

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES / Introduction

¹ Vernon L. Parrington. *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927), p.341.

² In this volume I italicize the term "American" when referring to persons of European heritage either born in or who migrated to that portion of North America. When not italicized, the usage is meant to include persons of all ethnicities and races. The value of making this distinction will, I trust, become clear to the reader.

ENDNOTES / Chapter 1

³Ludwig Von Mises. *Theory And History* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1969), p.54.

⁴**Author's Note:** At the dawn of the nineteenth century, most individuals thought of themselves as citizens not of *the Union* but of the sovereign *State* in which most had been born. The tendency to associate citizenship with the aggregate society of the *United States*, particularly in the northern States, was the beginning of large-scale immigrations and the movement westward of the descendants of colonial settlers. Another aspect of the differences in public sentiment was, until the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865, the tendency to refer to the United States in the plural "are" and not the singular.

⁵Adam Smith. *The Wealth Of Nations* (New York: Random House edition, 1937. Originally published 1776), p.832.

⁶From: *Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finance, and Other Subjects*. Originally published 1791. Quoted in: Virgle Glenn Wilhite.

Founders of American Economic Thought and Policy (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958), pp.172-173.

⁷From a letter to M. DeMeusnier, January 24, 1787. Reprinted in: Martin A. Larson. *The Essence of Jefferson*, pp.167-169.

⁸From a letter to Mr. Dumas, May 13, 1791. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.147.

⁹From a letter to George Washington, May 23, 1792. Reprinted in: *Life And Selected Writings Of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Random House, 1944), p.512.

¹⁰From a letter to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792. Quoted in: Page Smith. *John Adams*, Vol.II (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1962), p.823.

¹¹From a letter to T.M. Randolph, July 3, 1791. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.150.

¹²From a letter to James Monroe, July 10, 1791. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.150.

¹³John K. Alexander. "Poverty, Fear, and Continuity," *The Peoples of Philadelphia*, edited by Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1973), p.14.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵From a letter to James Madison, December 20, 1787. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, edited by Willson Whitman (Eau Claire, WI: E.M. Hale and Company), p.85.

¹⁶From a letter to James Madison, December 28, 1794. Reprinted in *Ibid.*, p.175.

¹⁷From a letter to George Washington, May 23, 1792. Reprinted in: *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, pp.510-516.

¹⁸From a letter to George Washington, September 9, 1792. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.517-518.

¹⁹From a letter to Thomas Jefferson, June 13, 1793. Reprinted in: *James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words*, edited by Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Newsweek Books, 1974), p.197.

²⁰From a letter to James Monroe, May 5, 1793. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.161.

²¹**Author's Note:** Genet, fearful of his life at the hands of Robespierre, married the daughter of George Clinton (Governor of New York) and withdrew from political life.

²²From a sermon entitled, "A Discourse on the Love of Our Country," delivered November 4, 1789. Quoted in: Carl B. Cone. *The English Jacobins* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), p.82.

²³*Ibid.*, p.92.

²⁴Quoted in: Hugh Ll. Kennleyside and Gerald S. Brown. *Canada and the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p.56.

²⁵Quoted in: John S. Pancake. *Thomas Jefferson & Alexander Hamilton* (Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1974), p.227.

²⁶From a letter to Abigail Adams, June 11, 1795. Excerpt reprinted in: Page Smith. *John Adams, Volume II 1784-1826* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1962), p.873.

²⁷From a letter to James Madison, September 21, 1795. Reprinted in: Martin A. Larson. *The Essence of Jefferson* (Washington, DC: Joseph J. Binns, 1977), p.67.

²⁸Thomas A. Baily. *A Diplomatic History Of The American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., edition, 1946. Originally published 1940), p.67.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰From a letter to Edmund Randolph, February 3, 1794. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.171.

³¹From a letter to Maria (Jefferson) Eppes, 1802. Quoted in: Fawn M. Brodie. *Thomas Jefferson, An Intimate History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), pp.369-370.

³²From a letter to George Wythe, January 16, 1796. Reprinted in: *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, p.536.

³³Quoted in: Claude G. Bowers. *Jefferson In Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), p.104.

³⁴James Thomas Flexner. *Washington, The Indispensable Man* (New York: New American Library edition, 1984. Originally published in four volumes, 1969.), p.340.

³⁵Samuel Edwards. *Rebel! A Biography of Tom Paine* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), p.203.

³⁶James Thomas Flexner. *Washington, The Indispensable Man*, p.359.

³⁷Robert Douthat Meade. *Patrick Henry, Practical Revolutionary* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1969), p.421.

³⁸Dana L. Thomas. *Lords Of The Land* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p.24.

³⁹**Author's Note:** The Bank of North America was established by Congress at the urging of Morris in 1781. The Federal government remained a stockholder only through 1784, however, after which the Bank operated under a charter issued by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁰Dana L. Thomas. *Lords Of The Land*, p.31.

⁴¹Ray Allen Billington. *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier*, third edition (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), p.209.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p.217.

⁴³Philip W. Wilson. *William Pitt, the Younger* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1930), p.260.

⁴⁴Ray Allen Billington. *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier*, pp.255-256.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.256.

⁴⁶Henry George, "The 'Reduction To Iniquity' *The Land Question, Etc.* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1935. Originally published 1884), p.58.

⁴⁷From a letter to Benjamin Rush, April 18, 1790. Reprinted in: *John Adams, A Biography in His Own Words*, edited by James Bishop Peabody (New York: Newsweek, 1973), p.345.

⁴⁸From a letter to John Adams, September 21, 1797. Quoted in: Page Smith. *John Adams*, Vol.II, p.947.

⁴⁹From a letter to James Lewis, Jr., May 9, 1798. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, pp.186-187.

⁵⁰Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. *The Growth Of The American Republic*, Vol.I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.364.

⁵¹From a letter to Archibald Stuart, February 13, 1799. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.192.

⁵²Quoted in: Douglas Southall Freeman. *Washington* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, abridged edition, 1968. Originally published in seven volumes, 1948), p.731.

⁵³From a letter to John Taylor, June 1, 1789. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.187.

⁵⁴Reprinted in: *The Political Writings Of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Edward Dumbauld (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs Merrill, 1955), pp.156-157.

⁵⁵From an "Address to the People," January 23, 1799. Reprinted in: *James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words*, edited by Merrill D. Peterson, p.224.

⁵⁶John S. Pancake. *Thomas Jefferson & Alexander Hamilton*, p.255.

⁵⁷From a letter to Edmund Randolph, August 18, 1799. Reprinted in: *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, pp.551-552.

⁵⁸From a letter to Elbridge Gerry, January 26, 1799. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.190.

⁵⁹**Author's Note:** Consistent with one of the central theme's of this work, I remind the reader that from a human rights standpoint the transfer of legal and virtual control of this territory to European and then *American* control represented merely one more exercise of license at the expense of liberty.

⁶⁰From a letter to Thomas Lomax, March 12, 1799. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, pp.194-195.

⁶¹From a letter to James McHenry, July 27, 1799. Quoted in: *John Adams*, Vol.II, p.1010.

⁶²Page Smith. *John Adams*, Vol.II, p.1042.

⁶³From a letter to John Dickenson, March 6, 1801. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, arranged by Willson Whitman (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: E.M. Hale and Company) pp.201-202.

⁶⁴From a letter to Maria (Jefferson) Eppes, February 15, 1801. Quoted in: Fawn M. Brodie. *Thomas Jefferson, An Intimate History*, p.436.

⁶⁵From a letter to Dr. Walter Jones, March 31, 1801. *Ibid.*, p.205.

⁶⁶From a speech by Benjamin Franklin, September 17, 1987, at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Reprinted in: Catherine Drinker Bowen. *Miracle At Philadelphia* (Boston: Little, Brown And Company, 1966), p.255.

⁶⁷K.W.B. Middleton. *Britain And Russia* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1971. Originally published 1947), p.26.

⁶⁸Thomas Jefferson. "First Inaugural Address At Washington, D.C.," March 4, 1801. Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses Of The Presidents Of The United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p.15.

⁶⁹Max Lerner. *America As A Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p.443.

⁷⁰**Author's Note:** The size of the national debt in 1800 was \$83 million; under Jefferson and Gallatin, this was lowered to \$42 million by 1812.

⁷¹From a letter to Albert Gallatin, April 1, 1802. Reprinted in: Martin A. Larson. *The Essence of Jefferson* (Washington, DC: Joseph J. Binns, 1977), p.68.

⁷²From a letter to Abigail Nabby Adams, September 26, 1802. Quoted in: Page Smith. *John Adams*, Vol.II, p.1089.

⁷³Albert Jay Nock. *Jefferson* (Washington, DC: National Home Library Foundation edition. Originally published 1926), p.247.

⁷⁴From a letter to Nathaniel Niles, March 22, 1801. Reprinted in; *Jefferson's Letters*, p.204.

⁷⁵From a letter of instruction to Robert E. Livingston, April 18, 1802. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.208.

⁷⁶Milton Lomask. *Aaron Burr* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), pp.355-356.

⁷⁷Claude G. Bowers. *Jefferson In Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), p.252.

⁷⁸Thomas Jefferson's Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1805. Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses Of The Presidents Of The United States*, p.17.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p.19.

⁸⁰From a letter to Meriwether Lewis, August 24, 1808. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.245.

⁸¹Quoted in: Hugh Kennleyside and Gerald S. Brown. *Canada and the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1952), pp.29-30.

⁸²From a letter to James Monroe, May 4, 1806. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.229.

⁸³John S. Pancake. *Thomas Jefferson & Alexander Hamilton* (Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1974), p.334.

⁸⁴Quoted in: John S. Pancake. *Thomas Jefferson & Alexander Hamilton*, p.339.

⁸⁵From a letter to James Maury, November 21, 1807. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.237.

⁸⁶Claude G. Bowers. *Jefferson In Power*, p.463. Author's Note: The so-called "Essex Junto" references the old guard Federalists, primarily of Massachusetts, who stubbornly clung to their anti-democratic postures despite the loss of public support. After 1800 these individuals were increasingly out of touch with the policy objectives of even their own party.

⁸⁷Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.1092.

⁸⁸Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.1094.

⁸⁹From a letter to George Logan, December 27, 1808. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.250.

⁹⁰John S. Pancake. *Thomas Jefferson & Alexander Hamilton*, p.351.

⁹¹See, for example, Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. *The Growth Of The American Republic*, Vol.I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp.396-397.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³From a letter to William Pinkney, February 11, 1809. Reprinted in: *James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words*, p.272.

⁹⁴See: Albert Jay Nock. *Our Enemy, The State* (New York: Libertarian Review Foundation edition, 1973. Originally published 1935), p.75.

