

he stayed bought. All this machinery required many "workers" under pay. The Henry George supporters were necessarily handicapped by their inability to pay men to act as distributors of ballots, etc., and in some districts ballots for Henry George were not obtainable. These obstacles, combined with bribery of the very poor (George's natural supporters) made his vote remarkable; for, out of a total of 218,000 he polled about one-third, or 68,000, Mr. Hewitt receiving 90,000, and Mr. Roosevelt 60,000. This was twelve years before Greater New York came into being, the city then including only what are now known as the boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx. Of the 24 Assembly Districts Hewitt carried 15, George 5 and Roosevelt 4.

Many years later a prominent Tammany politician told the writer of this article that Mr. Croker, the boss of Tammany Hall, had informed him that if the vote actually cast had been correctly counted George would have been declared elected. The well-known confidential relations of the Democratic and Republican machines in New York City give an air of probability to this story.

If Mr. George had indeed been elected or allowed to take his seat, he could not have done anything directly to advance the cause that was nearest to his heart. The mere fact, however, that the author of *Progress and Poverty* had been elected to the mayoralty of the then fourth greatest city in the world, would have given an enormous impetus to the propaganda of the Single Tax. So his campaign and the great vote he polled, have made Single Taxers of hundreds of thousands who might otherwise have lived and died without ever having learned that the "earth belongs in usufruct to the living." In his speech of acceptance Henry George said, "What we do on this side of the water will send its impulse across the land, and over the sea, and give courage to all men to think and to act." Would the fight to free the land of England now be on if there had been no campaign of eighty-six? The imprisonment of the humble Theiss boycotters set the ball rolling. Blessed be their memory!

THE HENRY GEORGE CAMPAIGN FOR SECRETARY OF STATE IN 1887.

The New York State Convention of the United Labor Party met on August 17 at Syracuse. In the *Standard* of July 30 preceding the Convention Mr. George wrote as follows:

"Over the platform there is not likely to be any dispute. The principles on which the new party is consolidating are well stated in the Clarendon Hall platform on which the municipal campaign was made in this city last year, and in the call for the Convention. They are that land values shall be appropriated for the benefit of the community and that taxes on production and its results be abolished; that businesses in their nature monopolies (such as railroads, telegraphs, etc.) and functions that can be performed better by the

people in their collective capacity than by individuals (such as the issuing of money) shall be controlled by the community, and that no citizen shall be given any legal advantages over any other citizen. . . . There can be no disposition to fall back from the Clarendon Hall platform, neither can there be any disposition to go further in the direction of advocating governmental interference. The Socialists of the German school who form a section of the party more influential by their activity than by their numbers, must be contented with this, and doubtless will be contented, as the wiser heads among them must recognize the hopelessness of opposing those notions of individual freedom which are so strongly held by the great majority of the American people."

This optimistic view of the situation was discounted by succeeding events in the history of the party, for the Socialists within the United Labor Party early began the most strenuous efforts to wrest the organization away from the declarations of the Clarendon Hall platform and direct it into the channels of state Socialism. It was inevitable that such a division should occur, and the incidents that preceded the State convention augured the disruption that took place at Syracuse. Months before the convention met the Socialists were urging upon the "comrades" everywhere in the United Labor Party to impress their views upon the members of the party, and if prevented in so doing to draw members away from the organization. The followers of Henry George were as determined to continue the party on the lines of the Clarendon Hall platform. A break was foreshadowed from the start.

Later, and a week before the convention met, Mr. George saw what was coming, and wrote: "Either they must go out, or the majority must go out, for it is certain that the majority of the men who constitute the United Labor Party do not propose to nationalize capital and are not in favor of abolishing all private property in 'the instruments of production.' " Full of a splendid optimism though he was, as indicated in the words already quoted, he was quick to see that the time had arrived for Socialists and Single Taxers to part, that the bend in the road had come.

The Syracuse Convention was a remarkable one. It affirmed in substance and almost in language, the Clarendon Hall platform, and it refused seats to the Socialists as belonging to another political party. The Socialists thereupon withdrew permanently from the United Labor Party, and they and their associates later placed in the field a ticket of their own on a purely Socialistic platform. They kept up a persistent back fire through their speakers and public prints, and imputed unworthy motives to Henry George.

The first State convention of the United Labor Party nominated Henry George for Secretary of State, V. A. Wilder for State Comptroller, Patrick H. Cummin for State Treasurer, Dennis C. Feely for Attorney General, and Sylvanus H. Sweet for State Surveyor. Matthew Couzens was afterwards substituted for Mr. Sweet. These associates of Mr. George on the ticket were unknown politically, but were well known names in the labor movement. Mr. George was averse to accepting the nomination because he did not wish to

appear as an office seeker. But he had never shirked responsibility, and it was fitting that in this second attempt to inject the principles for which he stood into the political arena that he constitute himself the head of the ticket.

