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Henry George, Dr. Edward McGlynn, and Pope Leo XIII

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1. Turbulent times

It was a different time, but often the same place (Cooper Union) in American life. No, it wasn't radio, but the age of orators. One of the most spellbinding was Dr. Edward McGlynn, a renowned New York priest; another good one was Henry George, who also wrote great books. They joined in 1886 to roil the waters of American politics and ideology. Through the Irish and Vatican connections, they also roiled world politics and ideology.

It was a time when a Republican Presidential candidate (James G. Blaine) could be nominated by a militant atheist (Robert G. Ingersoll). Blaine could lose New York's key Irish Catholic voters, and the election, for a supporter's casual slur accusing them of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." The slur was transient; the revelation of electoral power was permanent. New York State held the balance of power nationally; New York City held the balance in the State; and the Irish were a majority in the City (Curran p.195).

It was a time when Dr. Edward McGlynn, the most popular Catholic priest in NYC and the nation, could dream of modernizing the American Catholic Church, leading it to shake off medieval trappings and old-world control, and leading the U.S. to genuine unity. McGlynn could dispute the Pope, question

Papal infallibility, temporal power, vestments, Latin Masses, celibacy1[1] {{Note 1: Gilhooley and Curran (p.21) are the sources; Isacsson (p.34, and p.47, n.7) disagrees.}}, and auricular confession (Curran p.172; Gilhooley, p.205). He could make his points in blunt, eloquent language such as that reading the Bible in public schools is "maintained as a kind of fetish ... because it gratifies a certain pharisaical sense of religiosity, ... " (Bell, p.21). "The Church of Christ has largely been ruined by the ... ecclesiastical machine" (Bell, p.177).

He could support rebellion in Ireland, public schools, radical reconstruction, the Fenian secret revolutionary society and its invasion of Canada (Curran p.172; Isacsson, pp.32-35 et passim), abolishing poverty by public action, the Republican Party, the single tax, and Henry George for New York's Mayor (Post and Leubuscher pp.128-49). In the last matter, this Catholic priest joined forces with the militant agnostic Robert Ingersoll, another brilliant orator (Post and Leubuscher p.116), the same who had nominated Blaine in 1876. To McGlynn, charity was no substitute for a just distribution of land, which he supported by various citations to church patriarchs and The Bible (Isacsson, p.78; Geiger pp.357-58, n.33). His Parish, St. Stephens, was the largest and most influential in the U.S. He found it wealthy and socially "fashionable"; he made it a hub for the poor (Isacsson, p.18).

It was a time when the two leading candidates for Mayor of NYC in 1886 both declared they did not want the job. A Tammany envoy, William Ivins, told Henry George the machine would not let him be counted in; by running he could "only raise Hell" (Speek pp.76-77). George replied he would run, because raising Hell was what he wanted. Abram Hewitt[2] {{Note 2: Hewitt was one of the wealthiest Americans. As Congressman he had led the fight against Republican Reconstructionism. He managed Tilden's campaign in 1876.}} said he did not want the job for its own sake, he only aimed to prevent the election

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of Henry George, "the greatest possible calamity" (Young, p.99). Theodore Roosevelt, who "also ran," did not expect to win.

Hewitt's casual conduct in office, after winning by fair means or foul, verified his self-appraisal. In eulogizing George in 1897, Dr. McGlynn said it was a blessing George lost, so he could devote his life to more important works. What was going on? Both candidates recognized the office as a bully pulpit, as well as a commanding height with key leverage and a great balance of power in the U.S. Electoral College system.

It was a time of class warfare, when hundreds of thousands of workers were on strike.

2. Heritage of those times

It's been said that "All the flowers of all the tomorrows are in the seeds of today." If so, it follows that the flowers of today were in the seeds of yesterday. Professor Nic Tideman has recounted how his great grandfather from Sweden learned English by reading Henry George, and began a long Georgist dynasty. Drew Harris has told how he was sixteen before he realized that not all Quakers routinely discuss Georgism at dinner. Agnes George de Mille never forgot her grandfather Henry.

The exploitation of Ireland by offensive alien landlords produced the core, or at least the bulk, of Georgism in the U.S. I am a product of that, although, unlike Harris, I was past my teens before I began to piece it together. My father's professional survival had demanded he be discreet before talkative children. His father, once steered toward the priesthood, had been an active Fenian, joining the raids on Ontario.[3] {{Note 3 The

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The Fenians were a secret society of Irish-American blooded veterans from the Civil War, led by John Devoy and General Wm. Sullivan. One of their projects was to take Ontario and trade it back to Britain for the freedom of Ireland. It did not seem as Quixotic then as it sounds today: Canadians had long feared that a victorious G.A.R. might next be turned on them. Washington was apparently of two minds on the matter, first tolerating the invasion and then helping the Canadians repel it. There are some parallels with the Bay of

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My mother was of traditional Yankee stock. She was proud to claim a distant relationship to John Henry Newman, who had been appointed a Cardinal by Leo himself. Newman never showed favor towards George, and feuded with Cardinal Manning, who did. Her uncle Selah Merrill Clarke edited the New York *Sun* during the latter part of George's career - but his paper opposed George and McGlynn. However, she later worked for Louis F. Post in the U.S. Dept. of Labor, and picked up his influence. It was she who brought me my first book on Henry George, although she never promoted his specific ideas.

I offer this otherwise gratuitous genealogy in the spirit of disclosure, to apprise the reader of my bias, if any. I was not raised a Catholic, but a

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generic liberal Protestant, and am no longer very observant. I became philo-Catholic after 1960 in the heady days of JFK, John XXIII and M.L. King, Jr. I was thrilled then to find myself marching through Milwaukee in demonstrations hand-in-hand with nuns and priests, who had always seemed aloof before. Little did I realize that that "distance" was the product of what Catholics call "Ultramontanism," i.e. the domination of American churches by Rome (Curran pp.32-33; Cornwell pp.6, 167); and that Rome had imposed Ultramontanism, and American conservatives had welcomed it, in order to avoid another radical uprising like that Edward McGlynn had led (Gilhooley p.207).

Whether that background biases me, others will decide, according to their lights. I have tried to compensate by studying works on the period by Catholic scholars, including John Molony, Robert Emmett Curran, Alfred Isacsson, Stephen Bell, John Tracy Ellis, James Gilhooley, and Arthur Preuss.[4] {{Note 4: I have never been a "Mason" in the secret society sense condemned by Pius IX and Leo XIII - it's a family name. The founding fathers of modern Italy, leaders of its *Risorgimento*, Mazzini and Garibaldi, were anti-clerical "freemasons," as were Washington, Franklin, and many U.S. Founding Fathers (hence our First Amendment separation of church and state). The only secret society in my family background was the Fenian, from an age long past. End of Note 4.}} I hope to find a Catholic collaborator or critic on the present work.

3. Neglect of Catholic economics in Gaffney and Harrison (1994), *Corruption of Economics*.

In my part of the above work I undertook to show how neo-classical economics evolved as a reaction and an antidote to Henry George. In haste, I omitted Catholic economics, which ran parallel to neo-classical economics, but with a life of and special twists of its own. The main Catholic reaction to

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George was Leo's 1891 Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, (henceforth just Rerum). Rerum was a watershed document: the "first far-reaching formulation of Catholic teaching" since the long Council of Trent in the middle of the 16th Century, according to Molony. It was a new venture into social theology. It recycled Thomist economics, in which Leo was thoroughly steeped, but with special reference to "the worker question," and with refuting false modern doctrines advanced by George and McGlynn. Later commentators have given it a reputation, ill-deserved, for criticizing "capitalism," and upholding the interests of poor workers (Barker p.571). Actual reading shows it to give priority to championing private property in land against various attacks, real and imagined, and specifically against Georgist land taxes. It was the Catholic counterpart of the attacks on George led by sanctimonious Protestant laymen and academicians like John B. Clark and Richard T. Ely.

4. Wide and sustained influence of *Rerum Novarum*.

The influence of Rerum has echoed through the following Century and, for Catholics, dominated it. It "has become established in the 20th Century as the fundamental document of Catholic policy toward capital and labor under the industrial system" (Barker, p.572). To Catholics, "the social thought of the church" means Rerum, along with its 1931 reaffirmative sequel, Quadra (O'B p. vii). Rerum grew more powerful after 1917, when the RCC adopted Pacelli's new Code of Canon Law, which formalized and implemented the pyramidal structure of Catholic authority, and opened the way to "creeping infallibility," i.e. the gradual extension of the dogma of infallibility to encyclicals (Cornwell, p.43) In 1950, Pius XII ruled that in the future, encyclicals are to be accepted without argument (Cornwell, p.338). Thus it is that Rerum, published in 1891, remains basic to Catholic thought on economics and social justice today.

After the crash of 1929 there was worldwide rejection of old leadership. It was an exciting time for reformers because the world was searching for new models, and might have done so open-mindedly. It was a great time for Catholics in politics, too, because they were in power in many nations, and even in the U.S.A. FDR brought many into his administration, giving them more power than ever before. The Catholic world, however, turned back to Rerum, which was recycled in 1931 by Pius XI as Quadragesimo Anno ("40 years later").

Heinrich Brüning, a devout Catholic and German Chancellor, 1930-32, later criticized Pius for thus encouraging Fritz Thyssen's view that the Pope favored fascist corporatism (Cornwell, p.118). Thyssen, another devout Catholic, was the major financial backer of Adolf Hitler. Pius had already endorsed Mussolini and his corporate state in Italy, and Salazar in Portugal, and was of course to ally later with Franco, and make a model of his clerical fascism. Eugenio Pacelli, when Vatican Secretary of State, virtually ushered Hitler into power (Cornwell, pp. 7, 92, 115-16, 130-39, 184, 187, 192-93, 232, et passim; McCabe).

An important and emblematic American convert to Rerum was Monsignor John A. Ryan, "the chief theorist of social Catholicism in America" (Andelson, 1979b, p.342; cf. Barker p.577). Ryan as a young man was "electrified" by George, and one might expect an Irishman to remain a land reformer. However, after reading Rerum, Ryan came to heel and disavowed George. He even wrote that slaveowners should have been compensated for emancipation (Ryan, 1916, p.39, cit. Andelson p.347). Ryan thought that George "was explicitly condemned by Rerum" (Isacsson, p.297).

