Maligning Poverty's Prophet: *Puck*, Henry George and the New York Mayoral Campaign of 1886

Samuel J. Thomas

Introduction

Puck magazine's caricatures of Henry George (HG), the internationally known American social reformer who ran for mayor of New York in 1886, provided an insightful and unique commentary on his controversial crusade to reform the capitalist-industrialist system. Its graphic discourse on George not only reflected and reinforced its largely middle-class readers' fears that radicalism was at the heart of the labor movement, but clearly revealed a preference for a more conservative and elitist approach to resolving urban/industrial ills. The magazine's cartoonists were obsessed with order and convinced that a radical (read communist, socialist, anarchist) victory would bring apocalyptic chaos. As such, these artist/editors embodied in nascent form the centralizing and structural reform ethos of the developing Progressive agenda. Grand in conception, superb in execution, rich in insight, *Puck*'s caricatures are a valuable source for the critical study and teaching of reform activity during the Gilded Age and early Progressive era.[1]

Scholars from many disciplines have used *Puck*'s caricatures as entertaining and informative supplements to their texts and monographs, and some have undertaken serious studies of the caricature as a significant source for a study of the nation's popular culture. Overall, however, there is still much to be mined in these artistic treasures from the last century, for *Puck*'s staff did more than merely illustrate a person or event. At the dawn of America's first era of mass communications, artists and editor worked as one to interpret their subjects and to influence public opinion on myriad issues. And they did so with an unparalleled directness and candor that ranged from the ennobling to the enervating. Like no other illustrated magazine or newspaper since, *Puck* looked upon "...political or editorial cartoon[s as] a democratic art form that [reflected] the feelings of the community as much as the artist and the publication. It [furnished] additional insights into how society [perceived] public figures and issues." To no other art form does the adage, "one picture is worth a thousand words," more aptly apply (Giglio and Thielan vi).[2]

The Magazine

For most of its long run (1877-1914), *Puck* was the era's premier magazine of humor and satire, a publication that the preeminent scholar of American magazines called "an institution *sui generis*. American journalism never had anything like it, and this in spite of imitations. Its boldness, its incisive cleverness, its robust comedy, its real literary values made it a factor in politics and social life" (Mott 528).

When *Puck*'s reputation peaked in the mid-1880s and early 1890s, it was Democratic in national politics and Mugwump or independent Republican in local and state politics. That political orientation was largely due to its Viennese-born, nominally Roman Catholic co-founder, Joseph Keppler.[3] As the magazine's chief illustrator and guiding light until his death in 1894, Keppler was part of a group of middle-class reformers that included such luminaries as George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, E. L. Godkin, editor of the *Nation*, and Carl Schurz, the Civil War general turned journalist and political leader. Crusaders for honest government and the principles of classical liberalism, Mugwumps advertised their commitments to the U.S. Constitution, to social justice and equal opportunity. They believed that the surest path to fulfilling those commitments was to substitute men of their own ilk for the crooked machine politicians who controlled many of the nation's big cities. Patrician and elitist in bent, the Mugwumps filtered their crusading zeal through a prism of condescension toward the lower classes, hatred of labor radicalism, and contempt for immigrants (especially the Irish) who exchanged votes for favors from city bosses. Sustained by their faith in the assimilative powers of what they perceived as the great American melting pot, they nevertheless determined to simmer the mix of ethnic, social and politi-

cal ingredients in their own way and at their own pace. It was from within this mindset that *Puck* attacked and misrepresented the ideas of Henry George (Fischer 26-43).[4]

The Man

Henry George died in 1897 at the age of fifty-eight. His major work, *Progress and Poverty* (hereafter *P&P*), first published in 1879, earned him an international reputation and was probably the most widely read and translated tract of the time. Written to resolve what he believed was the most glaring paradox of the Gilded Age, "the persistence of poverty amid advancing wealth," George held out the promise of a just society achieved through an equitable distribution of wealth. Key to that goal, though not the whole of his vision, was a reform that he reluctantly called, because of the directness of its appeal, the "single tax." Here was the heart of this first American declaration of war on poverty, and here was the remedy that provoked his critics' sharpest attacks and elicited his supporters' loudest cheers (George 12).

Increased land values, he calculated, were due primarily to speculation ("the holding of land for a higher price than it would...otherwise bring"). He labeled those increases "unearned increments." Wealthy landowners profited from the practice and gave nothing in return, while those whose hard labor genuinely increased the land's worth did not benefit at all. To correct this injustice, George advocated making all land, whether urban or rural, "common property." By this he meant that since land, like air, was God's gift to humanity and was not a product of human labor, everyone should have an equal opportunity to use it. To HG, private property in land for purposes of speculation was contrary to natural and therefore divine law. His assumption did not lead him to pure socialism. He would "abolish private property in land, [but not] in the instruments of production," which were the result of human labor (George 255, 405-06).[5]

To accomplish this feat, the federal government, in a gradual process that would take several decades, would employ not confiscation of land titles, but rather a one hundred percent fee on land values, a rent tax. A parcel's location and the density of the local population would determine the land's value. Improvements to the land, the prevailing basis for tax increases, would be tax exempt. George calculated that the resulting revenues would be more than enough to cover essential government expenses and services on behalf of all the people. More important, the single tax on land values or rents alone would free both workers (including farmers, small manufacturers and business people) and capitalists (that is, investors, owners of the tools of manufacture) of all other taxes and allow them to enjoy the fruits of their labor. Such land reform, he predicted, would trigger a positive chain effect on the quality of life. Land speculators, to avoid the single tax, would throw open their unused lands to development. The result would be full and fair employment, higher wages, an end of poverty, an unleashing of human creativity, reduction of crime, improved morals, the elimination of government corruption, and generally a rise in the level of civilization. He envisioned, then, steady progress toward a utopian social order (Oser 47-49).[6]

In the United States, George's theories on the benefits of land reform collided with entrenched ideas about contractual rights, the sacredness of private property and the prevailing sacred cow of neo-classical economics. Not surprisingly, orthodox and academic economists gave *P&P* negative reviews. They rejected HG's proposal as pie in the sky, socialist and even Marxist (interestingly, Marx had characterized the single tax as an attempt "to save capitalist domination"! [qtd. in Barker 356]). Reviews in the popular press were somewhat more mixed than those of the academicians, but still mostly negative. In Europe, where the book became available in several languages, reviewers gave it a generally tepid reception. On the British Isles, however, his vision received a generally enthusiastic response from Scottish and Irish nationalists. It is also significant that his book was instrumental in the economic conversion of several public figures. Among the most notable were Chinese reformer Sun Yat-sen, Russian novelist and philosopher Leo Tolstoy, English reformer John Dobson, American educator John Dewey, and Cleveland's reform mayor Tom Johnson (Rose 82-89; Oser 68-85).

If there was a consensus, it was that no one advised ignoring the book. It had to be accepted or refuted. Most critics chose to do the latter, but no matter. The book became an all time best seller, racking up sales of more than two million in the United States during the next decade and attracting readers (including members of the industrial working classes) by the millions both here and abroad. *P&P*'s advocacy of a welfare state based on land reform and the attractiveness of its author's earnest and openly Christian quest for social justice made George both an object of ridicule among most *haves* and a revered champion of the *have-nots*. This dual reaction has continued to the present. Economists still subject his theories to scrutiny and debate their merits in light of both his times and contemporary economic contexts.[7]

To a surprising extent, however, even his critics have acknowledged the insightfulness with which George identified the major social problems of his age. Nor does any knowledgeable person deny that his ideas have influenced the shape of tax legislation and reform in many parts of the twentieth century world, including the UK, parts of Western and Central Europe, Australia, and North America (Rose 151-62). There is, moreover, an ironic twist to the reform agenda proposed a half generation later by those reformers who succeeded the Mugwumps and who called themselves Progressives: many of their proposals were HG's as well.[8]

The Context

George rose to fame, though never fortune during a period of wide-spread labor turmoil in the late 1870s and 1880s. A period of rebirth for the labor movement, it was a time when great numbers of skilled and unskilled laborers begin to agitate vociferously and sometimes violently. They wanted their fair share of the fruits of America's mounting technological and industrial transformation. Strikes and boycotts, as means to their end, escalated in unprecedented fashion. The first inclusive unions, notably the Knights of Labor (K of L), along with various trade organizations, protested the "wage slavery" that was becoming endemic to working-class lives. Unions fought for fair wages, safer working conditions, restrictions on child labor, an eight hour day and, in the case of the ideologically more radical K of L, land redistribution and worker control of the means of production. Labor disputes filled the pages of the press and, for the middle and upper classes, sounded alarms of socialism and anarchism.[9]

Working class organization and protest did not, of course, occur in a vacuum. This was the era that witnessed the emergence of big business and dramatic technological change. These developments stimulated a seemingly endless need for cheap labor that, in turn, attracted migrants and immigrants to the major cities, resulting in explosive and often haphazard urban growth. Business's preoccupation with minimizing expenses and maximizing profits contributed to widening the gap between rich and poor, while the need to efficiently coordinate the expansion of industry spurred the growth of a new class of middle managers and an army of underling bureaucrats. Among the indispensable players, though not the major rollers, in this "incorporation of America" were growing numbers of immigrants (Tractenberg Title). Beginning in the 1880s, they began to come increasingly from non-Anglo and non-democratic countries in southern and eastern Europe, provoking growing concern over their ability to assimilate.

