

# NOTES ON THE SOURCES

## A DUAL DEFENSE OF THE TEXT

**T**he footnotes above are few in number, a tiny fraction of those first put in the text as it was written. In most cases they have been inserted at points that invite immediate and specific reinforcement. In some cases, especially in Chapter x, citations have been placed where they will help a reader who may want to find the way from this book to important passages in George's writings.

The footnotes represent the first tactic in defending the argument. For the deeper strategy of documentation, I rely on the bibliographical notes which follow. First there is a description of those source materials which I have used from beginning to end. Thereafter, in subdivisions which correspond to the twenty chapters of text, I present the other documents which have bearing. I mention the more important rare materials, either at the point where they are first drawn on, or where they are first drawn on extensively.

This defense in depth gives up as needless the conventional Maginot Line of protective scholarship. Doubtless the best reason for abandoning footnotes for every quotation and for a great many facts is the reason of practicality which Darwin offered in the introduction to his most famous work of scientific controversy: 'I cannot here give references and authorities for my several statements; and I must trust to the reader reposing some confidence in my accuracy.' Any who are not satisfied with this are informed that I retain in my own possession a heavily footnoted typescript.

## SOURCES USED THROUGHOUT

The principal sources of this biography are Henry George's own writings. The unpublished materials are: his letters, his diaries and memoranda, and drafts or notes for some of his lectures. The printed writings are: his newspaper editorials and reports; his magazine articles and letters to editors; his major lectures and addresses; and his eight books.

### **Henry George Collection, New York Public Library**

Most of the Henry George manuscripts known to exist, a large number of his newspaper and magazine writings, all his books in a large collection of editions and translations, and his own and his family's collection of what was contemporaneously written about him are deposited in the New York Public Library. The great amount of these materials was given, as the Henry George Collection, by Mrs. Anna George de Mille, about

1925; and other correspondence, much of it between Henry George and his wife, was added after Mrs. de Mille's death in 1947 by her daughter Agnes de Mille.

In 1926 the library published *Henry George and the Single Tax, A Catalogue of the Collection in the New York Public Library*, by Rollin A. Sawyer, chief of the Economics Division. This very full bibliography gives not only a catalogue of the original de Mille gift, but it lists book and magazine writings by and about Henry George, and about the single tax, which are to be found in the general collections of the library. The Sawyer Catalogue is useful in any library with rich collections in the field. There is no other Henry George bibliography worthy of the name.

The manuscript part of the Henry George Collection, which is deposited in the Manuscript Division of the library, divides into two approximately equal parts. One of these consists of Henry George's correspondence, I think about 2500 pieces. About one-third of the lot concerns 1854-80, the correspondence of the period of the present Part One; and two-thirds concern Part Two. But the earlier letters, as the product of the years when George was in private life, are more revealing of the man and his ideas than those written later. The letters after 1880 are more often from George's correspondents than to them, and are frequently humdrum stuff.

Of the second major part of the manuscript collection, about one-third consists of letters of other members of the George family. A considerable series is the correspondence of Henry George, Jr., about editing his father's works and gathering the data for his biography. There are also sizable batches of Henry George's lecture notes and drafts, book manuscripts, and miscellaneous memoranda and memorabilia, which include photographs. The one greatly disappointing part of the collection is the series of about thirty diaries. After the sea journals of his youth, George commonly neglected diary keeping, or else reduced his diaries to engagement books.

The printed materials in the Henry George Collection are deposited in special cases in the Economics Division of the library. They include newspaper files of high biographical importance: George's San Francisco Daily Evening Post for 4 December 1871 through 21 October 1873; and the other San Francisco papers he owned, the *Morning Ledger* for 20 August through 8 November 1875, and the weekly *State* for 5 April through 14 June 1879; and George's weekly New York Standard for 8 January 1887 through 31 August 1892. Except for the file of the *Post*, which covers only the first half of the period of George's proprietor-editorship, these are complete files. But I have used the complete file of the *Post* in the Bancroft Library of the University of California in Berkeley, and the complete file of the *Standard* in the Johns Hopkins Library; and I have actually handled only fractions of the newspaper part of the Henry George Collection.

A large proportion of the other printed materials of the Henry George Collection is made up of 29 volumes of Henry George Scrapbooks. The most valuable parts of the thousands of clippings they contain are such sequences as the following: George's letters of

1882 to the *Irish World*, which are not fully available elsewhere; certain series of his California editorials of the 1860s, before he became a newspaper proprietor; and collections of reviews of his books, especially *Progress and Poverty*, including notices from distant and minor papers which could hardly be recovered in any other way. But many hundreds of clippings, from the years of George's lecture travels, seem to represent nothing better than the industry of clipping services in turning up brief reports in provincial papers; and, partly because many items are undated or unlocated or both, they are of little value to history. Apparently George himself gathered the earlier and more valuable scrapbooks. I have used them; but I have preferred to study George's editorials in the newspaper files themselves, and even to read the reviews in the original locations, whenever practicable.

The remainder of the Henry George Collection is a miscellany of books by him, of books he owned, and of photographs and other memorabilia.

## **The Works of Henry George**

Immediately following George's death, Henry George, Jr., set about collecting his father's works and writing a substantial biography. The results were published in ten volumes, between 1906 and 1911, as *The Complete Works of Henry George*, Fels Fund, library edition (Garden City, N.Y.). The first eight volumes are Henry George's own. His longer books require entire volumes in this edition; the shorter ones are bound with a selection of his principal addresses. In the present biography, all Henry George's writings cited are from this edition unless other editions are indicated. Problems of text are very minor ones in Henry George studies, but there is a special interest in the original California editions of his two first books, which he wrote in that state.

## **Biographies and General Treatments**

*The Life of Henry George* by Henry George, Jr., which was first published by itself, in New York, 1900, comes nearer to actually belonging as two volumes in *The Complete Works of Henry George*, as it was later issued, than would logically seem likely. Many letters of Henry George are quoted at length, and so are passages from early diaries and later speeches and writings. This *Life* is a source book in a second sense, also. As Henry George, Jr., was the first child of his parents' youthful marriage, and as he was intimately associated with his father's work from his middle teens, his biography is in great degree a memoir; and it is always a close if somewhat dull mirror of his father's values and ideas.

There is more life but less event in the second biography of Henry George, which was also written by one of his children. This is Anna George de Mille's *Henry George, Citizen of the World*, edited by Don C. Shoemaker, brightened by an introduction by Agnes de Mille, and published at Chapel Hill in 1950. Mrs. de Mille had a keen mind to match her dedication to her father's cause, and there is no derogation in saying that hers is a feminine account. As she was hardly out of her teens when her father died, her book is less a memoir than her brother's is. It gives more attention to their mother, and more to Henry George as a family man, than anything else in print.

I have drawn on both these family biographies; and the more extensively, of course, from the earlier book.

Of the hundreds of writings about Henry George, from outside the family, it is strange that there are only two which endeavor to interpret the man in any large way. Albert Jay Nock's *Henry George, an Essay* (New York, 1931) is a brilliant appreciation of character and mind; and George R. Geiger's *Philosophy of Henry George* (New York, 1933) is an able study by a philosopher of generally pragmatic persuasion. Long ago I read both books with admiration, and owe them gratitude, especially for confirming my early judgment that George deserves more serious attention from scholarship than he has often received. But as I wanted to hew my own road, I have referred to those books infrequently in recent years.

## **Symbols for the Major Sources**

In the notes which follow I use symbols for the main sources just described, and symbols for the library locations of other major collections. They are: HGC: manuscript in the Henry George Collection, New York Public Library. NYPL: item in the printed part of the Henry George Collection, in that library. Complete Works: item printed in The Complete Works of Henry George, in the volume indicated.

George, Jr.: Henry George, Jr., *Life of Henry George*.

de Mille: Anna George de Mille, *Henry George, Citizen of the World*.

LC: manuscript in Library of Congress.

UCBL: manuscript or rare printed item in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

HL: manuscript or rare printed item in Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

JHU: item in the Hutzler Collection, Johns Hopkins University Library.

## **I. A BOY FROM A CHRISTIAN HOME, 1839-1855**



Philadelphia Family and Home. Here and throughout the book I draw many of the particulars of family background from George, Jr., and de Mille. Letters to HG, after his early departures of the 1850s from home, also contain information, for instance about the legacy, in a letter from Caroline George, 3 March 1858, HGC.

Financial Condition of the Georges. Mr. George reviewed his affairs in a letter to HG, 19 July 1858, HGC. The impression of an \$1100 salary is confirmed in a letter to HG from his mother, 2 February 1858; and a letter from Jane George (1858?) mentions \$3000 as the value of the house next to theirs. The comparison of R. S. H. George's income with teachers' salaries is made from information generously supplied by Mr. William M. Duncan, from the minutes of the Controllers of Public Schools, First District of Pennsylvania, 9 March 1852, 30 June 1853; and from other information, supplied by Mr. Greville Haslam, from the records of the Episcopal Academy. The comparison with clergymen's incomes is from letters of this period, HGC, and from Franklin S. Edmonds, *History of St. Matthew's Church, Francisville, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1925), 12, 81, 100. On price levels during HG's childhood, see Jesse M. Cutts, 'One Hundred and Thirty-Four Years of Wholesale Prices,' *Monthly Labor Review*, 41:250.

St. Paul's Church and the Georges. Edmonds' *History of St. Matthew's Church* contains 'Reminiscences of old St. Paul's' by the Rev. George A. Latimer, Mrs. George's nephew, with a mention of R. S. H. George and his Sunday School work, p. 60. Morris Stanley Barratt, *Outline of the History of old St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1917), has historical background, and mentions the Latimers. See also Henrietta M. Larson, *Jay Cooke, Private Banker* (Cambridge, 1936), 57, 85. On Dr. Newton, see William H. Newton, *Yesterday with the Fathers* (New York, 1910), 36-7. Dr. Newton's institutional radicalism is mentioned in a discussion of a book he wrote, in E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church* (New York, 1946), 69-70, 89, 92-3. Though the diocesan records in Philadelphia do not list the confirmations at St. Paul's in HG's day, I feel that the family's fears for his salvation adequately support my point that he was not confirmed there. Evidence of their anxiety appears in letters to HG from his parents, 18 March, 3 April, 3 May 1858, and from Caroline George, 18 January 1858; and HG's attitudes toward Dr. Newton are recorded in a memorandum, n.d., and a letter to Caroline George, 4 January 1859; all HGC. HG's editorial appreciation of Episcopalianism is in *SF Post*, 12 May 1873.

Education of Henry George. Background materials in James P. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster, 1886), 98-9, 289, and passim. For the data on the curriculum of the Episcopal Academy, and on fees charged, I am indebted to Mr. Haslam, who took them from the academy's records. HG's score on entering the public

high school was taken from the school's records, by Mr. Duncan. The school's qualities, in this period, are described in Franklin S. Edmonds, *History of Central High School, Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1902), 61, 63-5, 99-100, 102, 158-9.

## II. INDEPENDENCE BY SEA, 1855-1857

Decision to go to Sea. Concerning the decision to go and the departure, there is, over and above contemporary materials quoted in George, Jr., a number of family letters, HGC. Those with the following dates are drawn on: 27 February, 3 April, 5 April, 9 May, 31 May, 7 June 1855, 11 December 1861. Florence Curry's poem is dated 1 April 1855. There is also Captain Miller's Ms. account of the Voyage of the Hindoo. The writer indicates that he had a close friendship with relatives and friends of the Georges; and this corresponds with Caroline George's idea that he was in love with one of the Latimer girls (letter to HG, 18 July 1859).

India Voyage. HG's Sea Journal is quoted in different drafts, and the drafts are described, in George, Jr., 24-39, and in de Mille, 'Henry George: Childhood and Early Youth,' *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 1:292302 (April 1942). I have used the originals, as well as these quotations. His children's associating the Hobson's Bay episode with George's later reformism is to be found in George, Jr., 32, and de Mille, 12-13. The letters here drawn on, which HG received or sent in Calcutta, are dated as follows: 4 April, 4 May, 10 May, 31 May, 1 June, 4 June, 7 June 1855; and 12 December 1855, 28 January, 4 February, 5 February 1856; HGC. Captain Miller's letter of parting advice is dated 25 July 1856, HGC.

Between Voyages in Philadelphia. This passage is largely based on unprinted correspondence, 1857, between HG and the Currys, as they encouraged the move to the West. The following letters are important: HG to Mrs. Rebecca D. Curry, 3 April, 1 June; Mrs. Curry to HG, 19 April; HG to Emma Curry, 16 March, 29 June; Emma Curry to HG, 19 April, 19 May; Florence Curry to HG, 17 August. Tension over religion at home is suggested in the Sea Journal, 27 July 1856; and HG's financial anxieties appear, besides in the letters to the Currys, in diary entries of 12, 14, 15, 20 June, 9 July 1857, and in a draft of a letter not sent to B. F. Ely, 30 September 1857, all HGC. The boyish activities of the Lawrence Society are represented by the essays, 'Mormonism,' 23 June 1857, and 'Composition: The Poetry of Life,' 1857. They are somewhat described in letters, HG to B. F. Ely, 30 September 1857; Jo Jeffreys to HG, 4 January 1858; Charles Walton to HG, 29 July 1863, HGC.

Westward Hoi HG's efforts to win the *Shubrick* appointment are represented or described in letters he wrote, during the fall of 1857, HGC: to Rep. T. B. Florence, 5 October; to his uncle, Thomas Latimer, 10 October; to Captain Thornton A. Jenkins, Secretary of the Light House Bureau, 23 November 1857. The phrenological examination is printed in George, Jr., 53-5; in quoting it I have used the ellipsis to indicate breaks in the

thought, which are indicated by paragraphing in the full text, as well as breaks in the quoting.

### III. NEW CALIFORNIAN: IMMIGRANT AND WAGE EARNER, 1858-1861

The Voyage of the SHUBRICK. About the *Shubrick* and HG's appointment as a steward, present Lighthouse Service records are not as full as those which Henry George, Jr., investigated in 1899 and incorporated in his account, pp. 56-7. But Lyle J. Holverstott, Chief of the Treasury Section, National Archives, who generously searched the remaining records, discovered that two appointments as steward were contemplated, one for a 'middle-aged man' at \$40 per month, and one as a cabin steward at \$25. Possibly HG expected the higher position, but was given the lower. His own comment is in a letter of 6 January HGC, printed in part in George, Jr., 58. The hurricane is reported in the *Philadelphia Evening Journal*, 30 January 1858; and the tempest in the George home in letters to HG from Jo Jeffreys and Charles Walton, 1 and 16 February 1858, HGC. HG reported the stops in St. Thomas and at Rio, the yellow fever, and the death of Martin in letters to Walton (18 February, not sent), and to his parents, 6 January and n.d., HGC; see George, Jr., 58. 'Dust to Dust' was written for the *Philadelphia Saturday Night*, his friend Ned Wallazz's little paper; it was republished in the San Francisco *Californian*, 14 July 1866; and all except five paragraphs are reproduced in George, Jr., 63-7. The earlier story referred to in the text, which also derived from *Shubrick* experiences, is 'The Boatswain's Story,' *Californian*, 5 August 1865; about it, see Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939), 200. HG's impressions of the Strait of Magellan are recorded in the biographical 'Meeker Notes,' clipping from the Harrisburg Patriot (?), 18 November 1897, HG Scrapbook 29, NYPL.

San Francisco: Arrival and Temporary Departure. HG's arrival in California, the factors in his decision making, and his departure, 1858, are described in his correspondence. For letters printed in part, see George, Jr., 70-71, 75-7. The following unprinted letters, HGC, are drawn on: to HG from his parents, 1 January, 3 April, 2, 4 August; from members of the Curry family, 22 May; from Jeffreys, 31 July. On California's depression and the call of the Frazer River: Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge, 1947), 177-8; John S. Hittell, *A History of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California* (San Francisco, 1878), 277.

The contemporary comments cited are: Henry Haight to F. M. Haight, 6 April 1857, Haight Collection, HL; and the *Hesperian*, 1:57 (15 June 1858).

Hard Times in British Columbia and California. HG's adventure into the Pacific Northwest appears mainly in his correspondence of late 1858. See George, Jr., 76-8, 80. Other letters with important data are the one from Jeffreys, 1 November, and one to Caroline George, 10 October, HGC. HG recollected the miner's economics, 4 February 1890, when he made an address in San Francisco. See George, Jr., 80; and Complete Works, vm, 297-321. He told the story more fully in a Chicago address, 25 August 1893, HGC. The temporary break with James George, the tapering-off with the Currys, and the death of Jeffreys are matters which appear in letters between HG and members of his family and friends, 21 September 1858-1 August 1859, HGC. On 23 February 1864, Caroline George wrote HG (HGC) what seems to have been his final word about the Currys: Mrs. Curry and Emma had died, and Florence was happily married. Jeffrey's advice to HG is contained in letters of 19 May 1858 and 3 February HGC, the latter quoted in George, Jr., 87-8. HG's stopgap jobs and his unemployment, in San Francisco 1858-9, are accounted for in George, Jr., 834, 93; and comparable experiences appear in James J. Ayers, *Gold and Sunshine, Reminiscences of Early California* (Boston, 1922?), 167, and in Thaddeus S. Kenderdine, *A California Tramp and Later Footprints ...* (Newtown, Pa., 1888), ch. xvi.

Finding Himself. HG's satisfaction in an opportunity to read again and his delight in living in San Francisco appear in letters to members of his family, 20 November 1859, 4 January, 18 April 1860, and in a reminiscence, 'The Noble View from Telegraph Hill,' Ms. c. 1870, HGC. What Cheer House is discussed in Joseph Weed, *California as It Is* (San Francisco, 1874), 144; and in articles in *Hutching's California Magazine* (San Francisco), 5:206-8, 294-5 (November January 1861). The literary papers, of the kind which hired HG, are discussed in Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, especially chs. v-vii; and California's regionalism, especially in chs. i and xiii. The issue of the *California Home Journal* is that of 16 October 1859, HL. The family letters, HGC, which tell the story of HG's decision to remain awhile in California, and which report his conversion, were for the most part written in 1860.

#### **IV. SUFFERING AND EXALTATION, 1861-1865**

California Loyalties at the Opening of the Civil War. For the state's recent politics and votes, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vi (Works, xxiii [1887]), 701-3; Ayers, *Gold and Sunshine*, 153-7, 180, 192-3; Edward S. Stanwood, *History of the*

*Presidency* (Boston and New York, 1928), I, 276, 297. On loyalties and disloyalties which worried HG, see John J. Earle, 'The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War,' American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1, 127-9, 134, and *passim* (1908). Several family letters about the crisis are quoted in George, Jr., 97, 112.