Ryan's basic work, *Distributive Justice*, follows Rerum closely. According to one of his students, Ryan's reliance on Rerum was "truly childlike" (O'B p124). Barker, p.577, and Andelson, p.351, see Ryan shading his final views a little in favor of George, but Ryan became a friend and collaborator of Richard T. Ely, the arch-anti-Georgist (O'B, pp.123, 257). Ryan turned to non-Georgist reforms and became a cartelist, using Papal euphemisms like "vocational groups," and "cooperation in industry." He called interest "usury," and recommended that Washington borrow to prime the pump at zero-interest. He also read Hobson, and became what the macro textbooks call a "naive underconsumptionist" - a position consistent with a Thomist belief that saving deserves and requires no reward.

Ryan, a scholar at Catholic University, was also an activist and politico. He became a stalwart of FDR through thick and thin (O'B, pp120-49), and helped shape the New Deal from beginning to end. He was Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) from its origin in 1919 to 1944, shortly before he died. The NCWC is the political arm of the RCC in America (Tull, pp.47-48; O'B p.121). FDR needed

its support badly, as he successively offended Catholics in foreign affairs by recognizing the Soviet Union, cozying to intellectuals and liberals who opposed Franco in Spain and Mussolini in Italy, "quarantining" dictators, most of whom were Catholic, and tolerating the anti-clericalism of Cardenas in Mexico.

Ryan worked closely with FDR (O'B pp.120-49). Champions of the New Deal have taken him in his own image as a fighter for social justice. Perhaps he was, but in a confused way. In tax matters, he consistently favored taxes on payrolls, on production, and on capital. He collaborated with Richard T. Ely, champion of the sales tax. He never got the main point of Henry George, that such taxes force good lands into lower uses, abort marginal employment and production and consumption, and drive labor out of work.

Ryan's apologists have gone on to paint Quadra, too, as a manifesto for social justice. It is well to remember, though, that Quadra (1931) was bracketed between the Lateran Treaty (1929), whereby Mussolini subsidized the Vatican, and the Concordat that Cardinal Pacelli worked out with Hitler (1933), whereby German taxpayers subsidized the Vatican through the Kirchensteur, and the Vatican paved Hitler's way to power (Cornwell, McCabe). These associations raise questions as to how much real social justice is to be found in Quadra or its parental document, Rerum. It seems more likely they were designed to dupe the credulous and trap the unwary. Part of the art of being The Pope is to issue platitudes and generalities for readers with a high tolerance for ambiguity. Catholic social thinkers in the 1930s showed "unanimous and enthusiastic approval of official church teachings and wide, often bitter disagreement over their meaning ... " (O'B p.212). O'B does not seem to realize what a prodigious oxymoron he has written.

One of Ryan's assignments from FDR was to tame and calm the erratic Fr. Charles Coughlin. At first Ryan supported Coughlin's call for social justice, and his attack on FDR's rival Al Smith (Brinkley, p.121); later, when Coughlin broke with FDR, Ryan savaged and repudiated Coughlin (Tull, pp.47-48, 76, 151, 217), but stayed with Rerum and Quadra. Ryan provided the continuity, after Coughlin became a political liability, to keep Rerum prominent. That made Rerum a powerful influence in FDR's "Rendezvous with Destiny": think how a

different Rerum might have reared a different Ryan, a different Catholic ideal of social justice, and a different New Deal.

Another follower of Rerum was Padré Juan Alcázar Alvarez (1917) of Madrid, who wrote under the aegis of the Bishop and ecclesiastic governor of Madrid. Alcázar spoke for the landed Catholic aristocracy of Europe, with its program of "counter-revolutionary corporatism" (restoration of medieval guilds). He was endeavoring to put down what was evidently a strong impuesto único (single-tax) movement in Spain of that era (Busey, 1979, p.326) - a movement that had been aborted in England by shipping the flower of its young men off to die in Flanders' Fields. The Spanish single-tax movement remained a force clear until the accession of Franco, whose rebellion, bolstered with Nazi and Fascisti money and arms and troops, also enjoyed papal support (Warren, p.111), even as Franco called in Nazi aircraft to terrorize the people of Guernica. Alcázar restated many ideas from Rerum, but with added elements of Spanish fanaticism, so as to seem consistent with the clerical fascism that prevailed in Spain under Franco, with the Falange, Opus Dei, and so on. He wrote that "the civil state ought to subordinate itself to the Catholic Church," and that poverty and wealth form a desirable equilibrium of forces forming "true total beauty." He opposed equal rights because "some social categories are preeminent over those which are inferior," and should remain so (Busey, p.327, 333).

Several succeeding pontiffs have reaffirmed the doctrines of Rerum in their Encyclicals, e.g. the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI, 1931. One can't help wondering if the Vatican's wretched record of response to Hitler and Mussolini and Franco and Salazar and Pétain (Vichy) and Dollfuss, Schuschnigg, and Seyss-Inquart (Austria) and Pavelic (Croatia) and Tiso (Slovakia) and Horthy (Hungary) might have been corrected by some different thinking at that critical time, and for years thereafter. One wonders if those fascist dictators themselves, all raised as Catholics (Cornwell, p.280), might have turned out differently if their church had not embraced the corporate state as sketched in Rerum, and exemplified in the pyramidal authoritarianism that Leo XIII impressed on the RCC organization itself (Cornwell, Gilhooley).

As it turned out, the anti-Communist priority of Pius XI's protege and successor, Eugenio Pacelli, inhibited the Vatican from opposing fascism. Pacelli's ideals were the clerical fascisms of Salazar and Franco, which he supported warmly, in alliance with Hitler and Mussolini who supplied the arms for Franco in the Spanish dress rehearsal for World War II. As Vatican Secretary of State, Pacelli engineered the Lateran Treaty with Mussolini, encouraging many Catholics to support Il Duce, and then the Concordat with Hitler's Germany. In 1933, he forced the liquidation of the German Catholic Center Party in order to ease Der Führer's path to power (McCabe, Cornwell). He surrounded himself by Germans in The Vatican. In 1939, on becoming Pope Pius XII, he suppressed the last encyclical of Pius XI, which condemned German anti-Judaism (E.M. Gaffney, Jr.; Passelecq and Suchecky, 1997). As Pius XII, he later collaborated in the escape of many fascist leaders after 1945 (Aarons and Loftus; Cornwell; McCabe). It was only a large bribe from U.S. President FDR that restrained Pope Pius XII from blessing Hitler's invasion of Russia (Miner). All that came from a man imbued with the letter of Rerum and the authoritarian spirit of its author, Leo XIII.

In the U.S.A., meantime, FDR allied (cautiously) with the popular, puissant radio priest, Charles Coughlin, during the Presidential campaign of 1932. Coughlin had long acknowledged a deep debt to Rerum Novarum for his economic and social philosophy, absorbed early on during his education as a priest (Warren, p.11; Tull, pp.5-6). This education (in his native Canada) was shaped by teachings of the Basilian order, founded in France in the early 19th Century. These beliefs were anti-commercial, marked by nostalgia for the medieval socially integrated (organic) community. Donald Warren and other Coughlin biographers liken this mindset to Rerum Novarum, and trace it back to Aquinas (Warren, pp.11, 43-45; Tull, p.34). In 1930, Coughlin "began a strenuous effort to sell the social justice encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum, to the American people" (Tull, p.4). John Cogley, later a noted editor of *Commonweal*, wrote in 1938 that it was Coughlin "who first made the word encyclical a part of America's working vocabulary" (cit. Tull, p.208).

Coughlin had a mass following, including not just his combustible radio zealots, but some noted writers like Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton, Ezra Pound, Sir Hugh Walpole, and T.S. Eliot (Warren, pp.101-05). Politicians from MA and NY were always beholden to his Catholic constituents. Brinkley (p.

207) tells us that he was strongest in the midwest and northeast, but his close allies included Senators Pat McCarran (NV) and Elmer Thomas (OK), Congressman Everett Dirksen (IL), and Vice President John Nance Garner (Warren, p.94). He had support from Senators Wheeler (MT), Norris (NE), Nye (ND), Cutting (NM), Borah (ID), and Long (LA). Loyal celebrities in his corner included Clare Booth Luce, Douglas MacArthur, Wm. Randolph Hearst, and Bing Crosby. From 1931-35, Coughlin was "the most persuasive voice in America" (O'B p.152). "The new President welcomed his advice and six senators and 59 congressmen" petitioned FDR to send Coughlin as U.S. representative to the London Economic Conference of 1933 (O'B p.154).

Joseph Kennedy, financial angel to FDR and founder of a political dynasty, was a pipeline for Coughlin to and from FDR (Warren, p.67; Beschloss, pp. 95, 113, 115, 117-18, 122, 273; Tull, pp. 59, 101, 156), and thus to Ray Moley, who revered Joe Kennedy. In the 1932 campaign, Joe Kennedy shared a Pullman car with Moley, and became one of the inner circle. He vetted the speeches that Moley wrote for FDR (Beschloss, pp.76-79). Kennedy and Coughlin joined forces with Hearst and Huey Long at a critical ballot in the Democratic convention of 1932 to throw the nomination to FDR - united in a common panic that the convention might bolt to the popular internationalist and quasi-Georgist, Newton D. Baker (Cramer, p.253).

Moley soon swayed FDR to make Joe Kennedy head of the new S.E.C. (Moley, 1966, pp. 379, 383; Beschloss, pp. 85, 93). Joe Kennedy, in turn, "revelled in what the priest could accomplish. He was intrigued by Coughlin's use of power" (Beschloss, p.117). Coughlin launched Frank Murphy's career, and tried to influence FDR through him and through other Catholics in the White House, like Kennedy and Moley (Beschloss, p.117; Brinkley, p.103). Thousands of telegrams urged FDR to send Coughlin to the London Economic Conference in 1933 (but FDR sent Moley, instead, who was humiliated when FDR undercut him, and the Conference bombed).

Coughlin consorted with Major C.H. Douglas, founder of Social Credit, and William Aberhart, landslide victor as Premier of Alberta in 1935 on the Social Credit ticket (Warren, p.98-100). Major Douglas, like Coughlin and Leo XIII, was nostalgic for medieval Catholicism as an economic system, and Quebec went Social Credit, too (Tull, pp.58, 98-106). Another ally was George LeBlanc of Montreal and Wall Street, a Rockefeller partner, endorsed by Yale

Professor Irving Fisher (Warren, p.58). Canadian radicalism thus showed the way to unite inflationists, western farmers, and eastern Catholics to win elections, much as Coughlin showed FDR how to merge them in the U.S.A. (O'B p.154).