Still, the widespread faith in American exceptionalism persisted, and the success myth touted unlimited opportunity for those with the pluck to go after it. But myth, as frequently happens, confronted the harsh reality of a growing, increasingly disillusioned and aggressive labor force, a sizable proportion of whom were recent immigrants. A small but influential number of these newcomers were articulate and forceful extremists of the political left. They raised their own banners of reform in support of their own version of the American dream. Composed of both men and women, they often attracted temporary followings from the ranks of the curious and the desperate who far exceeded their proclaimed membership rolls. In reaction, propertied and professional classes reacted with a reality-based (however exaggerated) fear of imported radicalism and impending anarchy. Such concerns, deeply influenced by class, ethnocentric and racial bias, and rife with the presumption that most of the poor were blameworthy, conditioned their perception of labor's quest for justice. Fear and mistrust on one side, in turn, provoked a corresponding sense of blanket mistrust and unquestioned antagonism among substantial segments of the working classes.[10]

The synergism of mutual paranoia stirred the American stew pot. Between 1877 and 1886, the pot alternately bubbled and simmered as the number of violent strikes and boycotts mounted. Then came the boiling point of 6 May 1886, when a lethal bomb went off at a protest meeting in Chicago's Haymarket Square, killing bystanders, wounding police officers and triggering a police riot that caused the majority of the injuries and fatalities. Many Americans, startled by sensational press reports, interpreted the incident as an indisputable omen of impending anarchy. The nation's nearly hysterical response made the Haymarket Affair a watershed in the budding labor movement's credibility, clout and membership. Thereafter, idealistic organizations such as the K of L began to steadily yield power and influence to the more pragmatic, business unionism of the American Federation of Labor (AF of L). Yet, even this development did not dispel the public's concerns. To exacerbate matters, labor violence and unrest, organized and unorganized, spilled over into the 1890s, and businesses, states and the federal government countered with often uncompromising and violent tactics of their own. The Great Upheaval (a label for working-class unrest and violence between 1877 and 1886) did much to discredit the labor movement and entangle it more than ever with popular fears of left-wing radicalism (Smith 101-46).[11]

During the early stages of this period of unrest, in 1879, the publication of *P&P* had propelled Henry George on to the world stage. Then, in the autumn of 1886, during the months immediately following the Haymarket bombing, in a year of unprecedented strikes and protests, he made his first bid for Mayor of New York. The time was right, he thought, to act on his beliefs. For those outside his circle, their choice, of course, was also clear. He had to be stopped. The welfare of the country depended on it (Barker 453-57).

The NYC Mayoral Election of 1886

Puck, like the rest of the press, had a field day with George's intense month-long campaign for New York City's highest elective office. Its artists and writers savaged HG's land-tax-based-critique of the capitalist marketplace, calling it muddle-brained and subversive. They also mocked his avowedly evangelical approach and moralistic rhetoric as messianic power-grabbing, the ravings of a socialist bent on destroying the constitutionally established order. But *Puck*'s cartoons transcended its personal attacks on George. He was a convenient pivot and whipping boy around whom the artists stacked a cache-pot of some of their major concerns: political corruption in the cities, labor discontent, and economic and political radicalism. The cartoons also dramatically represented the prejudices and paranoia that surfaced in the ranks of both labor and capital during this "seedtime of reform" (Chambers title). And, finally, in both the form and content of their work, *Puck*'s artists/activists anticipated the more widespread period of reform, the Progressive era, that followed in their wake."[12]

During the five weeks preceding the election, *Puck* published six George cartoons. The first one only alluded to his candidacy (Fig. 1). Here, the Tammany bulldog, which symbolized the city's powerful democratic political machine looking for a cooperative nominee, asks the aspiring candidates: "Are you going to City Hall this evening?" To which the dissident ducklings respond: "not this evening, some other evening." One of the ducklings is Henry George. Artist Frederic Opper, one of Keppler's greatest artists, was commenting on the difficulty that Tammany leaders had fielding a candidate willing to do their bidding. Boss Richard Croker finally did work out an accommodation with a rival Democratic faction known as the County Democracy. One of its leader's, U.S. Congressman Abram Hewitt (1822-1903), a steel magnate, agreed to become the nominee of both factions. As the eventual winner, Hewitt, not shown here, proved disappointingly reform-minded

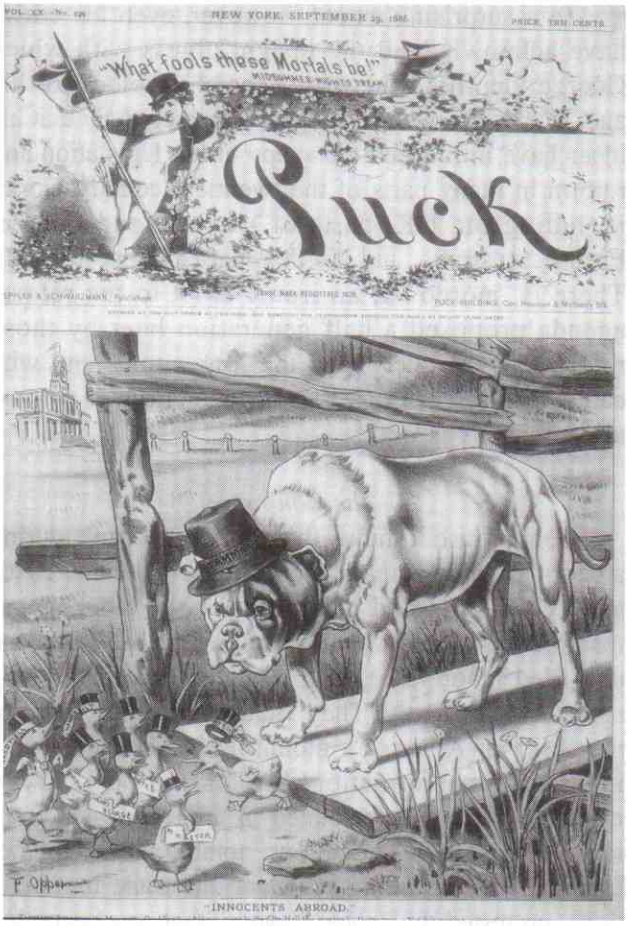

Fig. 1. "Innocents Abroad," 29 September 1886.

and miserly in dispensing patronage to his Tammany sponsors. In this cartoon, however, the city hall's bell tower still tolls, unsure yet for whom.[13]

Puck's second cartoon, published a week later, was its first direct hit (Fig. 2). Just a day earlier, George agreed to become the nominee of the newly formed United Labor Party, a loose coalition that included various trade unions, the Knights of Labor, and many members of the Socialist Labor Party. In the cartoon, he is posturing as a friend of the middle-class (whose support was vital), offering free copies of *P&P* to a line of anti-Tammany Democrats, largely small businessmen and manufacturers. Artist Opper is implying the preposterousness of George's claim that his single tax would free both workers and capitalists to reap the results of their labor.[14]

The "Cartoons and Comments" or editorial section of *Puck*, written by noted poet-novelist Henry C. Bunner, served to drive home some of the major points made in the cartoons. In the week's editorial, coming as it did early in the campaign, Bunner was a little equivocating and at the same time unwittingly prophetic in his opposition to George. He conceded

HG's sincerity and the merit of his reputation as a "friend of the worker." But that quality was insufficient, Bunner declared. George was unqualified to be mayor because he had no knowledge of what the job entailed, no "experience in coping with the scoundrels who are living on our city government." Worse still, he was a "mild communist." Behind Bunner's critique was an important but flawed assumption he shared with other genteel reformers: that a renaissance of municipal government would occur merely through the elimination of widespread corruption from city halls across the country. Their formula for this rebirth was simple and, as it turned out, simplistic: elect honest politicians, and they will throw out the crooks.[15]

Bunner also made a more specific point about George's social and economic policies, a point that was at the heart of most critiques: if elected, he would nationalize the land. It *was* true that George *did* propose the nationalization of railroads and utilities. Yet, he (futilely) insisted that the results of a laborer's or capitalist's effort (e.g., investment) on a given piece of land rightfully belonged to the persons who worked and/or invested in its improved productivity. Common property in land, yes; common property in things, no. George's critics generally and repeatedly ignored or misunderstood this distinction between the land and its improvement. What made matters even harder for the nominee were the indiscreet statements of his socialist and anarchist hangers-on who found in his candidacy a way to promote their own more extreme goals. So Bunner's charge that HG was a dupe of radical labor agitators who were supporting him for their own ends was an important perception that could only intensify the public's confusion over George's stand on private property.[16]

On the following Wednesday, October 13, 1886, *Puck*'s artists fired two backhanded volleys. The first took aim at the largely immigrant and pro-George Knights of Labor (Fig. 3). Knights' president, Terence V. Powderly, a former mayor of Scranton, Pennsylvania, deals heavy-handedly with scabs and employers, not an unusual approach for organized labor. But *Puck*, like most of the mainstream press and its largely middle-class readership, abhorred the confrontational approach and national scope of the

Fig. 2. "A New Departure in Bar'ls," 6 October 1886.

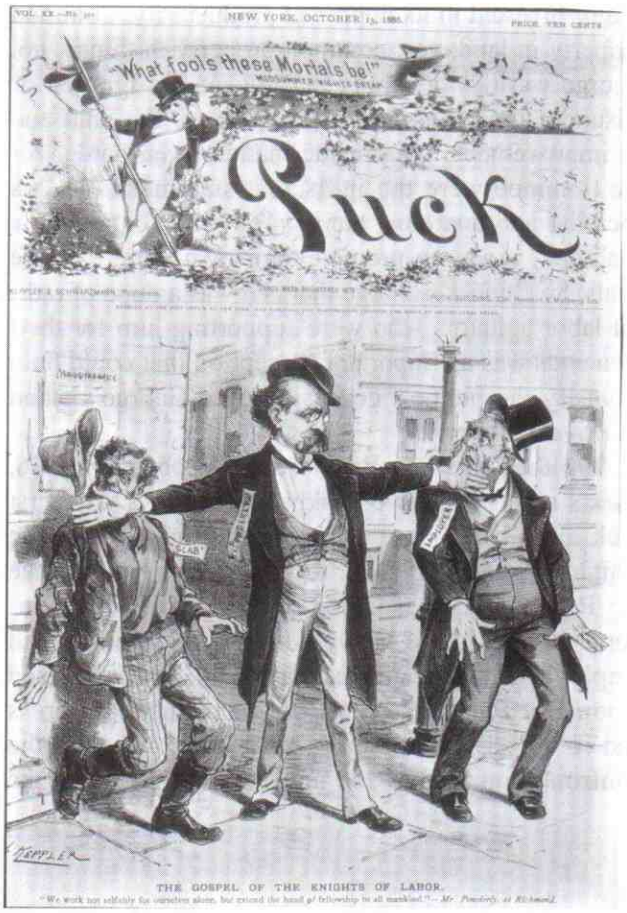

Fig. 3. "The Gospel of the Knights of Labor...," 13 October, 1886.