Anxiety and Love. Concerning the San Francisco *Daily Evening Journal*, HG's hope and disappointment in 1861, I draw on copy, 11 June 1861, UCBL, and on letters between HG and his sisters, 10 April, 19 August, and November 1861, HGC. Letters to HG from parents, aunt, two sisters, and one brother, 10 June-30 November 1861, HGC, describe the financial adversities of the family in Philadelphia. HG's 'Millennial Letter' to Jane George, 15 September 1861, HGC, is quoted at about three-quarter length in George, Jr., 116-18. Their children tell the story of HG's and Annie Fox's courtship and marriage (without mention of HG's boyhood fondness for Florence Curry), in George, Jr., 105-7, 122-7, and de Mille, chs. v-vi. Annie's retrospect is in a letter to HG, 3 December 1868; and other McCloskey family information in Sister Teresa to HG, 15 September 1865, HGC.

First Residence in Sacramento. Annie George wrote as many of the letters as HG did, mostly to the Philadelphia family, which tell the story of their family affairs, 1862. They are in HGC; but passages are taken from quotations in George, Jr., as are certain letters from Philadelphia, pp. 128, 129, 131, 134. HG's projects and speculations appear in correspondence with his California friends, 1863 and 1864, HGC and George, Jr., 138. On politics in Sacramento, see George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford* (Stanford, 1931), ch. vi; and on journalism, contemporary statements by Paul Morrill of the *Union*, and E. A. Waite, Bowman Mss., Newspaper Matter, pp. 40-41, 81, 85-7, UCBL. Morrill is the proprietor quoted in criticism of the railroads. HG's comment on Watson is in his pamphlet. *The Press. Should It be Personal or Impersonal?* (Sacramento, 1876 or 1877).

Ordeal in San Francisco. For the depression background of HG's ordeal of 1864-5, see Hittell, *San Francisco*, 340, 346-7; and Ayers, *Gold and Sunshine*, 214. The Hinckley letter, 22 December 1864, is in the Hinckley Collection, HL. On the *American Flag*, see John J. Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915), 60; there is one issue of HG's period of working on the paper, 23 April 1864, UCBL. The Christmas diary is quoted in George, Jr., 146; and that biography, 148-9, and de Mille, 31n, 41, tell slightly varying stories of desperation at the time of Richard George's birth. HG's memoranda of new plans for life are printed in George, Jr., 150, 154; and in 'On the Profitable Employment of Time,' 156-8.

Beginning as a Writer. I have discovered no file of the *Journal of Trades and Workmen*, but HG's first article is clipped in HG Scrapbook 25, NYPL, excerpted in George, Jr., 159; and the paper is discussed in Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor*

*Movement in California*, University of California Publications in Economics, xiv (Berkeley, 1935), 37. California's interest in the occult, the vein to which HG shifted, is discussed in Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, ch. vii. HG's 'Plea for the Supernatural' is in the *Californian*, 2:9 (8 April 1865). On San Francisco's reaction to Lincoln's death, see *Alta California*, 16 April 1865; Bancroft, *California*, vii, 311-14; Hittell, *San Francisco*, 351; George, Jr., 161. HG's 'Sic Semper Tyrannis' is clipped, n.d., in HG Scrapbooks 25-6, NYPL; though printed, I do not find it in the *Alta* files. But the *Alta's* reports of Lincoln mourning on 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 April were probably all HG's writing; and there is no doubt about the editorial of 23 April. The filibustering projects are related in George, Jr., 166-7; and Professor Walker's comment is in *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*, 114-15.

## V. SAN FRANCISCO EDITOR VERSUS CALIFORNIA IDEAS, 1865-1868

George's Writing and Thinking in Sacramento. George, Jr., 168-72, tells the story and prints the documents quite fully, for late 1865 and early 1866. HG's retrospect of his early protectionism appears in his *Protection or Free Trade* (1885), Complete Works iv, 29-30. 'The Prayer of Kakonah' is in the *Californian*, 5:9 (28 July 1866); HG's 'Proletarian' articles, in the *Sacramento Union*, 13, 22 August, 29 September 1866; and the reports on the state fair I think I identify correctly as the articles signed 'Adios' in the *San Francisco Call*, 12-18 September 1866. See George, Jr., 171. Henry Watson of the *Union* wrote the recommendation for HG, 28 August 1866, HGC.

On the San Francisco TIMES. HG's decision for San Francisco appears in a letter from A. A. Stickney, 15 August 1866 (HGC), and one to his father, 8 August 1866, George, Jr., 172. On McClatchy's claim to having assigned HG to editorial writing, *ibid.* 173, and *Sacramento Bee* editorial, 18 March 1899; on the role of Brooke, see his own article, 'Henry George in California,' *Century*, n.s., 57:549-50 (February 1899), and George, Jr., 174-5. On the *SF Times*, see Anna L. Marston, ed., *Records of a California Family, Journals and Letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn* (San Diego, 1928), 265-6; for what Wells stood for, see Fred B. Joyner, *David Ames Wells, Champion of Free Trade* (Cedar Rapids, 1939), 44-53. The comment on the *Times* from the side of the *SF Bulletin* is Loring Pickering's, in letters to his partner, G. K. Fitch, 7 February, 20, 28

March 1868, Fitch Collection, Box 16, UCBL. That of the Oakland *Transcript* is in the issue of 2 November 1869 and may have been written by HG.

Economic Thought in California. The only work that seriously examines a part of this subject is the doctoral dissertation of Professor Claude W. Petty, of San Mateo Junior College, 'Gold Rush Intellectual: John S. Hittell' (accepted by the University of California, Berkeley, 1952). Mr. Petty let me see a draft, but the present chapter was written before then, and I took no borrowings earlier than those indicated below, in the note on ch. ix. In a general way Mr. Petty's findings and mine run parallel. In the present chapter I use again ideas that I put into an article, 'Henry George and the California Background of *Progress and Poverty*,' *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 24:97-115 (1945). Professor Paul S. Taylor's analysis of leading issues of social thought is to be found in his 'Foundations of California Rural Society,' *ibid.* 194-202. There are many illustrations of social thought in Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*; and Doris Bepler, 'Descriptive Catalogue of Western Historical Materials in California Periodicals, 1854-1890,' M.A. thesis, UCBL, is useful in the field.

Plans and Views of the State. The moralizing estimates of the two ministers are: William Taylor, *California Life Illustrated* (New York, 1858), 277; and Horace Bushnell, *Characteristics and Prospects of California* (San Francisco, 1858), 13-21. Gadsden's southern notion is printed, from the Leidesdorff Papers, HL, in *Huntington Library Bulletin* no. 8 (October 1935), 173-5; and Taylor, *loc. cit.*, gives a beautiful instance of southern development. Land Problems and State Development. The best historical introduction to California's land problems is Robert G. Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino, 1941), especially chs. i-iii, vi. See also Bancroft, *California*, vi, ch. xx; and for the comment of a contemporary lawyer, see *Memoirs of Elisha Oscar Crosby*, ed. by Charles A. Barker (San Marino, 1945), 65-73. There is some mention of California matters in Benjamin Horace Hibbard's standard *History of the Public Land Policies* (New York, 1924), but not much of present concerns in W. W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley, 1950).

San Francisco Pueblo Question. The general statements on this issue, made in the text, are based on a survey of primary materials as far back as the reports made by General Halleck for the army and W. C. Jones for the General Land Office: Henry W. Halleck, *Report on the Laws and Regulations Relative to Grants or Sales of Public Lands in California* (Washington, 1850); William Carey Jones, *Report on the Subject of Land Titles in California, Made in Pursuance of Instructions from the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, 1850). The following lawyers' briefs are drawn on, as being practically histories of San Francisco title holding: Nathaniel Bennett, *Land Titles*

in *San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1862); John W. Dwinelle, *Colonial History of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1863); William J. Shaw, *Argument in the Case of Hart vs. Burnett* (San Francisco, 1860). Historical comment in: Bancroft, *California*, 111, 229-33; VII, 230; Robinson, *Land in California*, ch. xvii; and Cleland, *California, American Period* (New York, 1922), 290. On Judge Field's role: Carl B. Swisher, *Stephen J. Field, Craftsman of the Law* (Washington, 1930), 98-101.

3. George's First Editorial Program: The TIMES. The Times' position on economic questions, just before HG took charge, is derived from editorials mainly of the first five months of 1867. The event behind HG's discussing analogies between American and European developments is described in B. F. Gilbert, 'Welcome to the Czar's Fleet, an Incident of Civil War Days in San Francisco,' *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 26 (1947): 13-19. HG's editorials on Russia, identified as his by internal evidence, are in SF Times, 16, 23, 27 November 1866; see George, Jr., 173. HG's support of the Democratic mayor, on land policy, appeared in the Times 23 July 1868; and Mayor McCoppin's letters to him are dated 18 April, 23 July 1868, HGC. For the California background of the railroad matters about which HG editorialized, see Stuart Daggett, *Chapters in the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York, 1922); and for Pennsylvania's earlier public-works-and-private system, see A. L. Bishop, 'The State Works of Pennsylvania,' *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xiii (1907), 149-297. The claim that HG's monetary ideas were indebted to Ferris was made by Charles H. Shinn, in 'Early Books, Magazines, and Book-Making' (in California), *Overland Monthly*, 2d series, 12:349 (October 1888); Ferris's own *Financial Economy of the United States Illustrated, and Some of the Causes Which Retard the Progress of California Demonstrated* (San Francisco, 1867) sets forth the strict gold-base idea of currency, and argues for free trade. Ferris was more in a hurry for specie resumption than HG was. On this economist, see Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*, 111 (New York, 1949), 5, vii. On the 'Ohio Idea' of monetary reform, see Chester Mc A. Destler, *American Radicalism, 1865-1901, Essays and Documents*, Connecticut College Monographs, no. 3. (New London, 1946), chs. II—III, especially 34-42, 47; and on Edward Kellogg, ch. iv.

## **VI. FIGHTING MONOPOLY AND PLEDGING UTOPIA, 1869-1871**

On the San Francisco CHRONICLE, 1868. The account of family affairs is based in part on George, Jr., and de Mille; but Annie George's children were more reticent than



need be about her illness, and their accounts confuse this water trip with her next trip, by rail, from California east. I draw on family letters, mostly Annie George to HG, 2 September-8 December 1868, HGC. The comment on the *Chronicle* is made from the paper itself; but Young, *Journalism in California*, is useful.

News Monopolization in California. HG's trip east, his chance to see communications monopolies firsthand, he discussed in a letter to the *NY Tribune*, 5 March 1869; see George, Jr., 181. Concerning his antimonopoly employer, Nugent, I draw on two comments by contemporaries: memorandum by Frank Soule, 1878, Bowman Mss., Newspaper Matter, UCBL; Ayers, *Gold and Sunshine*, 155, 158-61. For historical treatments of Nugent's battles for freedom, and of surrounding California history, see: H. H. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (Works, xxxvi-xxxvii), and his *Retrospection Political and Personal* (New York, 1912), 184-93; and Caughey, *California*, 348-53, and Cleland, *Wilderness to Empire*, 264-8. Nugent's own plans for the second *Herald* appear in editorials, *SF Daily Herald*, 19 January, 17 October 1869. The present account of California newspaper economics rests in part on sources just cited, and in part on HG's retrospects in the *NY Herald*, 25 April 1869, and the *SF Post*, 27 June 1874.

George versus AP and Western Union. For a historical account of HG's Goliath, see Oliver Gramling, *AP: The Story of the News* (New York and Toronto, 1940), 64-78. HG's hot public review of his fight appeared in the *NY Herald*, 25 April 1869; and his later recollections, in *Report of the Committee of the Senate upon the Relations between Labor and Capital*, 1 (1883), 481-5, and in *NY Standard*, 28 September 1889. HG's earlier criticisms of the *SF Bulletin* occurred in the *SF Times*, 11 April, 23 July 1868; and his comment on Grant's cabinet in *SF Herald*, 12 April 1869. My narrative of HG's fight is supplied from about 25 of his own letters, principally to Nugent and Charles A. Sumner in San Francisco, dated between 14 January and 29 April 1869, HGC.

Vision and Dedication. John Hasson's record of the phrenological examination, with comment, 1869, is preserved, HGC. J. R. Young's reminiscence of HG at this time is in his *Men and Memories* (New York and London, 1901), 11, 417-26; and HG's reminiscences of New York, in his Chicago Art Institute Speech, 29 August 1893, HGC. HG's recollections of his vision appear in George, Jr., 192-3. The Chinese problem of the time is stated in Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, xxiv, no. 3 (Urbana, 1939), especially chs. ii-iii; and Mary R. Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909). George's Chinese letter appeared in the *NY Tribune*, 1 May 1869; and it was reprinted with comment, *SF Herald*, 23, 24 May 1869. My guess is that he derived his wage ideas from J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*

(New York, 1864), 1, 511; he acknowledged the political ambitions he placed in the Chinese letter, in letters to Sumner, 26 April, 2 May 1869, HGC.

On the San Francisco Sidelines. Copies of HG's contract with the NY *Tribune*, 1 May 1869, appear in both HGC and John Russell Young Papers, LC. The account of his trip to San Francisco and of the deterioration of his affairs is drawn from his memoranda and his letters to Sumner, Hasson, Sinclair, and Caroline George, May-August 1869, HGC; and from a letter to Young, 16 May 1869, John Russell Young Papers, LC. The Philadelphia side of the family story is from Annie George's letters to him, July-September 1869, HGC. HG's estimate of the situation of the Irish in San Francisco appeared in the *Monitor*, 14, 21 August 1869; his figures are sustained by Hugh Quigley, *The Irish Race in California* (San Francisco, 1878), 149-51.

Program of the California Immigrant Union. The immigrant union is sketched from President Hopkins' own data: 'The California Reflections of Caspar T. Hopkins,' serialized in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vols. 25-7, especially 27:169-70 (1948); and his principal pamphlet, *Common Sense Applied to the Immigration Question: Showing Why the 'California Immigrant Union' was Founded and What It Expects to Do* (San Francisco, 1869). Other important publications of the union were: Alexander D. Bell, *Arguments in Favor of Immigration, with an Explanation of the Measures Recommended by the Immigrant Union* (1870); and *All About California and the Inducements to Settle There* (San Francisco, 1870), which included an essay by J. S. Hittell.

Return to Political Journalism. On HG's becoming acquainted with Governor Haight, and the symbolism of the event, see: George, Jr., 207-8; de Mille, 57; Destler, *American Radicalism*, 5-6. On Haight, see Bancroft, *California*, vii, 325-36, 363, 370; there is comment on him by his law partner, in a Ms. biographical statement, UCBL. The Mill letter is reprinted in full, and HG's comment is largely reprinted, George, Jr., 198-201. HG's letter of 1893 to Garrison is quoted at length also, *ibid.* 202-3; there are other letters between the two on the same subject: HG to Garrison, 19 May 1888, Garrison Collection, Smith College; and Garrison to HG, 4 December 1893, HGC.

Illumination in Oakland. HG's fullest account of the event, written in the Meeker Notes, 1897, is printed in George, Jr., 210; his other reminiscences are quoted from his Chicago Art Institute Speech, 29 August 1893, HGC, and from *Science of Political Economy*, 162-3. HG's letter to Mill, 16 July 1870, appears in the John Stuart Mill Correspondence, JHU.

Position as Leading Democratic Editor. For the personal and family aspects of the move to Sacramento, George, Jr., 211; and Annie George to HG, 2 April 1870, HGC. For HG's success with the American Press Association, his correspondence with Hasson and Young, May-July 1870, HGC; and Thompson and West, *History of Sacramento County*,

*California* (Oakland, 1880), 92. About having been bought out of the *Reporter*, HG seems to have been reticent for years; but in the *SF Post*, 14 January 1873, he placed the responsibility on Stanford; and he told his story elaborately in the *SF State*, no. 1, 5 April 1879.

The Anti-Monopoly Program of the REPORTER. (1) Concerning railroad regulation, Governor Haight summed up his position, as quoted, in a letter to L. I. Carr, 25 January 1871, Haight Paper, HL. HG's position, in the *Reporter*, 9, 12 May 1870. (2) Concerning taxation: *ibid.* 28 February, 5 April, 14 April 1870; compare J. A. Ferris, *Political Economy of the United States*, ch. xx. (3) Concerning labor's real earnings and frontier opportunities: *Sacramento Reporter*, 12 April, 9 August 1870; compare Wesley C. Mitchell, *Gold, Prices, and Wages under the Greenback Standard*, University of California Publications in Economics, 1 (Berkeley, 1908), 122-3, 237—48, 275-6, 283: and compare also Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier* (New York and Toronto, 1945), 356-9, and his 'A Post-Mortem on the Labor-Safety-Valve Theory,' *Agricultural History*, 19:31-7 (January 1945). (4) On the Chinese problem: HG renewed his attack in the *Reporter*, 4, 7 March, 15, 18 April, 11 June 1870; he wrote Mill, 16 July 1870, John Stuart Mill Correspondence, JHU; and the encouragement he received from Mill and Horace White is to be found in their respective letters of 13 August and 20 July 1870, HGC. (5) On HG's theme of the continuing Civil War: *Reporter*, in the order of the quotations in the text, 4 May, 20 April, 4 July, 1 August 1870: R. S. H. George to HG, 2 June HGC.

8. OUR LAND AND LAND POLICY. HG's *Subsidy Question* pamphlet is now rare; no place or date of publication is indicated but the UCBL copy is marked and the NYPL copies are identified, San Francisco, 1871. For the timeliness of it, see David M. Ellis, 'The Forfeiture of Railroad Land Grants, 1867-1894,' *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 33:27, 34-6, 38 (June 1946). *Our Land and Land Policy* was published in two editions in San Francisco, 1871, and they also are rare; it appears in Complete Works, vii, 1-131. HG's colored map, with diagrammatic representation of railroad grants, may be compared with a modern map, also controversial, in Robert S. Henry, 'The Railroad Land Grant Legend in American History Texts,' *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 32 (1945): 171-94. Horace Greeley's quoted statement about swamp lands, from *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1869), 231, corresponds with *Our Land and Land Policy*, 59-62. For the historians' acceptance of HG's criticisms, see: Bancroft, *California*, vi, 580; Shannon, *Farmer's Last Frontier*, 389; Gates, 'The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System,' *American Historical Review*, 41 (1936): 657, 668-9. Concerning HG's connection with E. T. Peters, who is mentioned in Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 111, 35, xi, and whose idea, expressed in 1871, that 'every dollar' obtained from city land values is 'taken out of

other men's pockets' certainly indicates convictions like those animating HG, I think that the timing indicates minimum ideological influence of one land radical on the other. Mr. Peters' articles appeared in the NY National Standard between spring and fall, 1871, the idea just quoted on 2 September, too late to affect *Our Land and Land Policy*. In a letter of 12 March 1880 (HGC), however, HG told Dr. E. R. Taylor that he had known Peters from some lectures (did he mean articles?) but had never met him. *Our Land and Land Policy*, 5, gives credit to Peters' statistical work for the Treasury.

