

Notes and References

Chapter One

1. Letter to Hamlin Garland, December 29, 1904, Henry George Collection (typed copy). Quoted in Archibald Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw, His Life and Works* (London, 1911), pp. 152-53. See also, Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century* (New York, [1956]), pp. 215-17. Charles Albro Barker in *Henry George* (New York, 1955), p. 376, quotes Shaw's letter at greater length than I have. It was read aloud by Hamlin Garland at the twenty-fifth Anniversary Dinner for *Progress and Poverty*, January 24, 1905. See below, Chapter IV, 14n and the final paragraph, Chapter VI, Section II.

2. I take Thoreau to have intended a pun in his usual manner, which I have then parodied. For Thoreau and George "concord" and "brotherly love" are states of mind as well as cities. In his political campaigns and his speaking tours George often resorted to the pun in order to provoke his audiences. George's pun on "duke" and "duck," for instance, is one of the humorous features of his speeches in Scotland in the 1880's.

3. The phrase originates with Henry Hyndman, the British socialist who knew George in England and who was a Marxist. Quoted in Barker, p. 357.

4. *Sea Journal* 4, Henry George Collection.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Barker, p. 24.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

9. Letters, 1854-1869, Henry George Collection. In passing a year or so earlier (April 18, [1860]), George also wrote to his sister about his state of mind: "It takes pretty much all my spare time to keep posted on the current topics of the day. What a time we live in, when great events follow one another so quickly that we have not space for wonder. We are driving at a killing pace somewhere—Emerson says to heaven, and Carlyle say[s] to the other place, but however much they differ, go we surely do."

10. Henry George, Jr., *The Life of Henry George* (New York: Schalkenbach Foundation Edition, 1960), p. 134.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

12. See Melville's letter to Hawthorne (1? June 1851), *The Letters of Herman Melville*, ed. Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman (New Haven, 1960), pp. 130-31.

13. "On the Profitable Employment of Time" (March 25, 1865), in Henry George, Jr., pp. 157-58.

14. Barker, p. 68.

15. Henry George, Jr., p. 176.

16. Barker, pp. 97-98.

17. "What the Railroad Will Bring Us," in *The Papers Printed in "The Overland Monthly," 1868-71*, Henry George Collection, pp. 302; 306. This essay is quoted at length in Henry George, Jr., pp. 177-79. Henry George, Jr., also quotes the whole of George's first letter on Lincoln, "Sic Semper Tyrannis!," pp. 162-64. See also manuscripts in Henry George Collection, especially for the editorial on Lincoln (typed copy).

Chapter Two

1. Barker, p. 123.
2. Barker, p. 124.
3. "The Chinese on the Pacific Coast," Henry George Scrap Books, Vol. XXI. See also pamphlet, Vol. III.
4. "Justice the Object—Taxation the Means," in *The Complete Works* (New York, 1906-11) VIII, 299.
5. Henry George, Jr., pp. 210-11.
6. Letters, 1883-84, Henry George Collection (typed copy).
7. *Henry George's 1886 Campaign*, ed. L. F. Post and F. C. Leubuscher (New York, [1961]), pp. 28-29.
8. Henry George, Jr., p. 210.
9. Letters, 1869-80, Henry George Collection. See also Henry George Scrap Books, III, 41.
10. Barker, p. 135.
11. *San Francisco Post*, editorial, April 7, 1873.
12. *Sacramento Reporter*, editorial, May 12, 1870.
13. *San Francisco Post*, editorial, April 16, 1874.
14. *Our Land and Land Policy*, V, 43. Pamphlet, Vol. III, Henry George Collection. This volume includes "The Chinese on the Pacific Coast," "The Subsidy Question . . ." (1871) and "Why Work is Scarce . . ." (1878). See also *Complete Works*, VIII, which includes "The Study of Political Economy," and VII, which includes "Moses." George's important addresses are also reprinted in pamphlet form by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation.
15. *Ibid.*, III, p. 31.
16. See Chapter I for George's attitude toward Maximilian.
17. *London Times* editorial, September 6, 1882. Quoted in Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing, Michigan, [1957]), pp. 25-26.