Knights. Like the rest of the genteel reform crowd, the magazine supported conciliation by *independent locals and management* as the only acceptable way to reckon and resolve differences.[17]

The second cartoon sarcastically pictures the Chicago anarchists on trial for the Haymarket bombing (Fig. 4). Biased in form and content, the factual basis of the cartoon is as flimsy as the evidence presented in the sham trial that convicted some anarchists to hang and others to life in prison. This cartoon along with the previous one cleverly though obliquely buttressed the editorial critique of HG's ideas and implicated him with the forces of socialism and anarchy. In fact, however, George had remained fairly neutral during the six months following the bombing. It was only on 15 January 1887, that HG's opinion, through his editor, Louis Post, appeared in George's newspaper, *The Standard*. Post wrote that the Haymarket verdict had been an "illegal conviction" aimed at silencing "unpopular doctrines"(2).[18]

While he would eventually change his view of the Haymarket verdict, George never wavered in stating that his goal was to enhance and widen the opportunity for reward in the free market by modifying, not eliminating the capitalist system. Indeed, and in counterpoint to Bunner's charge of guilt by association with socialists, HG refused to accommodate his socialist supporters who felt that his program did not go far enough to the left. As often occurred, however, in the criticism leveled at George, those who examined his ideas were usually ill-disposed to begin with and therefore rarely, if ever able to isolate his ideas without confusing them with the more extreme views of the socialists and anarchists. *Puck* exemplified this mindset. It gleefully maligned HG as a "shallow theorist," "howling demagogue" and "exponent of a disguised anarchy whose ideas, if implemented, would hurt the poor more than the rich." Indeed, these and other invectives became commonplace as the campaign reached its climax.[19]

To this point in the campaign, the cartoons and editorials had simply prepared the ground for *Puck*'s most direct assault yet: a blistering double-barreled (two-page) blast by lead artist, Joseph Keppler, that graphically linked HG with the forces of anarchy and, once again, misrepresented George's plans (Fig. 5). Employing one of the magazine's numerous allusions to the western literary canon as a referent for its satiric fire-balls, Keppler has drawn anarchy as Mephistopheles tempting the worker, a proletarian Faust. The Evil One shows him a vision of the paradise to come in exchange for his body and soul. George's ideas have been reconfigured into a cornucopia of working-class idleness and free beer at the expense of the monopolists, represented by railroad tycoon and financier, Jay Gould. One of anti-monopoly *Puck*'s favorite robber barons, the magazine normally depicted Gould in an uncomplimentary way. In this instance, however, it portrayed him as a martyr to an ill-conceived crusade.[20]

Of course, HG promised nothing of the kind shown here. Rather, as stated earlier, he proposed to tax only the rent on the land. The exact amount of this tax would be calculated on the basis of the land's location and population, not on any improvements to it. HG believed that this distinctive form of taxation would sustain the landholder's incentive to continually improve the use and quality of the land. George encouraged hard work, but he also wanted to reward it. Unfortunately, his endorsement by the anarchist and socialist press played into the hands of his opponents and gave popular credence to *Puck*'s charge that he was making an assault on all private property and planning an era of unlimited entitlements for the working masses (George, *P&P* 408-21).[21]

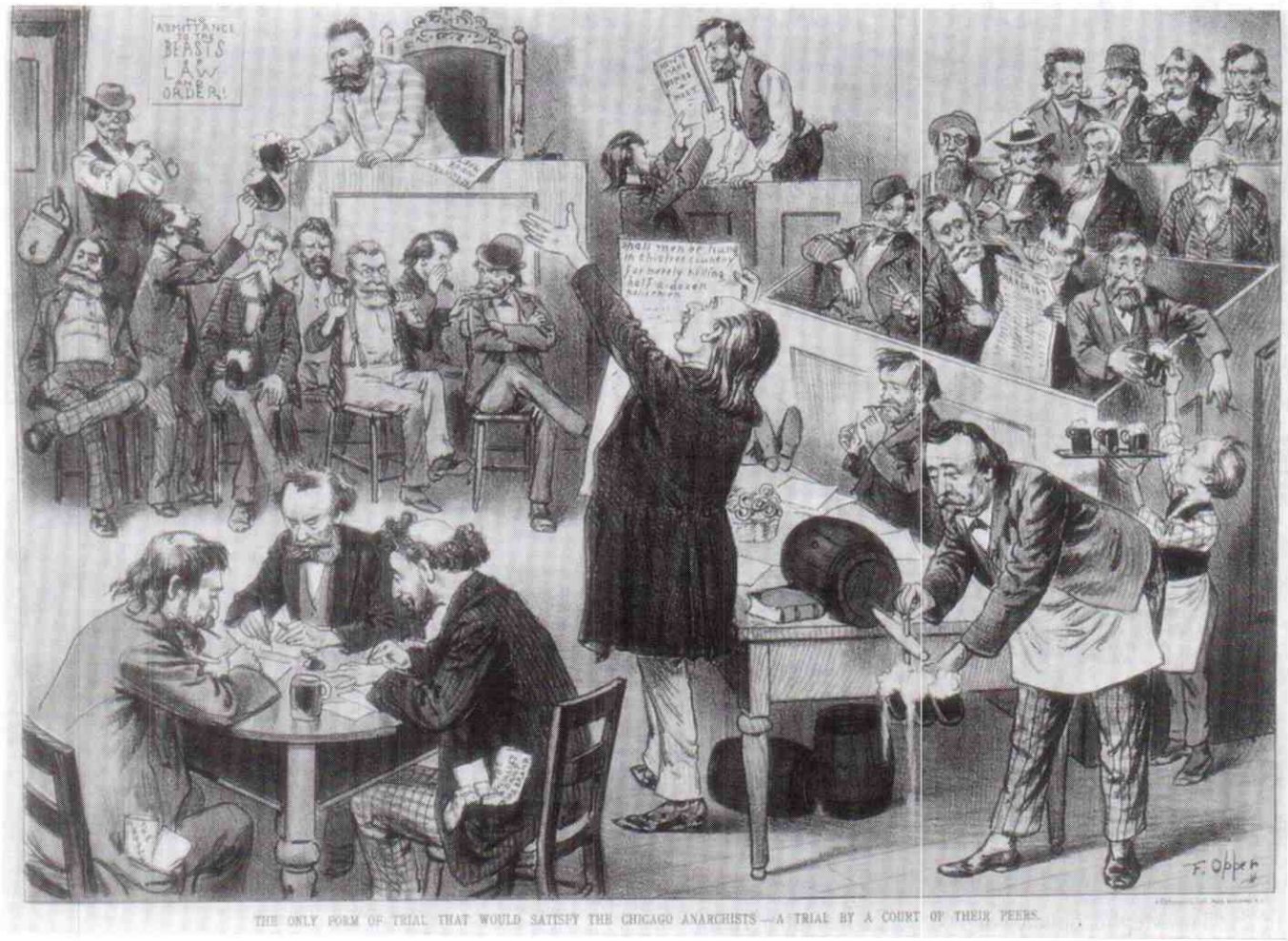

Fig. 4. "The Only Form of Trial That Would Satisfy the Chicago Anarchists...," 13 October 1886.

Puck climaxed its assault on HG's candidacy in its final pre-election issue. Editor Bunner expressed his satisfaction that "old...aged" Hewitt, but particularly "young [28] and energetic" former three term Republican state legislator, Theodore Roosevelt, would make a good mayor. At the same time, the magazine's artists unleashed a mean-spirited portrayal of the alarming goals and frightful consequences that a George victory would have on the American way of life.

On the magazine's cover, Keppler depicts a giant tramp with a copy of *P&P* sticking conspicuously out of his coat pocket (Fig. 6). He has brutally invaded the haven of a respectable middle-class family at dinner. "The tramp's idea of the Henry George Millennium"—reads the caption"—no more waiting outside for cold victuals." The choice of villain was very appropriate. In an era when the byways of urban and rural America abounded with roving bands of the homeless and unemployed, the middle-class feared the tramp as bogeyman.[22]

In the same issue, a two-pager by staff artist, C. J. Taylor, shows "Georgeism" and its supporters in the forefront of an extraordinary effort to destroy the nation's constitutionally protected freedoms (Fig. 7). Taylor made effective use of the just dedicated statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," here shown imperiled, but undaunted by the cadre of evil and treasonous forces trying to topple her. Reflecting *Puck*'s oft repeated commitment to and faith in the durability of the Constitution, the caption reads, "Our Statue of Liberty.—She Can Stand It," that is, despite the efforts of GEORGEISM, SOCIALISM, ANARCHISM, COMMUNISM, INTOLERANCE, BLOODY BOYCOTT AND DYNAMITE.[23]

Calling HG an "unprincipled demagogue...with a teaspoon of brains," the editorial in this issue formally repudiated its earlier "generous valuation" of George as a "good, honest and well meaning [though densely ignorant] man." Instead, Bunner returned to the refrain of HG's treasonous intent by virtue of his ideological association with the accused Haymarket anar-

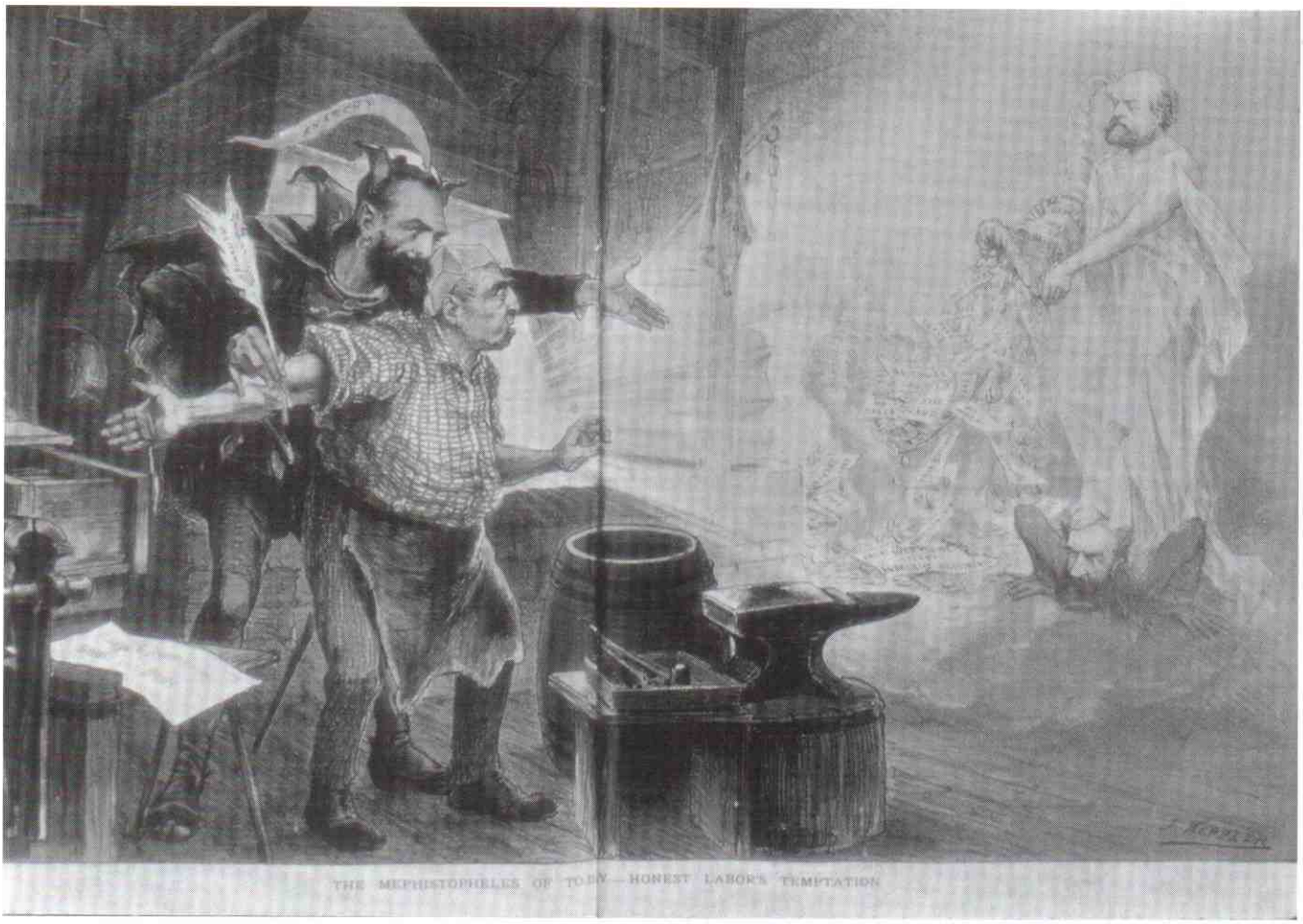

Fig. 5. "The Mephistopheles of Today..., 20 October 1886.