⁹⁵Albert Jay Nock. *Jefferson* (Washington, DC: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1926), P.267.

⁹⁶Albert Jay Nock. *Our Enemy, The State*, p.3.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p.6.

⁹⁸Thomas A. Bailey. *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, third edition, p.125.

⁹⁹From a letter to Jean Batiste Say, March 2, 1815. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.308.

¹⁰⁰From a letter to Benjamin Austin, January 9, 1816. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.312.

¹⁰¹Winston S. Churchill. *A History Of The English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.III (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1957), p.356.

¹⁰²Esmond Wright, "Thomas Jefferson And The Jeffersonian Idea." *British Essays in American History*, edited by H.C. Allen and C.P. Hill (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1957), pp.75-76.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p.80.

¹⁰⁴From a letter to James Maury, April 25, 1812. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.276.

¹⁰⁵From a letter to John Melish, January 13, 1813. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.281.

¹⁰⁶From a letter to Dupont de Nemours, April 24, 1816. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.320.

¹⁰⁷From a letter to John Taylor, May 28, 1816. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.321.

¹⁰⁸Henry George. *Social Problems* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1966. Originally published, 1883), p.167.

¹⁰⁹From a speech presented at Whitestone, Long Island, New York, October 28, 1897. Reprinted in: Henry George, Jr. *Henry George* (New York: Chelsea House edition, 1981. Originally published 1900), p.604.

¹¹⁰Albert Jay Nock. *Jefferson*, p.274.

¹¹¹From a letter to Colonel William Duane, March 28, 1811. *Ibid.*, p.270.

¹¹²From a letter to Madame La Baronne de Stael-Holstein, May 24, 1813. *Ibid.*, p.284.

¹¹³From a letter to John Adams, July 5, 1814. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.301.

¹¹⁴Winston S. Churchill. *A History Of The English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.III (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1957), p.384.

¹¹⁵Henry Kissinger. *A World Restored* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), p.194.

¹¹⁶Alexis de Tocqueville. *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc. edition, 1955. Originally published 1856-1858), pp.xii-xiii.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p.xiv.

¹¹⁸ From a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Kercheval, 12 July, 1816. Reprinted in *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Random House, 1944) pp.674-675.

¹¹⁹ From a letter to John Adams, 12 September, 1821. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, pp.702-703.

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¹²⁰ Sigmund Freud. *Civilization And Its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company edition, 1962. Originally published 1930), p.61.

¹²¹ Thomas Paine. *The Rights Of Man* (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press edition, 1948. Originally published 1791), p.253.

¹²² **Author's Note:** Babeuf is generally described as a socialist because he advocated a human rights doctrine and argued that the unequal distribution of wealth had to be remedied in order to end injustice. He was also convinced that only by the use of force could despotism and tyranny be purged from government.

¹²³ Winston S. Churchill. *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples, Vol.IV, "The Great Democracies"* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958), p.9.

¹²⁴ S.F. Platonov. *History Of Russia* (New York: The Macmillan Company edition, 1925. Originally published 1888), p.315.

¹²⁵ **Author's Note:** Hull, then age 60, was Governor of the Michigan Territory.

¹²⁶ From a letter to David Humphreys, March 23, 1813. Reprinted in: *James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words* (New York: Newsweek, 1974), p.332.

¹²⁷ From a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, February 14, 1815. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, edited by Willson Whitman (Eau Claire, WI: E.M. Hale and Company), p.307.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. *The Growth Of The American Republic, Vol.I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.429.

¹³⁰ From Madison's address of December 5, 1815 to the U.S. Congress. Reprinted in: *James Madison, A Biography in His Own Words*, p.358.

¹³¹ From a letter to Jean Baptiste Say, February 1, 1804. Reprinted in: *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Random House, 1944), p.574.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ From a letter to Jean Batiste Say, March 2, 1815. Reprinted in: *Jefferson's Letters*, p.308.

¹³⁵From a letter to Joseph Milligan, April 6, 1816, providing a critical summary of "A Treatise on Political Economy" written by Destutt Tracy. Reprinted in: *Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Random House, 1944), p.663.

¹³⁶Introduction to: David Ricardo. *The Principles of Political Economy & Taxation* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. edition, 1933. Originally published 1817), p.x.

¹³⁷John W. Osborne. *The Silent Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p.46.

¹³⁸Frank E. Huggett. *Land Question And European Society Since 1650*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1975), p.105.

¹³⁹W.M. Simon. *Germany: A Brief History* (New York: Random House, 1966), p.98.

¹⁴⁰Frank E. Huggett. *The Land Question And European Society Since 1650*, p.98.

¹⁴¹S.F. Platonov. *History of Russia*, pp.333-334.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, p.334. **Author's Note:** A group of revolutionaries—eventually described as the Decembrists—arose in St. Petersburg and Kiev. After the death of Alexander I in 1825, they took to the streets against the State. The new tsar, emperor Nicholas I, called out the army and hundreds were killed in the fighting. Many of the leaders were executed and the remainder exiled to Siberia.

¹⁴³K.W.B. Middleton. *Britain And Russia* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press edition 1971. Originally published 1947), p.44.

¹⁴⁴S.F. Platonov. *History Of Russia*, p.347.

¹⁴⁵Henry George. *The Science Of Political Economy* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1968. Originally published 1897), p.167.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p.166.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp.149-150.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.173.

¹⁴⁹Author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.

¹⁵⁰William Godwin. *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793). Reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p.304.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

¹⁵²Jeremy Bentham. *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789). Reprinted in: *The English Philosophers From Bacon To Mill*, edited by Edwin A. Burt (New York: Random House, 1939), p.792.

¹⁵³John M. Zane. *The Story Of Law* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing Company, 1927), p.350.

¹⁵⁴Jeremy Bentham. *Principles of the Civil Code*. Reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner, p.48.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶Thomas Paine. "Common Sense," *Selected Work of Tom Paine*, edited by Howard Fast (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945. Originally published 1776), p.6.

¹⁵⁷Jeremy Bentham. *Principles of the Civil Code*. Reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner, p.49.

¹⁵⁸Mortimer J. Adler. *The Common Sense Of Politics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p.125.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, pp.125-126.

¹⁶⁰Jacob Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish. *The Western Intellectual Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p.438.

¹⁶¹Forward to: Thomas R. Malthus. *Population: The First Essay* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press edition, 1959. Originally published 1803), p.v.

¹⁶²Thomas Robert Malthus. *Population: The First Essay*, p.62.

¹⁶³*Jefferson's Letters*, p.220.

¹⁶⁴William Godwin. *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*. Reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner, pp.306-308.

¹⁶⁵Thomas Robert Malthus. *Population: The First Essay*, p.65.

¹⁶⁶Henry George. *Progress and Poverty*, p.113.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p.114.

¹⁶⁸Thomas Macaulay. *Critical And Historical Essays* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875), p.501.

¹⁶⁹Adam Smith. *The Wealth Of Nations* (New York: Random House edition, 1937. Originally published 1776), p.560.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p.528.

¹⁷¹Winston S. Churchill. *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.IV, p.80.

- ¹⁷²James Morris. *Farewell the Trumpets* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), p.547.
- ¹⁷³Henry George. *Progress and Poverty*, p.117.
- ¹⁷⁴Thomas Malthus. *Population: The First Essay*, p.110.
- ¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p.111.
- ¹⁷⁶Henry George. *Progress and Poverty*, p.128.
- ¹⁷⁷David Ricardo. *Principles of Political Economy & Taxation*, p.33.
- ¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p.34.
- ¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p.39.
- ¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p.41.
- ¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p.277.
- ¹⁸²*Ibid.*
- ¹⁸³*Ibid.*, p.55.
- ¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p.57.
- ¹⁸⁵Eric R. Wolf. *Europe And The People Without History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982), p.269.
- ¹⁸⁶W.W. Rostow. *Stages Of Economic Growth* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p.48.
- ¹⁸⁷From "The Statesman's Manual (1816), reprinted in R.J. White. *Political Tracts of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley* (Cambridge, England, 1953), pp.82 ff. Quoted in: John W. Osborne. *The Silent Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p.51.
- ¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁹Thomas Malthus. *Population: The First Essay*, p.97.
- ¹⁹⁰William Hazlitt. *A Reply To The 'Essay On Population'* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley edition, 1967. Originally published 1807), pp.11-12.
- ¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, p.15. **Author's Note:** Hazlitt goes on to generalize about the failure of English philosophers as a whole to grasp philosophical principles, writing: "They are fond of deep questions without understanding them; and have that perplexed and plodding kind of intellect, which takes delight in difficulties, and contradictions, without ever coming to a conclusion. They feel most interest in things which promise to be the least interesting. What is confused and intelligible they take to be profound; whatever is

remote and uncertain, they conceive must be of vast weight and importance.... Thus there is a perpetual restless succession of philosophers and systems of philosophy; and the proof they give you of their wisdom to-day, is by convincing you what fools they were six months before. (pp.17-18)

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, p.35.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, p.141.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp.174-175.

¹⁹⁵Frank E. Huggett. *The Land Question And European Society Since 1650*, pp.83-84.

¹⁹⁶David Ricardo. *The Principles of Political Economy & Taxation*, p.117.

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p.110.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.117.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p.131.

²⁰⁰*Ibid.*

²⁰¹Adam Smith. *The Wealth Of Nations* (New York: Random House edition, 1937.

Originally published 1776), pp.73-74.

²⁰²David Ricardo. *The Principles Of Political Economy & Taxation*, p.57.

²⁰³From a letter to Thomas Malthus, October 20, 1820. Reprinted in: Alexander Gray. *The Development Of Economic Doctrine* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931), p.172.

²⁰⁴Thomas De Quincey. "Ricardo Made Easy; Or, What Is The Radical Difference Between Ricardo And Adam Smith." *Blackwoods Edinburgh Review* (July-December 1842). Reprinted in: *Economic Thought, A Historical Anthology*, edited by James A. Gherity (New York: Random House, 1965), p.180.

²⁰⁵David Ricardo. *The Principles Of Political Economy & Taxation*, p.110.

²⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p.131.

²⁰⁷Quoted in: Donald O. Wagner. *Social Reformers*, p.182.

²⁰⁸Robert Owen. "A Plan for relieving Public Distress and Removing Discontent" (1820). Reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner, p.198.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 199.

²¹⁰James Mill. "An Essay On Government" (1820). Reprinted in: *English Philosophers From Bacon To Mill*, edited by Edwin A. Burt (New York: Random House, 1939), p.858.

²¹¹*Ibid.*, p.859.