Chapter Three

1. September 15, 1879, Letters, 1869-80, Henry George Collection. Also Henry George, Jr., p. 321.
2. Henry George, Jr., pp. 322-23.
3. *The State*, I, 3 (April 18, 1879), 2. Henry George Collection.
4. George R. Geiger, Introduction, *The Philosophy of Henry George* (New York, 1933), p. x.
5. Barker, p. 267. See also Geiger, p. 80. George refers to other parts of Buckle's work. In fact, he takes Buckle to task for his Malthusian views. See *Progress and Poverty*, Bk. II, Ch. II, p. 115; Bk. III, Ch. II, p. 171.

Notes and References

6. The numbers in parentheses following any quotation in Section III of this chapter refer to the pagination in the standard edition of *Progress and Poverty* published by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation.
7. Barker says that George did not use the phrase "the single tax" in print "with the definite article included" until 1885 (p. 444). "A single tax" appears in *Progress and Poverty*. See, for example, Bk. IX, Ch. I, p. 433.
8. Barker, pp. 294-95.
9. Quoted at greater length in Henry George, Jr., p. 323.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 323-24.
11. January 26, 1880, Henry George Scrap Books, XXIV, p. 11.
12. February 21, 1880, *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
13. March 27, 1880, *ibid.*, pp. 36-39. See also VIII, 29-30; 41-43; 44-45, for clippings from the Sacramento *Record-Union*, March 27, 1880, the date on which the paper printed George's reply.
14. February 1, 1880, *ibid.*, p. 15.
15. March 14, 1880, *ibid.*, pp. 30-33.
16. *Scribner's Monthly*, XXII (June, 1881), 312. Cf. New York *Herald*, Henry George Scrap Books, Vol. 8, p. 27.
17. Barker, pp. 318, 339.
18. A. N. Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States* (Princeton, 1916), p. 76.
19. Henry George Scrap Books, XXV-XXVI, pages unnumbered.
20. *Quarterly Review*, CLV (1883), 37.
21. *Edinburgh Review*, CLVII (1883), 290.

Chapter Four

1. The page references in parentheses throughout the chapter are once again to the readily accessible Schalkenbach Foundation editions of George's works.
2. Henry George, Jr., p. 409.
3. From Dublin, November 3, 1881. Letters to the *Irish World*, 1881-82, Henry George Scrap Books, XII.
4. Letter to Patrick Ford, Letters, 1881-82, Henry George Collection.
5. George's personal letters to Ford should be read as a gloss to his published dispatches. His frank appraisals of the men involved, like Parnell, are illuminating. See especially the four copy books in Letters, 1881-82, Henry George Collection.
6. See Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, Chapter 7 especially.
7. *Fortnightly Review*, XXXI, new series; XXXVII, old series (1882), 780-94. The article was entitled "England and Ireland: An American View" and was one of the sharpest, and strongest, that George ever wrote in the short essay form.
8. London, May 9, 1882. Letters to the *Irish World*, 1881-82.
9. Letter to Patrick Ford, Letters, 1881-82, Henry George Collection.
10. *Ibid.*

11. Henry George, Jr., p. 392.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
13. Reprinted in the *New York World*, September 17, 1882—date-line Sept. 16th, when the letter was formally filed in Washington:
14. Letter to Hamlin Garland. See above, Chapter I, ln.
15. Henry George, Jr., p. 419.
16. See Barker, p. 397, for Ruskin's opinion of *Progress and Poverty*; see the *London Times*, January 2, 1884, quoted in Lawrence, p. 35, for Ruskin's note to George.
17. Henry George, Jr., p. 427.
18. *Liverpool Post* editorial quoted, *ibid.*, p. 430.
19. Barker, p. 404.
20. Lawrence, pp. 40-41. See Lawrence, Chapter IV, for a survey of George's speeches as recorded in British newspapers in 1884.
21. Henry George, Jr., p. 452.
22. Like many of George's important addresses, "The Crime of Poverty" is reprinted in pamphlet form by the Schalkenbach Foundation. See also the bound printed pamphlets in the Henry George Collection and *The Complete Works*, VIII, 185-218.
23. *The Complete Works*, VIII, 197. See p. 200 for a brief adaptation of the Robinson Crusoe passage from *Protection or Free Trade*.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Chapter Five