chists. *Puck* determined to discredit HG's tax plan by associating it with the promotion of "mobocracy." Not only was his plan wrong-headed, but it would reward "the idle, the vicious, and the dishonest" who have refused to follow the straight road to the American dream. After all, and here the editorial reflected a widely held opinion, poverty was largely the fault of the poor: "...in the majority of cases, it is his own fault if he does not make life worth living. If anybody is clanking chains in this country...it is because they have riveted those chains upon themselves. In a land where every man may—as far as the laws of the land go—choose his own employment, make his own prices, do his own work in his own way, there is no occasion whatever for upsetting the established law and order."[24]

On election day, Tuesday, 2 November, the polls (which had opened at 6:00 A.M.) closed at 4:00 P.M., but it took officials until midnight to finish counting the ballots. Because of the lateness of the hour, *Puck* had to go to press with its regular Wednesday morning edition without the election results. Consequently, the artists and editor continued their attack on HG's credibility by scorning his working-class supporters as dupes and dopes of both George and union leaders. The latter, in particular, were parasites—"the workingman is their meat and drink and lodging"—and con artists—"they have led astray a great many unreasoning, though honest workingman," and HG was "their stalking-horse." They "would like nothing better than to raise a riot and plunder Fifth Avenue. Mr. George does not wish to plunder Fifth Avenue—except by process of law—yet these are his chosen allies."

Much of the remaining editorial harped on how good the nation's workers had it when compared to their European counterparts. Finally, Bunner added a little Social Darwinism to the seductive national myths of rugged individualism and the success ethic: If others make more money than the laborer, he declared, "it is because they are more intelligent, more zealous in doing their duty, more willing to learn, more ambitious to live well and to gain position in the community—and, above all, because they keep clear of unions and act for themselves, like manly men." "If a man cannot get on and take care of himself in a land of universal suffrage, free schools and trial by jury,

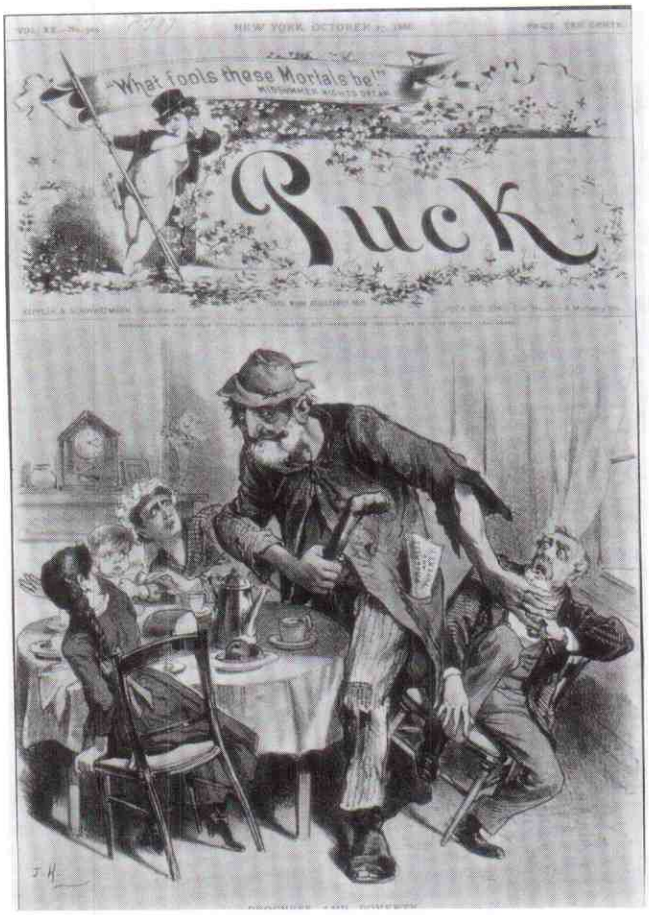

Fig. 6. "Progress and Poverty," 27 October 1886.

there is something wrong, not in the constitution of society, but in the man himself."[25]

Sustaining the strong tone of the editorial, the accompanying cartoon conjured an early version of the "domino theory" (Fig. 8). Parodied as crusaders, George and his evil cronies are depicted mapping out a land-grab that will eventually span the republic. All of them are oblivious to the miserable dupe bringing back "returned [unwanted] copies" of *P&P* and to the disheveled working woman knocking back a bottle of rye with one hand and supporting a barrel of dynamite with the other. Instead, the group prepares to deliver the land-confiscation warrants stashed in the box at the lower left. Between the old woman and the socialist hangs a crusader's banner that, in a play on words, proclaims: "Slave Wages we will Hew-it," a reference to the Democratic nominee. To the right of the banner is a painting of the Jacobin reign of terror during the French Revolution. On the coffee table at George's left is a bottle of "Georgene for sore throats," a poke at his campaign rhetoric. The message is clear: the election of HG would have devastating consequences well beyond New York City. Evil and chaos would spread throughout the land. Stop these malignant crusaders and save the nation! Here, then, in both print and picture, was a keen, if somewhat exaggerated, sense of the city as the country's major nerve center and of the election as a microcosm of a looming constitutional crisis.[26]

Fig. 7. "Our Statue of Liberty—She Can Stand It," 27 October 1886.

When the votes were counted, George claimed an undeniably respectable sixty-eight thousand or 31% of the total and second place, nearly eight thousand votes ahead of the third place Roosevelt's 28%, although some twenty-two thousand fewer than the 41% plurality garnered by the mayor-elect, Abram Hewitt. *Puck*'s editor was hard-pressed to offer a reasoned analysis of the election. He told his readers that union leaders' had terrorized their members to vote for George or lose their jobs. Had the vote been truly free, he asserted, many laborers would have supported either TR or Hewitt. Contrary to Bunner's analysis, however, it was more likely that *Puck*'s usual whipping boy, Tammany Hall, had engaged in manipulating the vote.[27]

Fig. 8. "Where Next?" 3 November 1886.

Bunner could have provided a more accurate analysis had he wanted to, given his knowledge of the city and its people. In an era of unprecedented labor unrest, in a city whose mainly working class population was close to half Irish, Henry George (widely known as an active ally of the Irish Land League) did not need his voters coerced into voting for him. A certain amount of pressure was no doubt exerted to get out the union vote. But HG's appeal lay in his earnestness and his reputation for integrity, qualities that, to many wage-earners at least, gave them confidence in his pledge to lift the tax on the products of labor and to place it on land values alone. The second half of that pledge, to tax only land values, was no doubt unclear to many of his constituents, but the first part was crystal clear and in harmony with many wage-earners' and small business-class interests. As a result, of the twenty-four district assemblies that made up New York City, and in spite of likely vote tampering by Tammany, George had placed first in four of the assemblies and second in ten others. In the process, he had attracted substantial numbers of Tammany's usually loyal Irish working-class supporters, the skilled and unskilled, including an estimated thirty-five thousand Catholics and an unknown number of middle-class anti-Tammany Democrats (Post and Leubuscher 156-68).[28]

In light of his impressive showing, it was at first surprising that the cartoon on the cover of the magazine's first post-election issue disregarded the obvious significance of the vote for George (Fig. 9). Artist Taylor has chosen instead to feature the new mayor, Hewitt, as the successful suitor to Lady New York. Runner-up George is conspicuously absent, while third place nominee, Theodore Roosevelt, gracefully, but prominently bows out of the picture, the beauty of youth yielding to the wisdom of age. This portrayal of TR, when considered in conjunction with the next week's editorial, suggests a double meaning. In the editorial, Bunner admonished TR for his foolish and publicized prediction (early in the campaign) of his likely defeat. His imprudence, according to the editorial, likely caused some unscrupulous Republicans to switch their support to George in hopes of receiving patronage in the form of some lesser city offices. This surmise, for which the editor offered no evidence, led

Bunner to sound a knell for Roosevelt's political future in city politics. The knell, of course, proved premature. In 1895, TR returned to city government as a mayor-appointed Police Commissioner, where he irritated fellow Republicans with his uncompromising reform-mindedness. A year later, the GOP booted him out by getting him appointed as President William McKinley's Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The rest is "his-story."[29]

The second cartoon in this issue clearly implied why George was not on the cover with Hewitt and TR (Fig. 10). A two-page spread by Keppler shows the unsuccessful nominee knocked out of the race by a "Vote of the Majority" (a quantification rather unsoundly based on the total of the vote captured by the other two nominees). There is certainly no admission of the jolt that George's strong finish must have given to the causes of both machine politicians and middle-class reformers. Instead, the artist has drawn HG's platform as so many "crank theories," and has depicted his motive for running as a deliberate first attempt to climb the political ladder to the White House.[30] George had failed miserably, the cartoon implied. How could it have been otherwise, given the nature of his ideas and the caliber of his leading supporters, here shown getting their just deserts? The body count includes a representative from Irving Hall, headquarters of another anti-Tammany Democratic faction which had hoped to use George to gain a foothold in city hall. Instead, it too has fallen, another loser in the company of assorted socialists, communists, and cranks.