²¹²*Ibid.*, p.870.

²¹³Bruce Mazlish. *James and John Stuart Mill* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p.84.

²¹⁴**Author's Note:** The Radicals counted among their number David Ricardo, William Cobbett, Joseph Hume and J.R. M'Culloch.

²¹⁵Paul Kennedy. *The Rise And Fall Of The Great Powers* (New York: Random House, 1987), pp.149-150.

²¹⁶L.T. Hobhouse. *Liberalism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1910), pp.23-24.

²¹⁷Diana Spearman. *Democracy in England* (London: Rockliff Publishing Company, 1957), p.97.

²¹⁸From a letter to James Mill, August 28, 1821. Quoted in: Bruce Mazlish. *James And John Stuart Mill*, p.102.

²¹⁹William Cobbett. "Letter To The Luddites," *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, November 30, 1816. Reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner, p.138.

²²⁰William Cobbett. "To The Journeymen And Labourers Of England, Wales, Scotland, And Ireland." *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, November 2, 1816. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.141.

²²¹Quoted in: Mortimer Chambers, et al. *The Western Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p.742.

²²²Jean de Sismondi. "New Principles Of Political Economy" (1827). Reprinted, in part, in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner, p.150.

²²³Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Sir James Mackintosh" (July 1835). *Critical and Historical Essays* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1875), pp.322-323.

²²⁴Quoted in: Bruce Mazlish. *James And John Stuart Mill*, p.227.

²²⁵John Stuart Mill. "The Spirit of the Age" (1831). Reprinted in: *Mill's Essays on Literature and Society*, edited by J.B. Schneewind (New York: Collier Books, 1965), pp.28-29.

²²⁶*Ibid.*, p.45.

²²⁷*Ibid.*, p.49.

²²⁸Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, edited by J.P. Mayer (New York: Harper & Row edition, 1966. Originally published 1835), p.242.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, pp.314-315.

²³⁰*Ibid.*, p.260.

²³¹**Author's Note:** This publication became *The London and Westminster Review* in 1836, as a result of a merger accomplished by William Molesworth.

²³²G.M. Trevelyan. *History Of England*, Vol.III (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company edition, 1952. Originally published 1926), p.160.

²³³**Author's Note:** Cobden also played a pivotal role in the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1860, which greatly reduced tariffs and other barriers to trade between Britain and other European states.

²³⁴Andre Jardin. *Tocqueville, A Biography* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux edition, 1988. Originally published 1984), p.235.

²³⁵*Ibid.*, p.237.

²³⁶Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, p.53.

²³⁷*Ibid.*, p.411.

²³⁸*Ibid.*, p.324.

²³⁹*Ibid.*, p.337.

²⁴⁰Jacob N. Cardozo. "Notes on Political Economy" (1826) Excerpts reprinted in: *The Rise Of American Economic Thought*, p.71.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*, p.71.

²⁴²*Ibid.*, pp.72-73.

²⁴³Willard Phillips. "A Manual of Political Economy with Particular Reference to the Institutions, Resources, and Condition of the United States" (1828). Excerpts reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.90.

²⁴⁴Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, p.54.

²⁴⁵Mathew Carey. "Address to the Wealthy of the Land (1831). Reprinted in: *The Rise of American Economic Thought*, edited by Henry W. Spiegel (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1960), p.50.

²⁴⁶Frederick List. "American Political Economy" (1827). Excerpts reprinted in: *The Rise of American Economic Thought*, p.84.

²⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p.85.

²⁴⁸Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, p.315.

²⁴⁹**Author's Note:** Tocqueville's long run expectation for the United States proved to be accurate, although a war would be necessary to consolidate the natural process he observed had already "mellowed a mass of provincial prejudices" and by which "the various parts of the Union have drawn closer." Tocqueville is unclear as to whether he sees in the free flow of commerce and migration of people the development of a heterogeneous or a pluralistic society. He did not anticipate the massive influx of newcomers from all over the globe. Yet he proves essentially accurate in his prediction that "the civilization of the North appears destined to be the norm to which all the rest must one day conform." (See: Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*, pp.384-385.)

²⁵⁰Quoted in: Ray Allen Billington. *Westward Expansion, A History of the American Frontier* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1967), p.323.

²⁵¹Edmund Ruffin. "The Political Economy Of Slavery" (1853). Excerpts reprinted in: *Slavery Defended: the views of The Old South*, edited by Eric L. McKittrick (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p.71.

²⁵²*Ibid.*, p.74.

²⁵³Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager. *The Growth Of The American Republic*, Vol.I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.525.

²⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp.334-335.

²⁵⁵Frederick Jackson Turner. "The Rise of the New West, 1820-1830" (1906). Excerpt reprinted in: *The Nation in Crisis: 1828-1865*, edited by Davis R.B. Ross, et al. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p.10.

²⁵⁶**Author's Note:** Any potential producer, knowing what the probably market value of goods will be and calculating expenses incurred in production, will be induced to enter into production when there is reason to expect an income stream equal to or greater than what is probable under alternative uses of labor and capital goods. The effect of a tariff, by artificially setting the lowest market price, is to shift advantage to the landowner. Either higher rents or a capitalization of higher rents into higher land prices is the result. Thus, over time the net return to the producer is essentially the same as had there been no tariff, except where the producer has gained control of land prior to the tariff or otherwise locked in rents at a pre-tariff level.

²⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p.29.

²⁵⁸From a letter to Joseph C. Cabell. February 2, 1816. Reprinted in: *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York: Random House, 1944), p.661.

²⁵⁹From a letter to John Holmes. April 22, 1820. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.698.

²⁶⁰Message to the U.S. Congress, July 10, 1832. **Excerpt reprinted in:** Richard Hofstadter, et al. *The American Republic*, Vol.I (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970 edition), p.420.

²⁶¹From a speech before the Central Hickory Club published in the *Washington Globe*, December 13, 1832. **Excerpt reprinted in:** Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1945), p.97.

²⁶²From a report on the removal of the deposits, Register of Debates, 23, Congress 1 Session, Appendix 68. **Excerpt reprinted in:** Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age of Jackson*, p.105.

²⁶³From a statement made to a Baltimore delegation in 1834. **Quoted in:** *Ibid.*, p.110.

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²⁶⁴"English Traits" (1856). *The Complete Essays and other writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Brooks Atkinson (New York: Random House, 1940), p.613.

²⁶⁵Henry Bamford Parkes. *A History Of Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company edition, 1969. Originally published 1938), p.166.

²⁶⁶*Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents Of The United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p.97.

²⁶⁷**Author's Note:** The Treaty added over 500,000 square miles to the territory of the United States. An additional 54,000 square miles in New Mexico was purchased in 1853 for \$10 million.

²⁶⁸*The Durham Report*, edited by R. Coupland (London: Oxford University Press edition, 1945), p.180. **Quoted in:** John Bowle. *The Imperial Achievement* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), p.225.

²⁶⁹O.H.K. Spate. *Australia* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p.39.

²⁷⁰L.S. Stavrianos. *The World Since 1500* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966) pp.324-325.

²⁷¹Winston S. Churchill. *A History Of The English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.IV (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958), p.84.

²⁷²John Stuart Mill. *Principles Of Political Economy*, Vol.II (New York: The Colonial Press edition, 1899. Originally published 1848), pp.99-100.

²⁷³*Ibid.*, p.307.

²⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p.268. **Author's Note:** In a later section of this work, Mill remarks that "[t]he only security against political slavery, is the check maintained over governors, by the diffusion of intelligence, activity, and public spirit among the governed." (p.450)

²⁷⁵L.S. Stavrianos. *The World Since 1500*, p.336.

²⁷⁶**Author's Note:** Various sources refer to him as Mohammed Aly.

²⁷⁷Tom Little. *Modern Egypt* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p.32.

²⁷⁸G.M. Trevelyan. *History Of England*, Vol.III (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company edition, 1952. Originally published 1926), p.208.

²⁷⁹**Author's Note:** Among the earliest settlers were Africans who escaped to the British during the American war for independence, as well as ex-slaves who had rebelled against European slave holders in Jamaica.

²⁸⁰Winston S. Churchill. *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.IV, p.109.

²⁸¹Alexis de Tocqueville. "Memoire sur le pauperisme" (1835). **Quoted in:** Andre Jardin. *Tocqueville, A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), p.243.

²⁸²**Author's Note:** Jardin's own assessment of the socio-political conditions of the early nineteenth century deserve consideration as well. Within the space of only a few paragraphs he makes the powerful connections between effect and cause: "It was when men quit the woods to devote themselves to agriculture, it was when men began to own land, that inequality and also battles for the possession of land first appeared...But the proliferation and diversification of needs linked to human perfectibility had created industries to satisfy them. These industries were more unstable than agriculture, whose only aim was to provide the necessities of life. The more industrialized, the more splendid a society was, the more widespread its pauperism would become...Moreover, in a more industrialized society, presenting more striking

contrasts between opulence and misery, the collective conscience was more sensitive to the need to alleviate the misery." See: Andre Jardin. *Tocqueville, A Biography*, pp.243-244.

²⁸³Thomas Hamilton. "Men and Manners in America" (1834). Quoted in: Richard N. Current. *Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955), p.75.

²⁸⁴Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Conduct Of Life" (1860). Reprinted in: *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, pp.707-708.

²⁸⁵Francis Bowen. "The Principles of Political Economy" (1856). Reprinted in: *The Rise of American Economic Thought*, edited by Henry William Speigel (Philadelphia: Chilton Company, 1960), p.134.

²⁸⁶James Fenimore Cooper. *The American Democrat* (Alfred A. Knopf edition, 1959. Reprinted by Liberty Fund. Originally published 1838), p.51.

²⁸⁷Frederick Jackson Turner. "The New West, 1820-1830" (1906). Reprinted in: *The Nation in Crisis: 1828-1865*, edited by Davis R.B. Ross, et al. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p.25.

²⁸⁸Theophilus Fisk. "Capital against Labor." An address delivered at Julien Hall before the mechanics of Boston, May 20, 1835. Reprinted in: *Social Theories Of Jacksonian Democracy*, edited by Joseph L. Blau (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1954), p.201.

²⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p.206.

²⁹⁰John W. Vethake. "The Doctrine Of Anti-Monopoly." From the *New York Evening Post*, October 21, 1835. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.212.

²⁹¹Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy In America*, p.558.

²⁹²Edmund Burke. "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity" (1795). Reprinted in: *The Conservative Tradition*, edited by R.J. White (New York: New York University Press edition, 1957. Originally published 1950), p.82.