1. Interview in *New York Herald*, November 14, 1886, p. 8.
2. *Henry George's 1886 Campaign*, p. 3.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
4. September 10, 1886, Letters, 1885-1888, Henry George Collection.
5. *Henry George's 1886 Campaign*, p. 169.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
7. Henry George, Jr., p. 463.
8. *Henry George's 1886 Campaign*, p. 169.
9. See Barker, pp. 479-81; 670.
10. "The United Labor Party and Socialism," editorial, *Standard*, August 13, 1887, p. 1. The complete file of the *Standard* is in the Henry George Collection. Unfortunately the file of the *San Francisco Post* is broken.
11. *Ibid.*
12. November 25, 1887, Letters, 1885-1888, Henry George Collection (typed copy).
13. Henry George, Jr., p. 552.
14. See James J. Green, *The Impact of Henry George's Theories on American Catholics* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1956).
15. Henry George, Jr., p. 385.
16. *Standard*, "A Statement from Dr. M'Glynn," February 5, 1887, p. 1. On the front page of the *Standard*, McGlynn quoted the correspondence between the Archbishop and himself.
17. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1887, p. 1. For an important editorial on the case during the previous winter, see, for example, *ibid.*, January 8, 1887.
18. Henry George, Jr., p. 495.

Notes and References

19. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

20. December 23, 1892, Letters, 1891-June 1893, Henry George Collection (typed copy). The letter was written in answer to one of Dawson's, dated December 14, 1892, New Priory, Quex Road, London, N.W., in which Dawson thanked George for promising him a copy of *A Perplexed Philosopher*. He said he would be "sure to enjoy it even more than the letter to Leo XIII." He also said of Bishop Nulty's silence on the letter to the Pope: "Possibly he may however have felt a delicacy about acknowledging the Pope's bad arguments or misapprehensions." George always had his sympathizers within the Church.

21. Henry George, Jr., p. 565. See Henry George, Jr.'s letter to his father (May 30, 1891) for his immediate reactions. Letters, 1891-June, 1893, Henry George Collection.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 565.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

24. To James E. Mills, May 18, 1891, Letters, 1891-June, 1893, Henry George Collection. On the same day, George wrote to Father Dawson, apologizing for the long delay in their correspondence and explaining his recuperation from illness in Bermuda. Thanking Dawson for his support, he said, "I very much appreciate the value of your support, although I do not wish in any way to embarrass you. But it is very sad to see the general tendency on the part of all clergymen—and it is quite as marked, perhaps even more so, among the Protestant sects even to the Unitarian—to avoid the simple principle of justice. As Tolstoi has put it, they are willing to do anything for the poor except to get off their backs. This is leading them into the advocacy of socialism and to all sorts of dangerous things, even to the acceptance and even advocacy of principles which will lead ultimately to atheism. Nor do I believe that anything is to be hoped from the papal encyclical. If I can judge from what has been printed of it, it will have the same characteristics." George soon found his assumptions to be correct; he also anticipated some of the arguments he was to use.

25. *Standard*, editorial, March 2, 1889, p. 1.

26. From Russell Square, London, March 8, 1889. Letters, 1889-1890, Henry George Collection. Webb wrote to welcome George, referring to his conversations with him in New York City before the 1888 elections, and to inform him "about the state of affairs here." He said, "What holds things back is the great mass of middle class, religious, 'respectable,' cautious & disliking the Radical artisan. These need your instruction most. . . ." Webb's observation really described those to whom George would appeal in the future and the success he would have "in stirring up the *bourgeoisie*—especially among dissenting sects." Webb's estimations of George are generally sound.

27. Quoted in Henry George, Jr., p. 514. See Rollin Sawyer's *Henry George and the Single Tax* for a series of entries (articles, reviews, interviews) in which Tolstoy praised and defended George's views.

28. *Standard*, August 31, 1889, p. 1.

29. *The Complete Works*, VIII, 303. See Chapter 2, 4n and 14n, especially for a note on George's pamphlets currently in print.

30. May 17, 1890. Letters, 1829-1890, Henry George Collection. See Chapter III, 10n.

31. Henry George, Jr., pp. 599-600.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 605-6. See *The Flushing Journal*, October 30, 1897, Henry George Collection (Henry George Jr., Letters, 1882-1916). Henry George, Jr., was preparing his biography of his father in the years immediately following his death. The son's papers contain many interesting items sent to him by those who knew Henry George and whom he could contact at the time.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 604.

34. Cf., for example, *A Perplexed Philosopher*, p. 136.

35. Henry George, Jr., p. 589.

36. *Yale Review*, VII (August, 1898), 231. That Barker should concur generally with Hadley's assessment—after judiciously quoting most of this same brief review—may come as a surprise to anyone interested in George's efforts for social reform. Hadley's motives and commitment to the very things that moved earlier hostile reviewers (Hadley is obviously hostile) should not go without remark (see Barker, pp. 583-87). Hadley's irony is occasionally but unintentionally correct. The second sentence on *Progress and Poverty* is a good example of ironic praise: Hadley may not think much of a book on political economy that sermonizes, but irony aside one could not argue with the statement. *Progress and Poverty* is, indeed, "one of the most eloquent volumes of sermons which has appeared in the English language." *The Science of Political Economy* is often just as eloquent as its famous predecessor. Hadley gives himself away. The so-called "commonplace metaphysics" of the posthumous book is the very same that helped to make *Progress and Poverty* the success it was and the singular book it will always be. Hadley's praise is what William Blake would call a "Grecian Mock."

37. *New York Journal*, November 2, 1896. Henry George Scrap Books, V, 60-61. See p. 61 in particular. See also p. 89.

38. *Ibid.* The series in the *Journal* began at convention time with the July 4, 1896, issue which carried George's article, "The New Line in Our Politics."

Chapter Six

1. One of the honorary pallbearers was Robert Schalkenbach whose will made possible the foundation which keeps George's works in print.

2. See the Henry George Scrap Books, especially VI, VII, XXI, XXVII for public reaction and the Correspondence of Henry George, Jr., and Mrs. George for personal messages of condolence, Henry George Collection.

3. Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York, 1925) I, 313, 316. See also Peter A. Speck, *The Single Tax and the Labor Movement* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1917).

4. *Saturday Review*, LXXXIV (November 6, 1897), 485-86.

5. *Labor Echo*, November 6, 1897.

6. "The Influence of Henry George," *Fortnightly Review*, LXII, news series (1897), 843-44.

7. Quoted in "Count Tolstoi on the Doctrine of Henry George," *Ameri-*

Notes and References

can Monthly Review of Reviews, XVII (1898), 73. In a letter to Henry George, Jr. (November 14, 1909), an acquaintance wrote: "Some 3 or 4 years ago, a customer of mine, a Mr. Mandelkern went to visit Tolstoy for the N.Y. Times, as soon [as] he was introduced to him as coming from N.Y. Tolstoy's first question was about the single tax and the children of H. G. Mandelkern had to confess he knew little about either of them, but told his barber was a great H. G. man. Whereupon Tolstoy answered, 'well if he understands the single tax, he is a greater man than your president Roosevelt, even if he is only a barber.'" Henry George, Jr., Letters, 1881-1916, Henry George Collection.

8. Letter to E. H. Crosby of New York, a single-taxer, reprinted in the *Clarion*, October 16, 1897.

9. "Count Tolstoi on the Doctrine of Henry George," p. 74.

10. See the *New York Times*, September 9, 1928, Section 10, p. 6, for an article by Count Ilya Tolstoy which supports what I have called Tolstoy's "American consciousness" and indicates the interest he had in the works and acts of Emerson, Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, and George.

11. For single-tax activity from George's death to 1916, see A. N. Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States*.

12. For a review of the Fels Fund activity, see Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States*.

13. The school obviously helped to fill the need for thoughtful social protest in the depression-ridden 1930's. Oscar Geiger had worked for Henry George's election in 1897, knew him personally, and attended the twenty-fifth anniversary dinner of 1905. Along with other well-known social reformers who accepted special invitations in 1905, including the speakers, were Clarence Darrow, Lincoln Steffens, and Ida Tarbell.

14. The Schalkenbach Foundation occupies space in the New York headquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science.

15. See also, Markham's "The Right to Labor in Joy." George will always have a place in the literature of protest, even if his influence is only general. Typed copies of the poems are in the papers of Henry George, Jr., Henry George Collection. See Walter F. Taylor, *The Economic Novel in America* (Chapel Hill, 1942).

16. Barker, p. 621.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 634-35.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 631.

19. Letter to Henry George, Jr., from Dublin, January 7, 1882. Henry George, Jr., Letters, 1881-1916, Henry George Collection.

20. *New York Times*, October 2, 1881. The poem was clipped and sent to George by Mrs. Lowell, Francis Shaw's daughter and the daughter-in-law of the poet.