Not to be overlooked in the lower left foreground are the legs of George's most important Catholic supporter, the second generation Irish priest and social gospeler, Edward McGlynn. Pastor of the city's largest (mostly Irish working class) parish, he was an enthusiastic, even zealous advocate of Georgian economics. McGlynn's relationship with George played a significant role in the anti-George caricatures that followed the 1886 campaign.[31]

Reorganization

Within days after the election, George's three campaign managers, including McGlynn, were eager to capitalize on their nominee's strong second place finish. So they decided to continue the United Labor Party (ULP) and to run a full slate of nominees in the 1887 state elections. With George's approval, the party focused on the single tax. In response to such avowed narrowness of purpose, the fragile coalition that had supported HG for mayor began to break apart. In particular, many socialists and trade unionists became disenchanted with the ULP (John Thomas 228-29; Barker 484-87).

Then McGlynn's conservative archbishop, Michael Corrigan, who, during the mayoral campaign, had suspended the priest for supporting George, gave him until late Spring 1887 to recant or suffer excommunication. McGlynn stood his ground, and so did Corrigan. Into the breach stepped HG. He had long since reacted angrily to the archbishop's suspension of his friend. Now, during the entire first half of 1887, in the columns of his newly established weekly, *The Standard*, he relentlessly communicated his outrage at Corrigan's ultimatum. In a series of extensive articles and editorials, George staunchly defended McGlynn and accused Corrigan of being a patsy of Tammany Hall and of violating the priest's rights as an American citizen. Unfortunately for McGlynn, the reformer's polemics did not help the priest's case with Catholic officialdom and may have alienated some of the Irish Catholics who had been in the George camp. But McGlynn's troubles did provide George with an opportunity to reiterate the compatibility of his reform program with basic Christian (including Catholic) doctrine. And that was precisely what he did.[32]

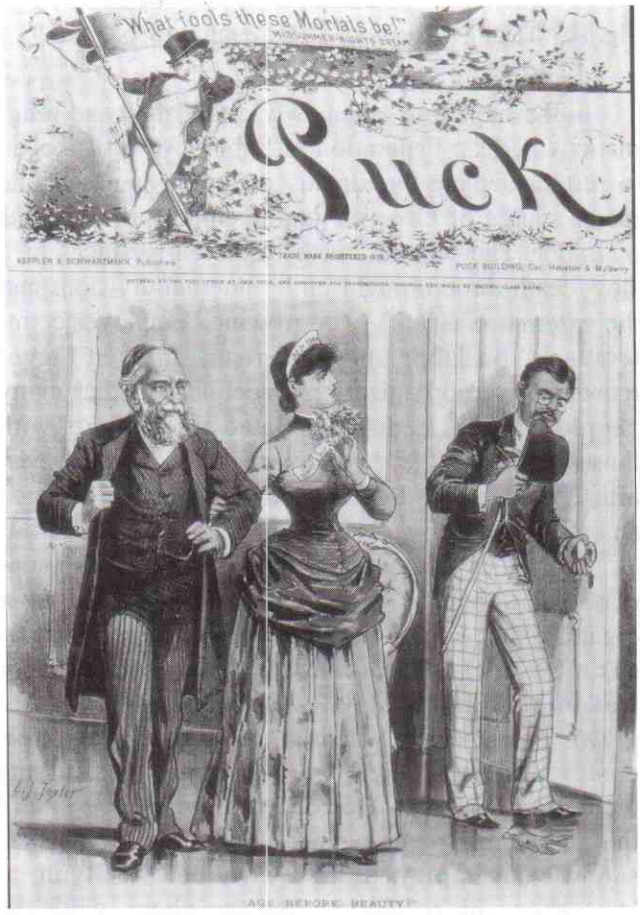

Fig. 9. "Age Before Beauty," 10 November 1886.

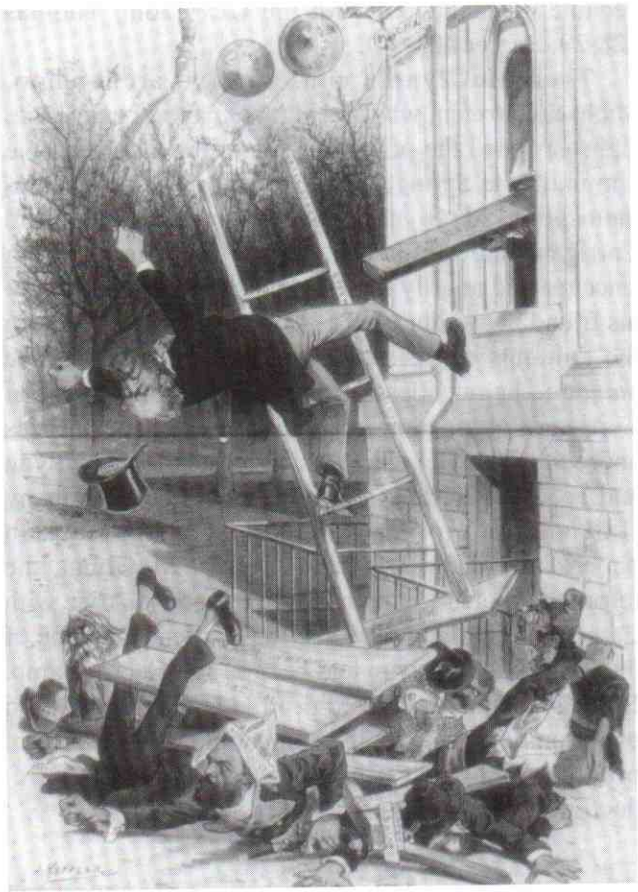

Fig. 10. "Taking a Tumble," 10 November 1886.

In the meantime, the newly established and pragmatic American Federation of Labor (AF of L) began to further deplete the already dwindling ranks of the major source of George's union support, the Knights of Labor. The Knights were in the early stages of a slow death throe brought on by internal divisions and the external pressures of a growing "employer counterattack" on labor unrest. Perhaps an even bigger reason for the organization's decline was that many people and the media associated the Knights with those accused of the Haymarket Square bombing even after Powderly had openly condemned the arrested anarchists (Dubofsky 66-68).

Scarred by Haymarket, the Knights, whose supporters had included both skilled and unskilled labor organizations, experienced not only increased factionalism but confusion of purpose. The power of labor was in dissolution. Relative harmony gave way to growing dissonance, which in turn provided a perfect context for *Puck*'s symbolic rendering of a rag-tag orchestra (Photo 11). No conductor presides. None of the musicians is even paying attention to the musical score; each is playing his own tune. McGlynn, at least, shows his irritation at the cacophony, while the implacable George, on the right, is oblivious to any but his own playing. Each of the two men frames one end of a baroque-like center. There, the editor of an anarchist paper bellows at AF of L President, Samuel Gompers, who is preoccupied clanging a pair of cymbals. Knights president Powderly (who by now was more conciliatory in his approach to collective bargaining) tries in vain to pluck a soothing melody, but flute-playing liberal Episcopal clergyman and single taxer, Heber Newton, has compromised the strings of Powderly's harp. Meanwhile, the noted orator and agnostic, Robert Ingersol, a George supporter who did "not want a nation of tenants," even though he did not entirely agree with HG's plan, shields his ear from Gomper's clashing cymbals. To no avail, he finds himself further disconcerted by an unrelenting and angry socialist. The latter is intent on banging his drum, despite having been booted from the ULP by Henry George. Toward the back on the right, the "walking delegate" or union business agent does not seem to know whom he represents, and so has turned his back on the whole group.[33]

Post-Election Pucks

Throughout 1887, *Puck*'s cartoonists and editor vowed to counter the considerable (even though it was mainly negative) coverage that the city's daily press gave to the "clap-trap chatter of George and McGlynn."[34] Oddly, they did this by prominently featuring both men either alone or together. Most of *Puck*'s barbs, artistic and written, were directed at the duo's newly established Anti-Poverty Society (which challenged the view that poverty was always the fault of the individual), and at continuing to associate HG with the forces of anarchy.[35]

Nor did the magazine hesitate to make the most out of George's initial opinion, which he adhered to for most of 1887, that the Chicago anarchists had been deprived of due process. But then in the Fall, after accepting the ULP nomination for New York's Secretary of State, HG must have temporarily confounded both his caricaturists and his followers when he seemed to reverse his stance on Haymarket. In contrast to his earlier opinion that the prosecutors had treated the anarchists vindictively, he now publicly approved the long appellate process that had just sustained the original guilty verdict. In the heat of the political campaign, he published the following editorial in his newspaper on October 8, 1887, less than a month before the election: "There is no ground for asking executive clemency in behalf of the Chicago Anarchists as a matter of right. It was proved beyond a doubt that these men were engaged in a conspiracy as a result of which the bomb was thrown, and were