## VII. TRYING OUT RADICAL IDEAS: THE SAN FRANCISCO DAILY EVENING POST, 1871-1874

1. Personal Situation, 1871. HG's role in the Democratic convention is indicated in Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California* (Sacramento, 1893), 298-300, and in a notation on a copy of the platform, HG Scrapbook 3, NYPL. His pieces in the *Overland* were: 'How Jack Breeze Missed Being a Pasha,' and 'Bribery in Elections,' 6:164-77 (February), and 7:497-504 (December, 1871). Annie George's illness is reported from her own letters, from the autumn of 1871 until the next summer, HGC. Eastern responses to *Our Land and Land Policy* are indicated in the following letters: Julian to HG, 16 August 1871, HGC; Wells to HG, quoted in George, Jr., 234, and HG to Wells, 19 September, 26 October 1871, Wells Collection, LC; White to HG, 11 September 1871, HGC. California comment occurs in: *SF Bulletin*, 31 July; *SF Call*, 1 August; *Sacramento Bee*, 31 July; *Sacramento Union*, 1 August 1871. Governor Haight's report, 5 December 1871, and Governor Booth's address, 8 December 1871, appear in *California Assembly Journal*, 1871-2 (Sacramento, 1872), 62, 123. For the legislative committee's declaration, see *Report of the Joint Committee to Inquire Into and Report Upon the Condition of the Public and State Lands Lying Within the Limits of the State* (Sacramento, 1872), 5-7.

Launching the POST. The memorandum of HG's partner, William Hinton, in George, Jr., 237, describes the earliest financial arrangements. My facts and figures on the newspaper business are from: *SF Call*, 9 September 1866, 4 August 1871; *SF Post*, 25 May 1874; Fitch to Simonton, 12 May 1871, Fitch Mss., UCBL. On the history of penny journalism, see Mott, *American Journalism*, 220-24. HG's statements of political orientation are found in: letter to Wells, 19 September 1871, Wells Collection, LC; *SF Post*, 4 December 1871. For the background of HG's labor politics, see Commons, *History of Labour*, 1, 153-5; Cross, *Labor Movement in California*, 96. On his role as delegate to the Baltimore convention: Davis, *Political Conventions in California*, 316; *SF Post*, 10, 11, 12

June 1872; George, Jr., 240. HG's opinions on the campaign, in the order mentioned in the text: *SF Post*, 24 June, 26 July 1872; letters to Whitelaw Reid, 24 September, 11 October 1872, Reid Mss., Herald Tribune Building, New York City, copies supplied by Professor Jeter A. Iseley of Princeton; *SF Post*, 6, 30 November, 7 December 1872.

2-3. Withdrawal, Return, and Prosperity. HG's immediate success with the *Post* is attested by the appearance of the paper, and by announcements, printed 30 December 1871 and 9-10 January 1872. Terms of sale, in George, Jr., 238-9. Of later success, the principal announcements occur in the *Post*, 11 December 1872, 29 November 1873; HG's overture to Reid in letter of 24 September 1872, Reid Mss., Herald Tribune Building, copy supplied by Professor Iseley. The report on HG's office life is supplied from de Mille, 66-7, and Mrs. C. F. McLean, 'Henry George, a Study from Life,' *Arena* (Boston), 20:299-300 (1918); that on his club life, from HG to John Swinton, 27 March 1873, HGC, and Robert H. Fletcher, *Annals of the Bohemian Club* (San Francisco, 1898), 159, 167 (for access to which, and to the club's membership record, I thank Mr. Henry L. Perry, the club's historian); and that on his home life, from his own and his wife's letters, 16 October, 7 November 1874, HGC.

Continuities of Reform Thought. HG's attitude toward California's liberal Republicans appears in the *Post* of: 8 December 1871; 1 September, 6, 12, 18 December 1873; 1 April 1874; 2 April, 21 May, 21 June 1875. For HG's current ideas on railroad policy, *ibid.* 20, 26 February, 28 June, 6, 17 July, 9, 24 September, 19 October 1872; 24 January, 6 March, 13 November 1873. For an opinion he liked, see W. A. Grosvenor, 'The Railroads and the Farms,' *Atlantic Monthly*, 32:591-610 (November 1873); concerning the Atlantic and Pacific possibility, information from Bancroft Ms., Caspar T. Hopkins, UCBL, and Hopkins 'Memoirs,' *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 27:339-41. Concerning the APA: the hard competition it gave the *Bulletin* and the *Call* is acknowledged in G. K. Fitch to J. W. Simonton, 12 May 1871, Fitch Ms., UCBL; HG's embarrassment about APA is stated in *SF Post*, 24 October 1874; and his fury toward AP, *ibid.* 20 January 1873. His reply to Wells, proposing the public ownership of the telegraph and other utilities, *ibid.* 18 January 1873. HG's acuteness in speaking of natural monopolies appears by reference to George T. Brown's chapter on 'The Theory of Natural Monopoly,' in *The Gas Light Company of Baltimore*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 54 (Baltimore, 1936).

Conviction against Private Property in Land. The report of the criticism in *Green's Land Paper* is written from the six-month file, UCBL, and the quotations are drawn from the issues of 6 January, 3 February, and 5 June 1872. HG's socialist-meeting defense of private landholding, in *SF Post*, 27 February 1872. Assemblyman Days's reformist

position is indicated in his bill, 7 March 1872 (after similar resolutions introduced by another assemblyman), *California Assembly Journal*, 1871-2, 607; and HG's approval, in *SF Post*, 8, 15 February, 29 March, 15 October 1872. Days's memorandum, on having changed HG's mind, in George, Jr., 230, 232-3. For instances of HG's publicizing cases of land engrossment, see the *Post*, 6, 16 December 1871, 3 June 1875; and for his policy recommendations, 29 December 1871; 29 January, 23 March 1872; 16 January, 24 February 1874.

California Taxes and American Theory. The description of the tax environment in which HG's key reform idea was born borrows from William C. Fankhauser, *A Financial History of California, Public Revenues, Debts, and Expenditures*, University of California Publications, 111 (Berkeley, 1913). New York reform ideas are taken directly from D. A. Wells, E. Dodge, G. W. Cuyler, *Second Report . . .* (Albany, 1872), 7, 14, 35-6, 47, and passim; see also Herbert R. Ferleger, David A. Wells and the American Revenue System (New York, 1942). For a brief statement of Wells's ideas, see his 'Rational Principles of Taxation,' *Journal of Social Science*, 6 (1874): 120-33. The *Post* is considered as background of single-tax ideas in Arthur N. Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States* (Princeton, 1916), 54-60.

Immediate Development of George's Tax Proposal. The early responses of the San Francisco papers, except those taken from the *Chronicle* and the *Call*, respectively of 16 February, and 5, 12 November 1873, are traced from information in the *Post*, 1873-4. Essential *Post* editorials, discussing the application of the proposal in rural areas, appear in the issues of 22 July, 5 August, 10 October 1874, 13 March 1875; those discussing its application in urban areas, in the issues of 14 July, 10, 19 November 1873, 23 January, 13 August, 30 October 1874, 13 February, 17 November 1875.

State Capital Reactions. Governor Booth's 1873 ideas about landholding were voiced in his message, 1 December 1873, *California Assembly Journal*, 1873-4, 122. The reactions of the Sacramento press are taken occasionally from reports in the *Post*, but principally from the journals themselves, as follows:

*Bee*, 27 January, 4, 29 November 1873; *Union*, 25 October, 4 November 1873. The *Record* figures, as reported in the text, correspond with those in the *State Board of Equalization Report* (Sacramento, 1873), 23, 27; but they differ a little from the figures Governor Booth used in his biennial address. The report of the Murphy committee of the assembly was printed, apparently in full, in the *Post*, 4 May 1874; and HG's optimistic reaction appeared the next day. HG's current fondness for Mill is represented in the *Post* of 17 April 1873 and 1 May 1874; and his strong statements, which are quoted, against

private property in land were made in the same newspaper, 29 October 1874, 30 April, 16 July 1875.

## VIII. ROUNDING OUT AN EDITOR'S THOUGHT: THE *POST'S* UTOPIA, 1872-1875

Fields for Immediate Reform. The editorials on tariff policy, drawn on for illustrations, are to be found, in the order of the text, in the *SF Post* for: 16 January 1874, 24 October 1873, 3 March, 3 November 1874, 27 September 1875. HG's identification of tariff reform with free trade and the review of the Butts book appear, respectively, *ibid.* 22 December 1873, 5 June 1875. On the question of municipalizing San Francisco's water system, HG's diagnosis appears *ibid.* 20 November 1873, 12, 17, 22 March, 27 June, 13, 20 November 1874. Other opinions in: *SF Call*, 22 March, 27 June 1874; *SF Bulletin*, 9, 10 April 1875; *SF Chronicle*, 2 April 1873. HG's economic prescriptions appear in *SF Post*: 6 January 1872, 2 December 1873, 28 March 1874.

Belief in Labor and Capitalism. HG's ideas about unions, strikes, and the eight-hour program appear in *SF Post*, 14 June 1872, 16 July 1874. The Sunrise story is to be found *ibid.* October-November 1873 *passim*; see also George, Jr., 241, Young, *Journalism in California*, 79. HG's notions about the prevention and cure of depressions appear in the *Post*, 15 January, 28 November 1874, 4 February 1875; his financial ideas, *ibid.* 23, 25 February, 5 October, 29 December 1874, 11 January, 16 July 1875: and his ideas about banking, building-and- loan, and other credit services, *ibid.* 5, 7 December 1871, 1 August, 24 September, 7 October 1872, 25 October 1873, 29 April, 27 November 1874, 7 July 1875. The appreciation of Ralston and other imaginative capitalists, *ibid.* 2 December 1872, 4 June 1874, 28 August, 13 September 1875: *SF Ledger*, 28 August 1875.

Enlargement of Personal Faith. On HG's religious inclinations at home, George, Jr., 252. His critical reflections against moral relativism and agnosticism appear in *SF Post*, 1 May, 12 September 1874, 6 February 1875. His favorable response to idealistic history appears *ibid.* 11, 21 November 1874; and his vein of moral pessimism is represented, *ibid.* 8 November 1872, 15 February, 14, 16, 17, 21 June, 7 August 1873, 6 March 1875. Aspects of his international awareness, in the order of the text, appear in *SF Post*, 16 October 1874, 12 December 1871, 20 November 1875, 6, 10 June 1874, 14 June 1873.

The Just State. George's criticisms of militarism and bureaucracy appear *ibid.* 13, 20 April, 23 June 1874. His dream of extended federalism, *ibid.* 9 July 1874; his anxieties about over government, *ibid.* 4 April 1872, 4 June 1873, 15 November 1875; and his

preferences for localized power, fixed executive responsibility, and economy, *ibid.* 26 March, 10 April 1872, 22 October, 26 December 1873, 17 February 1874, 27 February, 5 June 1875. For HG's first effort for the Australian ballot, see 'Bribery in Elections,' *Overland Monthly*, 7:497-504 (December 1871), and de Mille, 65. His other ideas and reservations about electoral reform, *SF Post*, 4, 19 December 1871, 4 April 1872, 3, 23 January, 31 March, 13 April 1874. His wish for a new California constitution appears *ibid.* 13 January, 17 February, 16 March, 6 April 1874, 9 August 1875.

Efforts to do Good. HG's preliminary battle with police corruption appears in *SF Alta California*, 10, 13 May 1873, and *SF Post*, 10 April 1875; see also George, Jr., 244. The story of the Cockrill affair is told in almost every issue of the *Post* during the three weeks beginning 10 April 1875: I draw also on the *SF Call* and *Bulletin* for the second half of the month. On the Industrial School exposure, besides the *Post*, 3 December 1872-10 January 1873, see George, Jr., 241-2. The frame of the story of the *Post's* attack on the administration of the University of California is drawn in William S. Ferrier, *Origin and Development of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1930): there is information in Fabian Franklin, *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman* (New York, 1910), 145-7, 150, 151, 155 (unfortunately the Gilman Mss. at Johns Hopkins and Yale add nothing here); and there is much testimony, if not much conclusion, in the 'Investigation of the Alleged Frauds in the Construction of the College of Letters. Testimony Taken by the Assembly Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds,' *California Assembly Journal*, 1873-4, Appendix iv (Sacramento, 1874). On the character of Professor Carr, see Merle E. Curti and Vernon Carstenson, *The University of Wisconsin, A History*, 1 (Madison, 1949), 180-81. See George, Jr., 208-9. Besides these background sources, I draw on the *Post*, especially 8, 22 January, 9, 16 March, 9 June 1874.

Successes and Downfall of the POST. HG's battle with the liquor interests appears in the *Post*, July 1874, *passim*; see also Arthur Me Ewen, 'Henry George, a Character Sketch,' *Review of Reviews*, 16 (1897): 551. The plans, conditions, and achievement involved in the *Post's* new plant are told from the paper's own announcements, especially during June 1874, and October 1874- January 1875. George, Jr., pp. 247-8, note 2, says that Senator Jones's \$30,000 purchased 30 of 100 shares of the newspaper's stock, but probably this should be translated to mean 300 of 1000. The *Bulletin's* unfriendly opinion of Jones is taken from the issue of 30 December 1874; and this conforms with the notion of the *Call*, 26 June 1874, that the *Post* really belonged to creditors. On the other side of the antagonism, the *Post* frequently denounced those papers, and sometimes predicted (4 June 1873, 19 June 1874, 7 October 1875) the fall of the *Bulletin*. But the Fitch Mss., Exhibits K and L, 1875, UCBL, contain a statement about that paper's earning power. HG's hopes for



the *Weekly Post* and the *Morning Ledger* he stated to John Swinton, 6 October 1875, HGC; the account of the *Ledger* is based mainly on the paper itself, but see also George, Jr., 248, de Mille, 71-2. HG's immediate reactions to the loss of his paper are quoted from letters to Swinton, 28 November, 27 December 1875, HGC; the later reminiscence, from a letter to Charles Nordhoff, 31 January 1880, HGC.

## IX. FROM ISOLATION; SPEAKING AND WRITING IN TIME OF CRISIS, 1876-1879

1. Holding a Sinecure. The letters in which HG stated his satisfactions at being free of newspaper obligations are family ones, 31 March (?), 26 May 1876, HGC. His being appointed to a state job is the subject of a memorandum by E. W. Maslin, George, Jr., 262-3; the formal record of confirmation appears in California Legislature, *Senate Journal*, 1875-6, 99, and the description of that event is from McLean, 'Henry George, A Study from Life,' *Arena*, 20:304. For HG's acknowledgment that the inspectorship was a sinecure, see *Science of Political Economy*, 201; his discussions of the practical politics, duties, and pleasures of the job occur in letters to James Coffey, and to his wife and his mother, January-May 1876, printed in part, George, Jr., 257-g. His pamphlet, *The Press. Should It Be Personal or Impersonal?* was almost certainly published in San Francisco, 1876.

Beginning a Speaking Career. HG's first major speech was printed as *The Question before the People, What Is the Real Issue in the Presidential Campaign?* (San Francisco, 1876); the quoted passages are from pp. 3, 15, 6. The San Luis Obispo event is taken from the *Gazette* of that city, 9 October 1876, HG Scrapbook 6, NYPL; and HG's improved style appears in his Ms. address, 'Why I Am a Democrat,' HGC. Other details of his campaign of 1876 efforts, including the self-estimate quoted, from George, Jr., 268-71. HG's 4 July address, 'The American Republic: Its Dangers and Possibilities,' is in Complete Works, viii, 157-84, the quoted passages on pp. 157-8, 159, 160, 161, 162, 168, 170, 171, 173. The events of the 4 July celebrations are taken from the *Alta California*, 5 July 1876, 5 July 1877. The circumstances surrounding HG's university lecture are related in George, Jr., 274-5; and C. T. Hopkins' preceding address is printed, *Business versus Speculation* (San Francisco, 1876). HG's own text, 'The Study of Political Economy,' is in Complete Works, viii, 135-53; the passages quoted, on pp. 135, 136, 140-41, 153. The lecture was first printed in *Popular Science Monthly*, 16:601-12 (March 1880). For the analysis by George, Jr., see p. 282.

Arguing with Unreason. On the immediate economic-political background, see HG, 'The Kearney Agitation in California,' *Popular Science Monthly*, 17 (1880): 433-53; and the chapter on the same subject in James Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (New York and London, 1895), 11, which, pp. 429n, 444-5, draws on HG's 'brilliant' article. For scholarly treatments, see: Bancroft, *California*, vii, ch. xiv; Cross, *Labor Movement in California*, chs. vi-viii; Sandmeyer, *Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, ch. iv; and Ralph Kauer, 'The Workingmen's Party of California,' *Pacific Historical Review*, 13 (1944): 278-gi. Kearneyite overtures to HG are contained in a letter from T. W. Dennis and Edward Connolly, 25 August 1877, HGC; his other choices are indicated in diary and letters, HGC, partly reproduced in George, Jr., 288, 298. See also Sandmeyer, 79-80. On the gathering of the California Land Reform League, George, Jr., 293-4, and Louis F. Post, *Prophet of San Francisco* (New York, 1930), 46. HG's keynote address, *Why Work Is Scarce, Wages Low, and Labor Restless*, was printed (San Francisco, 1885); quotations in the text from pp. 1-9, 11, 13. The *Argonaut's* version appeared 17, 24 August 1878. To see the ideas in the perspective of HG's growth, compare *Progress and Poverty*, Bk. v, ch. 1, and his article, 'Causes of the Business Depression,' 1894, in *Complete Works*, viii, 325-31. HG's own explanation of the address to Swinton, 2 June 1878, HGC, is quoted in de Mille, 80; Mr. Waite's objection, referring to his article in *Overland Monthly*, 15: 446-55 (November 1875), is in memorandum, Bowman Mss., Newspaper Matter, p. 64, UCBL. The 'Moses' address is printed, *Complete Works*, vii; pp. 6, 9, 13, 16, 24 are quoted. There is an account of the event in SF *Alta California*, 21 February 1878; and Mrs. de Mille's comment is in 'Henry George, The *Progress and Poverty* Period,' *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 2:551 (July 1943).

4. Writing While California Was Reorganized. For the origins of the constitutional convention, I draw on Kauer, loc. cit. 282-3, and on Carl B. Swisher, *Motivation and Political Technique in the California Constitutional Convention 1878-1879* (Claremont, 1930), 10-14, 17—18. HG's original interest is voiced in letters to Coffey, 5, 28 March 1878, HGC; and his broadside appeal 3 May 1878 is preserved, HGC and UCBL. For the terms set by the Kearneyites, and HG's refusal, see Davis, *Political Conventions in California*, 388, and George, Jr., 299; for the terms on which he undertook candidacy, letter to Democratic convention, 6 June 1878, HGC. On the election of delegates, slightly different figures in Kauer, loc. cit., 283, from those in Davis, *Political Conventions in California*, 390-92. Information on the physical circumstances in which *Progress and Poverty* was written is from: George, Jr., 300-305; de Mille, 81; and undated clipping, HG Scrapbook 8, p. 25, NYPL. On the help of friends, data from: letter from the governor's son, Samuel C. Haight, to B. W. Burgess, 12 August 1927, HGC; Linnie Wolfe Marsh, Son

of the Wilderness, *The Life of John Muir* (New York, 1946), 182-3; John Swett, *Public Education in California* (New York, 1911), 233-4; Judge James Maguire, address, *NY Standard*, 8 October 1887; *Sacramento Bee*, 23 August 1915; reminiscences by James H. Barry, *The Bee*, Annual for 1903, 4.