When FDR campaigned in Detroit, October 2, 1932, he borrowed rhetoric that Coughlin had taken from Rerum Novarum and its 1931 sequel, Quadragesimo Anno (henceforth, just "Quadra") by Pius XI - to steer a course between socialism and laissez faire, seeking "social justice through social action." "FDR was unmistakably identifying himself with the Royal Oak radio messiah (Coughlin)" (Warren, p.43-44). Raymond Moley ghosted FDR's talks, sponged up literature, and borrowed or paraphrased many good lines. Being both an avid reader and an Irish Catholic (Freidel, pp. ix, xii), he knew his Rerum. Moley was the head of FDR's "Brains Trust," powerful in shaping the early New Deal.

Much of FDR's early New Deal was in the spirit of Rerum, and sold to Catholic voters as such. Sign, a Catholic magazine, called FDR "one of the foremast advocates of the principles of Pope Leo XIII" (O'B p.52). In 1933, Cardinal Hayes of New York, speaking at Catholic University, stressed the similarity of FDR's program to Catholic teachings, as Catholic University awarded FDR an honorary degree. FDR referred to Rerum and Quadra often, at least before Catholic audiences. In 1935, Catholics praised FDR's Social Security bill, financed by a payroll tax, as following Leo XIII and Pius XI (O'B p.54). Wilfrid Parsons, Managing Editor of America, noted how the New Deal, as found in writings of Henry Wallace, followed the encyclicals (O'B p.59). John A. Ryan liked AAA, "and particularly defended its tax on food processors" (O'B p.135). In the blush of enchantment with the early New Deal, many Catholic leaders and journals noted that the NRA was derived from Quadra (O'B pp.52-53). The leader of the "Brains Trust" that crafted it, Raymond Moley, was a loyal and learned Catholic. In 1936, many Catholic leaders reaffirmed their support of FDR (O'B p.64).

Moley's AAA and NRA were consistent with Coughlin's ideas of a corporate state on the Mussolini model, regulating big business while upholding private property (Tull, p.52). Moley, like Coughlin, liked Mussolini (Moley, 1939, pp.78, 383-84). Coughlin hailed Moley's NRA as the first regulation of labor hours and wages "since the 13th Century" (the age of Aquinas). Moley's idea

of planning was restrictionist, and Coughlin's more expansionist; Moley favored giant corporations (1939, pp. 24, 184, 189; 1966, p.225), and Coughlin gave lip service to small business; but they agreed on the magic of federal "planning," however ill-defined.

Coughlin won financial backing by inveighing against socialism and communism - he commingled the two, as Rerum does. He demonized Norman Thomas, Bertrand Russell, and Scott Nearing, among other reformers, conflating them with Stalin. He combined this red-baiting with specious labor-guild doctrines - "specious" because they morphed into toothless company unions, again the stratagem of Rerum.

The Fisher Brothers (as in "Body by Fisher"), and Eddie Rickenbacker (flying ace turned corporate leader) donated to Coughlin. He probably got support from Henry Ford through Ford's resident Nazi, Ernest Liebold (although earlier Coughlin had attacked Ford, and the financial arrangements remain secret) (Tull, pp. 146-49). Coughlin showed Liebold how Rerum jibed with Ford's ideas (Warren, p.146). He allied with Ford's labor man Harry Bennett in helping Ford fight the CIO - promoting a company union instead (Tull, p.146), in the spirit of Rerum. Hundreds of major rentiers, organized as The Committee for the Nation under banker Frank Vanderlip, allied with Coughlin. These rentiers were capable of funding his costly radio network, and probably did (Magil pp. 18 ff.). Added status came from members Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, and Professor George Warren of Cornell, an influential inflationist. Francis Keelon, a shadowy Catholic millionaire retired on a hilltop in Great Barrington, MA, was a major funder (Warren, p.72), a frequent host, and a personal pal.

Coughlin's political program followed the lead of Rerum in decrying property taxes (plank #13), while urging taxes on income instead (plank #14), a major feature of New Deal policies (Tull, p.250). Much of the rest of Coughlin's program found its way into the early New Deal, as shaped by Moley (Tull, p.132). Msgr. John A. Ryan, as we will see, helped keep it there after Moley quit, and Coughlin split from FDR late in 1935, although by that time there was a strong leftward shift in public opinion, and in FDR's policies. Many Americans shared the disappointment of Senator Huey Long, "Every fault of

socialism is found in (NRA), without one of its virtues" (Brinkley, p.60), and NRA had to go, as did Moley.

Coughlin helped nominate and then elect FDR in 1932 (Warren, pp.40-45). Moley avoided acknowledging Coughlin's role as spokesman, but Coughlin kept trumpeting it to his huge radio audiences, while Moley didn't deny it (Tull, pp. 14-16, 25, 28, 32, 56, 69, 106, 130, et passim), but published a Coughlin article (on inflation) in a magazine he edited (Brinkley, p. 122). To many, Coughlin was the "Administration Mouthpiece" (Tull, p.28, 38). Coughlin saw himself as unofficial partner and spokesman for the Administration, an idea "that FDR deliberately chose to foster" (Tull, p.56). Coughlin also influenced FDR: he prompted him to double the price of gold, which is approximately what FDR did, for whatever reason (Brinkley, p.111).

Coughlin looked to FDR for reform; FDR looked to Coughlin for votes. He had many to deliver, and when FDR crossed him, Coughlin sometimes embarrassed FDR by winning elections, or key votes in Congress (Warren, p.63-64, 95-97; Tull, pp. 63, 119, 187). FDR's nightmare was that Huey Long, Francis Townsend, and Coughlin would combine against him (Beschloss, p.113), and he kept moving their way to "steal their thunder" (Moley, 1939, p. 305; 1966, pp. 378-79, 525-31). Another nightmare, though, was that Coughlin would alienate FDR's Jewish and anti-fascist and internationalist supporters, so he kept Coughlin at arms' length.

As Coughlin's star rose, he became for a time a new Democratic Catholic symbol, eclipsing Al Smith (Warren, p.45; Brinkley, p.121), he who had signed the 1921 quasi-Georgist law letting New York City exempt new homes from the property tax for 10 years (Post, 1984, p.1). (According to Ben Marsh, Smith had to overcome heavy pressure from the RCC hierarchy, allied with Met Life and the NY Real Estate Board, to do this.) FDR's first Inaugural included Coughlin's distinctive slogan, "Let us drive the money changers from the temple." (Warren, pp. 44-45, alleges that Coughlin helped compose it, as Coughlin claimed; Moley denied it (Tull, p. 23). Either way, it was vintage Coughlin). Coughlin got FDR to make Frank Murphy, his one-time altar boy, Ambassador to the Philippines, whence Murphy rose in quick steps to become Governor of Michigan, U.S. Attorney General, and Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Coughlin articulated the frustrations of many American Catholics whose

role in the Democratic Party had been blocked by Southerners. These, in 1928, had rallied around "Property, Protestantism and Prohibition" to defeat Al Smith and elect Herbert Hoover (Cramer, p.217).

The tragedy of a man like Coughlin is that he had many talents, and genuine feelings for social justice, which inspired listeners by the millions. They were so genuine as to provoke rebukes and attempts at suppression by rightwing Catholics like Cardinal John O'Connell of Boston, and the rich papal countess Genevieve Brady of Long Island. They were genuine enough to allow a political alliance with Huey Long's successor, Gerald L.K. Smith, and Francis Townsend in 1936. His attacks on corruption and overconcentration in banking were timely, and in part well founded. And yet his ideas were toothless, frustrating and ineffective, thanks to the defanging surgery of Rerum, a papal encyclical that was crafted (as we will see) to deflect reformers from the basic measures that Fr. Edward McGlynn preached.

Coughlin broke with FDR after 1935, about the same time that Moley did, his NRA cartels in a shambles. (Shrewdly, Moley lay back and let Hugh Johnson take the fall for this fiasco.) FDR started pushing to "quarantine aggressors" like Mussolini, whom Coughlin supported, and whom Moley and Joe Kennedy favored appeasing (Moley, 1939, pp.78, 383-84). Coughlin publicly savaged most of FDR's Brain Trusters (especially Rex Tugwell and Hugh Johnson), conspicuously sparing the Top Brain himself, Moley, and specifically exempting Moley's close ally, Joe Kennedy (Beschloss, p. 127).

Moley, in turn, *tacet* regarding Coughlin (Moley, 1939, 1966, and elsewhere) - a telltale silence, considering Coughlin's political weight and visibility at the time (Tull, pp. 35-36, 41, 86, 119, 133, 187, et passim). Coughlin tried "to work his will on the president through the Catholics in the White House. The priest's mother and Ray Moley's mother happened to be old friends" (Beschloss, p.117). Other links were Coughlin's several meetings with FDR, and their contacts via Frank Murphy and Joe Kennedy and John Garner (Beschloss, loc. cit.; Moley, 1966, pp. 379, 383), and Moley's publishing a Coughlin article in his magazine, and Coughlin's support for most of Moley's programs like AAA, NRA, banking regulation, monetization of silver, and the arms embargo against the anti-Franco Spanish loyalists (Warren, pp. 111-12; Tull, pp. 39, 58, 106, et passim). Coughlin did not have to bend Moley his way, because common influences had already done so. They were both Irish,

Catholic, intellectual, and midwestern. Moley's coyness is understandable, though, as Coughlin was a loose cannon, and Moley an inside operator who covered his tracks and his back.

Moley later became adviser to David Lincoln, and helped sway him from using the Lincoln Foundation's vast wealth to support the Henry George movement. To Moley in power, land-taxers seeking his ear were "goo-goos" (Moley, 1939, p. 128). Consistently, he deplored the "goo-goo" Louis Brandeis, but inconsistently, and perhaps opportunistically, he flattered other leading "goo-goos" like Newton D. Baker, Frederic C. Howe, Samuel Seabury, Tom Johnson, et al., and positively fawned on his wealthy patron and biographee, the "goo-goo" John C. Lincoln (Moley, 1962).

To Moley after leaving power, FDR's acceptance of the 1936 nomination, when he had moved to the left, was "demagoguery,"

> as though he had taken "the portrait of a bishop out of an ecclesiastical frame and had put in its place a likeness of such a hard-riding Populist as Sockless Jerry Simpson" (Moley, 1966, p. 546).

Those words say a lot about their author. In Moley's youth, Simpson was a Kansas Congressman who pushed for a Federal land tax, allied with Moley's supposed role model, Tom Johnson. "Sockless Jerry" (who actually did wear socks) was a personal crony of Henry George - both were former sailors who enjoyed watching ships and swapping yarns (Post, 1930, p.125). To Moley, though, this activist Georgist was unworthy of the proper "ecclesiastical frame" of politics, i.e. Rerum.