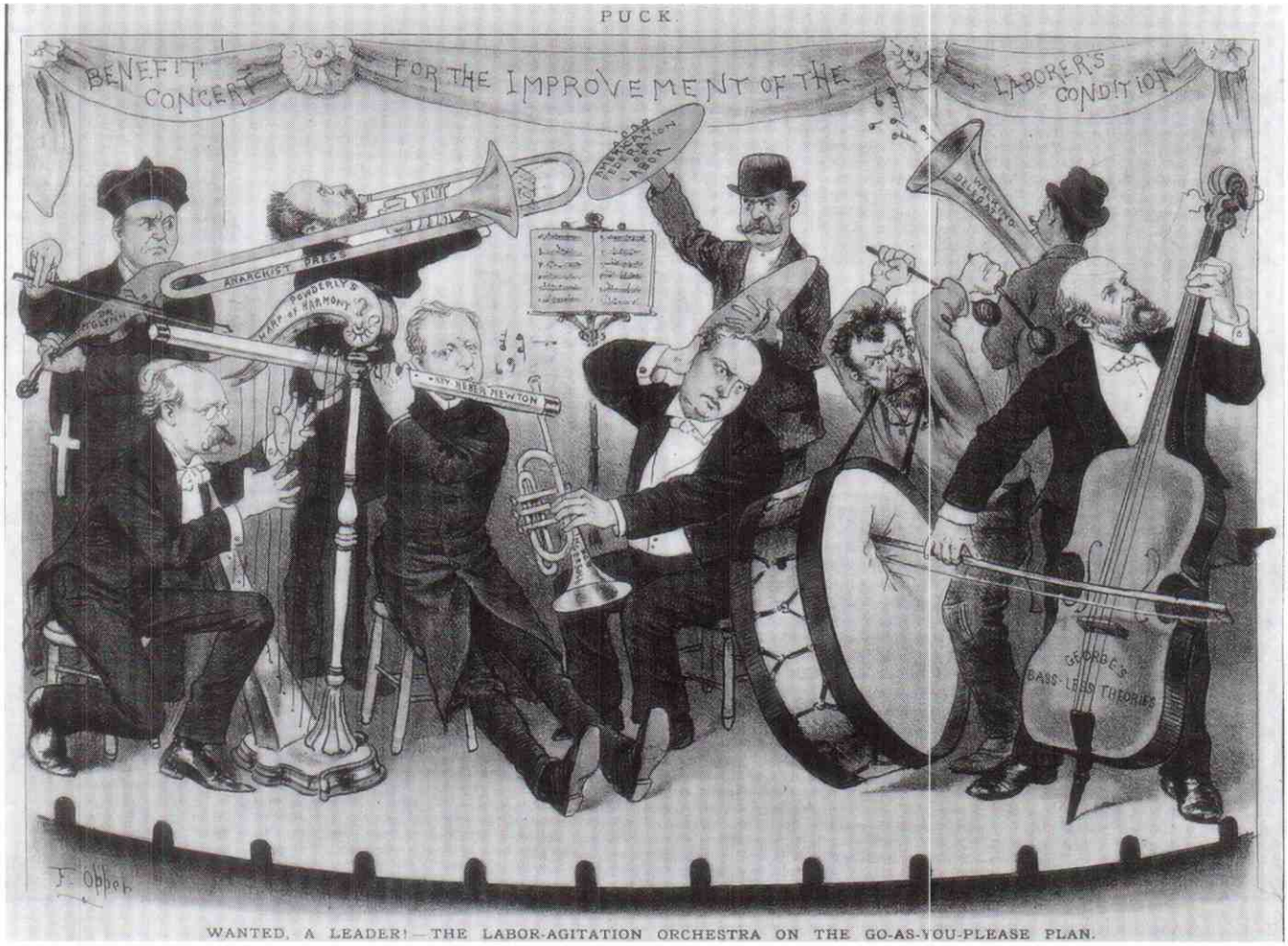

Fig. 11. "Wanted, A Leader!.., 12 December 1886.

therefore under the laws of Illinois as guilty as though they themselves had done the act" (qtd. in John Thomas, 230-31). HG's largely very sympathetic biographers have cited external political pressures, especially from his anti-Tammany middle-class supporters, to explain his seemingly disingenuous change of heart. For example, Charles Barker would only concede that his action was "short-sighted...but not...corrupt" (505). Given George's increased recognition of the importance of middle-class support, their explanation seems plausible. For better or worse, George, in a rare move, had opted to sacrifice principle for expediency.[36]

To *Puck*'s cartoonists, of course, Henry George's hallmarks were expediency, con-artistry and the desire for power. This characterization repeatedly surfaced in numerous caricatures dogging the exploits of HG and McGlynn during the fifteen months following the New York mayoral race. In most cases, the cartoonists couched their messages in metaphors that included religious garb and architecture, leisure time activities, popular art, medical quackery, popular psychology and ancient mythology. All of the images denoted fads, fashions, trends, cons or symbols whose meanings were familiar to the magazine's largely middle-class readers who were, no doubt, not amused by the cynical joviality attributed to George and McGlynn (Fig. 12).[37]

Collectively, the increasingly mocking tone of this and the other post-election cartoons hinted the growing presence of a new dynamic in the mindset of Mugwump reformers. In *Puck*'s bold caricatures, there were reflections of increasing confidence and not a little righteousness among genteel or elite middle-class reformers. Albeit obliquely, the caricatures anticipated an important facet of the emergent Progressive mentality: there was not much ideological distance between the "throw out the crooks" good government Mugwump "goo goos" of the 1880s and the early Progressives of the late 1890s who demanded structural change (more centralized, bureaucratized power in city hall) as the surest path to good government. *Puck*'s cartoons' (and editorials') emphasis on order (in contrast to the perceived chaos

Fig. 12. "A Good Joke," 1 June 1887.

of an America operating on Georgian principles) may be interpreted as examples of the last gasp of the Mugwumps and the first breath of the Progressives.[38]

With the advantage of hindsight, it is hard not to point out a recurring irony implicit in *Puck*'s unrelentingly righteous criticisms of HG. When, in the 1890s, the Mugwump-soon-to-be-Progressive reformers began to apply their legislative solutions to the ills of urban-industrial America, much of their reform activity was arguably anti-democratic, even socialistic. The Progressive agenda was powerfully interventionist on the side of social control. These very same criticisms had been leveled earlier at HG. So, too, in the decades after the Progressive movement had lost its momentum, a new generation of reformers and scholars began to expose the sometimes glaring limitations, naiveté, and oversimplifications inherent in many Progressive reforms.[39]

As the most recent generation of scholars has shown, many of the Progressives' efforts to eliminate the worst excesses of industrialism and urbanism had positive effects. Many other efforts, however, proved ill-conceived, short lived, self-defeating, or aimed at limiting the influence of the immigrant working classes. And when it came to the issue of dealing with its arch-enemies, the machine politicians, most Progressives refused détente. For their part, street savvy bosses often expediently incorporated progressive reforms in order to protect their platforms and administrations. As a result, many of them not only survived the Progressive forces seeking to oust them, but frequently prospered into the next generation and beyond. The Progressive vision of utopia, like the Georgian and other reform movements before and since, had its own share of weaknesses.[40]

Epilogue: The Last Campaign

During the 1888 presidential campaign, George decided to support Democrat Grover Cleveland while McGlynn stayed with the United Labor Party. The two long-time allies parted ways. McGlynn, defrocked for the time being but not discouraged, continued on his own to preach George's land reforms. Four years later, in 1892, a special commission of Catholic University of America theologians studied an economic position paper prepared by McGlynn and announced that it

found no heresy. In December of that year, and in return for agreeing to go to Rome to reassure the Pope of his orthodoxy, the pontiff's personal envoy, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, lifted McGlynn's excommunication and restored his priestly faculties. The following summer, Archbishop Corrigan, hoping to minimize future problems, transferred the still very popular and outspoken priest out of the city limelight to a parish in Newburgh, NY, north of Manhattan. There he presided as a beloved pastor even as he continued to lecture widely on Georgian economics until his death in 1900.[41]

George, on the other hand, reached well beyond America's shores during the last decade of his life. He kept a demanding schedule of speaking engagements in the United States, Great Britain, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. In addition, he spent much of his time on two books, *The Perplexed Philosopher* (1892) and *The Science of Political Economy* (never finished and published posthumously). Finally, in the Fall of 1897, his closest supporters persuaded him, despite failing health and his doctor's warning, to accept another nomination for mayor of New York. On October 5, 1997, he was formally nominated by "representatives of four Democratic factions united as The Democracy of Thomas Jefferson" (Oser 118). It was a short-lived candidacy. On October 30, 1897, four days before the election, he suffered a massive and fatal stroke. The self-trained economist and social thinker exited the world far from the security of his study and books, an activist to the end.[42]

For nearly a decade before HG's death, *Puck*, like much of the press, had paid virtually no attention to him. It no longer saw him as a threat to American values and ideals. But on October 27, 1897, three days before he died, the magazine did feature one last George cartoon (Fig. 13). In it, the artist (former *Judge* staffer, Louis Dalrymple), tried to convey the complexity of the race for mayor of (for the first time) Greater New York and of HG's role as a potential spoiler. Tammany boss Richard Croker and New York state Republican boss Thomas Platt are shown standing precariously at the edge of an abyss. Looming in the upper right corner is the Mugwumpish Citizen's Union candidate, Seth Low, a respected social activist, president of Columbia College, and former mayor of Brooklyn. Citizen's Union hoped that HG, appearing in the upper left corner as the nominee of the anti-machine Jefferson Democrats, would draw enough votes away from the Tammany candidate, local Judge Robert Van Wyck, to give Low a winning plurality.[43]

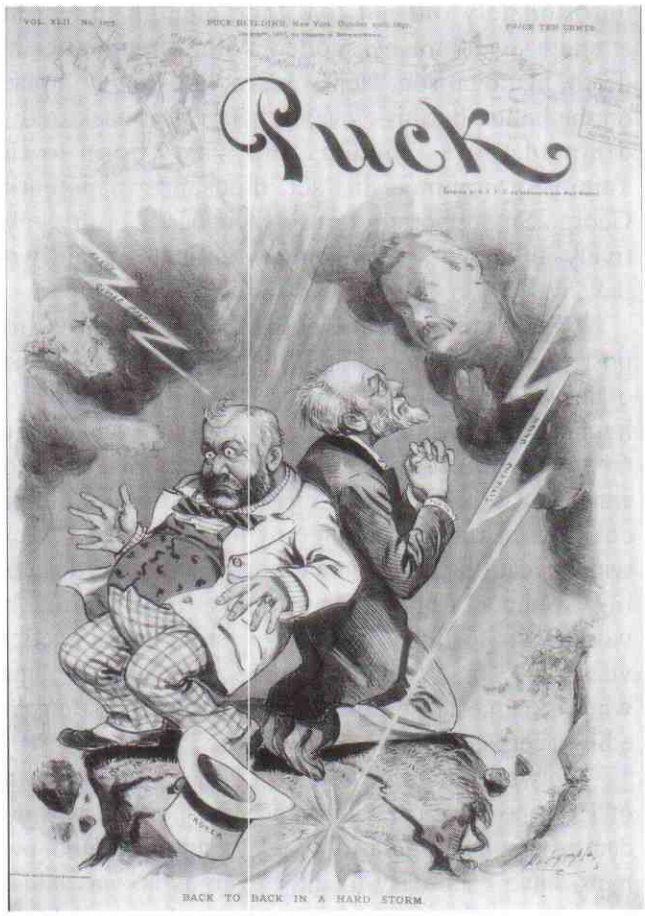

Fig. 13. "Back to Back in a Hard Storm," 27 October 1897.

But Republican Boss Platt then complicated matters by nominating his own spoiler, Benjamin Tracy, his son's law partner and a former Secretary of the Navy under Harrison. He chose Tracy, not because he could win, but in order to draw enough votes from Low to ensure a Tammany or machine victory. In this cartoon, Mugwump *Puck* engages in wishful thinking. Given the nature of this four way race, *Puck* found itself in the awkward position of having to suppress its criticism of HG, whose pro-Bryan platform included a strong anti-boss plank. Instead, the cartoon shows a George lightning bolt taking out Tammany Boss Croker, while his Republican state counterpart, Thomas Platt, takes an intimidating near miss from Low, whose party was still trying to woo Republican votes.