The Objectionable Reorganization. For the background of HG's 1879, I have borrowed ideas, and a few editorial quotations from the *Alta California*, from ch. xiii, 'The Alta and the Big Red Scare of 1877-1879,' of Dr. Petty's 'Gold-Rush Intellectual: John S. Hittell,' all with the permission of the author. I draw again on the studies mentioned above as discussing Kearneyism; and on J. C. Stedman and R. A. Leonard, *The Workingmen's Party of California* (San Francisco, 1878), especially chs. 11, V-VIII. The economic opinion of Mr. Beale appears in his letter to R. S. Baker, 17 April 1879, R. S. Baker Collection, HL. *Hall's Land Journal* (Los Angeles, 1876, San Francisco, 1876-8) is drawn on, HL file. The new constitution is most readily found in Francis N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and Other Organic Laws* (Washington, 1909), 1, 412-51; but the present chapter was written with reference to the full *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of California* (3 vols., Sacramento, 1880), and I am convinced that HG's ideas were thoroughly disregarded there. Ex-governor Haight, who died before the convention began, was the only elected delegate whom I can connect with HG.

Author Rejected at Home. HG's opinions, in the *State*, are reported from the paper itself. For his children's belief, that the paper paid its way, see George, Jr., 317; de Mille, 83. His own summing up of the California situation, for Swinton, is in a letter of 6 May 1879, HGC. His denunciation of the new railroad commission refers to the Constitution, Article xn, Sections 22-3; the SF State condemned railroad influence, 5 April 1879. His later condemnations are quoted from 'The Kearney Question in California,' loc. cit., 446, 451-2; *Social Problems*, 182. For the advice his friends gave HG, see Swett, *Public Education in California*, 233-4; Young, *Men and Memories*, 11, 417-26.

## **X. BEFORE THE WORLD: PROGRESS AND POVERTY. 1879**

Salient Features of the Book. This chapter might have gained in historical feeling if I had made my references to the San Francisco 'author's edition' of 1879, but convenience would have been sacrificed. All page references are to Complete Works, 1; and they are valid also for the many editions which reproduce that one. A printed sheet (HGC) announced the sober title that HG first gave the book. George, Jr., p. 32 m, may be correct

in supposing that the author used it to conceal the real title, until copyright was established; but it may as easily be supposed that HG first thought to make the book sound scientific, and then preferred to make it more appealing. Dr. Taylor's early appreciation of *P and P*'s regional character appeared in the *Californian* (San Francisco, 1880), 1:183. For a recent exposition of the author's broader range of thought, see leaflet of the Henry George School of Social Science, 'Henry George the Scholar,' by Francis Neilson. HG's knowledge of Buckle is indicated, *P and P*, 92-3: and passages of Buckle which may possibly be echoed in George occur in the *History of Civilization in England* (London, 1873), 111, 309, 312, 314. HG's ignorance of the Physiocrats is indicated by the little he said about them, *P and P*, 421-2, 431; see also his *Science of Political Economy*, Bk. 11, ch. iv; and Emile Rivaud, *Henry George et la Physiocratie* (Paris, 1907), and Charles Gide, 'The Single Tax and the Impot Unique,' *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 5:494-5 (July 1891).

The Context of George's Critique of Classical Economics. HG's comment on Walker's attack on the wages fund seems adequate and just and more timely than he knew. In a review of 1869 John Stuart Mill recanted the wages-fund idea, but he failed to change the later edition of his text to express his change of mind. See Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (Ashley ed.), 343-4, 991-2. HG's objection to the Malthusianism in *The Wages Fund* seems timely, too, by comparison with Bowen's anti-Malthusian article, 'Malthusianism, Pessimism, and Darwinism,' *North American Review*, November 1879, reprinted in his *Gleanings from a Literary Life, 1838-1880* (New York, 1880), see pp. 356, 361-74. On the prevalence of Malthusianism, see Dorfman, *Economic Mind in American Civilization*, ii-iii, *passim*. A letter of 1893, HG to Byron W. Holt, an admirer who disagreed about Malthusianism, indicates that HG refused to change his mind about the validity of *P and P*, Bk. 11 (letter kindly supplied by Professor W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington).

The Influence of Ricardian Theory. For the staying power, in economic thought, of Ricardo's law of rent, see Carl M. Bye, *Developments and Issues in the Theory of Rent* (New York, 1940), especially 104-6. For an approving comment on a Ricardian idea which HG adopted, that rent does not enter the price-making process but is determined by price, see Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (6th ed., London, 1898), 484-5n. On radical developments from Ricardian bases, see Esther Lowenthal, *The Ricardian Socialists* (New York, 1911).

A San Francisco Theory of Interest. Mr. del Mar's charge of plagiarism is contained in his *Science of Money* (London, 1885), 98-9n; and that book mentions his earlier writings. His lecture, which coincided with *P and P*'s publication, was published: *Usury and the Jews* (San Francisco, 1879), 16 pp. On del Mar see C. T. Hopkins, 'Memoirs,'

*California Historical Society Quarterly*, 27:345-7 (December 1948); and Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, iii, 98-101, xxii, which wisely calls attention to this forgotten man. The possibility that del Mar and HG developed their similar ideas independently is suggested by a case that occurred later in HG's life. In a letter of 22 August 1916 (HGC), Rene Brossiere, a French writer, told August Lewis that his own theory of interest, 'which I thought was a new one, was exactly the same as Henry George's (in *Progress and Poverty*) — only I go much farther than the great author.' HG's interest theory in *P and P* drew criticisms for many years. For friendly but severe criticism, see D. M. Lowrey, 'The Basis of Interest,' *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, 2 (1892): 629-52. For friendly doubt: Bolton Hall to R. T. Ely, 19 August 1900, R. T. Ely Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society. For single-tax comment: Joseph Faidy, 'Henry George's Theory of Interest,' *Single Tax Review*, 3 (1903): 20-23; P. H. Elback, 'Interest and the Reform of Henry George,' *ibid.* 13 (1913): 1-12; Charles A. Green, *The Profits of the Earth* (Boston, 1934).

George's Depression Theory in Retrospect. Compare Eugen von Bergmann, *Die Wirtschaft Krisen: Geschichte der Nationalökonomischen Krisen Theorien* (Stuttgart, 1895), 353-9, and Jean Lescure, *Des crises generales et periodiques de production* (Paris, 1910), 474-6, with Paul Barnett, 'Business Cycle Theory in the United States, 1860-1900,' in University of Chicago, School of Business, *Studies in Business Administration*, xi, no. 3 (1938).

George's Realism about the South. Compare *P and P*, 347, with Roger Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (University, La., 1939), and with C. Vann Woodward, *The Rise of the New South* (University, 1952), ch. vii.

6. George and Marginalism. For the uses of the term 'margin' in books from which HG may have borrowed, see: Henry Fawcett, *Manual* (1864 ed.), 140; (1876 ed.), 121; Millicent Garrison Fawcett, *Political Economy for Beginners* (1876 ed.), 97; Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (Ashley ed.), 690, 716. For a learned summary of European beginnings and early American developments of the marginal ideas, see Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 111, 84-7, 145, 188-205, and *passim*. Clark's acknowledgment of debt to HG appears in his *Distribution of Wealth, A Theory of Wages, Interest and Profits* (New York, 1902), viii. For highly critical comment, see Edgar N. Johnson, 'The Economics of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*,' *Journal of Political Economy*, 18 (1910):729; see also George C. Stigler, *Production and Distribution Theories, The Formative Period* (New York, 1941), 302.

George as Frontier Theorist. Dr. F. Lee Benson suggested some of my inquiry on this point. Professor Mood's findings derive from Turner's copy of *Progress and Poverty*

deposited in HL, and from the Minutes of the Johns Hopkins Seminar in History, 17 May 1889, JHU. Professor Merle E. Curti permits me to quote the following, from a letter written him by Turner, 5 January 1931: 'I ... think I never read his *Progress and Poverty* before writing the "Frontier." Since reading your chapter I have read the *Progress and Poverty* discussion of the public domain and its influence upon the question of labor and capital. It is clear that, so far as the land question and legislation on its taxation goes, he had the idea before my "Frontier"; but the single-tax conception never met with my assent.' It seems that Turner, writing at the age of seventy, had forgotten reading done nearly half a century earlier. Elsewhere in the letter he justly claims greater breadth than George, in using the frontier idea.

## **XI. IN THE TIDE OF IDEA AND OPPORTUNITY, 1880-1881**

Publishing PROGRESS AND POVERTY. The story is told quite fully in George, Jr., 315-22; my version draws on additional letters of negotiation and arrangement with the publishers, 1879, HGC. See also McLean, 'Henry George: a Study from Life,' *Arena*, 20:305 (July 1898).

Early Reception of the Book. The letters from George W. Julian, Sir George Grey, and the British Liberals, sent in response to gift copies of the SF edition, are quoted in George, Jr., 323-4, and in de Mille, 85. Professor Leslie's letters, dated 26 November [1879], and 26 September and 24 November [1880], are in HGC; his printed observations on HG, in *Fortnightly Review*, 1 October 1880, New Series, 28:127, 147-9. The earlier HG letter to Nordhoff appears in George, Jr., 328-9; the later one, 31 January [1880], and Horace White's letter, 17 December 1879, are in HGC. The earliest New York reviews were: *Tribune*, 5 December 1879; *Herald*, 15 December 1879 (these and others a little later, in HG Scrapbook 24, NYPL).

California Reviews. There is a description of 'the reception of *Progress and Poverty* in California' in Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 67-9. The SF *Examiner* and *Bee* reviews (apparently of 8 and 12 November 1879, respectively) are preserved in HG Scrapbook 24, NYPL; Dr. Taylor's review is in *Californian*, 1:182-7 (February 1880), and there is a sketch of HG by him in Ella Sterling Cummins [Mighels], *The Story of the Files, a Review of California Writers and Literature* (San Francisco, 1893), 174-5. Dr. Levenson's salute and 'ExRebel's' letter appeared in the *Argonaut* of 14(?) February and 6 March 1880, HG Scrapbook 24, NYPL; comment on them in Sacramento *Bee*, 2 (?) February 1880. Besides

the reviews mentioned, there may have appeared by April 1880 an adverse comment made in the Berkeley Quarterly (date not clear); in July 1881 that journal (2:210-23) carried a severely critical article, John J. Dwyer, 'Henry George on Taxation.' HG's own impressions of first responses to *P and P* appear in *Science of Political Economy*, 170-71, and letter to Dr. Taylor, 17 February 1880, HGC.

Eastern Reception of New York Edition. The special interest in *P and P* in the Appleton office during early 1880 is evident in letters to HG from the firm, 20 February, 5, 27 March, 1, 9 April; from Youmans, 12 March, and from Steers, 27 March, HGC. The lead article on *P and P* was by C. M. Lungren, *Popular Science Monthly*, 16:721-37; and one suspects similar strategy of publicity in the Editor's Table of *Appleton's Journal*, May and June 1881, when criticism was offered and HG replied (New Series, 10:472-4, 552-9, 56970). The locations of the important reviews are: *NY Times*, 6 June 1880; *NY Nation*, 31: 65-6, 117-18 (22 July, 12 August 1880); *Christian Register*, 9 and 19 February 1880; *Springfield Republican*, 27 June 1880; *Atlantic Monthly*, 46 (1880): 847, 851, 854. Some of these are in HG Scrapbook 24, NYPL; and I draw most of the comment from minor journals from that collection. HG's own attitudes appear in *George, Jr.*, which prints some of his letters to Dr. Taylor, 334, 340, 344; I draw also on letters to John Swinton, 29 April, HGC, and to D. A. Wells, 3 April, 1, 9 December 1880, Wells Collection, LC.

Author's Hard Times in New York. HG's life in New York during 1880-81 is told mostly from letters to Dr. Taylor, 31 August, 27 September, 28 November, 4, 18 December 1880, 4 January, 6 March, 12 May 1881, HGC. Family letters are few, but HG's to Richard George, aged fifteen, 2 September, 17 December 1880, HGC, are eloquent. So are Bigelow's account of HG in *Seventy Summers*, 11, 16-17, and Young's reminiscence, from *NY Herald*, 30 October 1897. HG's campaign efforts are recounted in *George, Jr.*, 336-8; and there is a draft of the article Youmans rejected, one may think too reformist for *Popular Science Monthly*, preserved in HGC. HG reviewed his relations with Hewitt in a draft letter, 1897, HGC. In his *Abram S. Hewitt, With Some Account of Peter Cooper* (New York and London, 1935), 418-19, Allan Nevins offers evidence which supports HG's own idea that Hewitt had liked *P and P*. I have scanned the HGC draft of HG's report done for Hewitt, and, as nearly as I can tell (the report is partly in HG's shorthand), it contains little or nothing to justify Hewitt's later charge that it was full of single-tax ideas. The other best contemporary documents on the Hewitt affair are HG's letters to Dr. Taylor 28 November 1880, 6 March 1881, HGC.

Securing a Foothold. On Young's efforts for *P and P* in England, see his *Men and Memories*, 11, 423. HG's new friendships, including Shearman's, are attested in *George, Jr.*, 350-51; and in letters, HG to Bigelow, 15 April 1881, and to Taylor, 25 May, 23 June

1881. As for the unpleasant side of the visit to San Francisco, a note to Dr. Taylor, 11 August 1881, HGC, indicates HG's anxiety lest someone would 'garnishee proceeds' of his lecture in Metropolitan Temple. The nomination for the Senate is recorded in the California Legislature *Senate Journal*, 1881, 46-7, 52; see George, Jr., 352n.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY Overseas. The Laveleye review, 'La Proprieteterrienne et le paupdrisme,' *La Revue scientifique*, 25:708-10 (24 January 1880), was praised in the *Bee*, 18 February 1880; and HG immediately wrote Dr. Taylor; see George, Jr., 331. Another Belgian, Agathon de Potter, wrote HG a complimentary letter. The *Economist*, 38:472, reviewed the NY edition, 24 April 1880; it reviewed the British edition, 39:540-41, 30 April 1881, and at that time praised HG's free-trade ideas while resisting his ideas about land. Statist review, 10 April 1880, in HG Scrapbook 24, NYPL. Concerning German distribution: letters, Gutschow to HG, 6 January 1881, and Elwin Staude to Gutschow, 5 May 1881, HGC. The German reviews referred to are: Wagner's in *Zeitschrift fur die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft* (Tubingen), Bd. 37 (1881): 619-24; one by E. Heitz (complaining of HG's lack of proper method), *Jahr- bucher fur Nationalokonomie und Statistik* (Jena), 38-9:123-6; and one by Schmoller, in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch fur Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft* (Leipzig), 6 (1882):i, 354-9.

George's Connection with Ireland. I draw on Norman D. Palmer, *The Irish Land League Crisis* (New Haven, 1940), for Irish and Irish World backgrounds. At first entitled *The Irish Land Question* (New York, 1881, and many early editions), HG's little book later became simply *The Land Question*, as in Complete Works, III. HG's success with this book, and with NY Irishmen, he de-scribed in letters, especially those to McClatchy, 27 January, 22 February, 9 October 1881, HGC. George, Jr., tells the story fully, 341-57.

The Support of New Friends. F. G. Shaw turned to HG in a letter of 18 July 1881, HGC; HG's letters to him, 13 September, 4, 9 October 1881, HGC, are printed in part, in George, Jr., 353-4, 403. The interest of Louis Post, at this stage, appears in his *Prophet of San Francisco*, chs. II-V; for comment on his paper *Truth*, see Mott, *American Journalism*, 502. HG's knowledge of A. R. Wallace's endorsement appears in letters to Dr. Taylor and Shaw, respectively 7 September, 9 October 1881, HGC; see George, Jr., 354-5.

## **XII. PROPHET IN THE OLD COUNTRY: IRELAND AND ENGLAND, 1881-1882**

The Condition of Ireland. For the opening paragraphs, and for background throughout, I draw especially on: Palmer, *Irish Land League Crisis*; John E. Pomfret, *The*



*Struggle for Land in Ireland, 1800-1923* (Princeton, 1930); and R. C. K. Ensor's volume in the Oxford History of England, *England 1870-1914* (Oxford, 1936). I have used also: Herbert Paul, *History of Modern England*, iii, iv; John Morley, *Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, iii (New York and London, 1903). The opinions on the Irish Land Act of 1881 are drawn from: Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (London, 1938), 167; and J. L. Garvin, *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, I (London, 1932), 336.

Three Months among the Irish, 1881-2. HG rendered a public report of his visit in the *Irish World*, beginning with a letter written 3 November and printed 3 December. He sent home also what amounts to a supplementary report, a parallel series of private letters to Patrick Ford, HGC. The one file of the newspaper, deposited in the New York Public Library, is badly damaged and broken; and I have drawn on the clippings of HG's *Irish World* letters, in HG Scrapbooks, 12-13, NYPL, a collection I believe to be complete. Some letters, both public and private, are quoted in George, Jr., and de Mille; but I have gone directly to the collected sources. Annie George's observations, written for the boys, also HGC, are quoted in George, Jr., 366, and de Mille, 101. Concerning the Rotunda lecture, HG wrote to Dr. Taylor, 20 November 1881, as well as to Ford; that letter and copy of the address, 'Land and Labour,' 14 November 1881, are in HGC; see George, Jr., 362. Pomfret, op. cit. 104-8, discusses the radical ideological background which HG discovered in Ireland. HG's account of the Bishop of Clonfert's salute is in NY *Standard*, 8 January 1887; and he reprinted the Bishop of Meath's diocesan letter, *ibid.* 18 June 1887. HG's difficult relations with Meath appear in letters between them, 12, 13 November 1881, 27, 28 February 1882, and in HG letters to Ford, 9, 15, 22 November, 12, 28 December 1881, HGC; and in HG letter, 2 January, in *Irish World*, 28 January 1882. See Palmer, op. cit. 118-20.

Radicalizing in England, 1882. HG's estimations of a revolution rising in England were made in letters to Dr. Taylor, 11 January, 6 June, to Steers, 11 February, to Shaw, 28 April, 30 May 1882, HGC. His information about the sales of his books he reported to Shaw, more than to anyone else; and the account of Shaw's subsidies is drawn from correspondence between the two men, 28 April- 18 July 1882, HGC, partly printed in George, Jr., 389-91. HG's second speech in Dublin was reported in the London *Times*, 12 June 1882, p. 3; his meeting with J. Morrison Davidson is reported in that writer's *Concerning Four Precursors of Henry George* (London and Glasgow, 1899?), 1-2.

First Connections with Socialists Abroad. HG's English influence, especially on the socialists, is the object of a study in process by Dr. Elwood Lawrence of Michigan State College. On the early stages, see his 'Uneasy Alliance, the Reception of Henry George by British Socialists in the Eighties,' *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 11:63.

For immediate background see: H. M. Hyndman, *Record of an Adventurous Life* (London, 1911), ch. xv and passim; Max Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (London, 1919-20), 11, 246-53; Edward R. Pease, *History of the Fabian Society* (London, 1925), 23-4. For Marx's opinion of HG, as quoted, see letter no. 175, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Correspondence, A Selection with Commentary and Notes*, translated and edited by Dora Torr (New York, 1934?), 394-6. Hyndman's attitude toward HG as possible convert is stated in his *Record of an Adventurous Life*, 282, 290-92; and HG's, toward Hyndman, in letter to Ford, 9 March 1882, HGC. For the drawing-room event, which under Hyndman's auspices opposed HG to Spencer, I use HG to A. J. Steers, 25 August 1882, HGC; see George, Jr., 369-70-

Connections with Radicals and Land Nationalizers. Miss Taylor's acceptance of *P and P* is related in letters, HG to Henry George, Jr., 22 March 1882, and Henry George, Jr., to F. G. Shaw, 17 April 1882, HGC; see George, Jr., 367-8, and de Mille, 102. A. R. Wallace approached HG in letters of 3, 7 June 1882; his political preferences appear in his reply to a double review of *Land Nationalisation and Progress and Poverty* by Professor Fawcett, reprinted in Wallace, *Studies Scientific and Social* (London and New York, 1900), ch. xvii. The Wallace-Darwin exchange of ideas about HG was made in letters of 9, 12 July 1881, in James Marchant, *Alfred Russel Wallace, Letters and Reminiscences* (2 vols., London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne, 1916), 1, 316, 317. See also Wallace, *My Life, a Record of Events and Opinions* (New York, 1905), 11, ch. xxxv. On the correspondence of ideas among the three writers, compare: Wallace, *Land Nationalisation* (1892 ed.), 172; Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded* (London, 1872), 333; *P and P*, 20-22; and for Wallace's identifying his thought with HG's, as quoted, *Land Nationalisation*, 173-4. HG reported to Ford his associations with Joseph Chamberlain and John Morley, in letters of 6, 22, 27 April 1882; the article he did for the latter was 'England and Ireland, an American View,' *Fortnightly Review*, 37:780-94 (1 June 1882). For a kind of intellectual history, see Morley, *Recollections* (2 vols., New York, 1917), 1. For immediate political backgrounds, see Garvin, *Joseph Chamberlain*, I, chs. XV-XVII; the passage quoted is on pp.385-6.

4. Irish Crisis of 1882. My account of Liberal policy in Ireland during the spring of 1882 draws mainly on Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation*, ch. xv, and Garvin, *Joseph Chamberlain*, I, chs. XVI-XVII. The *London Times*, 4 September 1882, p. 5, supplies the information that, up to 31 July 1882, the Land Act of 1881 had operated to bring 79,455 applications before the statutory commission on fair rents; that 11,964 fair-rent agreements had been recorded, as made out of court; and that the commission had fixed 14,945 rentals. HG's letter in the *Irish World*, 26 August 1882, mentions such

improvements. His new attitude toward Parnell appears in letters to Ford, 6, 30 June 1882, HGC; his reports of the bitter day after Phoenix Park were printed in the *Irish World*, 3, 10 June 1882. My account draws also from Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, or the Story of the Land League Revolution* (London and New York, 1902), 357, 361, and *passim*. The attitudes represented there encourage the interpretation of HG's role which de Mille indicates, p. 256, note 9, as being Father Dawson's idea.

Identification with Davitt and McGlynn. HG's reactions to Davitt's speeches in England appear in his letters of May and June to Ford, Annie George, and Shaw, HGC. See George, Jr., 382, 383. For Davitt's own statement of his land program, see *Leaves from a Prison Diary* (London, 1885), II, lectures xxv-xxvii. HG's warning to Ford, lest Davitt be made to seem too much a *P and P* man, appears in letters of 27 May, 27 June, 4 August 1882, HGC. McGlynn's speech which forced the issue, and identified the speaker as a HG man, is quoted in George, Jr., 385.

Arrested Twice in Ireland. The account of the venture to Athenry and Loughrea is based on HG's letter printed in the *Irish World*, 23 September 1882, and on Joynes's letter, *London Times*, 4 September 1882, p. 4. Letters from Joynes to HG, 14 November, 7 December 1882, 25 March 1883, HGC, which tell of his losing a job as a result of the episode, make HG's irony about him seem unkind. HG's acknowledgment that Secretary Trevelyan eased his case appears in the *London Times*, 6 September 1882, p. 6; and his letter to President Arthur is printed, *ibid.* 2 October 1882, p. 8. See George, Jr., 394-5. The essential out-letters in the State Department Archive, National Archives, from which I draw the diplomatic phase of this story, are the following: Secretary of State (or acting secretary), letters or telegrams to Lowell (or to W. J. Hoppin of the legation), 18, 21, 23, 26 August, 3 October 1882, in State Department, Great Britain, Ms. Instructions, vol. 36. The essential in letters are the following: Lowell (or Hoppin) to the Secretary of State, 14 July, 22, 30 August, 9, 29 September, 17 October 1882, in State Department, Great Britain, Ms. vol. 145. This volume contains Lowell to Foreign Minister, Earl Granville, 29 August 1882; and Granville to Hopkins, 27 September 1882.

5. THE TIMES's and Other Appreciations. J. R. Young's response to the review of *P and P* in *The Times* was dated 26 November 1882, HGC. HG's Land Nationalisation Society speech was reported in *The Times*, 6 September 1882, p. 5. Shaw wrote about it, 24 January 1905, letter quoted in Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw, His Life and Works* (London, 1911), 152-3. For the festive occasion of this reminiscence, a *P and P* dinner, see *Single Tax Review*, 4 (1905):26-8. For other comment on the 1882 meeting, see: de Mille, 115' 257; William S. Irvine, *The Universe of GBS* (New York, 1949), 40-43; A. R. Wallace, *My Life*, 11, 274. HG's reflections on having found his place in England appear

in letters to F. G. Shaw, 17, 21 September, and to Father Thomas Dawson, 23 October 1882, HGC.

### XIII. PROPHET IN THE OLD COUNTRY: **ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1884-1885**

1. English Fondness for the Absent George, 1883. HG learned about the Land Reform Union from letters from Thomas Walker, 5, 7 June 1883, HGC; see George, Jr., 398, 422. The Olivier letter, 15 November 1882, is printed in Margaret Olivier, ed., *Sydney Olivier, Letters and Selected Writings* (New York, 1948), 54. Wicksteed's letters to HG, 29 October 1882, 4 February 1883, are in HGC. For data on the Economic Circle, see Charles H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed, His Life and Work* (London and Toronto, 1881), 193, 196, 199, 205-7; for Wicksteed's influence in English socialism, G. B. Shaw, 'On the History of Fabian Economics,' in Edward R. Pease, *History of the Fabian Society* (London, 1925), 275-6. The lasting Georgist element in Wicksteed is discussed in Herford, op. cit. 213-14; and in Wicksteed, *Common Sense of Political Economy*, ed. by Lionel Robbins (London, 1933), I, VI-VII; II, 686-90. Hyndman's challenge to HG was written 6 April 1883, HGC; see comment in Destler, *American Radicalism*, 80-81. For the Positivist attitude toward HG, quite ambiguous, see Frederic Harrison's address, 'The Views on the Labour Problem of our Positivist School,' printed as ch. IV of his *National and Social Problems* (New York, 1908), Pt. 11.

2. Major British Reviews of PROGRESS AND POVERTY. The figures on the sales of *P and P* were gathered from Kegan Paul company records by Dr. Lawrence and appear in his 'Henry George's British Mission,' *American Quarterly*, 3 (1951):233. The first two reviews discussed are: Laveleye, "'Progress and Poverty,' a Criticism,' *Contemporary Review*, 42:786-806; and Sarson, *Modern Review*, 4:52-80, reprinted as *Land Reform Union Tract*, no. 4 (London, 1884). Mallock's review appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, 155:35-74 (the long quotation is from pp. 36-7); this and three other anti-George pieces by him are assembled in his book, *Property and Progress or a Brief Enquiry into Contemporary Social Agitation in England* (London, 1884). Mallock's own account of his anti-radical activity, from which I quote, appears in his *Memoirs of Life and Literature* (New York and London, 1920), 181-2, and *passim*; for a sympathetic discussion of Mallock, see Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind from Burke to Santayana* (Chicago, 1953), 345-57. For the *Edinburgh Review* criticism, see vol. 157:134-48; my quotations are from pp. 146, 148. Herbert Spencer's letter, printed at once in the *St. James Gazette*, is

reprinted in HG's *A Perplexed Philosopher*, Complete Works, v, 58-60; that book, p. 57, contains HG's reminiscence of the Edinburgh review.

Public Discussion and Criticism. For the British trade unionists' discussion of HG, see Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (New York and London, 1920 ed.), 375-6. A famous labor leader's acknowledgment of debt appears in *Tom Mann's Memoirs* (London, 1923), 27-8, 33. HG had some information concerning this kind of following, from A. C. Swinton, 22 October 1883, HGC. Alfred Marshall's lectures were printed in the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 20, 27 February, 6 March 1883, certified transcript, NYPL. Concerning Toynbee, see F. C. Montague, *Arnold Toynbee*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vii (1889), 51-2 and *passim*; and memoir by Benjamin Jowett, in Toynbee, *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution* (1896 ed.), v-xix. The St. Andrews Hall lectures are printed as an appendix to this book, the quoted passage appearing on p. 318; Wicksteed's letter to HG, 4 February 1883, and Kegan Paul's circular, HGC.

Gathering Resistance. Fawcett's article in *Macmillan's*, 48:182-94 (and Fawcett, *Manual of Political Economy*, 1883 ed., Bk. 11, ch. xi), was answered by A. R. Wallace in 'The "Why" and "How" of Land Nationalization,' *Macmillan's*, 48:357-67. Mallock's second *Quarterly Review* HG article appears in vol. 156:353-93. reprinted in *Property and Progress*, 83-166. The quoted passages from the *Fortnightly Review*, 1 September 1883, are from vol. 34:444, 445.

American Orator in England. Academic overtures to HG, before this arrival, were contained in letters from Muller, 28 February, 15 July, and in one from J. E. Symes, 22 November 1883, HGC. *The Times* reported the stunt arrival in London and commented on the St. James Hall speech, 6 January, p. 10, and 10 January 1884, p. 4. On these London days, see also: George, Jr., 422-7, and Lawrence, 'Henry George's British Mission,' *American Quarterly*, 3 (1951), 236; Algar Labouchere Thorold, *The Life of Henry Labouchere* (London, 1913), 214; NY *Free Soiler*, May 1884. As to HG's speaking procedures, as he swung into the English tour, I am indebted to suggestions of Dr. A. J. Croft, who has made technical studies of HG's oratory; and about HG's position in the battle of ideas, I am indebted to Dr. Lawrence's articles, *American Quarterly*, 3:236, and *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 11:64-6. Professor Muller's criticism is in a letter to HG, 23 January 1884, HGC. *Punch's* HG cartoon appeared on 26 January 1884, p. 43; and the *Saturday Review*, 57:97 (26 January 1884) said that Englishmen were foolish to be so respectful to a quoter of the American Declaration. Joseph Chamberlain's article appeared in *Fortnightly Review*, 34:775 (1 December 1883). For all stages of this trip I draw on HG's current letters to his wife, HGC.

First Success in Scotland. On the condition of labor there, see Webb, *History of Trade Unionism* (1902 ed.), 334. There is a full account of the first Glasgow appearance in de Mille, 128-9; on the influence of the visit, see George, Jr., 434, 437, 578-9; and William Stewart, *J. Keir Hardie, A Biography* (London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne, 1921), 65.

Hard Treatment in the Universities. The first university visit is reported by Dr. Lawrence in 'Henry George's Oxford Speech,' *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 30 (1951): 118-21, which draws on *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 15 March 1884. Max Muller's letters arranging the visit, and HG's letter during it, March 1884, are in HGC; this last one is quoted in de Mille, 130. The written apology came from William Unwin, 8 March 1884, HGC. For the Oxford episode, I draw also from George, Jr., 435-6; and NY Free Soiler, May 1884. The assurances HG had about Cambridge, beforehand, came from F. S. Oliver, 5 March 1884, HGC; I have caught no evidence that HG knew about a learned and temperate book against him, George B. Dixwell's, *Progress and Poverty, a Review of the Doctrines of Henry George*, which Cambridge University Press had published, 1882. The comment of the premier's daughter is from Lucy Masterman, ed., *Mary Gladstone* (Mrs. Drew) *Her Diaries and Letters* (New York, 1930), 293, 306-8. Miss Clarke's comment, March 1884, is preserved, HGC.

Respect for a Departing Guest, 1884. Davitt's good wishes appear in a letter to HG, 19 March 1884, HGC; Cardinal Manning's appreciation, in George, Jr., 438, and in Shane Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning, His Life and Labours* (London, 1921), 353; and that of the young Gladstone group, in Masterman, *Mary Gladstone*, 310. HG's letters to his wife, 25 March, 4 April 1884, HGC, supply part of the story of farewell.

6. George Attacked and Defended, 1884. *The Saturday Review* attack appeared 12 April and 11 October 1884, vol. 57:465-6, 58:460-61; more of the same, 1885, in vol. 59:75-6, and 60:583-4. The defensive biography was Henry Rose's, *Henry George, A Biographical, Anecdotal, and Critical Sketch* (London, 1884), a book about which HG once showed some annoyance but otherwise seems to have had little to say. Concerning the author of the principal attack on HG, see *George Douglas, Eighth Earl of Argyll, K.G., K.T. (1823-1900) Autobiography and Memoirs* (2 vols., London, 1906), though it omits any mention of his HG affair. 'The Prophet of San Francisco' appeared in *The Nineteenth Century*, 15:537-58; and HG's reply, *ibid.* 16:134-55. Both are reprinted in Complete Works, hi, 'Property in Land, A Passage at Arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George,' 7-40, 41-74.

Return to Scotland, 1884-5. The narrative of this trip is based largely on HG's letters to his wife, November-January, HGC. His idea that the press boycotted him is supported by Poultney Bigelow, who at the time was a NY *Herald* correspondent, in his *Seventy*

*Summers*, 11, 15. The significance of the Royal Exchange meeting, London, is discussed by Dr. Lawrence, in *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 11:67; and the *London Times* reported the Belfast meeting, 23 January 1885, p. 9.

A Lasting Influence in Britain. HG's dialogue with Hyndman appeared as 'Socialism and Rent Appropriation, A Dialogue,' *The Nineteenth Century*, 17 (1885), 369-77; see Hyndman, *Record of an Adventurous Life*, 267. Webb's comments on HG's influence of about this time appear in *Socialism in England* (London, 1890), 21, and *History of Trade Unionism* (1894 ed.), 362; and Pease's estimate is in his *History of the Fabian Society* (London, 1925), 20, 21. Lib Lab interest in HG is represented in Great Britain, Royal Commission on Housing of the Working Classes, First Report (London, 1885), 42, 61, 76-81; see George, Jr., 453n. Spencer's distress at HG influence appears in *Various Fragments* (New York, 1898), 134-6. Hobson's famous appreciation is in the *Fortnightly Review*, 62: my quotations, which I have adjusted a little in syntax and paragraphing but not in meaning, are from pp. 836-7, 839, 841-2, 844.

## **XIV. NOT WITHOUT HONOR IN HIS OWN LAND, 1882-1886**

1. As Hero in New York, 1882. The story of HG's reception at home, as a figure of the Irish resistance, is told by participators in George, Jr., 400-401, and in Post, *Prophet of San Francisco*, ch. vi. I have also used Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 79, and de Mille, 117; and draw on HG's letters of 23 October 1882 to Dr. Taylor and Father Dawson, HGC.

As Writer Whose Ideas Were Read, 1882-3. HG's correspondence of June and August, 1882, while he was still abroad, especially his exchanges with F. G. Shaw, is the source of the story of the reprinting of *P and P*. Miss Peabody's tribute, 4 March 1883, occurs in HGC; so do all the letters mentioned in the text, except the Joseph Labadie letter, 12 January 1883, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. On Lovell's interests, see Edward and Eleanor Marx Aveling, *The Working-Class Movement in America* (London, 1891), 193. Letters to HG from A. J. Steers, 26 September 1882, and from Lovell, 28 November, and HG to James McClatchy, 28 March 1883, HGC, bear on HG's shift from Appleton to Lovell, publisher of cheap editions. See George, Jr., 404-5. C. D. F. Gutschow, in a letter of 16 February 1883, and L. P. Nelson, in letters of June 1883, HGC, were the proposers of new translations of *P and P*.

Invited Contributor to Major Journals, 1883. HG's *North American* articles of 1883 are located: 'Money in Elections,' vol. 136:201-11; 'Overproduction,' vol. 137:584-93.

Concerning Sumner, as HG's rival in economic journalism, I draw on Harris E. Starr, William Graham Sumner (New York, 1925), 436, and Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, ch. in Sumner's own *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York, 1883), pp. 48, 50-52, 68, 116, 134, illustrates his interest in combatting HG. HG's contract with *Leslie's* was negotiated through H. L. Bridgman, and his difficulties with *Leslie's* appear in dealings with the same representative and with J. Y. Foster: letters of 7 March, 28 June, 31 July 1883; memorandum of conversation with Bridgman, 14 August 1883 — all in HGC. See also Post, *Prophet of San Francisco*, ch. vi. The passages used from the *Leslie's* articles appear in *Social Problems*, Complete Works, 11, 7, 13, 15, 17, 38, 63, 188—91; see also pp. 55-6, 140, 142, 158.

Critic of Francis A. Walker. Tenth Census, *Compendium*, farm-acreage figures on p. 657, was the starting point of HG's attack; Walker's *Princeton Review* article is reprinted in Tenth Census, *Statistics of Agriculture*, xxviii-xxxi. HG's criticism appears in *Social Problems*, 40-41; and the entire controversy in *Leslie's* is reprinted as an appendix of that book, pp. 248-75. Walker's concessions appear in *Statistics of Agriculture*, ix. HG's concession, in 'More about American Landlordism,' *North American Review*, 142:387, 391 (February 1886). The passages specially used, from Walker's *Land and Its Rent*, are chs. iii-v, and particularly pp. 127-9, 147 ff- Dr. Garvin's effort to have the two minds meet appears in his letter to HG, 28 July 1883, HGC; and the conflict between editor and HG, in *Leslie's*, 56:214, 230, 334, 366; and 57:2 (26 May, 2 June, 14, 28 July, 25 August 1883).

In Search of a New Career, 1883. HG's refusals of good jobs appear in letters to Dr. Taylor, 7, 25 March, 28 April 1883, and one to his wife, 28 April, HGC. See George, Jr., 405-10. For relevant material concerning the man HG cultivated, see *The Path I Trod, The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly*, edited by Harry J. Carman, Henry David, and Paul N. Guthrie (New York, 1940), 182-3. HG's overtures to Powderly, as quoted, are contained in letters of 19 April, 25 July 1883, in the Powderly Collection, Catholic University, for access to which I thank Father Henry J. Browne, in charge. The *Baltimore Sun*, 2 August 1883, describes the occasion of their meeting.

Leader in a New York Group. The Senate committee hearing in New York was reported in the NY Tribune, 23, 25 August 1883; I follow also the printed testimony, *Report of the Committee of the Senate upon the Relations between Labor and Capital*, I (Washington, 1885), especially pp. 467, 480-85, 512-13. The New York beginnings of the American Free Soil Society are recorded in the *Free Soiler*, May, June 1884; California developments, in J. G. Maguire to HG, 2 September 1883, HGC; and HG's hopes in letter to Labadie, 24 August 1883, Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. For reminiscent accounts of the society, see George, Jr., 406-7, and Post, *Prophet of San Francisco*, 47-9.



HG's connections with pro-labor writers appear in: HG to Dr. Taylor, 25 March, HGC; Gronlund to Ely, 28 September 1883, Newton to Ely, 24 September 1883, Ely Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society.

4. Lecturer Embarrassed, 1884. HG's lecture contract with Brooks and Ditson, 25 April 1884, is in HGC; on his performance, under that contract and otherwise, see George, Jr., 442-4, and Post, op. cit. 62-3. The Detroit church-congress speech was reported in the *Churchman*, 25 October 1884. The events of HG's summer, 1884, I take from his letters to Dr. Taylor and Thomas Walker, May- September, HGC.

Pro-labor Writer, 1885-6. The case story of HG's lecturing, in Burlington, is based on letters: David Love to R. T. Ely, 27 June 1884, 12 April 1885, Ely Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society; HG to his wife, 3, 4 April 1885, HGC. The address there is printed in Complete Works, viii, 189-219, and in pamphlet form. Later HG letters in April voice his decision to turn to writing. HG's earlier articles in the *North American Review*, written at this time, are located: the dialogue with Field, vol. 141:1-14; 'England and Ireland,' vol. 142:185-93 (February 1886); 'More about American Landlordism,' vol. 142:384-401. Compare HG's criticism of the agricultural-ladder theory, *ibid.* 393, with the criticism in Lawanda F. Cox, 'The American Agricultural Wage Earner, 1865-1900,' *Agricultural History*, 22:95-114 (April 1948), and with the more favorable view in Henry C. and Anna D. Taylor, *The Story of Agricultural Economists in the United States, 1840-1932* (Ames, Iowa, 1952), 820-29. HG's Ohio and Pennsylvania travels, in the spring of 1886, are reported from his letters to his wife, April-June, HGC; on the visit with Tom Johnson and its significance, see: George, Jr., 457-8; Tom Loftin Johnson, *My Story* (New York, 1911), 49-51; Frederic C. Howe, *Confessions of a Reformer* (New York, 1925), 95-7. The 'Labor in Pennsylvania' articles appeared in the *North American Review*, 143:165-82 (August), 268-77 (September), 360-70 (October 1886); 144:86-95 (January 1887); I draw especially on 143:167, 172, 273, 368-g; 144:88, 95.

Author of PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE. HG voiced his hopes for the manuscript in letters to Nordhoff, 5 September, and to Dr. Taylor, 19 September 1885, HGC. Many letters, September-October, HGC, concern serialization; about the new publishing company, see George, Jr., 456. The book. *Protection or Free Trade, an Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor* (New York, Henry George and Company, 1886), is reprinted in Complete Works, III. For the background of tariff opinion in which HG wrote, see Ida Tarbell, *All in a Day's Work* (New York, 1911), 278, and *The Tariff in Our Times* (New York, lgn), 141; for his own awareness of problems involved, see *Protection or Free Trade*, 250-52, ch. xxviii. The reviews mentioned are located: Newcomb's in *Political Science Quarterly*, 1:341-3 (June 1886);

Shaw's, in the *Dial*, 7:389 (June 1886); *Critic*, new series, 5:230 (8 May 1886). A review much like Newcomb's appeared in *Jahrbucher fur Nationalokonomie und Statistik*, 50:304 (1888). Many newspaper and other reviews are clipped in HG Scrapbooks, 8, 23, 27, NYPL. On the editions, see Sawyer, *Henry George and the Single Tax*, 18; on sales, George, Jr- 573-4.

## **XV. CONQUEST IN NEW YORK CITY: LABOR LEADER AND ALMOST MAYOR, 1886**

1. Ready for Politics at Home. HG's information about English politics, 1885-6, appears in his correspondence with friends overseas. The urgent letters to come to England were from Durant, 24 February, 30 March 1886. HG's revelations of his home strategy were to Walker, 4 March, 4 September 1885, 18 January 1886; and to McGhee, 4 June 1886 — all HGC.

The Condition of American Labor. Post's story of a labor interest in HG appears in a political article, really a memoir, 'The United Labor Party,' *The Public* (Chicago), 14:1127 (3 November 1911). For labor background, in this chapter, I draw on: Selig Perlman, Pt. v, chs. vii-xii, in Commons, *History of Labour in the United States*; Henry David, *History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1936), especially chs. I-II, VII; Norman J. Ware, *Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895* (New York, 1929); and the autobiographies of the principal leaders, Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, especially chs. x-xii, and Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York, 1925), 1, especially chs. vii-xiv. For scholarly studies of the awakening conscience of this period, see, for the churches: May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York, 1949), especially pp. 101-3, and earlier histories in the same field by C. Howard Hopkins and Aaron Abell. Concerning the new crop of social novels, Walter F. Taylor, *Economic Novel in America* (Chapel Hill, 1942), 40-41; and, concerning the economists, Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, 111, ch. vm. The fullest treatment of the NY Central Labor Union is ch. II of Peter A. Speek, *Singletax and the Labor Movement*, University of Wisconsin *Bulletin*, Economic and Political Science Series, viii, no. 3 (Madison, 1917). The same author contributes the passage in Commons, *History of Labor*, 11, from which, p. 442, I quote the CLU's class-conscious declaration.

Emergence as Leader for Labor. For the Theiss case, see Speek, *Singletax and the Labor Movement*, 58-61. My account of the whole campaign draws on this book, though I disagree with many of the author's judgments. I depend most of all on L. F. Post and F. C. Leubuscher, *An Account of the George- Hewitt Municipal Election of 1886* (New York, 1887), which is practically a documentary history and reproduces many platforms,

speeches, and other documents. Hereafter in these notes I cite the two books as Speek, and Post and Leubuscher. The key HG documents, discussed in the text, are the following, in the pages indicated in Post and Leubuscher: letter conditionally accepting nomination, 26 August, 7-11; HG's platform for the labor party, 23 September, 13-15; speech of acceptance, 5 October, 19-29. Gompers' self-justifying account of his participation is in *Seventy Years*, 1, 312-18.

Decisions Made in Private. HG's story of the Ivins interview appears in an open letter to A. S. Hewitt, draft in HGC, printed in *NY Tribune*, 18 October 1897, p. 2, and in other papers, and quoted, George, Jr., 463. Mr. Ivins' counterstatement in *NY Tribune*, 19 October 1897, p. 3. Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid*, III (Rochester, 1927), ch. xxix, gives a very full and sympathetic account of Archbishop Corrigan at this time; but Patrick J. Walsh, *William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin* (London, New York, Toronto, 1928), 227-8, 230, justifies my comment on the churchman's mental operations. HG's account of his interview with the archbishop is in the *NY Standard's* first issue, 8 January 1887. HG's letter challenging Corrigan, 30 September 1886, is in the archive of St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers; Father Jeremiah J. Brennan generously sent me a copy. See George, Jr., 465-6.

4. Democratic and Republican Opponents. For accounts of HG's rivals, 1886, see: Nevins, Hewitt, ch. xxiii; Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt, a Biography* (New York, 1931), 110-15; Howard L. Hurwitz, *Theodore Roosevelt and labor in New York State* (New York, 1943), chs. III-IV. Hewitt's allowing his decisions about candidacy to be made by Croker appears in two letters preserved in the library of Cooper Union: Hewitt to Richard Croker, 7 October 1886, Hewitt Papers; Hewitt to R. E. Henry, 9 October 1886, Hewitt Transcripts, Biography 2. His address of acceptance is in Post and Leubuscher, 32-43. Roosevelt's private opinions appear in letters to Lodge, 17, 20 October, 1 November 1886, Elting Morrison, ed., *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, I (Cambridge, 1951), 111-13, 115- The cases cited of Republicans for HG appear in: Peter Eichele to HG, 27 October 1886, HGC; groups and individuals named in *NY Leader*, 26-9 October 1886; Eva Ingersoll Wakefield, ed., *Letters of Robert Ingersoll* (New York, 1951), 662-3; HG, in *NY Tribune*, 30 October 1886. The story of sympathy for HG among the Peabody trustees is from C. W. Garrison, cd., 'Conversations with Hayes, a Biographer's Notes,' *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 25:377-8; see also Charles R. Williams, *Life of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Columbus, 1914), 11, 282-3.

Labor's Resources. HG's address to Irving Hall is in Post and Leubuscher, 125-7. On the support tendered by visiting Englishmen, see: concerning A. R. Wallace, *My Life*, 11, 107, and *NY Leader*, 26 October 1886; concerning the Avelings, see their book, *The*

*Working-Classes in America* (London, 1891), 184, 186-7, 193, and *NY Nation*, 43:280 (7 October 1886); and Sidney Webb to HG, 8 March 1887, HGC. The strain between the former associates appears in Davitt to HG, 4 November 1886, HGC. My estimate of the *Leader* is based on the file, Columbia University Library; and on comment in Speck, 73-5.

Tide of Battle. Hewitt's campaign attack, and HG's reply, which challenged a spoken debate and led to a printed one, 19-24 October, are all in Post and Leubuscher, 32-71. For comment on the campaign procedures Croker favored, see Morris R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (Garden City and New York, 1928), 311-12. The contemporary comment cited is from: *NY Tribune*, 22 October 1886, p. 4; *Leslie's Weekly*, 63:130, 162-3 (16, 30 October); *Public Opinion* (Washington), 2:21-4 (23 October). HG's Chickering Hall speech is in Post and Leubuscher, 62-84. Dr. Croft's Ms. list of speeches by HG, which I have seen with certain other parts of his Ms. dissertation on George as public speaker (Northwestern University, 1952), helps me through the maze of HG's speaking activities. Concerning Catholic elements on HG's side: about Powderly and McGlynn, I follow principally Father Henry f. Browne's excellent *Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, 1949), 182-5, 190—93, 218, 222-3; and about public opinion, Florence E. Gibson, *The Attitudes of the New York Irish towards State and National Affairs, 18/8-1892* (New York, 1951), 398. For Father Preston's effort against HG, see Post and Leubuscher, 133; Speck, 85-6. On the close of the labor campaign, Gompers, *Seventy Years*, 318-19; Powderly, *The Path I Trod*, 150; Post and Leubuscher, 153; *NY Leader*, 30 October, 1 November 1886.

5. The Results. For a tabulation of votes, and an account of labor's immediate follow-up, see Post and Leubuscher, 168-70. For other meetings and pledges to carry on: *NY Leader*, 3, 8, 27 November 1886; *John Swinton's Paper*, 1 November 1886; Gompers, *Seventy Years*, 1, 320, 434-5. The Question of Stolen Victory. Seventeen alleged cases of illegal conduct at the polls appear in *NY Leader*, 4, 6 November 1886. Bigelow's assessment of corruption is in *Seventy Summers*, 11, 12. For the liberal Catholic comment cited, see Davitt to Archbishop Walsh, 4 November 1887, in Walsh, *William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin*, 229; and Thomas Sugrue, *A Catholic Speaks His Mind on America's Religious Conflict* (New York, 1951), 44-5. Varying judgments or evidences of abuse at the polls occur in: George, Jr., 481; de Mille, 152; Post, *Prophet of San Francisco*, 79; Stephen Bell, *Rebel, Priest, and Prophet* (New York, 1937), 40; Charles Edward Russell, *Bare Hands and Stone Walls* (New York, 1933), 46-8, 50-51 (Miss Dorothy Fay Duffy, of the University of Maryland, has checked the Russell Papers, LC, and finds no mention of this point); Gustavus Myers, *History of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1917), 270; Lothrop Stoddard, *Master of Manhattan* (New York and Toronto, 1931), 86; Nevins, *Hewitt*, 469; Perlman, in Commons, *History of Labour*, 11, 453.

## XVI. NO NATIONAL LABOR PARTY TO LEAD, 1887

1. George's Highest Political Hope. Many of HG's personal satisfactions and dissatisfactions of the winter and spring, 1886-7, are recorded in his letters, especially those to his wife, December and March-April, HGC. For a sampling of the newspapers' speculation about HG's becoming a candidate for president, see *Public Opinion*, 2:86, 188 (13 November, 18 December 1886). HG's wish that labor organize for self-education is in *Post* and *Leubuscher*, 172-3; Powderly's decision not to carry on with political labor is in *NY Leader*, 21 December 1886. The Clarendon Hall convention was reported in the *NY Tribune*, 7 January 1887, p. 1. The ULP, as there organized, is described in *Speck*, 90-96. HG correspondence with Thomas Briggs, December 1886, HGC, shows that the story of financing the new *Standard* given in George, Jr., 484-5, needs a little revision. There are other accounts of beginning the paper in *Speck*, 98-100, and by *Post* in *The Public*, 14:1174-5 (17 November 1911).

2. Roman Catholic Condemnation of PROGRESS AND POVERTY. Corrigan's condemnation of HG's ideas is contained in pastoral letter, 19 November 1886, *Zwierlein*, Bishop McQuaid, 111, 7-11. His approach to Cardinal Manning is in a letter of 23 December 1886, in *Leslie*, Henry Edward Manning, 356-7; and Manning's reconsidered judgment of HG is printed in *Zwierlein*, m, 12-13. Archbishop Walsh's criticism of Corrigan occurs in letters to Manning, 28 December 1886, g January 1887, Walsh, William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, 227-8, 230. The surrounding labor problems, which concerned the bishops while they considered HG, I describe from the scholarship of churchmen: Browne, *Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*, especially pp. 218-19, 223-5, 229, 237—53, 256. Allen S. Will, *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (New York, 1922), 1, chs. xix-xxi, especially pp. 336, 370-71; John Tracy Ellis, *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952), 1, chs. xii-xm. For the Holy Office's ultimate condemnation of HG's writings, g April 1889, see Father Ellis, *Cardinal Gibbons*, 1, 336, 584, note 86.

George's Counterattack. The following issues of the *NY Standard*, 1887, contain high points of HG's case against Archbishop Corrigan and his supporters: 8 January, the original attack; 22 January, the observation about Catholic voters defying the hierarchy (which is confirmed from a source friendly to Corrigan, Hurlburt, *Ireland under Coercion*, 1, xliv, lvi); 29 January, the doctrinal argument; 18 June, the Bishop of Meath's letter reprinted. The reaction in other journals is from *Public Opinion*, 2:288-9, 313-14 (522 January 1887); the *Standard's* fluctuating popularity is estimated from data in its own columns, 12 February, 31 December 1887; and from HG letters to Richard McGhee and Giitschow, February-October 1887, HGC.

3. The Anti-Poverty Society. For a detailed account of Father McGlynn in 1887, see Bell, *Rebel, Priest, and Prophet*, chs. 11, 111. Most of the data on the society are from the *Standard*, especially 7 May, 17 September, 10 December 1887. See also George, Jr., 491-2.

For an estimate of Anti-Poverty's potential for schism, see Sugrue, *A Catholic Speaks His Mind*, 44.

4. George's Break with the New York Socialists. For HG's attitude toward the Union Labor Party, see *NY Standard*, 12, 26 February, 9 July 1887; for the attitudes of socialist elements, *John Swinton's Paper*, 31 July, and *NY Leader*, 5 August 1887. For an account of the midsummer change of attitudes between HG and the socialists in the ULP, see Quint, *Forging of American Socialism*, 44-8. HG's private comments on the separation are in letters to Gutschow, 29 August, 25 November 1887, HGC, the latter quoted in George, Jr., 50m. The detail of party meetings, schisms, and declarations I largely borrow from Speek, 106-17. Gompers' role appears in *Seventy Years*, 1, 322; his letter, which I quote, was addressed to John O'Brian, 7 February 1889, Gompers Letterbook 3, AF of L Building, Washington.

5. The New York State Campaign. For a contemporary account of the Syracuse convention, see *NY World*, 16-20 August 1887; for a reminiscent one, Post in *The Public*, 14:1151 (10 November 1911). For older accounts, see George, Jr., 499, and Speek 127, 136-7; for a recent one, which includes an account of the Progressive Labor Party, Quint, *op. cit.* 48, 50-53. For my account of the canvass, I borrowed again from Dr. Croft's checklist of HG speeches; and used the *NY Standard*, 3 September-5 November 1887. HG's challenge to debate and Governor Hill's reply are in letters of 24, 27 September 1887, HGC. The vote is given in Speek, 140; Irish Catholic reactions are stated in Browne, *Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*, 285-6, 305, 307, and in Gibson, *Attitudes of the New York Irish*, 399-400.

6. George and the Haymarket Trials. David's *History of the Haymarket Affair* is the fullest scholarly treatment; ch. x of Richard Morris, *Fair Trial* (New York, 1952), is a judicious brief review. The criticisms of HG in the text, for having accepted the decision of the Illinois Supreme Court, are from: *Chicago Labor Enquirer*, 29 October 1887 (Labadie Collection, University of Michigan); *NY Leader*, 11 November 1887; David, *op. cit.* 402. The early date of HG's consulting Judge Maguire is indicated in H. D. Miller to Harry Weinburger, 5 October 1931, copy in Labadie Collection; Maguire's first opinion about the trial, in Gutschow to HG, 13-15 November 1887, HGC. My account values more highly than Professor David's does, the influence of the Maguire opinion on HG; see *History of the Haymarket Affair*, 402. This takes the date of the judge's letter, which was printed in the *Standard*, 19 November, as the date of the influence; but the fact of the earlier consultations of the two men requires a revision of the story. The Maguire letter was not written to George but was presented by him, to clarify matters. HG's letter to Governor

Oglesby was written 5 November 1887; and his later thoughts, to Gutschow, 22 October 1888; these letters are all in the HGC.

## **XVII. THE FATHER OF THE SINGLE TAX, 1888-1890**

2. George Excluded from the ULP. HG's confused hopes and anxieties for his party after the 1887 defeat appear in the *NY Standard*, 3, 31 December 1887, 4 February 1888; and in a letter to Gutschow, 25 November 1887, HGC. On McGlynn's arrogance and assumption of party power, data in Browne, *Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*, 308; *Standard*, 14 January 1887. George's exclusion is discussed in an editorial by W. T. Croasdale, L. F. Post, J. W. Sullivan, *ibid.* 18 February 1888. The political history of the ULP, and of McGlynn, during later 1888, are taken from: Speck, 149-50, 154; Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 131-2; *Standard*, 12, 26 May, 7 July 1888; HG to Father Dawson, 6 June 1888, HGC.

The Collapse of Anti-Poverty. Data from: *NY Tribune*, 14 March 1888, p. 3; *NY Standard*, 21 January, 4, 25 February, 17 March, 7 July 1888; HG to Gutschow, 22 October 1888, HGC.

George as Cleveland Democrat. On the tariff policy, which reconciled HG to his old party, see Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932), 379. HG's analysis of the Mills Bill was printed in the *Standard*, 10 March 1888. His increasingly favorable comments occur, *ibid. passim*, especially 25 February, 10 March, 7 April, 9 June 1888. Those comments are strikingly close to Professor Nevins' judgments of the bill in retrospect of half a century, in *Cleveland*, 385, 387-9, 391-3. For HG's weaving tariff reform into free-immigration and land-value-taxation connections, see *Standard*, 12 May, 18 August 1888; and for his optimism following the nomination, *ibid.* 30 June, 7 July 1888. HG's late-campaign ideas and efforts appear *ibid.* 15 September, 13, 27 October, 3 November 1888; and in letters to Thomas Briggs, 31 August, 15 October 1888, HGC. His post-election ideas appear in the *NY Standard*, 10 November, 8 December 1888; for support for the idea that *P and P* affected a presidential message, see Nevins, *Cleveland*, 444.

3. The Birth of the Single Tax. HG's letter to Garrison, assessing his shift from labor politics to single tax, 14 January 1888, is in the Garrison Papers, Smith College. My account of the new reform in the pre-organizational stage is drawn from the *Standard*, 1888, especially 3 March, 16, 23 June, 11, 25 August, 1, 8, 15 September. At the

organizational stage, after the national election, I draw on Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 132-4, 138-g, 215-16, and *passim*, and on Post, *Prophet of San Francisco*, 52-3, 140-41, 146. The Warren Worth Bailey Collection of manuscripts in the Princeton University Library, from which I take a little information here, would bear considerable study by an investigator of grass-roots reform during the Progressive period. On HG's speechmaking in the Mississippi Valley: NY *Standard*, 19, 26 January 1889; HG to his wife, 14 January, and to Thomas Briggs, 34 January 1889, HGC.

4. Invited to Britain. The account of the brief visit of late fall 1888 is based on: NY *Standard*, 17 November 1888-12 January 1889; and on Thomas Walker to HG, 4, 11 December 1888. Symes's *A Short Textbook of Political Economy* (London, 1889) follows HG's distribution theory; but there is no direct reference to him, at least in the edition I have seen, and there are prominent references to Mill and Marshall. The letters of invitation and political evaluation, which HG received, for the big trip of 1889, are: from Thomas Walker, 13 February; from Helen Taylor, 12 April; from Sidney Webb, 8 March — all HGC.

Welcomed by Middle-Class Groups. HG's debate with Hyndman, the trip's late symbol of his new separation from old Marxist connections, is described from HG's side in NY *Standard*, 13 July 1889, and in an undated letter to his wife, HGC; and, from Hyndman's side, in *Record of an Adventurous Life*, see chs. xviii-xxi; and see also G. B. Shaw, in *Essays in Fabian Socialism* (London 1932), 155- reported his meetings and events in England and Scotland, NY *Standard*, 30 March-8 June 1888; and in his Coney Island address, *ibid.* 28 July 1888. His comments on Thorold Rogers occur in letter to Thomas Walker, 13 June 1884, HGC, and in death notice, *Standard*, 22 October 1890.

Accepted in Northern Europe. On the *Land Liga* and German *Bodenreform* generally, see Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 11-12; and Heinrich Freese, *Die Bodenreform, Ihre Vergangenheit und Ihre Zukunft* (Berlin, 1918). Flurscheim's statement about joining HG is quoted from a translation given HG, HGC. For translators, dates, and other bibliographical data on European editions of HG's works, see Sawyer, *Henry George and the Single Tax*, 16, 19, 21. But the list omits the French translation of *Social Problems* by Louis Voisson: see NY *Standard*, 21 January 1888, and George, Jr., 51911. HG's information about Norway and Denmark came in letters from Tugjald Kjennerud, 10 May 1886, John Svncson, 24 June 1886, and Jacob Lange, 22 August 1888, HGC; for Koht's comment, made with the Scandinavian countries in mind, see his *American Spirit in Europe* (Philadelphia, 1949), 202-3.

Lionized in Paris. HG's invitation, from Flurscheim, was dated 18 May 1889, HGC. The meeting of land reformers was reported, London *Times*, 12 June 1889. p. 5; NY



*Standard*, 29 June 1889. HG discussed his Holland visit, and his ideological difficulties, *ibid.* 13, 27 July 1889. Leroy-Beaulieu was reported, from *Journal des Debats*, 24 June 1889, in *NY Standard*, 13 July 1889.

5. Ideological Purge of the STANDARD. The financial background of the paper is drawn from: HG letters to Gutschow, 29 January 1887, 22 October 1888; to T. A. Briggs, 19 January 1888; to Richard McGhee, May 1888; circular (?) June 1888, all HGC; and from *NY Standard*, 31 December 1887. The *NY Tribune's* appreciations appeared 7 January 1887; 1, 3 November 1889. HG's knowledge of the M'Cready-Sullivan *versus* Post-Croasdale conflict came from a long series of long letters, spring 1889, HGC, some from his son and some from the disputants. On the Bellamy Nationalist background, see Quint, *Forging of American Socialism*, ch. iii. Sullivan's 'Ideo Kleptomania, the Case of Henry George, with Henry George's Denial of Plagiarism from Patrick Edward Dove' was reprinted separately from *Twentieth Century*, 10 October 1889, copy in Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. Outside concern in the issues of the editorial-room fight is represented in the HGC by letters to HG from: J. O. H. Huntington, 31 July 1889; Thomas Walker, 27 June 1889; Thomas Davidson, 16 September 1889. The summary statements by the contenders were printed in the *Standard*, 13, 20 July; and HG's opinions, *ibid.* 10, 17 August 1889. HG on Bellamy, *ibid.* 31 August, 28 September 1889.

6. Ready for a World Tour. HG's estimates of his own growing strength at home, and his intimations of Populism, are in *NY Standard*, November- December 1889; Dr. Quint supplied the datum that the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* was critical of him. HG's expectations from Australia were set by a letter from E. W. Foxall (Sydney), 27 November 1889; and HG's pre-departure activities appear in personal letters, HGC, and in the *NY Standard*, 4 December 1889, 15, 22, 29 January 1890. See Lyman Abbot, *Reminiscences* (Boston and New York, 1915), 420-21. Accounts of the transcontinental trip and the Pacific voyage in: *Standard*, 5, 12 February, 26 March, 23 April 1890; HG to Anna Angela George, 31 January 1890, HGC; George, Jr., 523-g; de Mille, 173-6.

Triumphant in the Antipodes. My comment on HG in New Zealand borrows information from a student of New Zealand history, Mr. Peter Coleman. I have also used: James E. Rossignol and William D. Stewart, *State Socialism in New Zealand* (New York, 1910), especially ch. viii; Hugh H. Lusk, 'The Single Tax in Operation in New Zealand,' *Arena*, 18 (1897): 79-87; Arthur Withy, 'New Zealand ... the Single Tax Movement,' *Single Tax Review*, 12 (1912): 1 —6g; and P. J. O'Regan, article on New Zealand, in Joseph Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Yearbook* (New York, 1917), 122-7. For a survey which brings the matter to recent date: *Christian Science Monitor*, 17 November 1950, p. 11. Concerning the day-to-day events of the visit in Australia, there is a wealth of information in HG's letters,

and in Farrell's, in the *Standard*, April-July 1890. HG Scrapbook 1 contains many Australian clippings. These sources are quoted in George, Jr., 529-38, and de Mille, 177-9. For estimates of HG influence in Australia, see: A. St. Ledger, *Australian Socialism* (London, 1909), 6-7, 65; Brian Fitzpatrick, *The British Empire in Australia, an Economic History, 1834-1939* (Melbourne, etc., 1941), 283-4, 364-5, 368-9; articles on South Australia and Queensland by E. J. Craigg, and on New South Wales by A. G. Huie, in *Single Tax Yearbook* (1917), 128-41; and a report on the pattern of site taxation, compared with other countries, in *Henry George News* (New York), August 1946.

Going Home. The story of the trip to and across Europe is told from: HG memorandum, n.d., and letters to William Saunders, 15, 28 July, and to E. R. Taylor, 16 September 1890; Annie George to Sister Teresa Fox, 21 July, 21 August (all HGC); and NY *Standard*, 6 August 1890. On the visit in England generally, *ibid.* 24 September 1890. On HG's hopes from the Salvation Army, see George, Jr., 540; a letter from Ballington Booth, 17 March 1893, HGC, assured him of the 'strong sympathy Mrs. Booth felt for your views and work.' HG's early responses to Thomas Walker's criticisms, in letters to Walker, 23, 28 August, 25 September 1890; in a letter to J. C. Durant, 27 November 1890 — both HGC. On the single-tax meeting in New York: George, Jr., 541; Louis Post, 'First American Single Tax Conference,' *The Public*, 14:903-13 (1 September 1911), and *Prophet of San Francisco*, 145-7; and Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 139-40.

## **XVIII. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT TO THE END, 1890-1897**

2. In the Stream of Critical Objection. In the order of the text, the following give the titles and locations of the principal criticisms discussed: Miller, *Trade Organizations in Politics, also, Progress and Robbery: an Answer to Henry George* (New York, 1887); Rutherford, *Henry George versus Henry George* (New York, 1887); Higgins, *The Fallacies of Henry George* (Cincinnati, 1887); Henry A. Brann, 'Henry George and His Land Theories,' *Catholic World* (New York), 44:810-28 (March 1887); James M. Cain, 'Individualism and Exclusive Ownership,' *American Catholic Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia), 13:82-95 (January 1888); F. L. Tobin, *Notes on Progress and Poverty, A Reply to Henry George* (Pittsburgh, 1887); Gunton, 'Henry George's Heresies,' *Forum*, 3:15-28 (March 1887), and *Wealth and Progress, a Critical Examination of the Labor Problem* (New York, 1897); Thompson in *Irish World*, 24 December 1887, 21 January, 14 July 1888 (for these references I thank Dr. Alexander Butler of Michigan State College);

Harris, in *Journal of the American Social Science Association*, 22 (1887): 120 ff., and ‘Henry George’s Mistakes about Land,’ *Forum*, 3:435-42 (July 1887); Andrews, ‘Economic Reform Short of Socialism,’ *International Journal of Ethics*, 2:281-2 (April 1892); Ely, *Recent American Socialism* (Baltimore, 1885), 16-27, and *Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1905), 125, 283-4, and in *Christian Advocate*, 25 December 1880, quoted in Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 316n; Walker quoted, *ibid.* 316, full address, ‘The Tide of Economic Thought,’ *American Economic Association Publications*, vi (1891), 15-38; Clark, in *International Journal of Ethics*, 1:62-79 (October 1890); Bemis, ‘Henry George’s Tax on Land Values,’ *Andover Review*, 8:592-600 (December 1887); Patten, *International Journal of Ethics*, 1:354-70 (April 1891); Clarke, ‘Criticisms upon Henry George, reviewed from the standpoint of justice,’ *Harvard Law Review*, 1:265-93 (January 1888), reprinted *Standard*, 28 January 1888.

3. Georgists versus the Critics. Shearman’s reply to certain HG critics and his next article were printed in the *Forum*, 8:40-52, 262-73, and reprinted in the *Standard*, 31 August, 9 November 1889. Atkinson’s critique, and HG’s reply, in *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 40:385-403; Max Hirsch answered more fully for HG, in *Democracy versus Socialism*, Pt. v, ch. vi, ‘Mr. Edward Atkinson’s Objections.’ White’s criticism ‘Agriculture and the Single Tax,’ *Popular Science Monthly*, 36:481-500, was answered by Post in the *Standard*, 5 February 1890. Thomas Huxley’s series appeared in *The Nineteenth Century*, 27:1-23, 172-95, 513-32 (January, February, April 1890); and the following replies were published in England: J. D. Christie, ‘A Workingman’s Reply to Professor Huxley,’ *The Nineteenth Century*, 27:476-83; Michael Flurschein, ‘Professor Huxley’s Attacks,’ *ibid.* 27, 639-50; Andreas Scheu, ‘Professor Huxley and His Natural Rights,’ *Commonweal* (London), 6:84-5 (1890). Goldwin Smith’s article is located in the *Forum*, 9:599-614; the other sources drawn on for the footnote are: HG to Lloyd, 11 October, Davidson to Lloyd, 14 November, Lloyd to Davidson, 23 November 1888, all Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society; and Caroline Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd* (New York and London, 1912), 1, 115, 301-2.

George versus Utopians and Clergymen. The conference debate over clerical influence in the single-tax movement is recorded by Post, in *The Public*, 14:910. HG’s current feeling about clergymen as reformers, in the *Standard*, 15 October 1890, and in a letter to Father Dawson, 18 May 1891, HGC. The wish of American Bellamyites to make common cause with HG is represented in the *Nationalist*, 3:6-7, 188 (August, October 1899, references supplied by Dr. Quint). The like-minded effort of English friends appears in Walker to HG, 23 August 1890, 2 May 1892; and HG’s resistance, in letters to Walker, 25 September, and to Durant, 27 November 1890 — all HGC.

George versus Academic Economists. The Saratoga meeting is recorded by Frank Sanborn in the *Journal of Social Science* (Boston and New York), 27 (1890); for background of the American Social Science Association, see Luther Lee Barnard and Jessie Barnard, *Origins of American Sociology* (New York, 1943) 527-607. The passages of the Saratoga discussion treated in the text appear in the *Journal* as follows: from James, p. 8; from Andrews, 29-30; from the HG-Seligman exchange, 34-44, 85, 89, 98. Seligman's ultimate criticisms of the single tax appear in his *Essays on Taxation* (New York, 1921), 66-97, and *Studies in Public Finance* (New York, 1925), 226-52. Post replied in *Prophet of San Francisco*, ch. xxiii. HG's quoted comment on academicians is in a letter of 28 April 1891, HGC; Bolton Hall's findings, 7 December 1891, copy in Gilman Collection, JHU; and later academic acknowledgments in: Ross, *Seventy Years of It* (New York and London, 1936), 15; Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York, 1934), 32; Commons, *Myself* (New York, 1934), 39-40.

4. The Need to Settle Down. HG's Texas tour is described in the *NY Standard*, 26 November 1890, and in letters to his wife, 12, 16 November, HGC. Summary of the Hutchins case, George, Jr., 509-11; detail in fudge James E. Minturn, 'Tale of a Suit,' *Single Tax Review*, 15:342-6 (November-December 1915); many documents of the case, HGC; comment, *NY Tribune*, 14 February 1894. HG's general financial condition and the reorganization of the *Standard* appear, HGC, in letters to Briggs, 28 September 1890, 18 November 1891, and Briggs to HG, 30 November, 28 December 1891 (when Briggs forgave his \$1000 loan). For HG's attack, I draw on Dr. Peterson's notes, quoted in George, Jr., 541-2; and on Jennie George to Thomas Briggs, 15 December 1890, HG to Thomas Walker, January 1891, HGC. Financial arrangements appear in letters among friends: Walker to George, 26 December, to Johnson, 27 December 1890; HG to Walker, 8 January, Johnson to Walker, 21 January 1891; HG to his wife, n.d. — all HGC. The Bermuda trip is reported in *NY Standard*, 17 January 1891; further data in: Annie George to Henry George, Jr., 5 February 1891, notes by Simon Mendelson, n.d. — both HGC.

5. Controversialist of Leo XIII. Letters to Dr. Taylor of 3, 14, 28 April 1891, HGC, describe HG's return to the desk. Of many editions and commentaries on *Rerurn Novarum*, I use Oswald von Nell-Breuning, S. J., *Reorganization of Social Economy, the Social Encyclical Developed and Explained* (New York, 1937): Bernhard Eulenstein wrote HG, 18 April 1893, HGC, that Professor Pedrazzini of the University of Fribourg was the actual author of the encyclical. I draw on Aaron I. Abell, 'The Reception of Leo XIII's Labor Encyclical in America, 1891-1919,' *Review of Politics*, 7 (1945)—1G7, 477-8, and *passim*. Henry George, Jr.'s report of Cardinal Manning's comment was made in a letter to his father, 30 May 1891, HGC; see George, Jr., 565. HG's *The Condition of Labor* was

published in the United States, 1891, by two firms, Doubleday and McClure and the United States Book Company; it is in Complete Works, iii, from which the following pages are quoted: 68, 3, 15, 19-20, 25, 48, 61, 70-71, 98, 104. The Moral Support of Friends. Protestant support came to HG in the following letters, 1891, HGC: from J. O. H. Huntington, 30 July, 3 November; from Garrison, 5 September; from Young, 3 September; from Thomas Walker, 11 November. Catholic support, HGC, from: Joseph Legett, 31 October; from Father Dawson, 20 July, 16 November, 12 December 1891.

Victory for Catholic Freedom. McGlynn told HG the story of his reinstatement in a letter of 3 January 1893, HGC. The text of his statement to Satolli is printed in Sylvester L. Malone, Dr. *Ediuard McGlynn* (New York, 1918). I draw also on Bell, *Rebel, Priest, and Prophet*, ch. v; Browne, *Catholic Church and Knights of Labor*, 350; and John A. Ryan, *Distributive Justice*, especially chs. ii, vi; and 'Henry George and Private Property,' *Catholic World*, 93:289-300 (June 1911).

6. George versus Herbert Spencer. My illustrations of opposition to HG's piety are drawn from: Jordan, *True Basis of Economics* (New York, 1899); Carnegie, 'The Advantages of Poverty,' March 1891, reprinted in *Gospel of Wealth* (New York, 1900), 47-82. Spencer's anxiety, before he redid *Social Statics*, appears in a letter to Earl of Wemyss, 10 June 1890, David Duncan, *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* (New York, 1908), 299-300. HG's *Perplexed Philosopher*, published in New York and London, 1893, is in Complete Works, v; my quotations are from pp. 66, 135-6. The reluctance of some of HG's friends about the effort appears in letters of spring 1893, HGC: HG to Dr. E. R. Taylor, February and April; Durant to HG, 16 May; HG to J. E. Mills, 12 April. The satisfaction of others, in the 'Compensation' chapter, in: Bernhard Eulenstein to HG, 20 February 1893, HGC, and HG to Byron Holt, 27 March 1893, kindly lent by W. S. Holt; see also Harry Gunnison Brown, 'The Perplexed Economists,' in *Henry George News*, October 1946. For Spencer's quiet reaction to HG's attack: Duncan, *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer*, 338-43; and 'Unpublished Letters' to James A. Skilton, *Independent*, 56 (1904): 1169-74, 1471-8. For his friends' open ones: *NY Tribune*, 23, 30 September, 12, 18 November 1894.

7. Big Treatise Not Finished. The personal and general problems that enter the story of writing *The Science of Political Economy* are drawn from personal letters, HGC, in the order of the text as follows: HG to Walker, 31 December 1894; to (William?) Burbage, 9 September 1897; to Dr. Taylor, 10 February and 8 April, and from him, 10 March 1897; from Louis Post, 3 March, from Alice Post, 5 February, to Louis Post, 6 March 1897. Technical problems are discussed in the Loomis memorandum, in Purdy to HG, 21 July 1897, HGC. For the appreciation by the Beards, see *American Spirit*, 367-73: compare

*Science of Political Economy*, 15, 21, 27, 33-4. For Hadley's criticism, *Yale Review*, 7:231 (August 1893).

## **XIX. THE MARTYRDOM OF HENRY GEORGE, 1890-1897**

1. George as Dissenter within the Single-Tax Movement. Concerning HG's speaking activities, 1891-3, and finally for 1897, I am guided again by Dr. Croft's Ms. checklist; and I draw from letters and memoranda, March-June 1893, HGC. About the Chicago Single Tax Conference: typescript of HG speech, 29 August 1893, HGC; Post, in *The Public*, 14:911-12 (1 September 1911), and *Prophet of San Francisco*, 150; HG to J. E. Mills, 27 September 1893, HGC. Data on Post's activities, from Ms. autobiography, LC; on Shearman's, from memorial issue of *Single Tax Review*, 1901.

As Philosopher and Friend to Liberals. Concerning the 'salon,' I draw on reminiscences in the following locations: Purdy's, in *Henry George News*, October 1946; Elting E. Morrison, *Admiral Sims* (New York, 1942), 28; Mrs. J. S. Lowell to HG, 14 December 1891, HGC. On the connection of Howells with HG, see Mildred Howells, *Life in Letters of William Dean Howells* (New York, 1928), 11, 21-2; the *NY Standard*, 12 March 1890, compared *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890), Pt. 11, ch. xii, with *P and P*, Bk. ix, ch. 111. Garland's reminiscence of HG in Faneuil Hall is in *South Carolina Libertarian*, November 1925, pp. 281-2; his reminiscence of the HG home, in *Son of the Middle Border*, 431. His Georgism in non-fiction appears in 'A New Declaration of Rights,' 'The Single Tax in Actual Operation,' and 'The Land Question and its Relation to Art and Literature,' *Arena*, 3 (1891), 157-84; 10 (1894), 52. Concerning Garland, I have benefitted from letters generously written by Professor Eldon C. Hill of Miami University. See Walter Taylor, *Economic Novel in America*, ch. iv; and Grant C. Knight, *The Critical Period in American Literature* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1951), 53, 56, 58, and *passim*. Concerning Herne: his own appreciation of his Georgist play is in 'Art for Truth's Sake in the Drama,' *North American Review*, 17:367-8 (February 1897); I draw also on letters he wrote to HG, 29 September, 15 October 1890, 17 November 1891, HGC. On other theater Georgists, see de Mille, 187-8, and Francis Neilson, *My Life in Two Worlds* (Appleton, Wis., 1952), 1, 67, 241; and on the Georgism of the *Freeman*, see *The Freeman Book* (New York, 1924), 34-5, 42-3, 45-9, 159-62, and *passim*. On dilute Georgism in literature see Taylor, *Economic Novel in America*, 105, and Claude R. Flory, *Economic Criticism in American Fiction, 1792-1900* (Philadelphia, 1936), 171, 181, 190-95, and *passim*. For

indications of the Chicago groups: Louis Sullivan, *Autobiography of an Idea* (New York, 1924), 251-2; Whitlock, *Forty Years of It* (New York and London, 1925), 94-6.

2. As Growing Influence Overseas. The near-success of a Georgist tax policy for London was a resolution introduced in the Commons by James Stuart, 13 March 1891 (defeated 149-26, after six and a half hours of debate), *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3d Series, 351:933-1013; Durant's letter, 16 May 1892, HGC, probably refers to remarks made by Haldane and Asquith concerning a Small Agricultural Holdings Bill, 5 April 1892, *Hansard*, 4th Series, 3:735, 737. What is said about Eulenstein in Germany is drawn from his own letters to HG, HGC:2, 26 December 1891; 9 January, 23 December 1892; 18 April, 15 May, 31 July 1893; 24 March 1894. On Damaschke, see article in *Der Grosse Brockhaus* (Leipzig, 1929), iv, 344; among his writings, which say much in appreciation of HG, see *Die Bodenreform* (1918) and *Geschichte der Nationalökonomie* (1920).

Especially in Russia. For surrounding data, and much about Georgism in Russia, see Max M. Laserson, *The American Impact on Russia, Diplomatic and Ideological, 1784-1917* (New York, 1950), 269-90. HG's knowledge of Tolstoy's interest in him came from letters, HGC, from Eulenstein, especially 24 March 1894, 29 February 1896; from W. L. Garrison, 11, 14 February 1897; and the one of 8 April 1896, which is quoted, from Tolstoy himself. Concerning Tolstoy's Georgism see: Ethel Wedgwood, *Tolstoy on Land and Slavery* (London, 1909); Ernest Simmons, *Leo Tolstoy* (Boston, 1946), 394, 501, 503-4, 651, 675; L. N. Tolstoy, ed., 'Count Tolstoy on the Doctrines of Henry George,' *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, 17:73-4 (January 1898); *Tolstoy Centenary Edition*, Aylmer Maude, trans. (London), 21 (*Recollections and Essay*, 1921): 189-94 ('Letters on Henry George'), 272-306 ('A Great Iniquity').

3. Free-Trade Ideologue of Congressmen. HG's political estimations of campaign time are taken from a letter to Walker, 17 October 1890, HGC; *NY Standard*, 6 November 1890. On Georgist efforts to influence-middle-western radicalism, Post's Ms. Autobiography, p. 422, LC, and *Prophet of San Francisco*, 124. On the publication of *Protection or Free Trade* in the *Congressional Record*, see *ibid.* 14 April 1892, 3299-3306; Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 142—3; Johnson, *My Story*, 68-9; George, Jr., 571-4; and Henry George, Jr., letters to HG, n.d., HGC, and to W. W. Bailey, 13 May 1892, Bailey Collection, Princeton University Library. For the Democratic policy of 1892, see *Official Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention* (Chicago, 1892), 82-92, and Nevins, *Cleveland*, 491; for something of the backstage pressures on the tariff question, see Henry Watterson to Cleveland, 7 July 1892, in Nevins, ed., *Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850-1908* (Boston and New York, 1933), 631, and C. E. Russell, *Bare Hands and Stone Walls*, 40-43; Johnson, *My Story*, 71-3. HG's alternations of hope and despair for Democratic

radicalism appear in letters to Johnson, Shearman, J. R. Young, Thomas Walker, and Mrs. Frances Milne, June-July, September-December 1892, HGC. For HG's small victories in the House, see George, Jr., 570, which refers I think to the time of the debate of 10 January 1894, *Congressional Record*, 53d Congress, 26 (1): 632-88; and *ibid.* 31 January 1894, vol. 26 (2): 1739, which is treated in Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 143.

Anti-Populist for Bryan. HG's speech during the Pullman strike is reported in *NY Tribune*, 13 July 1894, p. 5; see also George, Jr., 577; and for background, Nevins, *Cleveland*, ch. xxxiii, especially 624-8. Letters to HG from Tom Johnson, 10, 23 October, 7 November 1894, HGC, gave HG a close view of their political defeat. For the ambivalent roles of the single tax and HG in Illinois labor-Populist politics, see Destler, *American Radicalism*, 170, 172, 193, 197-211; see also Henry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten* (Indianapolis, 1938), 382. HG's decision for Bryan appears in letter to W. R. Hearst, 1896, HGC; and in public, in *Arena*, 16:705 (September 1896). For the nearer background of his journalism, see Willis J. Abbot, *Watching the World Go By* (Boston, 1934), 194, and *passim*. See also Mott, *American Journalism*, 520-24. For HG's association with Altgeld: his letter of 14 October 1895, Schilling Collection, Illinois State Historical Society (copy kindly supplied by the, librarian), and account of the New York anti-injunction meeting, Barnard, *op. cit.* 380-82. For HG's political differences of 1896 with one wing of his following: letter to Garrison, 31 October 1896, Garrison Collection, Smith College; Shearman to HG, 4 November 1896, HGC. For the political sympathy of others: letters from Swinton, 4 November, Garland, 10 November, Herne, 10 November 1896, HGC. See Post, *Prophet of San Francisco*, 127-9.

4. The Last Campaign. The *NY Journal's* offer to HG is in a letter, W. J. Abbot to HG, 1 May 1897, HGC. Concerning the single-tax invasion of Delaware, see Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 147-52. On the special nature of the New York City campaign, see: Bryce, 'The Mayoralty Election in New York,' *Contemporary Review*, 72 (1897):751—60; Delos F. Wilcox, 'The First Municipal Campaign of Greater New York,' *Municipal Affairs* (New York), 2 (1898): 207. HG's first feeling about candidacy in letters to: Post, 25 January, Walker, 27 May, T. E. Willson, 3 June 1897, HGC. The decision to act against doctors' orders is recorded in Dr. Levenson's notes, and in an exchange with Dr. Mendelson, George, Jr., 594-5; de Mille, 224-5. On the preliminaries of the campaign, *Review of Reviews*, 16:394-7 (October 1897); for a party and machine history, see Alexander, *Political History of the State of New York*, 111. I draw passages of HG's opening address from George, Jr., Goo. The message to Bryan is mentioned in the *NY Tribune*, 6 October 1897, pp. 1-2; Bryan's endorsement of HG was asserted in the Cuyler Ten Eyck letter to Seth Low, 24 October 1897, Seth Low Collection, Columbia University



Library. Roosevelt's opinion, as stated to Lodge, 16, 29 October 1897, is in Morison, ed., *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1, 697-8, 703-4. HG's charges and Hewitt's and Ivins' denials, concerning 1886, appeared in the NY *Tribune*, 6 October, p. 2, 20 October 1897, P- 3. Garland's overture to Lloyd, 19 October 1897, in Lloyd Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society. On newspaper opinion during the campaign: Abbot, *Watching the World Go By*, 195-6; *Review of Reviews*, 16:520; *Leslie's Weekly*, 85:276; *Public Opinion*, 23:453-5, 486, 518-19, 551, 581-2 (all journals, October- November 1897). HG's final word about Low is quoted from George, Jr., 605-6: the Citizen's Union claim to Georgist support was elaborated for Low by Richard H. Clarke, the secretary of the Citizen's Union, 30 October 1897, Low Collection, Columbia University. My guesses of what the election might have been, if HG had lived, are made from: estimates in Edward M. Shepard, 'Political Inauguration of Greater New York,' *Atlantic Monthly*, 81 (1898): 116; and R. W. Alsop's opinion, sent Low, 2 November 1897, that HG's death must have sent 'almost the entire Democratic vote' to van Wyck, and Low's idea, 3 November, that, 'If Mr. George had lived, I think there might have been a chance of success. With his death, I, personally, felt that the chances for victory had become very small' (letters in Low Collection, Columbia University).

## XX. THE TRIPLE LEGACY OF GEORGISM

1. Early Appreciation of George. Julian's estimate is taken from G. W. Julian Journal, 1 December 1897, Ms. pp. 251-2, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, copy supplied by Miss Lila Brady.

2. While Tom Johnson Led: Fiscal and Political Georgism. On Fillebrown in Boston, see Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 105-6, 160-62, 244-6, 265-76, and *passim*; his writings are listed in Sawyer, *Henry George and the Single Tax*, 30-31, 58-9. On Purdy's New York career and thought, see *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, October 1917 issue dedicated to him. Concerning *The Public* in Chicago, I drew, from letters in the Post Collection, I.C: Post to W. J. Bryan, 13 June 1900, 26 December 1906. 13 July 1908; to Charles Bryan, 18 July 1911. Bryan on HG, in 'Equal Opportunity and Moral Truth,' *The Public*, 7:702-4. Concerning Johnson, beyond *My Story*, the need for a biography is supplied only in miniature by Newton I). Baker's article in *Dictionary of American Biography*, x (1933), 124-5; see also *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York, 1931), chs. xvi-xvii. For Cleveland's approach to Georgist policy, see F. C. Howe, *Confessions of a Reformer* (New York, 1925), chs. x, xxii, 230.

3. As Progressivism Increased: Moral and Political Georgism. The Georgist renewal in Britain is indicated, 1907-9, by many articles in the *Westminster*, the *Fortnightly*, and other reviews. The influence of HG's ideas in English politics, 1909-10, is testified to in Charles S. Orwin and W. R. Peel, *The Tenure of Agricultural Land* (Cambridge, England, 1942), 41. See also accounts of Americans in England, in Post, Ms. Autobiography, 334, LC; Tom Johnson, *My Story*, 298. At about the same time, Henry George's ideas were being assimilated by Sun Yat Sen into the revolutionary program in China. See Paul M. A. Linebarger, *Political Doctrines of Sun Yat Sen*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Volumes, new series, no. 24 (Baltimore, 1937), 137. For the circle of reformers who followed Johnson, in Cleveland and Toledo, see Brand Whitlock, *Forty Years of It*, *passim*, and Howe, *Confessions of a Reformer*, 129, and *passim*; see also the series of articles on 'The Civic Revival in Ohio,' by Robert H. Bremmer, *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* beginning April 1949, as follows: 8:299-309, 413-22; 9:239-54, 3G9-76, 477-82; 10:87-91, 185-206. Information concerning the Fels Foundation in: Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels and His Life-Work* (New York, 1916), ch. xiii, and *passim*; Young, *Single Tax Movement*, ch. ix; Steffens letter to Laura Steffens, 9 April 1910, *Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, ed. by Ella Winter and Granville Hicks (New York, 1938), 1, 242, and Steffens to W. W. Bailey, 29 September 1910, Bailey Collection, Princeton University Library. Concerning political activities subsidized by Fels money, I draw on Young, *Single Tax Movement*, 168-83, and W. S. U'Ren in *Single Tax Yearbook*, 42-6. The William Kent materials used are the following: Kent letters to Louis Post, 13 April 1909 and 13 April 1910, and to T. W. Tomlinson, 18 March 1915 (?); and his 'Land Tenure and Public Policy,' *American Economic Review Supplement*, 9:225 (March 1919). I draw on the manuscript material with the permission of Mrs. William Kent and her son, Professor Sherman Kent, and that of the officials of the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University, where the William Kent Collection is deposited.

4. In Woodrow Wilson's Day: Moral Georgism. As for the political leaders of 1912: La Follette confessed his fear of *P and P* to Mr. Edward Nordmann of Madison. The letters between Newton and Roosevelt, of 30 July-2 August 1912, are in Newton Miscellany, New-York Historical Society Library. I draw general ideas about Wilson's thought from William Diamond, *Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson* (Baltimore, 1944). For the New Jersey transformation of Wilson's politics, including the Georgist influences, see Arthur Link, *Wilson, the Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), chs. iv-ix; Ransom E. Noble, *New Jersey Progressivism before Wilson* (Princeton, 1946); Noble, 'Henry George and the Progressive Movement,' and 'G. L. Record's Struggle for Economic Democracy,' *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 8:259-63 (April 1949), 10:71-83 (October

1950); James Kerney, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (New York and London, 1926); Joseph Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him* (London, 1922), chs. v-ix. Secretary Lane's appreciations of George as a continuing force appear in letters he wrote G. W. Wickersham, 18 November 1920, and to J. W. Hallowell, 9 December 1920; *Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political*, Anna Wintemute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall, eds. (New York, 1922), 368, 375. Record's exhortation, 31 March 1919, and Tumulty's effort to radicalize Wilson appear in Kerney, op. cit. 437-46, 448; see Record's comment of 1930 on Wilson and the whole generation of Progressives in Noble, 'Henry George and the Progressive Movement,' loc. cit. 268-9.

5. Since Memory of George has Faded: Fiscal and Moral Georgism. Concerning the enclaves, see Charles White Huntington, *Enclaves of Single Tax or Economic Rent* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922). The Georgist Ralston-Nolan and Keller Bills, before Congress, 1921, were analyzed by B. H. Hibbard, Legislative Reference Library, Madison; see also S. H. Patterson, 'The Ralston-Nolan Bill, A Proposed Tax on Unimproved Land Values,' *American Academy of Social and Political Science, Annals*, 95:188-93 (May 1921). On the Grimstad Bills in Wisconsin, 1923, see Commons, *Myself*, 39-40, 53, 100; and his 'A Progressive Tax on Bare Land Values,' *Political Science Quarterly*, 38:41-68 (March 1922). Brand Whitlock's dismissal of Georgist politics is in a letter of 23 June 1920, *Letters of Brand Whitlock*, Allan Nevins, ed. (New York, 1936), 304; see also *Journal of Brand Whitlock*, 612. On the bitterness of Georgists, about 1920, see Howe, *Confessions of a Reformer*, chs. xvii-xviii, 319; Post, Ms. Autobiography, LC; Post, *Deportations Delirium of 1920, a personal narrative of an official experience*, introduction by Moorfield Storey (Chicago, 1923). On the Georgism of Parliament's act of 1947, see Charles M. Haar, *Land Planning Law in a Free Society* (Cambridge, 1951), 163, and *passim*.

**Editor's Note:** Among the many books about Henry George published after Professor Barker's book first appeared, readers may want to consult:

**Andelson**, Robert V., ed., *Critics of Henry George*. Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson U. Press., 1979

**Cord**, Steven B., *Henry George: Dreamer or Realist?* New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation (originally published by U. of Pennsylvania Press), 1985

**Hellman**, Rhoda, *Henry George Reconsidered*. New York: Carlton Press, 1987

**Lissner, Will** and Dorothy, eds., *George and the Scholars*. Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1991 Lissner, Will and Dorothy, eds., *George and Democracy in the British Isles*. New York: (forthcoming) Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1992

**Noyes**, Richard, ed., *Now the Synthesis*. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1991

**Silagi**, Michael, *Henry George and Europe: His Influence on Land Reform Movements*. (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, forthcoming.)

**Thomas**, John L., *Alternative America*. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1983