What if these two persuasive powers, Coughlin and Moley, had not been molded by Rerum in their plastic early years? What if millions of other Catholics could have explored outside the box of this "ecclesiastical frame"? The power of Rerum is not just its endowing all property with "sanctity," however unholy its origins. Its greater power is its masquerading as reform, deflecting millions questing for Social Justice into petty diversions such as McGlynn deplored and Lincoln now finances, and "state capitalism" (cartelism) such as Coughlin preached, and Moley practiced.

For Coughlin and Moley are merely two highly visible manifestations of a Catholic groundswell for social action that the Great Depression triggered. Liberal Catholics seized on Quadra, the 1931 sequel of Rerum, as a mandate for their involvement in social problems, and took control of much of the apparatus of the church, e.g. its publications. Catholic social action crystallized in support of FDR; FDR in turn bent his programs to the liberal Catholic vote (AV, pp.129-31). That "liberalism," tragically, was only what Rerum Novarum, the anti-Georgist tract of 1891, had left stunted and deformed. In Europe, even worse, it led to Pacelli's alliance with Fascism, Falangism, and Nazism. In the politico-intellectual world it led to a redefinition of "liberalism" from its 19th Century meaning. Modern "liberalism," as forged by the New Deal, is a fusion of Rerum and Quadra with traditional progressivism (Flynn, pp.1-59).

Coughlin himself ended his public career ingloriously. He was not above exploiting paranoia and scapegoating Jews, following Leo XIII's paragon, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Benito Mussolini, whom Coughlin and Eugenio Pacelli (Pius XII) both supported. (Re Thomist anti-Judaism and Pacelli's use of it to rationalize the Pétain-Vichy government, see Cornwell, p.280.) Coughlin's supportive superior, Bishop Gallagher, had studied in Austria, where anti-Judaism was "an explicit element in Austrian Catholic social thought" (O'B pp.12, 16). Catholicism there was anti-capitalistic, and associated capitalism with Jews and usury. Economists who associate "Austrian" with the ideas of Wieser, Menger, Böhm-Bawerk, Hayek, Machlup, Rothbard, et al., may need time to adjust to this other and opposite meaning of "Austrian."

The "Vienna School" of Karl von Vogelsang held that capitalism is "fundamentally usurious," and that competition is unChristian. They would restore the ancient guild order, with representation along functional lines (as in the NRA). Elsewhere, Catholics came to terms with capitalism sooner; in Austria, later if at all. They wanted a Catholic economic system, i.e. without Jews.

That may help explain why Coughlin, in his later career (1938-42), turned increasingly to anti-Judaic paranoia and support of Hitler (an Austrian Catholic by training). In the temper of those times, this of course

terminated his public career after Hitler declared war on the U.S.A. after Pearl Harbor. Most American Catholics were relieved to see him go.

Joe Kennedy in 1932 supported FDR as Democratic nominee, and played a major role in swinging Garner's bloc to him. Other key players were W.R. Hearst, and Charles Coughlin. Garner was particularly close to Fr. Coughlin, who stayed at Garner's home whenever he visited Washington (Warren, p.94). Ed Flynn, master politician, also credited Huey P. Long with saving the nomination (Brinkley, pp. 45-46). (Hearst, Coughlin and Long all later turned against FDR.) The effect of saving FDR was to block the nomination of Newton D. Baker, former single-tax Mayor of Cleveland (Beschloss, pp. 72-75). Baker had been the protege of Tom L. Johnson himself. We came that close to having a Georgist leader for President during America's "Rendezvous with Destiny," 1933-37! It was an experimental and exploratory time, when the system was open to new ideas, new leadership. Of the four key anti-Baker players, at least two, Kennedy and Coughlin, were products of Rerum. The Catholic who never wavered in support of FDR, John A. Ryan, had preferred Baker in 1932.

Later, as Ambassador to Britain, Kennedy "found a warm friend in Chamberlain" (Beschloss, p. 163). Everyone remembers Neville Chamberlain for his failed appeasement of Hitler, but he also gained infamy by having led Conservatives to abort Asquith's tax on English land (Douglas, pp.206 ff.; Geiger, 1933, p.419). In April, 1938, Chamberlain made a pact with Italy to endorse the takeover of Ethiopia. Joe Kennedy approved, and got FDR to go along (Beschloss, p. 164). Joe Kennedy "vehemently" favored the arms embargo against the Spanish loyalists. He joined Lady Astor's Cliveden Set, and favored an accommodation with dictator nations (Beschloss, pp. 165, 178). All those were policies that Pacelli's Vatican endorsed.

In 1938, at Kennedy's urging, FDR met with Pacelli. Apparently they cut a deal wherein the Vatican was to silence Coughlin, and FDR was to send a U.S. envoy to the Vatican, the first since 1867.

In the postwar period, a new potent expositor of Rerum was the charismatic Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen. Like Coughlin, he became a household figure via electronics - in his case, TV. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, long-time patron of anti-Georgist neo-classical

economists like J.B. Clark and E.R.A. Seligman, proposed his teaching "Thomist philosophy." The astute Butler already had the noted Catholic historian, Carlton Hayes, on his faculty. This might have helped integrate Catholic and mainstream anti-Georgism, but Sheen clashed with "The American Pope," Cardinal Spellman. Sheen was rightist enough for Spellman - and that was very rightist, indeed - but Spellman was jealous of Sheen's charisma. Spellman had Sheen's superiors assign him to a stint studying obedience and humility in the slums of Peoria, after which he got his chance to teach Thomism at Catholic University (Cooney, p250).

Later reaffirmations of Rerum have been *Mater et Magistra* (1961) by John XXIII, *Populorum Progressio* (1967) by Paul VI, and *Centissimo Anno* (1991) by John Paul II. Philosophers like Jacques Maritain and Étienne Gilson and Mortimer Adler have carried Leo's ideas forward into the intellectual life of our times.

The Catholic leaders of Christian Democratic parties in postwar Europe were nurtured on Rerum. These include Alcide de Gasperi, Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman, Carlo Sforza, and Luigi Einaudi. Through these and many others, Rerum became part of the history of modern Europe. In faraway Australia, the first Catholic PM, James Scullin, was an avid student of Rerum (Molony p.130). In the U.S.A., the sons of Joe Kennedy, all being groomed for the Presidency, were influenced by their fathers' long and intimate association with Coughlin during their formative years (Beschloss, pp. 160, 182, 209, 261, 265). Joe Kennedy made periodic visits to Royal Oak, and once brought along young JFK (Beschloss, p. 118). Kennedy and Coughlin remained permanent friends, long after Coughlin broke with others in D.C. - both were Anglophobes and isolationists. Thus, the anti-Georgist ideas of Vincenzo Pecci (Leo XIII) cast a long shadow through history, worldwide.

5. Leo's outlook

Leo was a thorough Thomist. In 1879, the year George published *Progress and Poverty*, the new Pope Leo XIII had the works of Aquinas declared to be the official Catholic philosophy. This included the economics, with the ideas of just price based on cost of production (in practice, price ceilings),

criticism of usury (in practice, a ceiling on the interest rate), private property (most emphatically and repeatedly), minimum wage (a very low minimum, in Leo's view), and modernized labor guilds (morphing into company unions) and merchant guilds (morphing into cartels).

Rerum also reduces "equal rights" to the right to life hereafter. This is vintage Aquinas. To Leo's critics, it meant "Work and pray, live on hay, there'll be pie in the sky when you die" (Joel Hagglund, aka Joe Hill, union organizer). Corrigan, the persecutor of McGlynn, followed the same line, preaching in a poorhouse on the virtues of patience and acceptance of God's will (Isacsson, p.85). Alcázar also counseled pie in the sky (Busey, p.337).

Corrigan's Vicar General, Thomas Preston, issued this statement: "The rights of property are sacred ... by divine authority. You must not think as you choose; you must think as Catholics" (Curran, p.294). Many Protestants preached the same dogma, if in a less authoritarian manner. It was a standard line of the times. Abram Hewitt said that differences in wealth "were due to the laws of Divine Providence" and the "purposes of The Almighty" (Speek p.84). However, the RCC, having a heavy working class membership, had that as a specific reason to articulate the yearnings of the downtrodden for justice and daily bread "on earth as it is in heaven." This was especially true of their Irish members, oppressed both in Ireland and America.

In this duty, Leo signally failed: he was following another call. That seems to confirm McGlynn's saying, "This is the curse of religion - that men charged with the high duty of preaching the gospel are itching ... to have authority with men in power ... to magnify their own office" (Bell, p.175). Leo either made or let his Church campaign actively for Hewitt against George.

Leo opposed "liberalism," but in <u>both</u> meanings, i.e. the Manchester School meaning and the egalitarian meaning. Even then, the term had both meanings, and one must judge from context which liberalism he is damning in a particular passage. This put him doubly at odds with Henry George, who generally favored liberalism in both meanings. George, the "free market radical," sought to reconcile and compose the two liberalisms into a harmonious whole. It did not help that George quoted sympathetically from

Giuseppe Mazzini, who had played an important role in stripping the Papal States from the Church. Neither did it help that George's paper, *The Standard*, counterattacked the RCC hierarchy vigorously for its bullying of McGlynn (Wenzer, pp.221-37). Leo was "lukewarm on democracy" (Cornwell, p.21), while George enthusiastically participated in it, and promoted secret balloting, direct elections, broadening the franchise, and other devices to make democracy more thorough and direct. Leo was born and bred a reflexive male chauvinist; George supported votes for women. George fought for equal rights; Leo proclaimed that "Class and inequality are unalterable features of the human condition, as are the rights of property ownership ... " (Cornwell, p.21). "Socialism (with which Leo wrongly equated Georgism) he condemned as ... synonymous with class hatred and atheism." It was Kismet that Leo and George should collide.

The upper hierarchy of the RCC was mostly of the landed classes. Leo, born Vincenzo Pecci, was of the minor nobility, and considerable wealth. Across the water, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York was also wealthy, but a complete *arriviste*, lace-curtain Irish, scion of a bartender who rose through liquor dealing to real estate, leaving a small landed fortune (Curran p.24). In addition, the RCC in Europe had owned vast lands for centuries, and its bureaucrats naturally developed a protective attitude toward private rent-taking, the bastion of its power and wealth, if not of its underlying religion. George never championed putting church lands on the tax rolls, to my knowledge. The bureaucrat-hierarchs were hypersensitive to the point, also, due to the power of anticlerical movements that had stripped them of many lands, most recently in Catholic nations themselves, like France, Italy and Mexico.

It was in character, then, when in 1888 Leo condemned Irish peasants who were agitating for land. Irish Catholic rebels and reformers thought him a Judas (Molony p.113). Rerum, when it came out, did not help. It testifies to the power of habituation that the RCC survived so well in Ireland after these betrayals, and earlier ones that had moved Ireland into the horrors of the Coercion Act era (Bell, p.127; Curran p.180-81). Many Irish-Americans (like my grandfather) left the Church at this time, but most recognized they had an ethnic interest in the American Catholic Church which, to a remarkable extent, was controlled by Irishmen (Curran p.137), and had, at that time, some

independence from Rome. The Irish priesthood had remained much closer to the communicants themselves than had those of other extraction - Edward McGlynn being a prime example (Molony, p.49).

6. Evidence of anti-Georgist intent

How do we know that Rerum was directed against George and McGlynn? Abp. Michael Corrigan, who had pressed Leo hard to issue it, took it as an answer to his plea, a "pronouncement against Henry George and his teachings" (Isacsson p.296). We have seen above that Msgr. John A. Ryan took it that way, and, acting on that belief, changed his thinking 180 degrees, or at least 150. Ella Edes, veteran "inside dopester" in the Vatican, wrote from Rome to Corrigan, "... the Pope's aim was to condemn George's theory without condemning his books" (i.e. without mentioning his name)(Curran p.385). Historian Sydney Ahlstrum sees it that way (1972, p.835, cit. Isacsson, p.333 n.28). So did G.R. Geiger and Cardinal Henry Manning (Geiger, p.362). So did Charles Barker (p.573).

George did too, and published (1891) an open letter to Pope Leo in reply; but who was George to debate the Pope himself? Why would a V.I.P. like the Pope lower himself to notice and answer such a cipher - it would be *infra dig*. There is ample evidence, presented herewith, that this was a posture used consciously to slight George, and avoid the boomerang effect of a direct criticism. There is also evidence of great scurrying and rustling of papers in The Vatican in reaction to the power shown by George and McGlynn. This is found in works by Isacsson, Ellis, Bell, Molony, Curran, Gilhooley and Preuss.

Foreshadowing Rerum, Fr. Victor Cathrein (1889) had already attacked George, stigmatizing him as an "agrarian socialist," along with Émile de Laveleye. The label did not fit George, who was neither an agrarian nor a socialist, but a free-market urbanist. However, it showed the same mindset as Rerum's later slurring references to generic "socialists," a fungible lot to Leo, obviously intending to encompass George with bloody European revolutionaries.

Cathrein attacked George and de Laveleye for observing that privatized, commercialized land tenure hardly existed in pre-industrial societies other than the Roman. They wrote that latter-day privatizers had reinvented it only recently by resurrecting Roman Law (Hudson, 1994; Andelson, 1979a). Cathrein wrote that "natural law" prescribes private property in land, an idea also expressed in Rerum, refuting George's position.

George, by stressing ideas of "natural rights" and "natural law," touched on areas that remained more central to Catholic social thinkers than they did to more secular ones (De Concilio). Ryan, for example, endorsed "Catholic natural rights philosophy, the same philosophy which underlay American freedom" (O'B p.217). Where Marx alienated Catholics by atheism and anti-clericalism, the overtly Christian George offended some of them more by accepting the Catholic concept of natural law, in ways competing directly with certain Catholic views thereof (depending on which Catholic). Bear in mind that George was happily married to a Catholic.

In Cathrein, the idea of equal rights became an empty shell hollowed out by an artful twist of wording to mean only rights to buy land from its rightful owners. Andelson (1979a, p.132) shows how this idea moved right from Cathrein's attack on Henry George into Rerum. In Rerum, "By using the idea of worker savings it was possible to canonise the concept of private property" (Molony p.96).

Cathrein also anticipates the Rerum position that the rich need the poor in order to test their character by giving them chances to perform Christian charity (Andelson, 1979a, p.134). Alcázar, not surprisingly, echoes this call (Busey, p.336). What a roar of derision that allegation would have provoked before most audiences in the last 50 years! Yet now, again, it seems to be back in style - without the Christianity, but as part of a powerful movement to de-finance the welfare system.

Cathrein's work, originally in German, was translated under the apparent aegis of Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of Rochester (Hudson, 1994, and personal interview, 1997; Zwierlein, 1946, should be consulted). McQuaid, a stronger man than Abp. Michael Corrigan of New York, was his most influential mentor and advisor (Isacsson, pp.106-07). They were very close, sharing the services

of one Ella Edes as courier, spy, gossip, translator, envoy, probable forger, and potent busybody in the Vatican (Curran p.183; Isacsson pp.v, 19-20, 82, 84, 91 n.66, 102, 135, et passim). Corrigan, in turn, was a major instigator of Rerum, as we will see, so we may assume that the drafters studied Cathrein's recent attack on Henry George[5] {{Note 5: Cathrein is not covered in *The New Palgrave, a Dictionary of Economics*. Neither are Leo XIII, nor *Rerum Novarum*, nor John Ryan, nor Alcázar, nor natural rights, nor many other exemplars and concepts of Catholic economic thought (except for a good article on Scholasticism). Even Henry George, whom they criticized, is given minimal space; likewise Aquinas, whom they revered. You would think, to study collegiate economics, that the New Deal, love it or hate it, sprang from the fertile brain of J.M. Keynes, ignoring Coughlin, Moley, Pius XI, and the dozens of other Catholic prelates and laymen to whom FDR related. That might suggest that modern economists have shouldered these writers aside. However, there are hundreds of millions of Catholics, and only few economists, so it is worth asking which group is the island, and which is the main? Prudence would dictate that economists give more heed to Catholic philosophers, whether to agree or not.

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As to natural rights, apart from their role in Catholic doctrine, they are enshrined in the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789), the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1946). Again, are economists in touch with the hundreds of millions of people who endorse those statements?

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Corrigan, as Abp. of New York, ordered McGlynn to stay out of politics and be silent, on the pretext that the Church never meddled in politics. How sincere and consistent was Corrigan about this? He had thrown the upper echelons of his hierarchy into the 1886 battle against Henry George as Mayor (Isacsson, pp.108-11; Post and Leubuscher pp.128-49). Priests who supported George were threatened with censure and retaliation and exile, which indeed were forthcoming. Corrigan had or let his Vicar General, Thomas Preston, publish a statement in all New York City churches urging a vote against George (Speek, pp.85-86; Isacsson, p.109; Curran pp.196-97; Post and Leubuscher, pp.132-33). In 1887 they "continued their strong opposition to ... Henry George and McGlynn, condemning them openly and secretly" (Speek, p.139). They pressured Irish opinion-leaders Patrick Ford and Terence Powderly to withdraw their support. Clearly, Leo's hierarchy was not above noticing George and McGlynn, nor above lying about it.

John Molony (1991) was a history professor at Australian National University who spent years in Rome researching the composition of Rerum. He had access to some Vatican Secret Archives, along with other standard Vatican sources. His writing shows sympathy for Leo, and a propensity to apply slighting adjectives to George and McGlynn, so we infer his bias, if any, is not to magnify the last two.

He does so, nonetheless, by frequent references to the importance of putting down their heresy. In his index we find 21 page references to George, 16 to McGlynn, and 15 to private ownership of land (37 if we add the generic "right to private property"). In contrast, there are only 9 to Aquinas, 8 to Marx, 6 to "freemasonry," 5 to Christ, 4 to usury, one each to Newman, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, and none to Cavour or Victor Emmanuel. The last four were Leo's arch-enemies and obsession who had nationalized the Papal States and made the Pope a "prisoner in the Vatican"; Newman, a leading Catholic

intellectual for whom today's collegiate "Newman Clubs" are named, was Leo's appointee as Cardinal.

Here are some of Molony's comments.

> "... there was one American theoretician, Henry George, whose writings were of particular interest in the Vatican, and whose ideas had a decisive effect on the timing of Rerum and, to some degree, on its contents." (p.50)

> "In the Vatican, not much interest was shown in George until its attention was drawn to the fact that one of his main followers in America was the pastor of New York's most important parish, St. Stephen's." (p.51)

> "The blackest mark against McGlynn ... was that he had begun to espouse with fervor the ideas of Henry George. ... his words were taken careful note of in Rome." (p.52)

> "Throughout the 1880s, considerable attention was paid to George and McGlynn by the Vatican authorities." (p.53)

> "Cardinal (Camillo) Mazzella ... derided the priest (McGlynn) as one who held that, rather than Leo, George was the 'Redeemer of the poor' and his personal 'Holy Father.'" (p.57)

The last point echos Cathrein's resentment of George as a direct competitor. George spoke the language of religion, and evoked a quasi-religious fervor in some followers. This is part of what had attracted McGlynn, whose fervor was much more religious, as one might expect of a priest. Secular modern critics have faulted and even sneered at this "emotionalism," but to religious leaders themselves it posed direct competition. In 1890 in Australia, "... converts, fired by enthusiasm, went

about like the early Christians preaching their gospel" (PM "Billy" Hughes, cit. Molony, p.59). Busey notes that elements in the RCC feared George as "a real challenger of its doctrinal and institutional hegemony over a large part of the Christian world (Busey, p.339). Barker is among those who infer from the evidence that George, not Marx, "had been the great enemy in ideas, at whom Pope Leo was striking" (Barker, p.573).

As to Mazzella, it was he who recommended excommunicating McGlynn, which Leo soon did; and putting all the works of Henry George on The Index, which he also did (Molony p.58). Mazzella was soon to help write Rerum in 1891. Note in passing how strange it was to notice any of George's works on The Index. None of the usual reasons applied. George did not write specifically on religion, and all his references to religion bespeak of his strong Christian faith and family orientation. His wife was and remained a good Catholic. His background was Episcopalian, but he never baited Catholics as such, and worked harmoniously with them. He was skeptical of Darwinism. He deplored Marx's atheism as well as his statism. It is as though Leo considered the essence of Christianity to be the privilege of *rentiers* to avoid taxes.

It is also instructive to contrast the harsh treatment that Rome gave McGlynn with its refusal to gag Fr. Charles Coughlin 50 years later. Pius XII put off the demands of Vatican Countess Mrs. Nicholas Brady, saying it cannot discipline "except where there is a question of morals and faith involved" (Warren, p.201). Coughlin, unlike McGlynn, supported fascist governments and attacked Jews.

In Rerum, Leo lumped George as a "socialist," and treated him anonymously as an "upholder of obsolete notions," and one of "a few dissidents," a "mere utopianist whose ideas were rejected by the common opinion of the human race." "The thoughts of Henry George ... were reduced to their utmost simplicity and rejected out of hand" (Molony pp.91-92).

> "Unnamed (in Cardinal Zigliara's draft), ... both McGlynn and Henry George were given fuller treatment and their opinions, summed up as 'the discordant voices of a few utopians,' were rejected out of hand

> as contrary to common sense, the natural law and, finally, the divine law itself." (Molony, p.79)

The following is included in Rerum itself.

> "The State would act in an unjust and inhumane manner were it to exact more than is just from private owners (of land) under the guise of a tax." (Molony, pp. 98, 194)

According to G.R. Geiger (p.362), "The doctrines attacked are labelled 'socialistic,' but they are essentially those of George. ... there was so flagrant a disregard of any attempt to discriminate between conceptions which were diametrically opposed (that many interpreted Rerum) as a direct attack upon that (George's) work." Geiger cites Henry Cardinal Manning and Abp. Michael Corrigan to that effect.

The tone of Rerum was also tailored to George and McGlynn. The first draft of this Encyclical, by the Jesuit Matteo Liberatore, was "The Worker Question." Its focus was on the condition of labor. As it evolved through 6 drafts, under Leo's supervision, it became an attack on critics of private property in land; it virtually blamed the poverty of labor on the critics of poverty, all lumped as "socialists." A major influence was the team of Cardinal Camillo Mazzella and Cardinal Zigliara, the same pair who had recommended excommunicating Dr. Edward McGlynn, and putting George's works on The Index of forbidden books (Molony p.57).

Accordingly, the title was changed. Encyclicals are known by their first words. *Rerum Novarum cupidus ...* (The unseemly lust for change ...) was a put-down, well understood as such by Latinists of the time, of which Leo XIII was a paragon. It referred to what today a Tom Wolfe might put down as "radical chic," or "politically correct," while also implying a taste for violence and plunder, playing on the fear of revolution. It is ironic that Thorstein Veblen, supposedly amoral and also a noted linguist, quoted Virgil against *auri sacra fames* (the insatiable appetite for gold), while the supposedly moral leader warned rather against the cupidity he ascribed to egalitarian reformers.

The actual phrase came from one of Abp. Michael Corrigan's relentless philippics against McGlynn and an ally, Edward McSweeney, fired off in 1888. "Thus New York, the Vatican and the late Roman Republic were bound up in the first line of the encyclical" (Molony, p.115). He might have added Ireland.

Above all, about one-third of the text of Rerum consists of championing private landownership, upheld by police power, and impugning the motives of nameless persons who might think otherwise. These are "wily and restless men," they "take advantage of confusion ... to cloud judgement and agitate the masses, ... stirring up hatred of the rich among the poor ... which would do no other than harm the workers themselves. Moreover it would be unjust because it would set aside the rights of legitimate owners, ... and throw the whole community into disorder. ... swayed by false principles ... they try at any cost to stir up the masses and move them to violence." etc., etc., etc. The tendentious, slurring nature of these remarks clearly purports to forestall objective or thoughtful consideration of the matters at hand, but there is worse: "The authority of the state must intervene to rein in such agitators, ..." So much for our Bill of Rights. It is a wonder how some people have been able to read those words (or skip over them?) and see Rerum as a declaration of worker rights, simply because Leo's reign fell between Pius's IX and X, who were even more blatant.

As to private property, Rerum refers again and again to land, hardly mentioning capital or interest. "... land is simply his (the buyer's) wages in another form." ... "Nature has given to man the right to stable and permanent possessions, ... to be found only in the earth ... " "The gift of the earth was not meant as a kind of common and indiscriminate form of property. ... but it was left to the industry of man and the special laws of individual nations to determine the manner in which it would be divided up. ... Those who do not own land do their part by their labour ... the right to private property is in agreement with the law of nature. ... When a man uses his mind and body to obtain the goods of the earth, ... he is justly able to claim it as his own, ... the right to private property has been recognised as pre-eminently in conformity with human nature. ... The seal of the divine law also authorises that right and goes so far as to forbid, in severe terms, even the desire to possess that which belongs to another. Thou shalt not covet ... " Again, Leo invokes the state: "... it is the duty of public authority to

safeguard private property by the power and strength of law. ″ Etc., etc., etc. Notably lacking is any reference to the teachings of Jesus.

These words are aimed like speeding arrows at Henry George and Edward McGlynn. Whom else do they target so directly? Certainly not Marx, who preached always against capital, and didn't even recognize land (or the earth, or nature) as a separate category.

7. The silent treatment

Abp. Michael Corrigan of New York harassed and persecuted McGlynn relentlessly. I will not repeat the sordid history, already well told and criticized by Catholic scholars like Bell, Gilhooley, Curran (pp.196-214), and Isacsson. A Roman envoy, Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni, head of *Propaganda Fide*, had given Corrigan the green light as early as 1882 (Curran p.183; Geiger p.345), after which Corrigan willingly played the ″bad cop.″ Leo, the ″good cop,″ laid back issuing Delphic riddles while the two Irish-American innocents destroyed each other, opening the way for the crafty Leo to expand his power over the American Church, years later. Corrigan was also thick with Tammany, indulgent of its corruption, and dazzled by its connections with the rich and famous (Isacsson, pp.108, 110, 289, et passim). Leaders of Tammany feared McGlynn because he contested their control of the Irish-American vote.

Corrigan, by most accounts, had a high degree of low cunning for inventing and planting rumors, press-leaking, spying, and gossiping (Isacsson, pp.274 ff., 302, 304, 315, et passim), but most of his attack was overt and public, and widely perceived by Catholics as personal and spiteful. After getting McGlynn excommunicated, he systematically weeded out McGlynn's supporters and disciplined, exiled, or demoted them (Bell, pp.128 ff.; Isacsson, pp.294 ff.) He circulated a pledge against McGlynn, which became a loyalty oath: non-signers were screened out of promotions (Curran, p.241). In the process he alienated masses of McGlynn's loyal parishioners, and sympathizers around the country, as other hierarchs looked on in helpless dismay. He gave arms to those who opposed General Philip Sheridan for U.S. President on the grounds that a Catholic would take orders from the church machine and a foreign potentate (Isacsson p.278). ″Most bishops considered

his administration a disaster" (Isacsson, p.303). The flow of Peter's Pence to Rome was cut sharply. Cardinals all had their salaries lowered, compelling curial attention (Bell, p.242; Isacsson p.327).

Several other hierarchs, both in the U.S. and Europe urged a different course. Prominent among these was the most senior of American bishops, James Cardinal Gibbons, Abp. of Baltimore (Curran p.383). Gilmour of Cleveland took the same tack (Curran, p.384). Gibbons through his agent in Rome, Denis O'Connell, saw danger in making martyrs of George and McGlynn, "which might make George a hero of the Roman Inquisition, ... " He urged silence, and "demanded absolutely that George be left in oblivion."

> "It would be undignified for Rome to notice George with a condemnation." (Ellis, p.580-82)

Gibbons urged instead that Leo issue an encyclical.

> "(Gibbons) told the Pope by letter that he did not pretend that the false theories of George should be tolerated by the Church, but ... in his different encyclicals, the Pope had ... convinced readers (on other matters). ... A similar instruction in the same form ... on matters touching the right of property, would bear the same authority." (Ellis, p.582).

The same sentiments flooded in from other quarters, including the voices of Zigliara, Mazzella, and Abp. Ireland of St. Paul, and even Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, Corrigan's friend and fellow turf defender. George was to be made a non-person, *semper infra dig.* The preferred strategy was to declare his ideas to have died - a reverse bandwagon psychology, one that professional economists have later used so effectively.

Symptomatic of this tack was the enigmatic stratagem of placing George's works on The Index, but then keeping that fact from the public. Rome forbade people to read the books, then forbade its people to tell anyone of the ban! This would seem to defeat the whole purpose of The Index, unless the idea was

to pass the word quietly to a few insiders with clout, and highly developed skill in quietly spreading slander.

As to McGlynn, Corrigan took great pains to build a multi-pronged case against him, inventing evidence, planting spies and *agents provocateurs* (Isacsson p.84) to lay traps and a long paper trail, after the manner of mediocre bureaucrats in every age and clime. Some people still believe that the central grievance against McGlynn was his support of public schools. However, the issues are closely linked. Opposing public schools allied the RCC with other enemies of property taxation (just as opposing public power linked the foes of property taxation with private power companies from 1920 to the present).

Bell, Gilhooley, Curran and Isacsson leave little doubt, though, that McGlynn was only a minor annoyance until he adopted George's cause. It was this that triggered the drastic act of excommunicating him. There was no prior action against McGlynn for his many encounters with authority over 20 years, including his refusal to build a parochial school (Isacsson, p.70). Church authorities never objected when McGlynn, a Republican, hit the campaign trail for Cleveland in 1882 when he ran for Governor, opposed by Tammany, ally of the RCC in New York (Speek, p.102 n.35; *New Columbia Encyclopedia*).

It is tempting to ascribe clerical anti-Georgism to a fear that church lands would be taxed, but these seem to be separable issues. George never, to my knowledge, challenged the existing exemption of church lands from the property tax (although others have). The singletax would only hit the church as an institution by raising the rate on taxable income properties held for investment; and it would offset this by exempting the improvements on such lands. It is rather non-property taxes, which George opposed, that anti-clericals push, in order to get revenue from churches that pay no property tax.

Rome even considered excommunicating the whole 700,000 members of the Knights of Labor "as a secret society" - but not until 1886. This was "because of the Knights ... support of George's candidacy" (Isacsson, p.104). Actually, the Knights had been a secret society, uncondemned, from 1869-81, and in 1881 dropped the secrecy, so the "secret society" rationale does not

wash at all (*New Columbia Encyclopedia*). The anti-Georgist rationale fits like a wet tee-shirt. "The apparent support of the singletax by organized labor made it ... 'dangerous.' This explains the alarm of ... the authorities of the Catholic Church in New York ... and the excommunication of Father McGlynn, in particular" (Speek, p.156).

Consider the sinners whom the Church does NOT excommunicate. The Church can be very forgiving, as with Cardinal Cody of Chicago, who wallowed in sexual and financial scandal, and boasted of defying direct orders from Rome. It never penalized Coughlin, even at his wildest, so long as he kept citing Rerum Novarum and its sequel, Quadra (Tull, pp.89-90, 185, 197, 199). It never rebuked Ante Pavelic and his Catholic Ustashe for sadistic atrocities against Serbs and Jews, nor the Franciscans who joined in the bloodletting, nor Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb, who blessed the process, and is now even being considered for beatification in Rome (Cornwell, pp. 248-54). It never excommunicated Hitler, whose state contributed a surtax to the Vatican throughout the Great War, but in 1944, with Hitler half mad, Pius XII warned against democracy as the "mindless rule of the masses" (Cornwell, p.328).

Its heaviest penalty is reserved for priests like McGlynn of yesterday, and liberation theologists and worker priests of today, who spread egalitarian notions about taxing land, aiding the poor, and distributing land more widely. In 1949 a panicky Pius XII excommunicated "anyone who defends and spreads communism" -- anyone, automatically, without investigation or trial, and without defining any of the terms used. Pius despised democracy: he could not "dissociate social democracy from Bolshevism, pluralism from relativism" (Cornwell, p.360) His faith was in a series of Concordats worked out one-on-one between himself and other autocrats, like Mussolini and Hitler, who headed states (Cornwell, p.124). It's hard to avoid seeing the lords of the Church as giving priority to defending property, privilege, private rent-taking, and concentration of wealth, then as now. The reign of John XXIII, 1958-63, was just an interlude. John Paul I, 1978, would have been another, but he was not allowed to live more than 33 days as Pope (Yallop).

Again, The Church never disciplined the outspoken, politically active Fr. Sylvester Malone, and why not? "Because he was ... not as economically radical as Edward McGlynn" (Isacsson, p.49, n.25). The rest of the case

against McGlynn was a pretext, a cover story. When, years later, Leo let the aged, ailing McGlynn back into the communion it was on condition that he "put Georgism out of the picture" (Isacsson, p.355). Even then, Leo let the vengeful Corrigan exile McGlynn to a small remote parish, out of the loop.

That was still not enough for Leo, however. McGlynn in exile became a powerful legend; his former parishioners in the confessional quizzed new priests, "Be you with or agin Dr. McGlynn?" Leo needed firmer central control. McGlynn and his supporters had been pleased when Leo sent Francesco Satolli over with authority to "re-communicate" McGlynn in an apparent gesture to the liberals and a snub to Corrigan. Leo seized this opportunity quietly to make Satolli the first permanent apostolic delegate to the U.S., with liberal approval (Curran, p.394).

Next, when his pawns and bishops were aligned, the patient, wily European made what Fr. Gilhooley considers his big move. "... Leo XIII denounced Americanism in his landmark encyclical *Testem Benevolentiae* (1899)" (Gilhooley, p.207). Too many Americans had opened the door when a visitor said "I'm from The Vatican, and I'm here to help you." The weak Corrigan had opened up first by heeding Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni's behest to silence McGlynn, and then by so often turning to Rome for validation and support. McGlynn had opened up later by accepting support from the Pope's delegate, Francesco Satolli. Terence Powderly and Patrick Ford had succumbed as early as 1887 when they abandoned George and McGlynn, seeking Roman acceptance and "respectability." McGlynn's allies, even Henry George, had opened up later by viewing their hero's refrocking in 1892 as a triumph. George concluded from this act that Leo was "a very great man." American media had opened up, too. The New York *Evening Post*, the *Times*, the *Sun* and the *Herald* all opposed foreign Catholic power in U.S. politics, but had turned around and praised Pope Leo for excommunicating McGlynn in 1887 (Bell p.124).

Indeed, Leo did abate his hostility to all things Georgist, whether from conviction or a political imperative. He substituted, for a few years, an inscrutable ambiguity (Barker, p.577). He sacrificed Corrigan's feelings in the process, yet left him with great powers of petty tyranny, which Corrigan used to exile McGlynn and his supporters.

In the end, however, Leo imposed "Ultramontanism" - autocratic Roman control. In Cornwell's view, autocracy was ever his goal: Thomism was simply a "bastion against modern ideas and a defense of papal authority" (Cornwell, p.6). Leo was in the process of changing the RCC into a centrist bureaucracy, controlled from the top (Cornwell, pp. 167, 223). In Gilhooley's view, "The American church was slouching toward 'theological hibernation'" (Gilhooley, p.207), which lasted most of this Century. Cornwell, another Catholic, calls it a "passive intellectual torpor" (Cornwell, p.39). The powerful Irish ethnic political bloc was confirmed in its introverted machine politics, and split away from Georgist reform. The Church was returned to "prudent and safe men" who left their members "inert" (Curran, p.172). Its most reactionary (retrograde?) and autocratic elements took power, as exemplified by Francis Cardinal Spellman, he who tore down McGlynn's portrait and expunged his records from the archives.

The upper hierarchy generally identified wealth with authority, and authority with wealth: they were mutually supportive, so an observer can hardly distinguish one goal from the other. Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland warned against McGlynn and George: "The assault will begin with wealth and end with authority" (Gilmour to Corrigan, 1888, cit. Curran p.316; Molony, pp. 79, 85, 108; Isacsson pp.253-55). Cardinals O'Connell and Spellman and Cody exemplified the mindset in their lives and careers and public statements, as did Bernardino Nogara, Paul Marcinkus, Michele Sindona, Roberto Calvi, Joe Kennedy, Enrico Galleazi, John J. Reynolds, and scores of less visible money-mad churchmen. Even relatively "liberal" churchmen find it hard to accept what they have become. Abp Ireland of St. Paul, leader of the Americanist movement before 1899, "could not believe that the wealthy and good men who were his friends would stoop to economic oppression, ... " (O'B p.122).

John Cooney expands on Gilhooley's thesis. "The man who personified Americanism was Edward McGlynn." Testem accompanied "deliberate moves to impose conservative bishops on the American Church, (and) the effect was chilling." In weaker, smaller nations like Spain, Portugal, Italy, and most of Latin America, local rulers nominated bishops and cardinals, but not in the more rich and powerful Colossus of the North.

When Leo killed off Americanism he "dealt a blow to American Catholic self-confidence from which the American Catholic mind has never effectively recovered." A "great silence" fell over American Catholics.; Catholic leaders worked "under the threat of heresy." This separated poor urban American Catholics, who had every reason to support economic reforms, from the reform movements of the 19th Century (O'B pp.32-33). Thus, the lead passed to rural groups, which could not prevail alone.

Why did American Catholics accept this so passively? It was partly the fear of McGlynnism by propertied Catholics, aligned with authoritarians. McGlynn and George, the urban reformers, would have fused rural and urban reformists, had the Church not stifled their urban constituents. In Cornwell's view, the fear of modern influences in the RCC focused in the reign of Leo XIII on "Americanism." American modernists had sought to "bring Catholicism in line with democracy." Stand-patters "saw a danger of calls for democratization of the Church itself." Leo feared that the American separation of Church and State would infect Europeans with similar ideas. In Testem, 1899, Leo stamped firmly on "followers of these novelties." Americanism died.

O'Brien suggests another reason for passivity. "Like so many others in the lower middle class, Catholics wished to be conservative and respectable, if events would allow" (O'B p.178).
One might rephrase that, the conditions of life in the lower middle class do not train one for independent action, let alone leadership. One finds an identity and "gets a life" through group membership and identification: one does not buck the head man. This may be hard for the individualist to understand through empathy, but the prince of individualists, Thorstein Veblen, has analyzed it thoroughly.

Rome groomed (John Cardinal) O'Connell (Boston) to succeed Gibbons as the "unofficial primate, or Church spokesman, in America: Gibbons was far too liberal for the men in Rome" (Cooney, p.117). Advancement thereafter was for "pragmatic men such as (John Cardinal) O'Connell (Boston) and (Francis Cardinal) Spellman (New York) ... ; their offices were not about callings but jobs ...." "Rome elevated men in the American Church who had been molded in the conservative way of doing things." O'Connell was "handpicked." He

graduated from the North American College (in Rome), and "In 1895 he had returned to Rome as Director of the North American College, and his mission had been to bring the school in line with conservative Vatican thought. ... By the time Spellman had attended the institution there was little chance of a seminarian being contaminated with the liberalism of a McGlynn." (Cooney, pp. 20-21).

With FDR, Catholic Americans entered power at the national level for the first time. Many of their initiatives were failures, like the NRA and AAA, touted as applications of Papal encyclicals. Their support for Franco and Mussolini, and appeasement of Hitler, were costly, discrediting blunders. Through it all, however, they rode a winner in their consistent red-baiting.

Pacelli (Pius XII) made Francis Spellman Archbishop of New York, and then Cardinal. Spellman did not care for Coughlin, who by then had discredited and spent himself by fighting a last-ditch stand against U.S. support of Britain in World War II (Warren, p.201). During and after that War, it was Spellman who rose to the top, and exemplified the new church. There was continuity of support for fascism, although Spellman was wise and patriotic enough to suspend such views during wartime. The war was barely over, however, when Spellman cooperated in the fascist escapes (Aarons and Loftus, pp.132, 138), using his influence with the National Catholic Welfare Conference (John Ryan's old organization, the political arm of the RCC) to bend the U.S. State Department. He became a leading supporter of Senator Joseph McCarthy (Cooney, pp. 218-25), who employed among others Bobby Kennedy, son of Spellman's friend Joe Kennedy. By 1957, Spellman spoke for the whole RCC in the U.S. He was the most powerful American churchman of all time (Cooney, p.248).

Fr. Edmund Walsh, dean of Georgetown's Foreign Service School, supplied Joseph McCarthy with the famous list of subversives he waved at his speech in Wheeling, and gave him the idea for his purge (Cooney, p.219); but it was Spellman who kept the purge going. He forced the 1954 CIA-Howard Hunt coup against Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala (Cooney, p.231-34), and met with, endorsed and supported Batista, Trujillo, Stroessner, Somoza, and many other such kleptocratic and murderous rightwing Catholic dictators (Cooney, p. 232). He instigated the American invasion of Viet Nam ("Spelly's War," some called it).

He personally selected the dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, who aspired to Catholicize Viet Nam. He plucked Diem from Maryknoll Seminary for the job (Cooney, pp.240-45) (but could or would not save him when he faltered). All that and more, he wrapped in the flags of Americanism and anti-communism.

Spellman's antipathy to McGlynn's beliefs was not just indirect. He ordered McGlynn's portrait removed from the wall of St. Stephens, McGlynn's old parish (Isacsson p.viii). Not even Abp. Corrigan had been so mean. Spellman also had materials on the struggle between McGlynn and Corrigan removed from the archives of the Archdiocese of New York (Isacsson pp. iii, viii n.5, 126 n.2), reaching back 75 years to push history down the memory tube.

Spellmanism was the logical outcome of Corrigan, Rerum Novarum, and Ultra-Montanism. His concerns, other than anti-communism, were overtly pecuniary and political. In 1958 he stated, "Next to Jesus Christ the greatest thing that has happened to the Catholic Church is Bernardino Nogara." Nogara was Vatican portfolio manager, after Mussolini endowed it with great wealth in the Lateran Treaty of 1929 (Cooney, p.45). Nogara, "the gnome of the Vatican," placed it in *Società Generale Immobiliare,* a huge owner with major hotels in Italy, and real estate around the world. Large regular income from Hitler's Kirchensteur, negotiated by Pacelli in the Concordat of 1933, also yielded funds.

It gets worse. In 1963, Spellman advised Pope Paul VI to hire Paul Marcinkus, a big, physical priest from Al Capone's Cicero, who evolved into a bodyguard, as well as head of the Vatican Bank. Marcinkus made common cause with Michele Sindona, a Sicilian mafioso and financier. They, "The Gorilla and the Shark," took over control of Vatican finances. It is an ugly picture, the Mafia running the Holy Vatican and tapping its funds. David Yallop accuses them of complicity in the murder of Pope John Paul I, before this new Pope could dismiss them. John Paul I lasted just 33 days before dying suddenly of an unknown cause, presumably poison. A major aim of theirs, other than power and self-enrichment, was to eliminate taxes on church property (Yallop, pp. 112, 118). This, by apostolic succession, is the modern heritage of Rerum Novarum, the anti-Georgist tract.

Ironically, "Americanism" revived under Spellman, "The American Pope," but in a new, extreme rightwing form. With U.S. prosperity and European exhaustion after 1945, Spellman bought his way into power in Rome, where influence was for sale at reasonable rates. What Mussolini and Hitler had bought was for sale again. He even sometimes defied Pius XII (Cooney, pp.121, 149, 211-12), who had appointed and patronized him, and defied Pius' successors, like the weak Paul VI, at will, as did also the appallingly corrupt Cardinal Cody of Chicago. "Americanism" was unacceptable when it meant land reform and egalitarian taxation (McGlynn), but irresistable when it meant "Cardinal Moneybags" (Spellman). The judgment seems harsh, but the facts seem to support it.

As to Spellman's politics, he was a cold warrior, riding the red-scare updraft like a soaring buteo. In 1948, U.S. security agencies in Italy were testing new techniques of propaganda and political manipulation that later came into widespread use, "including inside the U.S. itself" (Simpson, pp. 89-91). Spellman was a "crucial go-between in CIA-Vatican negotiations." The RCC especially feared a Communist win in Italy, the heart of its worldly assets, and Spellman reflected that priority. The U.S. gave the RCC large sums of "black currency" - from sales of captured Nazi loot. The CIA established close ties with the RCC hierarchy in Rome, and also with Intermarium, a Catholic lay organization operating under protection of the Vatican. Intermarium became a mainstay of Radio Free Europe, "and scores of other CIA-sponsored clandestine operations during the next two decades."

Spellman borrowed and translated the very words Rerum Novarum Cupidus to put down and slur proponents of Vatican II. He accused them of a "zeal for novelties" (Cooney, p.277). Pius XII had decried the "reprehensible desire for novelty ..." (Humani generis, 1950, cit. Cornwell, p.338). Raymond Moley[6] warned against "appetites for change" (Moley, 1966, p. 544). Different words, same idea: rerum novarum cupidus is a specific slogan to

[6]Raymond Moley we have seen before as FDR's confidant and ghost-writer. Moley was by now a Newsweek pundit (he was a founder of it), and a powerful New York Catholic. The Newsweek building on Madison Avenue is a few blocks from Spellman's home and office. Both men gravitated to money and power; they gravitated to each other. Spellman's portfolio included a bloc of Newsweek

rally standpatters within the Catholic Church. Leo really started something! Moley added a domino theory: these appetites for change, "once whetted, grow by what they have already consumed." One could hardly make a stronger case for stasis. Leo XIII had supplied the "immutable essence" of a universal gibe. One can pull it off the shelf to demean any champion of any change, anytime. Rerum novarum cupidus is a generic argument against anything new, an oblique personal attack on anyone who supports it, and a code by which like-thinkers identify and verify each other.

Returning to 1891, another ploy in Rerum Novarum was to play dumb about what George really said. George's tax proposal, reduced to its practical application, is simple and direct. It's just a matter of raising the property tax rate, and exempting improvements - full stop. Yet, neither Leo nor any of his stable of erudite, advanced scholars seemed to get it. They persisted in characterizing him as a kind of open-range commonizer, whom they lumped with all "socialists," although neither George nor most socialists held such a view.

Vatican intellectuals did not arrive there by being stupid or illiterate. It is hard to interpret their slow learning as sincere simplicity. Back in New York, Michael Corrigan was perhaps a bit thick, and in any case was a "control freak," too carried away by Tammany politics, turf patrol, and personal spite to think clearly. Yet even Corrigan understood the essence and cutting edge of George's proposals, for Corrigan had recently interceded in a New Jersey election to oppose a property tax bill that he (mistakenly) thought would hit Church lands (Isacsson, p.109). He was skilled at avoiding inheritance taxes through incorporating churches (Curran, p.44).

The Jesuits and Dominicans of Rome were literate, learned, and leisured, far from the threat of George as a New York political force. Being multi-lingual they were above semantic naïveté. Mazzella and Zigliara had studied all of George's works in the process of excommunicating McGlynn, and consigning George to The Index. Leo was a renowned Latinist and a deep student of Aquinas. These were not dull oafs, but fully capable of understanding and interpreting words accurately. They can only have chosen to

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stock, as Moley was nervously aware when I met with him in 1963.

play dumb to trade on the presumed naïveté and credulity of their readers. Modern academic economists either learned at their feet, or rediscovered the same technique.

Finally, they emerge from the cover of feigned confusion to condemn George's policy itself, while keeping his name out of it. Under "Unjust Taxes" Rerum warns that "excessive taxes" will render real reforms impossible by exhausting private means. Zeroing in on the target they write:

> "The State would act in an unjust and inhumane manner were it TO EXACT MORE THAN IS JUST FROM PRIVATE OWNERS (OF LAND) UNDER THE GUISE OF A TAX."[7] (Emphasis supplied)

{{Note 7: The wording is from Molony's new translation, p.194. It comes at the end of para. #51 from the official translation, as reproduced in George, rpt. 1934, p.187, and in George, rpt. 1941, p.141. Molony's wording is slightly different, without changing the meaning. In addition, Molony deleted the earlier paragraph numbers, in the process of changing the paragraph breaking points themselves. End of Note 7.}}

Take that, Dr. Edward McGlynn and Mr. Henry George! One has to wonder why the authors of Rerum, who seem too dull to grasp the essential Georgist position, now state it so simply and clearly.

It took a few decades, but mainline economists learned to follow the RCC, with its centuries of experience combatting heresies and bending minds. As documented in Gaffney and Harrison (1994), they gradually stopped attacking George and gave him the silent as well as the dumb treatment. This has been effective over the decades. In 1915, Speek could write "... the theory itself is gaining in popularity. ... There is a marked tendency ... to tax unimproved land higher than improved" (p.23). "There is hardly a standard textbook ... in which the singletax theory of Henry George is not treated ... " (p.21). In

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The wording is from Molony's new translation, p.194. It comes at the end of para. #51 from the official translation, as reproduced in George, rpt. 1934, p.187, and in George, rpt. 1941, p.141. Molony's wording is slightly different, without changing the meaning. In addition, Molony deleted the earlier paragraph numbers, in the process of changing the paragraph breaking

1960 that was still true, however shabbily it was treated. Today, there is mainly silence.

8. Excursions and alarums

George had made much of everyone's right of access to land. Rerum subtly twists this around: the "right to property" means that everyone has a right to buy some else's property - with nothing said about "just price." "Worker savings" were urged, to enable workers to buy land, and "thus to canonize the concept of private property" (Molony, p.96). Yet, at the same time, the authors of Rerum decided that a "just wage" was one just high enough for the subsistence of the worker alone; the so-called "family wage" was too generous (Molony, p.120). It was not explained how the workers might form good Catholic families from such a wage, let alone save to buy land. Consistently, almost all American Catholic prelates favored child labor and solidly opposed the proposed amendment to outlaw it in the 1920s. John A. Ryan and his group did favor a "family wage" as a minimum, but Ryan was distressingly indifferent to economic analysis of how this might affect marginal businesses, and the overall demand for labor, as he went on to champion payroll and sales taxation.

The spectre of bloody revolution was waved at Henry George by referring in Rerum to the "spirit of revolutionary change," as expressed by Karl Marx (Molony p.103). As neither one is named in Rerum, but George's land tax is specified, it is fair to infer that the tarbrush was aimed at George, a man who never brandished any weapon but the ballot box.

9. Conclusion

Certain hierarchs perceived Henry George and Dr. Edward McGlynn as dangerous threats to the RCC. This was not just in spite of George's and

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points themselves.

McGlynn's deep religiosity, but in part because of it. Their fault lay in using religious concepts like morality and natural law to dispute the philosophical basis of private property in land, in which the hierarchs showed themselves to have a paramount interest; and to advance a practical, ready means of doing something about it.

In response, Pope Leo XIII issued Rerum, which defined Catholic social doctrine from 1891 to the present. This encyclical manifests an obsession with upholding private rent-taking, free of taxation, to which it subordinates its ostensible goal of showing concern for the working poor and the unemployed. Detailed analysis of its provenance, made available by modern Catholic scholars, reveals it to be primarily a reaction to the ideas of Henry George, and their injection by Dr. Edward McGlynn into RCC counsels. The sources also reveal a conscious strategy of countering George and McGlynn by impugning their motives, slighting and traducing them, misstating their ideas, and finally erasing their names. In this respect, it seems to provide a model for the stratagem gradually adopted over the next century by the economics profession, as outlined in Gaffney and Harrison (1994), *The Corruption of Economics*. An important by-product was to impose Vatican control, mostly reactionary, over the American Catholic Church for most of the 20th Century.

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