²⁹³Benjamin Disraeli. From a speech made at Shrewsbury, May 9, 1843. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.174.

²⁹⁴Gilbert Vale. "Political Economy." From the Supplement to *The Diamond*, April to August, 1841. Reprinted in: *Social Theories Of Jacksonian Democracy*, p.241.

²⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p.242.

²⁹⁶The Comte de Saint-Simon.

²⁹⁷Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy In America*, pp.682-683.

²⁹⁸John Stuart Mill. "Democracy in America," *Edinburgh Review*, October 1840.

Reprinted in: *The Great Ideas Today / 1964*, edited by Robert M. Hutchins, et al. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1964), p.477.

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p.276.

³⁰⁰John M. Robson. *The Improvement of Mankind: The Social and Political Thought of John Stuart Mill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p.114.

³⁰¹John Stuart Mill. "Democracy in America." Reprinted in: *The Great Ideas Today / 1964*, p.489.

³⁰²**Author's note:** The conditions Mill attached to his candidacy were extraordinary. "First, that if elected he would not undertake the charge of any local interest. Second, that since his only object in Parliament would be to promote the opinions expressed in his writings, he would elaborate them as might be required, telling his constituents the votes he intended to give and his reasons for them. Beyond that he would give no pledge of party loyalty. Third, that he would not advertise or offer himself to the constituents in any manner. Fourth, he would not pay a pennyworth towards the cost of his election, because it was a scandal that only rich men could afford a seat in Parliament, and because the enormous expense deterred many of the best candidates from running." From: Michael St.John Packe. *The Life Of John Stuart Mill* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), p.447.

³⁰³**Quoted in:** Michael St.John Packe. *The Life Of John Stuart Mill*, p.455.

³⁰⁴Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. *Reason In History*, translated by Robert S. Hartman (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company edition, 1953. Originally published posthumously in two editions, 1837 and 1840), p.54.

³⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p.58.

³⁰⁶**Quoted in:** John M. Ferguson. *Landmarks Of Economic Thought* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), p.133.

³⁰⁷**Author's Note:** List emigrated to the United States in 1825 after being expelled from the Wurttemberg parliament because of his promotion of liberal reforms. In 1832 he was appointed as U.S. consul to Leipzig.

- ³⁰⁸Jean C.L.S. de Sismondi. "New Principles Of Political Economy" (1827). Excerpts reprinted in: *Social Reformers*, edited by Donald O. Wagner (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p.149.
- ³⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p.151.
- ³¹⁰Thomas Carlyle. *Chartism* (London: Chapman and Hall edition, 1894. Originally published 1839), p.4.
- ³¹¹*Ibid.*, p.29.
- ³¹²*Ibid.*, p.5.
- ³¹³*Ibid.*, pp.12-13.
- ³¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.17.
- ³¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.23.
- ³¹⁶*Ibid.*, p.33.
- ³¹⁷*Ibid.*, p.34.
- ³¹⁸From a letter to the moderate Radical, John Wade, July 9, 1833. Quoted in: Joseph Hamburger. *James Mill and the Art of Revolution* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), p.260(f).
- ³¹⁹Quoted in: Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1979), p.66.
- ³²⁰From a letter to Bergmann, date not specified, early months of 1840. Quoted in: Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, p.34.
- ³²¹*Ibid.*, p.57.
- ³²²This political tract, "Remarks on the New Prussian Censorship," was published in Switzerland in 1843.
- ³²³Franz Mehring. *Karl Marx*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press edition, 1973. Originally published 1962), p.52.
- ³²⁴From Marx's contribution to "Deutsch-Franzosische Fahrbacher" (1843). Excerpt reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.60.
- ³²⁵Boris Nicolaievsky and Otto Maenchen-Helfen. *Karl Marx, Man and Fighter*, translated by Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1936), pp.73-74.
- ³²⁶Franz Mehring. *Karl Marx*, p.113.
- ³²⁷Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, p.77.

- ³²⁸From a letter to Karl Marx, May 17, 1846. Excerpt reprinted in: Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, p.80.
- ³²⁹From a letter to Karl Marx, May 17, 1840. Quoted in: James Joll. *The Anarchists* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), p.69.
- ³³⁰Franz Mehring. *Karl Marx*, p.117.
- ³³¹Karl Marx. "The Metaphysics of Political Economy: The Method," *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847). Reprinted in: *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, edited by Lloyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1967), p.476.
- ³³²*Ibid.*, p.480.
- ³³³*Ibid.*, pp.492-493.
- ³³⁴Franz Mehring. *Karl Marx*, p.136.
- ³³⁵Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.142.
- ³³⁶Boris Nicolaievsky and Otto Maenchen-Helfen. *Karl Marx: Man And Fighter*, p.141.
- ³³⁷Michael Bakunin. "Foundations of Slav Policy" (1848). Quoted in: James Joll. *The Anarchists* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), p.86.
- ³³⁸From Proudhon's account of events. Excerpt reprinted in: Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, p.120.
- ³³⁹Author's Note: At the heart of Proudhon's proposals was the concept of a cooperative People's Bank. Members would neither pay interest on borrowed funds nor earn dividends. The Bank would be a not-for-profit institution that charged each member just enough in fees to cover the costs of staff and administration.
- ³⁴⁰Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, p.141.
- ³⁴¹Excerpt reprinted in: Anthony Masters. *Bakunin: The Father Of Anarchism* (New York: E.P.Dutton & Co., 1974), pp.120-121.
- ³⁴²From a new translation of the 1895 Introduction by Frederick Engels to: Karl Marx. *The Class Struggles In France (1848-1850)* (New York: International Publishers edition, 1964. Originally published 1850), pp.15-17.
- ³⁴³From a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, December 19, 1849. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Letters to Americans (1848-1895)* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p.17.

³⁴⁴Robert Blake. *Disraeli* (New York: St. Martin's Press edition, 1967. Originally published in London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966), pp.276-277.

³⁴⁵G.M. Trevelyan. *History of England*, Vol.III (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company edition, 1952. Originally published in London by Longmans, Green and Co., 1926), pp.187-188.

³⁴⁶From a speech before Parliament, 1846. Excerpt reprinted in: Robert Blake. *Disraeli*, p.232.

³⁴⁷John Stuart Mill. "Reorganization of the Reform Party," *London and Westminster Review*, 32 (April 1839), p.485. Quoted in: Joseph Hamburger. *Intellectuals In Politics: John Stuart Mill and the Philosophical Radicals* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965), p.74.

³⁴⁸Robert Blake. *Disraeli*, p.290.

³⁴⁹From a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, July 27, 1850. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, p.19.

³⁵⁰From a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, February 27, 1852. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, p.41.

³⁵¹Robert Blake. *Disraeli*, pp.345-346.

³⁵²From a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, April 12, 1853. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Letters to Americans, 1848-1895*, p.55.

³⁵³From the Diary of John Stuart Mill, January 22, 1854. Reprinted in: *Mill's Essays on Literature and Society*, edited by J.B. Schneewind (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp.349-350.

³⁵⁴Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Politics," (1844). Reprinted in: *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Brooks Atkinson (New York: Random House, 1940), pp.423-425.

³⁵⁵Patrick Edward Dove. *The Theory of Human Progression* (New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Company abridged edition, 1910. Originally published 1850), pp.27-28.

³⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p.50.

³⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp.85-86.

³⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p.86.

³⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p.103.

³⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p.124.

³⁶¹Herbert Spencer. *Social Statics* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1970. Originally published 1850), p.111.

³⁶²*Ibid.*, p.111.

³⁶³From the introduction to: Herbert Spencer. *The Man Versus The State* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers edition, 1946. Originally published 1884), p.viii.

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³⁶⁴Milton Mayer. *On Liberty: Man v. The State* (Santa Barbara, CA: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1969), p.124.

³⁶⁵Patrick Edward Dove. *The Theory of Human Progression* (New York: Isaac H. Blanchard company edition, 1910. Originally published 1850), pp.86-87.

³⁶⁶**Author's Note:** Pollard was at the time Professor of Modern History in the University of London.

³⁶⁷A.F. Pollard. "Ireland As A Dependency," *The New Irish Constitution*, edited by J.H. Morgan (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press edition, 1971. Originally published 1912), pp.265-266.

³⁶⁸From a speech before the House of Commons, March 7, 1829.

³⁶⁹From a report to the Magistrates of Tipperary (1838). Excerpt reprinted in: R. Barry O'Brien. "The Government of Ireland In The Nineteenth Century," *The New Irish Constitution*, pp.320-321.

³⁷⁰Cecil Woodham-Smith. *The Reason Why* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953), pp.123-124.

³⁷¹**Author's Note:** The next largest immigrant group was the Germans, at around 1,500,000, followed by 420,000 English, 180,000 French, 40,000 Scots, 30,000 Swiss, 30,000 Scandinavians, 20,000 Dutch, 20,000 Belgians, 15,000 Welsh, 15,000 Italians and 5,000 Poles. **Source:** Richard Hofstadter, et al. *The American Republic*, Vol.I (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p.528.

³⁷²Frederick Engels. "The Condition of the Working-Class in England" (1845). Excerpts reprinted in: *Marx/Engels: Ireland and the Irish Question*, edited by C. Desmond Greaves (Moscow: Progress Publishers edition, 1970), p.52.

³⁷³Frederick Jackson Turner. *The Rise of the New West, 1820-1830* (New York: Harper Bros., 1906). Excerpt reprinted in: *The Nation in Crisis: 1828-1865*, edited by Davis R.B. Ross, et al. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p.29.

³⁷⁴Douglas Southall Freeman. *Washington* (New York: Charles Scribners's Sons abridged edition, 1968. Originally published in seven volumes, 1948-1957), p.613.

³⁷⁵Quoted in: Russel B. Nye. *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955) p.41.

³⁷⁶Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age Of Jackson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1945), p.402.

³⁷⁷From Harrison's Inaugural Address, March 4, 1841. Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965) p.72.

³⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pp.72-73.

³⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p.79.

³⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p.80.

³⁸¹Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. *The Growth Of The American Republic*, Vol.I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.577.

³⁸²From a speech before the U.S. Senate (date not specified). Excerpt reprinted in: Gerald M. Capers. *John C. Calhoun-Opportunist* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books edition, 1969. Originally published 1960), p.183.

³⁸³Matthew Josephson. *The Robber Barons* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich edition, 1962. Originally published 1934), p.21.

³⁸⁴Horace Greeley, "The Tariff Question," *American Whig Review*, II, 114 (August, 1845). Quoted in: Arthur R. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age of Jackson*, p.423.

³⁸⁵Orestes Brownson. "But What Shall Government Do?" *Boston Quarterly Review*, II (October 1839). Excerpt reprinted in: Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. *The American Democratic Tradition: A History* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1963), p.110.