On September 17 a great ratification meeting was held in Union Square, this city, at which John McMackin made the opening address and Henry George one of those ringing speeches that carried his hearers off their feet. A vast throng filled the Square, and it was notable for the number of women present. Great meetings followed at the Academy of Music, Miner's Theatre and the Brooklyn Academy. In Albany on September 27 a convention of organized labor representing fully 20,000 voters endorsed the platform of the United Labor Party. Enthusiastic meetings all over the State were addressed by Louis F. Post and Judge Maguire, and the great leader himself made an active speaking campaign, everywhere being accorded gratifying receptions. Certainly these splendid pioneers of the Single Tax movement were justified in believing that the result would show gratifying gains, and that they would at least hold the vote of 1886 in the city. The result was a reverse in city and State. The vote in the city of 68,000 a year before dwindled to 37,000, and the total vote in the State was only a little more than the city vote of 1886, namely, 72,000. Brooklyn added 15,000 votes to the new party, which was not bad, for there was hardly the semblance of organization in Kings.

Perhaps even this vote, as certainly the vote of '86, was a distinct triumph for the new principles, for it was not easy in those days for a new party to make any kind of a showing. In the 800 election districts which then were included in the city, election "workers" varying in number to the size of the boodle at the disposal of the two dominant parties, "worked" the voters in various ways. This army of mercenaries whose duty it was to beset the voters whom they could approach and conduct them to the nearest saloon, were usually well supplied with money, and perhaps at no time more than then and in the election of '86. The "respectable" elements of society were fearful of the Henry George spectre, and freely distributed of the contents of the "dough bag" for his defeat. With money and rum and threats the voter was induced or coerced to vote with the abhorrent forces that were his oppressors. In this election there was open buying of votes, so that even the vote that was cast—and the smaller vote that was counted—was indicative of the strength of the appeal that Henry George was able to make for himself and the great doctrine vaguely understood which the name of Henry George typified.

The great leader of the Single Tax movement was an intensely religious man—religious in that rare sense of nearness to what Matthew Arnold called "the spirit not ourselves that makes for righteousness." An incident related by Louis F. Post illustrates this quality of his mind, a quality which it seems to us has been peculiar only to the great ones of the earth, its prophets and its seers:

"He and I went to the Astor House to watch the returns on the *Herald* bulletins across the way. They were frightfully disappointing. It was soon evident to both of

us that the United Labor Party movement had that day collapsed. In that frame of mind we went up town, and just as our car was about to start, we standing on the front platform, I said: 'Well, George, do you see the hand of the Lord in this?' He looked at me with an expression of simple confidence which I shall never forget, and answered: 'No, I don't; but it is there.' Then he went on to say that he thought a way of bringing back the people to the land had opened in the labor campaign of the preceding year, but now that way had closed; yet another way would open, and when that closed still another, until the Lord's will on earth would be done."

That way seemed to George, as it did to most of us, to open in the tariff message which a short time after emanated from the pen of President Cleveland, and enlisted the earnest support of Single Taxers everywhere, who now appeared as free trade Democrats, urging tariff abolition as a first step toward the full industrial emancipation which is our goal.

WILLIAM T. CROASDALE'S CAMPAIGN FOR CONGRESS IN 1890.

William T. Croasdale was one of the strongest characters in the early days of the Single Tax movement—strong physically, strong mentally, strong, too, perhaps in his prejudices. He was a native of Delaware, and had served in the Seventh Delaware regiment during the Civil War, for he was strongly Union in his sentiments. After the war he became associate editor of the *Wilmington Commercial*, and later founded *Every Evening*. From Wilmington he went to Baltimore, where he started a paper called *The Day*, which had a brief career. Then he came to New York, where he engaged in newspaper work and soon after became a convert to the doctrines of Progress and Poverty.

He knew the political game, and was an intense Democrat. He had been one of ex-Secretary Bayard's most trusted lieutenants in the latter's race for the presidential nomination, and had helped to conduct the Henry George mayoralty campaign in 1886. Later he became the editor of the *Standard*. So when he was nominated in 1890 as Democratic representative to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District of the City of New York—the first Single Taxer to be nominated for Congress in the East—he threw himself in the campaign—hopeless though it was from the start—with splendid vigor, and wisdom gained from long political experience. "A strong man and well equipped," said the *New York World* of the candidate at the time. "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. Mr. Dunphy had been a voiceless figure in Congress, as were most of the Tammany Congressional representa-