Platt, however, was in no mood for fusion with a political party that was anti-machine. If his candidate could not win, then the next best outcome would be the election of a Tammany mayor who at least understood and supported the practical power politics and decentralized nature of the machine system. George, who had known at the outset that he could not win,

unfortunately did not live long enough to test his strength as Tammany spoiler. Within hours after his death, his loyal son, Henry Jr., took his father's place on the ballot, but his eleventh hour effort backfired: it dimmed Low's chances and was a boon to the Tammany nominee. In fact, thousands of potential George Sr. supporters turned their backs on his relatively unknown son. Machine politicians again won the day.[44]

Puck's obituary on George, published in its first post election issue, ignored the political significance of his death. Instead, it chose to eulogize him as a human being, while standing firm in its evaluation of George as a reformer. The editor acknowledged the earnestness of George's crusade against municipal corruption, the great range of his influence ("more widely read in this generation than any other excepting Spencer") and his astuteness in bringing the world's ills to light. Yet, he was still "an impractical visionary," this "socialist," naïve about human nature when it came to solutions. Soon to be forgotten, the editor seemed to imply. Little did he know.[45]

Notwithstanding *Puck*'s widely shared evaluation of HG, the reformer's influence did not end with his death. That his popularity would continue should, perhaps, have been easy to infer even as he was laid to rest. Tens of thousands of people from all backgrounds filed past his casket in New York's Grand Central Palace where he laid in state. After a solemn funeral attended by numerous dignitaries and by his old friend, Edward McGlynn, an elaborate procession accompanied George's body to Brooklyn's Greenwood Cemetery where he was laid to rest while musicians played Chopin's "Funeral March" and the "Marseillaise." Newspapers from all over the country and the world reported his death, and in London, a separate funeral celebrated his life. In the years that followed, his life and ideas were both memorialized and critiqued, a dual process that has continued to this day (Rose 151-56; Oser 119-20; Barker 218-19).

HG's legacy has been preserved largely through the support of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, which is associated with the Henry George Schools of Social Science in New York and London. The major collection of his writings, papers and related materials is accessible to researchers in the New York Public Library. In the Fall of 1997, the *Journal of Economics and Sociology*, a quarterly founded in 1941 by the Schalkenbach Foundation, devoted its whole issue to commemorating the life and teachings of this still controversial self-trained economist, prophet, poet, author, and evangelical crusader for social justice. Seminars and conferences still debate his vision. And, not surprisingly, there are numerous Henry George websites on the Internet.[46]

Finally, *Puck*'s inimitable cartoons of Henry George, like those of so many others to whom it gave both intended and unintended notoriety, have been preserved in the special collections of The New York Public Library and the library of the University of Michigan, among other important public repositories. Here, scholars may access a unique piece of history, an always insightful, albeit politically incorrect record of the Gilded Age. In our age of sound bites, image makers and photo ops, there are still occasions when it is the cartoon that drives a point home most effectively about the politics and politicos of the late twentieth century. In the late nineteenth century, absent the competition of today's high tech media, the laboriously but superbly and cleverly rendered political cartoons of *Puck* magazine were even more powerful, whether targeting utopian reformers like Henry George or the political machinations dominating the urban landscape of industrial America. *Puck*'s artists knew that if they did their job well, it would tell. After all, they surely remembered the complaint attributed to Tammany's William "Boss" Tweed, whose identification and capture in 1876 had been aided by Thomas Nast's caricature in *Harper's Weekly*. And they must have taken inspiration from the Boss's famous lament, that gem of irrefutable testimony to the potential of a well-executed cartoon: "I don't care what they print about me," Tweed had whined, "most of my constituents can't read anyway—but them damn pictures!" (qtd. in Shikes 312).[47]

Notes

[1]The cartoons cited in this paper, with two exceptions, were authorized for scholarly use and photographed from the originals, courtesy of the Special Collections of the University of Michigan Libraries, Ann Arbor. Figures 7 and 13 were authorized for scholarly use and photographed from the originals, courtesy of the General Research Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

[2]*Puck*'s most important contemporary rivals were *Harper's Weekly,* which carried the masterpieces of Thomas Nast, and *The Judge*, a Republican weekly of political satire. For an incisive analysis of the power of political cartooning, see Fischer, especially Chapters I-V. The best work on Joseph Keppler is Richard Samuel West, *The Political Cartoons of Joseph Keppler* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988).

[3]From 1871-1877, Keppler had published a German edition of *Puck* in St. Louis, Missouri.

[4]The term originated in 1884 as a derisive description of a group of patrician Republican reformers who defected when the Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland. For more information on the label "Mugwump," see Peterson.

[5]Rose 75, summarizes George's other tenants including free trade, the secret ballot, government ownership of mass transportation and utilities, unionism, better education for workers, and limited government interference in the lives of its citizens. For the actual description of several of these ideas, see George, *Progress and Poverty*, Book VI, Chapter 1, 300-26.

[6]Oser, Chapter II, provides an especially good book by book summary and explanation of *Progress and Poverty*. In the 1890s, several communes, the most famous in Alabama, organized on the basis of Georgian principles. None lasted very long, largely due to internal disputes. See Fogarty 168-75.

[7]See, as examples, the edited collections by Lewis and by Andolsen and the book by Cord.

[8]Cord, Chapters 3-4, provides a valuable analysis of George's posthumous influence. John L. Thomas, Chapter 8, gives an incisive comparative analysis of George's ideas.

[9]George never became wealthy. Besides giving away vast numbers of free copies of *Progress and Poverty*, "pirated editions flourished," and his publishers never concerned themselves with foreign copyrights because they did not believe the book would sell, either in the U.S. or abroad. See Summers 130.

[10]A great deal has been written about labor unrest in the broader context of industrialization and urbanization. The preceding three paragraphs have drawn in varying degrees from: Raymond Mohl, Chapters 5-8, Summers, especially Chapters 9-11, and Tractenberg 70-100. There is also a very good overview in Vol. II of the American Social History Project's Joshua Freeman *et al.*, *Who Built America: Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture and Society* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), Chapter 3. See too, relevant sections in the minor classic by Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), the time tested Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1957), and Melvyn Dubofsky, *Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920*, 3rd ed. (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 1996). For insights on the racialism of the period, the best source is still John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 3rd ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1992). Finally, Charles W. Calhoun, ed., *The Gilded Age: Essays on the Origins of Modern America* (Wilmington, DE, 1996), contains several essays, particularly chapters 3-6, pertinent to many of the topics discussed here.

[11]Another good treatment of Haymarket is Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984).

[12]Among the many newspapers and magazines covering George's campaign, see the particularly condemnatory editorials of the *New York Times* and the cartoons in *Puck*'s Republican rival, *The Judge*. While Chambers analyzed the post-war era as a period of gestation preceding the New Deal, his label seemed also appropriate to this paper because of the connection between Gilded Age reforms and those of the Progressive era.

[13]"Innocents Abroad," *Cartoons and Comments*, Vol. XX (29 Sept. 1886): 65-66. A note on the "bulldog" symbol for Tammany: the figure of a tiger, the creation of *Harper's* Thomas Nast, was the most common symbol used. See, for example, Allen 174-75 and, for a near contemporary account of Tammany's choice for mayor, Myers 267-70. Myers 269, mentions an open letter from George to Hewitt in 1897, alleging that Croker had tried to buy off George in 1886. Oser 114-15, explains that two factions of the Democratic party, Tammany and the County Democracy, sent "an emissary" to offer George a guaranteed seat in the U.S. House of Representatives if he would refuse to run for mayor.

[14]"A New Departure in Bar'ls" XX (6 Oct. 1886) 96. The city Democratic party was divided into three major (and several minor) factions, Tammany, the County Democracy, founded in 1880, and Irving Hall, established in 1874. Both of the latter were Tammany break-aways. The Irving Hall faction was left out of the ticket proposed by Tammany and the County Democracy. In response, it endorsed Henry George. By 1890, however, Tammany was the sole survivor, the other two factions having disappeared. See Post 124-25; Allen 162-63, 174-75; Myers 260-62, 274.

[15]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (6 Oct. 1886) 82. The Mugwumps were good government advocates or "goo goos" as their skeptics called them. See Summers 186 and Mohl 108-15, for more on their philosophy.

[16]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (6 Oct. 1886) 82. For the texts of many of his campaign speeches, see the book by George's friends, Post and Leubuscher. His speeches were nearly always well-attended and gave him the opportunity of explaining the nuances of his land theory. One of the best explications of his distinction between ownership of land and the individual's right to enjoy the results of its improvement was in a speech on 22 Oct. before a large crowd at New York's Chickering Hall. See Post 72-84.

[17]"The Gospel Of The Knights Of Labor. 'We work not selfishly for ourselves alone, but extend the hand of fellowship to all mankind.' Mr. Powderly, at Richmond" XX (13 Oct. 1886) 97.

[18]"The Only Form of Trial That Would Satisfy The Chicago Anarchists—A Trial by A Court Of Their Peers" XX (13 Oct. 1886) 114.

[19]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (13 Oct. 1886) 98. The publication of the open correspondence between George and Hewitt (who refused HG's invitation to debate) fueled the intensity of the campaign, forcing George on the defensive against charges of leading a class movement and promoting nihilism and anarchism. See Post 45-71. *Puck* easily and effectively expanded on these well publicized charges.

[20]"The Mephistopheles of Today—Honest Labor's Temptation," XX (20 Oct. 1886) 122-23.

[21]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (20 Oct. 1886) 116. See Post 73-90, for the full text of one of George's major campaign speeches on Oct. 22, 1886.

[22]*Progress and Poverty* XX (27 Oct. 1886) 131. For a vivid description of tramp life at the turn of the century, see Upton Sinclair's classic 1906 novel, *The Jungle* (New York, 1981), especially chapters 22-25.

[23]"Our Statue of Liberty—She Can Stand It" XX (27 Oct. 1886) 138-39.

[24]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (27 Oct. 1886), 132. This long held opinion on poverty found "scientific" assistance from the Social Darwinists and their popularizers. George's views represented one of several challenges to Social Darwinism and to the myth of rugged individualism. The ideas in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) and Lester Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) were also important in what came to be known as Reform Darwinism. The best secondary source of the changes that took place in social thinking, changes that led to more emphasis on societal causes of poverty, is still Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism* (Boston, 1957). See, too, the comparative study by John L. Thomas.

[25]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (3 Nov. 1886) 150. Still useful for background, though challenged in some of its interpretations, is Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1955). For a good treatment of the success myth popularized in the novels of Horatio Alger, see Robert Weiss, *The American Myth of Success: From Horatio Alger to Norman Vincent Peale* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1969), especially Chapters 1-3.

