor Johnson's career see his autobiography, *My Story*.

MAX HIRSCH

✓ The father of the Single Tax movement in Victoria was Max Hirsch, whose *Democracy versus Socialism* is one of the best known, as it is certainly one of the most powerful and searching, examinations of socialism from the standpoint of the Single Taxer. He was a remarkably lucid writer and speaker. The Single Tax League of Victoria published a volume of his writings and speeches in 1912.

Mr. Hirsch was born in Cologne, Germany, in 1852, and was educated in the Gymnasium of that city and at the University of Berlin. His father was a writer on economics and won European fame. The son studied the manufacture of tapestry and went to Paris and later to London. He came to Melbourne in 1879.

He was elected to the Victorian House of Assembly. At the time of the Federation he resigned his seat to contest the election in a hopelessly protectionist constituency and was defeated by less than 200 votes. He died at Vladivostock on March 4, 1909.

JOSEPH FELS

When the Single Tax movement had fallen into a period of inactivity, and little public interest seemed to be manifested, there came to its assistance a manufacturer of Philadelphia. He was a man of keen business intelligence, who had acquired a large fortune in the manufacture of soap and operations in real estate. He was possessed of a passionate desire for social justice, which found its first expression in schemes of philanthropy and vacant lot cultivation by the poor of London and New York. When he became a convert to the Single Tax philosophy he gave his life to its service and used his means to open the way for others to do likewise. He talked and wrote, and provided the means for others to talk and write. With a burning sense of the injustice of the present social system he did not spare himself for the cause he loved and died with his fires burnt out on February 22, 1914.

This was said of him by *Land Values*, organ of the British Single Tax movement, published in London:

"If he had any ambition for a place in the movement, it was to be known and appreciated as a worker and not as a generous subscriber to its funds. His efforts were by no means confined to Great Britain or to his native country, the United States. He reached to co-workers in Germany, Denmark, Hungary, Sweden, France, Spain, China, and his donations were the means of awakening new thoughts and activities in Australia and New Zealand. His correspondence was voluminous. It came from all parts of the globe wherever anything was being done; wherever a Single Taxer could be found ready to do anything to promote the policy, or one who could suggest any action to be taken, he seemed to get into communication with him. He was a man with

a faith that knew no geographical boundaries, nor frontier lines. He would set out cheerfully to some conference to be held on some phase of the social problem in some foreign land, with the deliberate intention of finding some one to voice his views, as readily as he would go to speak at a meeting at his own door. Whatever company he found himself in, he fearlessly proclaimed himself as an unfettered disciple of Henry George. This was his religion, and he lived up to it. He loved his fellowmen in whatever walk of life he found them. He gave much from his store of worldly goods to spread the light on his cure for social problems, and along with his devoted wife he generously helped many other causes as well. His coming into the land values taxation movement marked a new era in its activities. It was the signal for strenuous effort by voice and pen. The opposing forces of every kind had to reckon with a volume of sentiment for which they were ill prepared, and when he passed beyond our ken our more far-seeing opponents had to admit that he was the direct means of advancing our ideas quite beyond their power to gauge or control. What Joseph Fels achieved for the cause he lived and died for, constitutes a striking and all-enduring tribute to his memory."

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

Henry George, Jr. was born in Sacramento, California, in 1862. He was the eldest of four children of the "Prophet of San Francisco," Jennie, Richard and Anna. The last named, now Mrs. De Mille, is the only surviving member of the family.

The son had but little schooling and was put to work at the age of sixteen as a type setter, and he helped to set type on *Progress and Poverty*. Later he became reporter on the *Brooklyn Eagle*.

His nomination for the mayoralty of New York City on the death of his father in 1897 is told elsewhere.¹ In 1910 he was a successful candidate for Congress from a strongly Republican district in New York City and was re-elected in 1912 by an increased majority. In both campaigns he was the regular democratic nominee. His work in Congress was notable. He was on the Public Lands and District of Columbia committees, and as a member of the first named secured the restoration of lands stolen from the Indians of Montana and North Dakota, and on the second obtained some mitigation of the inequalities in taxation in the District of Columbia.

Prior to his career in Congress he had lectured and traveled extensively in England, Russia, Japan and other countries. His letters as special correspondent to papers he represented showed distinctive capacity as a reporter and observer of men and things in countries he visited.

Some of his literary work was of a high character. His *Life of Henry George* deserves to rank with the few great biographies, *Plutarch's Lives*, *Boswell's Johnson* and others. His *Menace of Privilege* is another work of real importance and distinctive literary quality. His one novel, *The Romance of John Bainbridge*, was less successful.

For two years preceding his death he was a great sufferer, but preserved his indomitable will and cheerful spirit. On November 14, 1916, he died at the age of fifty-four.

¹See page 18.