³⁸⁶Orestes A. Brownson. "Brook Farm," *Democratic Review*, XI, 454 (November, 1842). Quoted in: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age Of Jackson*, p.405.

³⁸⁷James Fenimore Cooper. "On Commerce," *The American Democrat* (North Shadeland, IN: Liberty Fund, Inc. edition. Originally published 1838), p.213.

³⁸⁸Luther Hamilton. *Memoirs, Speeches and Writings of Robert Rantoul, Jr.* (Boston, 1854), p.687. **Quoted in:** Arthur R. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age of Jackson*, p.428.

³⁸⁹Richard Hofstadter. *Anti-Intellectualism In American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962), p.165.

³⁹⁰**Author's Note:** Dorr, a Whig, graduated from Exeter and Harvard.

³⁹¹**Quoted in:** Richard Hofstadter. *Anti-Intellectualism In American Life*, p.239.

³⁹²From a *New York Herald* commentary, April 5, 1848. **Excerpt reprinted in:** Gustavus Myers. *History of the Great American Fortunes* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964. Originally published 1907), p.148.

³⁹³*Ibid.*, pp.153-154.

³⁹⁴Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy In America*, translated by George Lawrence and edited by J.P. Mayer (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc. edition, 1969. Originally published 1840-1850), p.197.

³⁹⁵Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p.245.

³⁹⁶**Quoted in:** William H. Hale. *Horace Greeley, Voice Of The People* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), p.35.

³⁹⁷**Quoted in:** *Ibid.*, p.41.

³⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.42.

³⁹⁹**Quoted in:** *Ibid.*, p.103.

⁴⁰⁰Burton J. Bledstein. *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), p.15.

⁴⁰¹Jackson Turner Main. *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), p.177.

⁴⁰²Matthew Josephson. *The Robber Barons* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich edition, 1962. Originally published 1934), p.22.

⁴⁰³*Ibid.*, p.22.

⁴⁰⁴Ralph Waldo Emerson. "New England Reformers," (1844). *Reprinted in: The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Brooks Atkinson (New York: Random House, Inc., 1940), p.451.

⁴⁰⁵Dolores Hayden. *Seven American Utopias* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1976), p.142.

⁴⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p.456.

⁴⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p.459.

⁴⁰⁸Horace Mann. "Challenges To A New Age," (1845). Reprinted in: *Horace Mann on the Crisis in Education*, edited by Louis Filler (Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch Press, 1965), p.89.

⁴⁰⁹*Ibid.*, pp.91-92.

⁴¹⁰Horace Mann. "Antioch College: Baccalaureate Address of 1857." Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.219.

⁴¹¹*Ibid.*, p.222.

⁴¹²From a message to the New York Legislature, 1826. Excerpt reprinted in: Ellwood P. Cubberley. *Public Education In The United States* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company edition, 1947. Originally published 1919), p.155.

⁴¹³Burton J. Bledstein. *The Culture of Professionalism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), p.195.

⁴¹⁴Burton J. Bledstein. *The Culture of Professionalism*, p.237. Author's Note: Oscar and Mary Handlin have written similarly that during this period "The college in effect assumed the task of disciplining young men with whom the family could not cope at home....Americans did not admit to themselves, but concealed, with inflated rhetoric, the purpose the college served—to control their sons." [From: *Facing Life: Youth and the Family in American History* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown & Co., 1971). Excerpts reprinted in: David J. Russo. *Families and Communities, A New View of American History* (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1974), pp.219-220.

⁴¹⁵See: Donald G. Tewksburg. *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p.28.

⁴¹⁶Philip Lindsley. *Paragraphs...from a Baccalaureate Address* (n.p., n.d., 1829), pp.17-18. Excerpt reprinted in: Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*, p.212.

⁴¹⁷From the transcripts of the debates before the U.S. House of Representatives, beginning March 3, 1852. Excerpts reprinted in: *Great Debates In American History*,

Vol.X, edited by Marion Mills Miller (New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1913), p.12.

⁴¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp.13-14.

⁴¹⁹*Ibid.*, p.39.

⁴²⁰From an editorial in the Tribune, January 23, 1846. **Quoted in:** William H. Hale. *Horace Greeley, Voice of the People*, p.137.

⁴²¹**Author's Note:** Horace Greeley would eulogize Chase at his death in 1873, observing: "To Mr. Chase more than any other one man belongs the credit of making the anti-slavery feeling, what it had never been before, a power in politics. It had been the sentiment of philanthropists; he made it the inspiration of a great political party." [From the New York Tribune, May 8, 1873. **Quoted in:** Eric Foner. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.74.

⁴²²**Author's Note:** Greeley remained firmly protectionist views in matters of external trade but was dismayed by the exploitation of workers exhibited by the owners of business. The reform program he supported included full civil rights for people of color, an end to the spoils system, a return to a metallic-backed currency and the elimination of additional grants of land to the railroads and other corporations. [See: William H. Hale. *Horace Greeley, Voice of the People*, p.338.]

⁴²³James Buchanan. "Inaugural Address" (March 4, 1857). Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p.113.

⁴²⁴John M. Ferguson. *Landmarks Of Economic Thought* (New York: Lomgmans, Green and Co., 1938), p.233.

⁴²⁵Charles Franklin Dunbar. *Economic Essays* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), p.14.

⁴²⁶**Author's Note:** One of Bastiat's most important historical and moral insights is revealed in a pamphlet written in 1850. In this short work he writes: "Man can live and satisfy his wants only by ceaseless labor; by the ceaseless application of his faculties to natural resources. This process is the origin of property. But it is also true that a man may live and satisfy his wants by seizing and consuming the products of the labor of others. This process is the origin of plunder. This fact, combined with the fatal tendency that exists in the heart of man to satisfy his wants with the least possible effort,

explains the almost universal perversion of the law. Thus it is easy to understand how law, instead of checking injustice, becomes the invincible weapon of injustice.” [From: *The Law* (Irvington-on-Hudson, NY: The Foundation for Economic Education edition, 1950. Originally published 1850) pp.10-11.]

⁴²⁷Francis Bowen. *The Principles of Political Economy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1856). Excerpt reprinted in: *Rise of American Economic Thought*, edited by Henry W. Spiegel (Philadelphia, PA: Chilton Company, 1960), pp.133-134.

⁴²⁸From an unsigned article appearing in the Quincy *Whig*, 1846. Quoted in: Carl Sandburg. *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company edition, 1954. Originally published 1925), p.88.

⁴²⁹Henry George. *Protection or Free Trade* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1980. Originally published 1886), pp.277-278.

⁴³⁰From a letter published in the *Journal of the Trades and Workingmen*, 1865. Excerpt reprinted in: Henry George, Jr. *Life of Henry George* (New York: Chelsea House edition, 1981. Originally published 1900), p.159.

⁴³¹Karl Marx. “The American Question in England,” *The New York Daily Tribune*, October 11, 1861. Reprinted in: *The American Journalism of Marx & Engels*, edited by Henry M. Christian (New York: The New American Library), p.212.

⁴³²*Ibid.*, p.214.

⁴³³Winston S. Churchill. *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.IV (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958), p.181.

⁴³⁴Author’s Note: “Americans” is here not italicized to acknowledge the involvement of African-Americans and the indigenous tribes (particularly the Cherokee) in the conflict.

⁴³⁵From a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, November 24, 1864. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p.63.

⁴³⁶From the “Address of the International Workingmen’s Association to Abraham Lincoln” (November 1864). Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.66.

⁴³⁷Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. *The Growth of the American Republic*, Vol.I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.670.

⁴³⁸From Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, delivered March 4, 1816. Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States*, p.123.

⁴³⁹**Author's Note:** James Madison argued that the establishment of a separate Senate, small in number, was needed "to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority;" that is, against the Democracy. In support of having Senators elected by the individual State legislatures, Elbridge Gerry warned that "[t]he people are for paper money when the legislatures are against it." With the seventeenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1913, the election of Senators was transferred to the voting public, and in doing so further weakened any remaining claims of sovereignty lingering within the States.

⁴⁴⁰From a letter published in Boston by the *American Herald*, November 5, 1787. Quoted in: Robert Allen Rutland. *The Ordeal of the Constitution* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp.23-24.

⁴⁴¹Alexander Hamilton. "No. VI," *The Federalist* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd. edition, 1970. Originally published 1787-1788), p.20.

⁴⁴²Mortimer J. Adler. *The Time of Our Lives* (New York: Fordham University Press edition, 1996. Originally published 1970), pp.248-249.

⁴⁴³John C. Calhoun. *A Disquisition on Government* (New York: Poli Sci Classics edition, 1947. Originally published posthumously 1854), pp.55-56.

⁴⁴⁴John C. Calhoun. "Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions," U.S. Senate, February 6, 1837. Reprinted in: *Slavery Defended: the view of The Old South*, edited by Eric L. McKittrick (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p.15.

⁴⁴⁵George Fitzhugh. *Sociology for the South* (1854). Excerpt Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.35.

⁴⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p.47.

⁴⁴⁷John Hope Franklin. *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, fourth edition 1974. Originally published 1947), p.144.

⁴⁴⁸From a letter to Rebekah Whipple, April 13, 1865. Excerpt reprinted in: William H. Hale. *Horace Greeley, Voice of the People*, pp.292-293.

⁴⁴⁹See: Irwin Unger. *The Greenback Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p.23. This comes from a diary entry made September 29, 1868.

⁴⁵⁰Carl Sandburg. *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company edition, 1954. Originally published 1925), p.480. **Author's Note:** In a touch of poetic justice, Sandburg quotes from an English magazine of the period the comment, "A great war always creates more scoundrels than it kills."

⁴⁵¹Henry George. "What the Railroad Will Bring Us," *Overland Monthly*, October, 1868. Excerpt reprinted in: Henry George, Jr. *Life of Henry George* (New York: Chelsea House edition, 1981. Originally published 1900), pp.177-179.

⁴⁵²From a letter to Henry George, October 23, 1869. **Reprinted in:** Henry George, Jr. *Life of Henry George*, p.198.

⁴⁵³*Ibid.*, p.199.

⁴⁵⁴**Author's Note:** Henry George was nominated by the Democrats and ran for the State legislature. He was even more soundly defeated than most other Democrats.

⁴⁵⁵Kevin Starr. *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.139.

⁴⁵⁶Albert Jay Nock. *Henry George* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1939), pp.104-105.

⁴⁵⁷William Harlan Hale. *Horace Greeley, Voice of the People*, pp.341-342.

⁴⁵⁸From a letter to Joseph Weydemeyer. February 1, 1859. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Letters To Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p.61. **Author's Note:** Lassalle was killed in a duel on August 30, 1864.

⁴⁵⁹From a letter to Siegfried Meyer, April 30, 1867. **Reprinted in:** *Ibid.*, p.73.

⁴⁶⁰Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. *War and Peace, An Enquiry into the principles and constitution of the law of nations* (Brussels, 1861). Excerpt reprinted in: Edward Hyams. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1979), p.243.

⁴⁶¹Boris Nicolaievsky and Otto Maenchen-Helfen. *Karl Marx, Man and Fighter* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1936), p.268.

⁴⁶²From a letter to Gaspard Sentinon, 1871. **Quoted in:** Edward Hyams. *The Millennium Postponed* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p.66.

⁴⁶³From the subtitle: Henry George. *Progress and Poverty* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1975. Originally published 1979).

⁴⁶⁴From a letter to John Swinton, June 2, 1881. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Letters To Americans, 1848-1895*, p.127.

⁴⁶⁵From a letter to Friedrich Sorge, June 20, 1881. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, pp.127-129.

⁴⁶⁶From a letter to Friedrich Sorge, September 16, 1886. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.161.

⁴⁶⁷From a letter to Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky, December 28, 1886. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁴⁶⁸From an address delivered at the Second Public Meeting of the Anti-Poverty Society, in the Academy of Music, New York, May 8, 1887, p.6. Reprinted by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation (New York).

⁴⁶⁹Henry George, Jr. *Life of Henry George*, p.508.

⁴⁷⁰From an interview appearing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1888. Quoted in: Henry George, Jr. *Life of Henry George*, p.514.

⁴⁷¹From a letter to Friedrich Sorge, January 18, 1893. Reprinted in: *Letters To Americans By Karl Marx And Frederick Engels, 1848-1895*, p.246.

⁴⁷²**Author's Note:** Engels here refers to William Stanley Jevons (1835-1882), whose main work had been *The Theory of Political Economy*, first published in 1871, and who was one of the early figures of the neoclassical school of economists who developed marginality into a full-blown mathematically-derived theory.

⁴⁷³From a letter to Friedrich Sorge, February 8, 1890. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.226.

⁴⁷⁴From the Preface written by Frederick Engels: Karl Marx. *Capital*, Vol.III (New York: Random House edition, 1981. Originally published posthumously, 1895), pp.99-100.

⁴⁷⁵Robert F. Hebert. "Marshall: A Professional Economist Guards the Purity of His Discipline." *Critics of Henry George*, edited by Robert V. Andelson (London: Associated University Presses, 1979), p.60.

ENDNOTES / Chapter 5

⁴⁷⁶Robert L. Heilbroner. *The Worldly Philosophers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p.180.

⁴⁷⁷Albert Jay Nock. *Henry George* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1939), p.223.

⁴⁷⁸John R. Common. *Myself* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press edition, 1963. Originally published 1934), p.39.

⁴⁷⁹Henry George. *Social Problems* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1966. Originally published 1883), p.245.

⁴⁸⁰William Smart. *Taxation of Land Values and The Single Tax* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1900).

⁴⁸¹Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1968. Originally published 1897), p.208.

⁴⁸²*Ibid.*

⁴⁸³William Smart. *Taxation of Land Values and The Single Tax*, pp.106-107.

⁴⁸⁴Henry George. *Social Problems*, p.12.

⁴⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p.171.

⁴⁸⁶William Smart. *Taxation of Land Values and The Single Tax*, p.106.

⁴⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p.111.

⁴⁸⁸Henry George. *Progress and Poverty* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1975. Originally published 1879), p.320.

⁴⁸⁹Robert L. Heilbroner. *Between Capitalism and Socialism* (New York: Random House, 1970), p.11.

⁴⁹⁰From a letter to Friedrich Sorge, December 31, 1892. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p.243.

⁴⁹¹Maldwyn Allen Jones. *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p.179.

⁴⁹²Henry George. *Social Problems*, p.105.

⁴⁹³*Ibid.*, pp.111-112.

⁴⁹⁴Henry George. *Progress and Poverty*, p.280.

⁴⁹⁵*Ibid.*, pp.280-281.

⁴⁹⁶Harry Gunnison Brown. "Academic Freedom and the Defense of Capitalism," *The Effective Answer to Communism* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1958), p.96.

⁴⁹⁷Henry Demarest Lloyd. *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), p.1.

⁴⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.2.

⁴⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p.510.

⁵⁰⁰Max Hirsch. *Democracy Versus Socialism* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1966. Originally published 1901), p.290.

⁵⁰¹From the Preface to the third edition. *Ibid.*, p.xxi. Author's Note: Francis Neilson achieved widespread recognition as an anti-war activist with the publication in 1915 of his book, *How Diplomats Make War*. Soon after the First World War he emigrated to the United States and became a U.S. citizen in 1921. His later literary accomplishments included a five volume commentary on causes of the Second World War.

⁵⁰²Paul Dickson. *Think Tanks* (New York: Athenaeum, 1971), p.10.

⁵⁰³Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy*, p.205.

⁵⁰⁴Arthur Twining Hadley. "The Science of Political Economy by Henry George," *The Yale Review* (August 1898), p.231.

⁵⁰⁵Charles A. Barker. *Henry George* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.584.

⁵⁰⁶Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.584.

⁵⁰⁷From "Science Economic Discussion," p.42. Quoted in: Charles Franklin Dunbar. *Economic Essays* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), p.38.

⁵⁰⁸From "Science Economic Discussion," p.43. Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.45.

⁵⁰⁹Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy*, p.207.

⁵¹⁰From the "Introduction" by F.W. Taussig. Charles Franklin Dunbar. *Economic Essays*, pp.x-xi.

⁵¹¹Charles Franklin Dunbar. "Economic Science in America, 1776-1876." *North American Review*, January, 1876. Reprinted in: *Economic Essays*, p.22.

⁵¹²*Ibid.*, p.25.

⁵¹³*Ibid.*, p.33.

⁵¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.35.

⁵¹⁵Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy*, p.94.

⁵¹⁶Charles Franklin Dunbar. "The Reaction In Political Economy," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, October, 1886. Reprinted in: *Economic Essays*, p.40.

⁵¹⁷**Author's Note:** Seligman graduated from Columbia University and in 1885 returned to lecture in political economy, becoming a full professor in 1891.

⁵¹⁸**Author's Note:** Ely attended Columbia University, then received his doctorate from Heidelberg in 1879. He then joined the faculty of John Hopkins University.

⁵¹⁹Joseph A. Schumpeter. *Ten Great Economists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p.196.

⁵²⁰**Author's Note:** Clark graduated from Amherst, then completed his doctorate in economics in Germany. After teachings at Smith College and Amherst, in 1895 he moved to Columbia University where he remained until his retirement in 1923.

⁵²¹Steven Cord. *Henry George: Dreamer Or Realist?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p.58.

⁵²²From a speech made before the U.S. House of Representatives, June 10, 1911. Reprinted in: *Great Debates In American History*, edited by Marion M. Miller (New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1913), p.105.

⁵²³*Ibid.*, pp.108-109.

⁵²⁴See: Harry Gunnison Brown. "The Ethics of Land Value Taxation," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1917. Reprinted in: *Selected Articles of Harry Gunnison Brown* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1980), p.11-15.

⁵²⁵Harry Gunnison Brown. *The Economic Basis Of Tax Reform* (Columbia, MO: Lucas Brothers, 1932), p.285.

⁵²⁶Karl Worth Bigelow. "Economics," *The History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, edited by Harry E. Barnes (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p.385.

⁵²⁷Ludwig von Mises. *Theory and History* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House edition. Originally published 1957), p.12.

⁵²⁸Henry George. "The Study of Political Economy" (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation). A lecture delivered at the University of California, March 9, 1877.

⁵²⁹Richard T. Ely. *The Past And The Present Of Political Economy* (John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol.II, 1884), p.64. Quoted in Richard Hofstadter. *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), p.146.

⁵³⁰From the "Anniversary Meeting," American Economic Association *Publications*, 3rd series, XI (1911). Reprinted in: *American Issues: The Social Record*, edited by Merle Curti, et al. (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1960), p.732.

⁵³¹From: Richard T. Ely. *Ground under Our Feet; An Autobiography* (New York, 1938). Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.733.

⁵³²*Ibid.*

⁵³³Samuel E. Morison, Henry S. Commager and William E. Leuchtenburg. *The Growth Of The American Republic*, Vol.II, Sixth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.207.

⁵³⁴Frank W. Taussig. *Principles of Economics*, Vol. I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), p.509.

⁵³⁵Henry George. *The Condition of Labour* (London: Land & Liberty Press Ltd. Edition. Originally published 1891), p.2.

⁵³⁶Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy*, p.xxxii.

⁵³⁷Herbert J. Davenport. *The Economics of Enterprise* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), p.527. Excerpt reprinted in: Steven Cord. *Henry George: Dreamer Or Realist?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p.102.

⁵³⁸*Ibid.*

⁵³⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰Edward J. Rose. *Henry George* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1968), p.145.

⁵⁴¹Quoted in: Robert Clancy. *A Seed Was Sown* (New York: Henry George School of Social Science, 1952), p.12.

⁵⁴²Reprinted in: Robert Clancy. *A Seed Was Sown*, p.29.

⁵⁴³See: Rhoda Hellman. *Henry George Reconsidered* (New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1987), pp.133-157.

⁵⁴⁴Howard D. Marshall. *The Great Economists* (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967), p.156.

⁵⁴⁵Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy*, p.428.

⁵⁴⁶Henry George. *Progress and Poverty* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1975. Originally published 1879), p.545.

⁵⁴⁷From a letter to Gene Sharp, April 2, 1953. Reprinted in: *Einstein On Peace*, edited by Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden (New York: Avenel Books edition, 1980. Originally published 1960), p.543.

⁵⁴⁸From a letter to Oscar J. Geiger, 1933. Quoted in: *60 Famous Thinkers On Owning Earth* (San Diego, CA: Common Ground), 1991.

⁵⁴⁹Henry George. *The Science of Political Economy*, p.437.

⁵⁵⁰Ludwig von Mises. *The Anti-Capitalist Mentality* (Princeton, NJ: D.Van Nostrand Company, Inc.), p.39.

⁵⁵¹Henry George. *Progress and Poverty*, p.213.

⁵⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p.259.

⁵⁵⁷Henry George. *Protection or Free Trade* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1980 . Originally published 1886), p.280.

⁵⁵⁸Henry George. *The Science Of Political Economy*, p.104.

⁵⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p.48.

⁵⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p.198.

⁵⁶¹*Ibid.*, p.200-201.

⁵⁶²Warren B. Catlin. *The Progress Of Economics* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962), p.397.

⁵⁶³Jacob Oser. *Henry George* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974), p.54.

⁵⁶⁴Albert Jay Nock. *Henry George* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1939), p.150.

⁵⁶⁵Robert F. Hebert. "Marshall: A Professional Economist Guards the Purity of His Discipline." *Critics of Henry George*, edited by Robert V. Andelson, p.59.

⁵⁶⁶Arnold J. Toynbee. *The Industrial Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press edition, 1956. Originally published 1884), pp.111-112.

⁵⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p.113.

⁵⁶⁸Henry George. *The Condition Of Labor* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Neill & Co., Ltd. edition, 1947. Originally published 1891), p.31. **Author's Note:** George received no response from Pope Leo XIII or anyone at the Vatican, although an Italian translation had been presented to the Pope by the prefect of the Vatican Library.

⁵⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p.115.

⁵⁷⁰From a letter by H.W. Hollis to Samuel Orme, August 14, 1873. Quoted in: Herman Ausubel. *In Hard Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p.56.

⁵⁷¹*Ibid.*, p.59.

⁵⁷²Winston S. Churchill. *My Early Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), p.372.

⁵⁷³Henry George. *Protection or Free Trade* (New York: Henry George & Co., 1886), p.55.

⁵⁷⁴Quoted in: Herman Ausubel. *In Hard Times*, p.257.

⁵⁷⁵From a speech given at Hoxton, July 1903. Quoted in: Violet Bonham-Carter. *Winston Churchill: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965), p.78.

⁵⁷⁶**Author's Note:** Nearly 35 percent of the German population still lived directly off the land, whereas in Britain the percentage had fallen to 8 percent. Source: Mortimer Chambers, et al. *The Western Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, second edition, 1979. Originally published 1974), p.854.

⁵⁷⁷From a letter to Friedrich Sorge, August 4, 1874. Reprinted in: *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1953), p.113.

⁵⁷⁸Richard T. Ely. *Science*, Vol.8, October 29, 1886, p.38. Quoted in: Joseph Dorfman. *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York: The Viking Press, 1934), p.63.

⁵⁷⁹Richard T. Ely. *Problems Of To-Day* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1888), pp.108, 112-113.

⁵⁸⁰Adam Smith. *The Wealth of Nations* (New York: Random House edition, 1937. Originally published 1776), p.47.

⁵⁸¹Thorstein Veblen. "The Preconceptions of the Classical Economists," *The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation*, 1919. Reprinted in: *The Portable Veblen*, edited by Max Lerner (New York: the Viking Press edition, 1948. Originally published 1934), p.250.

⁵⁸²*Ibid.*, pp.259,262.

⁵⁸³Frank W. Taussig. *Principles Of Economics*, Vol.I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), p.25.

⁵⁸⁴Warren B. Catlin. *The Progress Of Economics* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962), p.298.

⁵⁸⁵John R. Commons. *Institutional Economics*, Vol.II (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin edition, 1959. Originally published 1934), pp.809-814.

⁵⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p.821. **Author's Note:** Commons rejects as ultimately destructive any plan to rely on rent as the sole source of government revenue. On page 831, he writes: "[A] single truth, like a single tax, ends in its own destruction by conflict with other truths supported by other interests.... Truths must be proportionate to each other in order to get the optimum truth that will work in a world of conflict. Governments must have revenues in increasing amounts...because the social needs of education, ethics, morality, art, equality, liberty, protection of the weak, highways, health, recreation, grow faster in an improving civilization than do the private needs of food, luxury, ostentation."

⁵⁸⁷Francis A. Walker. *Political Economy* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1888), p.419. Quoted in: Joseph Dorfman. *Thorstein Veblen and His America*, p.65.

⁵⁸⁸Francis A. Walker, "The Tide of Economic Thought," *Reports of the Proceedings of the American Economic Association, Fourth Annual Meeting*, 1890, p.24. Quoted in: Steven B. Cord, "Walker: The General Leads the Charge," *Critics of Henry George*, p.183.

⁵⁸⁹Henry George. *Progress and Poverty*, p.405.

⁵⁹⁰Quoted in: *Single Tax Year Book*, edited by Joseph D. Miller (New York: Single Tax Review Publishing Company, 1917), p.40.

⁵⁹¹*Ibid.*, p.101.

⁵⁹²From a speech delivered at King's Theatre, Edinburgh, May 17, 1909. Reprinted in: Winston S. Churchill. *The People's Rights* (London: Jonathan Cape edition, 1971. Originally published 1909), p.117.

⁵⁹³*Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴From a statement quoted in *Land Values*, London: February, 1909. Quoted in: Elwood P. Lawrence. *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1957), p.136.

⁵⁹⁵Lester Frank Ward. *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol.II, p.336.337. Excerpt reprinted in: Richard Hofstadter. *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), p.72.

⁵⁹⁶From: Lester Frank Ward. *The Dynamic Sociology or Applied Social Science*, 1883. Quoted in: Joseph Dorfman. *Thorstein Veblen and His America*, p.65.

⁵⁹⁷John Chamberlain. *The Enterprising Americans: A Business History of the United States* (New York: Harper & row, 1963), p.144.

⁵⁹⁸**Author's Note:** Wagner, a member of the Prussian Upper House, had attended the Universities of Gottingen and Heidelberg, and in 1870 became Professor of Political Economy at the University of Berlin.

⁵⁹⁹W.M. Simon. *Germany: A Brief History* (New York: Random House, 1966), p.225.

⁶⁰⁰From a speech by Sun Yat-sen delivered in 1906. Quoted in: Kenneth N. Grigg. *Sun Yat-sen: The Third Alternative For The Third World* (Henry George Foundation of Australia, 1981), p.9.

⁶⁰¹Joseph Dana Miller. *Single Tax Year Book*, p.191.

⁶⁰²Chiang Kai-shek. *Soviet Russia In China* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, revised and abridged edition, 1965. Originally published 1957), p.5.

⁶⁰³Louis Aragon. *A History of the USSR* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc. edition, 1964. Originally published in France, 1962), p.187.

⁶⁰⁴From: "The Tax In Kind," June 1921. Reprinted in: *Lenin On Politics And Revolution*, edited by James E. Connor (New York: Western Publishing Company, Inc., 1968), pp.324-325.

⁶⁰⁵Louis Aragon. *A History Of The USSR*, p.224.

⁶⁰⁶From a letter to the Menshevik leader Nikolai S. Chkheidze (1913). Quoted in: *Ibid.*, 224.

⁶⁰⁷Robert Payne. *The Life And Death Of Lenin* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), pp.569-570.

⁶⁰⁸Quoted in: Robert Payne. *The Life And Death Of Lenin*, p.570.

⁶⁰⁹From: "Better Fewer, But Better," *Pravda*, March 4, 1923. Reprinted in: Moshe Lewin. *Lenin's Last Struggle* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968), pp.170-171.

⁶¹⁰Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.106.

⁶¹¹**Author's Note:** At the direction of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek had visited Moscow in the fall of 1923. Among those he talked with at length was Trotsky, whom he felt was one of the few Soviet leaders who sincerely sought to aid the Chinese nationalists. He returned convinced of the despotic nature of the Soviet system.

⁶¹²Chiang Kai-shek. *Soviet Russia In China*, pp.32-33.

⁶¹³Paul Johnson. *Modern Times* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p.194.

⁶¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp.444-445.

⁶¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.447.

⁶¹⁶Shirley W.Y. Kuo. *The Taiwan Economy In Transition* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983), p.27.

⁶¹⁷Harry Gunnison Brown. "History as it Might Have Been," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. Reprinted in: *The Effective Answer to Communism* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1958), p.7.

ENDNOTES / Chapter 6

⁶¹⁸John Ruskin. "Modern Manufacturing and Design," a speech delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, March 1, 1859. Reprinted in: *The Genius Of John Ruskin*, edited by John D. Rosenberg (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p.223.

⁶¹⁹Henry George. *Social Problems* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1966. Originally published 1883), pp.8-9.

⁶²⁰Eric Hoffer. *The True Believer* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), p.8.

⁶²¹From a letter to Paul Ehrenfest, August 19, 1914. Reprinted in: *Einstein On Peace*, edited by Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden (New York: Avenel Books edition, 1981. Originally published 1968), p.2.

⁶²²From a letter to Paul Ehrenfest, December 1914. Reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁶²³Eduard Bernstein. *Evolutionary Socialism* (New York: Schocken Books edition, 1971. Originally published 1899), p.xxiv-xxv.

⁶²⁴*Ibid.*, p.xxv.

⁶²⁵John R. Green. *A Short History of the English People* (London: Macmillan and Co. edition, 1924. Revised edition originally published 1888), p.878.

⁶²⁶Bertrand Russell. *The Autobiography Of Bertrand Russell* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company edition, 1967. Originally published 1951), p.55.

⁶²⁷*Ibid.*, p.77.

⁶²⁸*Ibid.*, p.78.

⁶²⁹**Author's Note:** Wallas, a graduate of Oxford and instructor at the London School of Economics, eventually left the Fabians in 1904, becoming disenchanted over Fabian protectionist views.

⁶³⁰**See:** Winston S. Churchill. *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, Vol.IV (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958), p.364.

⁶³¹Bertrand Russell. *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, p.107.

⁶³²*Ibid.*

⁶³³W.W. Simon. *Germany: A Brief History* (New York: Random House, 1966.), p.260.

⁶³⁴Alexander Gerschenkron. *Bread and Democracy in Germany* (New York: Howard Fertig edition, 1966. Originally published 1943), pp.84-85.

⁶³⁵*Ibid.*

⁶³⁶**Quoted in:** Geoffrey Barraclough. *The Origins of Modern Germany* (New York: Capricorn Books edition, 1963. Originally published 1946), p.429.

⁶³⁷G.B. Sansom. *The Western World and Japan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p.347.

⁶³⁸**Author's Note:** G.B. Sansom notes that the first edition of Spencer's *Social Statics* (1850) was translated in 1877 by Ozaki Yukio, "later to become the leading liberal in Japanese politics..." (*Ibid.*, p.432).

639 L.S. Stavrianos. *The World Since 1500* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p.367.

640 Woodrow Wilson. *A History Of The American People*, Vol.X (New York: Harper & Brothers edition, 1918. Originally published 1901), pp.133-134.

641 From a speech entitled "World Feats" delivered at Omaha, Nebraska, September 2, 1910. Reprinted in: *Theodore Roosevelt, The New Nationalism*, edited by William E. Leuchtenburg (Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. edition, 1961. Originally published 1910), p.111.

642 *Ibid.*, p.113.

643 Source: Maldwyn Allen Jones. *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p.208.

644 Lewis Mumford. *The City In History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), p.421.

645 *Ibid.*, p.422.

646 Lincoln Steffens. *The Autobiography Of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1931), p.401.

647 James MacGregor Burns. *The American Experiment*, Vol.II (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p.266.

648 From a speech delivered at Cooper Union, New York City, October 5, 1897. Excerpt reprinted in: Henry George, Jr. *The Life Of Henry George* (New York: Chelsea House edition, 1981. Originally published 1900), p.599.

649 Louis F. Post. *Ethics Of Democracy* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company edition, 1916. Originally published 1903), p.323.

650 *Ibid.*, p.319.

651 Henry Demarest Lloyd. *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), p.2.

652 *Ibid.*, p.440.

653 *Ibid.*, p.450.

654 *Ibid.*, pp.450-451.

655 Oscar Handlin. *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951), pp.146-147.

656 *Ibid.*, 147.

657 *Ibid.*, p.252.

⁶⁵⁸From a speech delivered to Congress, 1905. Reprinted in: *The Writings of Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by William H. Harbaugh (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), pp.240-241.

⁶⁵⁹Henry George, Jr. *The Menace of Privilege* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), p.117.

⁶⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p.119.

⁶⁶¹S.S. McClure. "Concerning Three Articles," *McClure's Magazine*, January 1903, p.336. Reprinted in: Faye Rattner. *Reform in America* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964), pp.71-72.

⁶⁶²Lincoln Steffens. *The Autobiography Of Lincoln Steffens*, p.492.

⁶⁶³John Dewey. *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Free Press edition, 1966. Originally published 1916), pp.81-82.

⁶⁶⁴Simon N. Patten. *New Basis of Civilization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press edition, 1968. Originally published 1907), p.15.

⁶⁶⁵Reprinted in: *Highlights From 125 Years of The Atlantic*, edited by Louise Desaulniers (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Company, 1977), p.218.

⁶⁶⁶From his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1905. Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1965), p.184.

⁶⁶⁷*The Promise of American Life* (1909). Author's Note: Croly grew up in New York and attended Harvard University. His father was editor of the New York *Daily Graphic*.

⁶⁶⁸Quoted in: John D. Hicks. "The Persistence of Populism," *Minnesota History*, XII (March 1931). Reprinted in: *The Progressive Era*, edited by Arthur Mann (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p.18.

⁶⁶⁹From: "The Atlanta Exposition Address," included in *Up From Slavery*, 1901. Reprinted in: *American Issues: The Social Record*, edited by Merle Curti, et al., fourth edition (Chicago: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1960. Originally published 1941), p.625.

⁶⁷⁰W.E.B. DuBois. *The Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1899). Quoted in: Elliott M. Rudwick. *W.E.B. DuBois* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p.31.

⁶⁷¹Henry George. *Social Problems* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation edition, 1966. Originally published 1883), p.152.

⁶⁷²*Ibid.*, p.398.

⁶⁷³*Ibid.*, pp.475-476.

⁶⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p.479.

⁶⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p.494.

⁶⁷⁶James Morris. *Farewell The Trumpets* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), p.89.

⁶⁷⁷From the opening speech of the 1905 General Election. Excerpt reprinted in: Francis Neilson. *How Diplomats Make War* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1915), p.87.

⁶⁷⁸Francis Neilson. *How Diplomats Make War*, p.334.

Ibid., pp.354-362.

⁶⁷⁹William L. Shirer. *The Collapse Of The Third Republic* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p.90.

⁶⁸⁰Leopold H. Haimson. *The Russian Marxists & The Origins of Bolshevism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p.168.

⁶⁸¹From a policy memorandum written by P.N. Durnovo, February, 1914. Quoted in: Theodore H. Von Laue. *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1971), p.63.

⁶⁸²From a speech to the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of The Russian Communist Party, March 7, 1918. Reprinted in: *Lenin On Politics And Revolution*, edited by James E. Connor (New York: Western Publishing Company, 1968), pp.237-238.

⁶⁸³Theodore H. Von Laue. *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?*, pp.144, 146.

⁶⁸⁴From a commencement address at the University of Washington, June 17, 1914. Excerpt reprinted in: Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. *The Decline of American Liberalism* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1955), p.196.

⁶⁸⁵Melvyn Dubofsky. *Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920* (Arlington Heights, IL: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1975), p.18.

⁶⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p.61.

⁶⁸⁷Thomas N. Carver. *Essays in Social Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915), p.281.

⁶⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁹**Author's Note:** By democratic process, citizens would then determine what services ought to be provided by government out of the fund available. The remainder of the fund could then be distributed in equal amount to each citizen as a public dividend.

⁶⁹⁰Harry Gunnison Brown. *Economic Science and the Common Welfare* (Columbia, Missouri: Lucas Brothers, 1925 edition. Originally published 1923), p.206 fn.

⁶⁹¹From a conversation in 1913 with Fred Henderson. Quoted in: Arthur P. Dudden. *Joseph Fels* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1971), p.240.

⁶⁹²*Ibid.*, pp.257-258.

⁶⁹³Francis Neilson. *My Life In Two Worlds*, Vol. Two (Appleton, WI: C.C. Nelson Publishing Co., 1953), p.5.

⁶⁹⁴From a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard, March 16, 1920. Quoted in: Michael Wreszin. *The Superfluous Anarchist, Albert Jay Nock* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1971), p.54.

⁶⁹⁵From: "A Programme of Action," *The Freeman*, April 13, 1921. Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.58.

⁶⁹⁶From the forward to: Robert H. Wiebe. *The Search For Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p.viii.

⁶⁹⁷Robert Clancy. *A Seed Was Sown* (New York: Henry George School of Social Science, 1964. Originally published 1952), p.24.

⁶⁹⁸**Author's Note:** The Henry George Foundation of America moved its offices in 2001 from Columbia, Maryland to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The author is a trustee of the Foundation.

⁶⁹⁹Research by historian Eric Goldman of Princeton University showed that "one percent of the population owned more than the remaining ninety-nine per cent put together." See: *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p.57.

⁷⁰⁰Quoted in: David F. Selvin. *Eugene Debs* (New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1966), p.76.

⁷⁰¹Reprinted in: *The Writings of Theodore Roosevelt*, edited by William H. Harbaugh (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), p.158.

⁷⁰²Amaury de Riencourt. *The American Empire* (New York: The Dial Press, 1968), p.37.

⁷⁰³From: Oliver Wendell Holmes, Dissenting Opinion in *Lochner v. New York*, 1905. Reprinted in: *Great Issues In American History*, Vol.II, edited by Richard Hofstadter (New York: Alfred A. Knoph, 1958), p.267.

⁷⁰⁴Quoted in: Alpheus T. Mason. *Brandeis, A Free Man's Life* (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), p.43.

⁷⁰⁵From a brief prepared on behalf of the Massachusetts Protective Liquor Dealers' Association, February, 1891. Excerpt reprinted in: *Ibid.*, p.90.

⁷⁰⁶From a letter to Adolph Brandeis, November 21, 1889. Quoted in: *Ibid.*, p.141.

⁷⁰⁷*Muller v. Oregon*, 1908.

⁷⁰⁸From a speech made in August, 1906. Quoted in: Walter Lord. *The Good Years, From 1900 to the First World War* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p.180.

⁷⁰⁹The Aldrich-Vreeland Act of 1908.

⁷¹⁰Frank W. Taussig. *Principles Of Economics*, Vol.I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), p.395.

⁷¹¹Charles A. Beard. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Free Press edition, 1965. Originally published 1913), p.viii.

⁷¹²From the First Inaugural Address of Woodrow Wilson, March 4, 1913. Reprinted in: *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), pp.201-202.

⁷¹³George B. Tindall. *America: A Narrative History*, Vol.II (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), p.937.

⁷¹⁴Arthur S. Link. *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p.29.

⁷¹⁵Quoted in: George B. Tindall. *America: A Narrative History*, Vol.II, p.932.

⁷¹⁶Arthur S. Link. *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, p.102.

⁷¹⁷Henry Bamford Parkes. *A History Of Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company edition, 1969. Originally published 1938), p.343.

⁷¹⁸Samuel E. Morison, Henry S. Commager and William E. Leuchtenburg. *The Growth of the American Republic*, Vol.II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.360.

⁷¹⁹**Author's Note:** On the editorial staff of *The Post* at the time was the economist Fabian Franklin. In 1924, G.P. Putnam (New York) would publish Franklin's book,

Plain Talks On Economics, a section of which was devoted to Henry George. Although offering a number of moral and economic objections to George's proposals, Franklin (pp.196-197) readily acknowledges that "George was not a Socialist; on the contrary, he was an ardent individualist and a thorough believer in the right of private property in general."

⁷²⁰Michael Wreszin. *Oswald Garrison Villard, Pacifist At War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1965), p.47.

⁷²¹From a letter to Woodrow Wilson, October 25, 1913. Excerpt reprinted in: Amaury de Riencourt. *The American Empire*, p.31.

⁷²²Quoted in: Arthur S. Link. *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, p.194.

⁷²³From a letter to Reverend Ralph Harlow, September 7, 1917. Excerpt reprinted in: Bernard K. Johnpoll. *Pacifist's Progress* (Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books, 1970), pp.22-23.

⁷²⁴Quoted in: David F. Selvin. *Eugene Debs: Rebel, Labor Leader, Prophet* (New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1966), p.168.

⁷²⁵Quoted in: Ronald Steel. *Walter Lippman and the American Century* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980), p.124.

⁷²⁶*Ibid.*

⁷²⁷Michael Wreszin. *Oswald Garrison Villard, Pacifist at War*, p.94.

⁷²⁸Author's Note: Not until 1919 were about forty of these aliens moved east to Ellis Island and finally deported to the land of their birth.

⁷²⁹Albert Jay Nock. *Memoirs of a Superfluous Man* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), p.127.

⁷³⁰*Ibid.*, p.158.

⁷³¹Quoted in: Carolyn B. Patterson. "The Final Tribute," *National Geographic*, Vol.128, No.2 (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, August, 1965), p.225.

⁷³²Barbara W. Tuchman. *The Guns of August* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), pp.439, 440.

⁷³³Francis Neilson. *My Life In Two Worlds*, p.11.

⁷³⁴*Ibid.*, p.12.

⁷³⁵*Ibid.*, p.45.

⁷³⁶*Ibid.*, p.55.