[26]"Where Next?" XX (3 Nov. 1886) 156-57.

[27]In the mayoral election, New Yorkers who did not prepare their ballot before arriving at the poll were served by party representatives who supplied them with ballots. George's party apparently did not have the resources to staff all of the polling places. In addition, according to Myers 270, there were many reliable eyewitnesses who testified to wide spread voting fraud. Whatever the case may be, the cliché, "vote early and often," comes from the Gilded Age.

[28]Post and Leubuscher 155-70, include the official ballot count for all twenty-four district assemblies.

[29]"Age Before Beauty" XX (10 Nov. 1886) 167. *Cartoons and Comments* XX (17 Nov. 1886) 186.

[30]"Taking A Tumble" XX (10 Nov. 1886) 174-75. The nature and extent of George's political ambitions at this time are debatable. Supporters had to repeatedly plead with him just to run for mayor. Thomas, *Alternative America* 220. Dedicated followers of HG such as Edward McGlynn, sometimes got carried away and predicted that George would one day be President. George himself editorialized about his possible candidacy for President, and in 1887, had the office of governor been up for grabs, he no doubt would have preferred the gubernatorial nomination instead of running for Secretary of State. But there is also evidence that winning wasn't his only important (or perhaps even his most important) goal. Rather, it was to exert third party pressure for national legislative reform by the two major parties, and to be a "pioneer...[a man who goes] in advance of politics." His enemies also frequently brought up the possibility (out of fear) that HG might run for President and, given the show of labor strength, be a real spoiler or at least an educator of the public, if not a winner. See Barker 460, 464, 467-68, 476, 483, 498, 502.

[31]Post and Leubuscher 129-49, include a chapter on McGlynn's involvement with George. There is no scholarly biography of McGlynn. Two somewhat informative, but avowedly sympathetic accounts are by Stephen Bell and by Sylvester Malone. Two more recent and scholarly treatments are, Robert Emmett Curran, "The McGlynn Affair and the Shaping of the New Conservatism in American Catholicism, 1886-1894," *The Catholic Historical Review* LXVI (April 1980) 184-204, and Samuel J. Thomas, "Portraits of a Rebel Priest: Edward McGlynn in Caricature, 1886-1893," *Journal of American Culture* 7 (Winter 1984) 17-33.

[32]For the text of George's first letter to Corrigan, see Post and Leubuscher 139-49; See, too, *The Standard* between Jan. 8, 1887 (the first issue) and Aug. 1887 (a few weeks after his excommunication) for an almost continuous run of articles and/or editorials defending McGlynn and criticizing Corrigan. For George's response to the excommunication, see "Excommunication, etc.," *The Standard* (2 July 1887) 1-2, and "The Coming Excommunication," *The Standard* (9 July 1887) 1.

[33]"Wanted, A Leader!—The Labor Agitation Orchestra on the Go-As-You-Please Plan" XX (12 Dec. 1886) 292. John R. McKivigan and Thomas J. Robertson, "The Irish-American Worker in Transition, 1877-1914: New York City as a Test Case," in *The New York Irish*, ed. Richard H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (Baltimore, 1996) 306-11; "Robert Green Ingersol," in *Dictionary of American Biography* IX, ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (New York, 1932) 470-71. "Richard Heber Newton," in Johnson, *Dictionary* XIII, 474-75.

[34]*Cartoons and Comments* XX (13 July 1887) 318.

[35]The Anti-Poverty Society, whose slogan was "God Wills it," included Catholics, Protestants and Jews, a rare display of early ecumenism. The organization announced as its objective "to spread by such peaceable and lawful means as may be found most desirable and efficient, a knowledge of the truth that God has made ample provision for the need of all men during their residence on earth, and that involuntary poverty is the result of the human laws that allow individuals to claim as private property that which the Creator has provided for the use of all" (Barker 492).

[36]Labor leaders condemned George for his reversal of sentiment. John Thomas 231, Barker 504-05.

[37]"A Good Joke" XXI (1 June 1887) 228-29. Other significant cartoons published during the immediate post-election period included: "Between Two Popes" XX (19 Jan. 1887) 356; "Deception!" XXI (9 Feb. 1887) 398-99; "Snapping the Whip" XXI (6 April 1887) 106; "The Great Quackery Combine On Its Travels" XXII (31 Aug. 1887) 8-9; "The First And Last Meetings Of The Anti-Poverty Society" XXII (21 Sept. 1887) 64; "All In The Same Boat" XXII (5 Oct. 1887) 100; "A Tough Job For The Atlas Of The World" XXII (26 Oct. 1887) 148; "After the Election" XXII (9 Nov. 1887) 172-73; "Walk Right In" XXII (28 Dec. 1887) 269; "Bitter Cold!" XXII (25 Jan. 1888) 337.

[38]Raymond Mohl provides a concise and up to date look at the characteristics of "structural reform": for example, "strong mayor...civil service...unicameral city council, secret ballot...at large aldermen," 116-17. These "reformers sought a business-like government geared toward efficiency, economy, and scientific management...designed to destroy the influence of the political machines and consolidate power in the hands of the urban elite," 121. Gerald Kurland, 63-81, discusses Seth Low as an example of the Mugwump to Progressive transition.

[39]A solid case for connecting the Mugwumps and Progressives is made by McFarland. On the shortcomings of many Progressive reforms, see Mohl, Chapter. 6.

[40]There is an uncommonly good analysis of Progressivism's pluses and minuses in James Kirby Martin *et al. America and Its People,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1993) 752-56. There is also another irony to the Mugwump/progressive attacks on George: after the reformer's death, many Progressives acknowledged his influence. Among the most notable to hail HG were John Dewey, Tom Johnson, Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens and Clarence Darrow. See Barker 620-35.

[41]The priest reconciled with George in 1893 and, except for joining him on stage at the National Single Tax Conference in Chicago during the Spring of 1893 and in New York the following year, he lectured widely on his own until George's death in 1897, when he participated and spoke at the Episcopal funeral service. McGlynn never recanted nor was asked to recant his support of Georgian economics. The irony is that in 1889, the Vatican's doctrinal Congregation of the Holy Office judged HG's economics "worthy of condemnation," but never published a formal condemnation. This ruling gave local bishops discretion to discipline as they saw fit Catholic supporters of HG. Bell 226-31, 231-33, 253-64; Barker 489-90, 576; Rose 128. For additional analysis, see Curran and Samuel J. Thomas.

[42]George had also suffered a stroke in 1890. In the Spring of 1897, the sudden death of his grown daughter, Jenny, added the stress of grief to his already fragile health. For more in depth coverage of HG's last years, see Rose 132-50, John L. Thomas 337-38, and Oser 108-20.

[43]"Back to Back in a Hard Storm" XLII (27 Oct. 1897) n.p.

[44]Information for this and the preceding two paragraphs was drawn from Gerald Kurland, *Seth Low* 82-106. Oser 120, cites the final vote count: VanWyck, 228,531; Low, 148,215; Tracy, 101,994; and Henry George, Jr., 19,836.

[45]*Cartoons and Comments* XLII (10 Nov. 1897) n.p.

[46]Http://www.slonet.org/~jwsmith/hgeorge.html, is the "mother" of all HG websites, and includes links to many others. There is even an on-line course offered by the Henry George School of New York. See Http://www.henrygeorge.org/. Andelson's book is the most recent book length anthology of criticism.

[47]Fischer 2, reports a slightly different version of what Tweed is supposed to have said: "I don't care what the papers say about me. My constituents can't read. But, damn it, they can see the pictures!"

Works Cited

Allen, Oliver E. *The Tiger: The Rise and Fall of Tammany Hall.* Reading: Addison Wesley, 1993.

Andolsen, Robert V., ed. *Critics of Henry George: A Centenary Appraisal of Their Strictures on* Progress and Poverty. Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1979.

Barker, Charles Albro. *Henry George.* New York: Oxford UP, 1955.

Bell, Stephen. *Rebel, Priest and Prophet: A Biography of Dr. Edward McGlynn.* New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1937.

Chambers, Clark A. *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933.* St. Paul: U of Minnesota P, 1963.

Cord, Steven B. *Henry George: Dreamer or Realist.* Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1965.

Curran, Robert Emmett. "The McGlynn Affair and the Shaping of the New Conservatism in American Catholicism." *The Catholic Historical Review* LXVI (April 1980): 184-204.

Fischer, Roger A. *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art*. North Haven: Archon Books, 1996.

Fogarty, Robert S. *All Things New: American Communes and Utopian Movements, 1860-1914*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990.

George, Henry. *Progress and Poverty*. New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. 1954 reprint of 1879 edition.

Giglio, James, and Greg Thielen. *Truman in Cartoon and Caricature*. Ames: Iowa State UP, 1984.

Kurland, Gerald. *Seth Low: The Reformer in An Urban Industrial Age*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971.

Lewis, Stephen R., Jr., ed. *Henry George and Contemporary Economic Development*. Williamstown: Williams College, 1985.

Malone, Rev. Sylvester. *Dr. Edward McGlynn*. New York: Arno Press. 1978 reprint of 1918 edition.

McFarland, Gerald W. *Mugwumps, Morals and Politics, 1884-1920*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1975.

Mohl, Raymond. *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920*. Arlington Heights: H. Davidson, 1985.

Mott, Frank Luther. *History of American Magazines* III. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1967.

Myers, Gustavus. *The History of Tammany Hall*. New York: Burt Franklin. 1968 reprint of 1917 edition.

Oser, Jacob. *Henry George*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972.

Peterson, Lorin. *The Day of the Mugwump*. New York: Random House, 1961.

Post, Louis F., and Fred C. Leubuscher. *Henry George's 1886 Campaign: An Account of the George-Hewitt Campaign in the New York Municipal Election of 1886*. Westport: Hyperion Press, Inc. 1976 reprint of 1887 edition.

Rose, Edward. *Henry George*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1968.

Shikes, Ralph. *The Indignant Eye: the Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings from the 15th Century to Picasso*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

Smith, Carl. *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995.

Summers, Mark. *The Gilded Age, or The Hazard of New Functions*. Boston: Prentice Hall, 1997.

Thomas, John L. *Alternative America: Edward Bellamy, Henry George, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Adversary Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1983.

Thomas, Samuel J. "Portraits of a Rebel Priest: Edward McGlynn in Caricature, 1886-1893." *Journal of American Culture* 7 (Winter 1984): 17-33.

Tractenberg, Allen. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Samuel J. Thomas is a Professor of American history at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan.