

## Notes

### *Abbreviations for archives and collections of papers*

JFP	Joseph Fels Papers (HSP)
HSP	The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
GLP	George Lansbury Papers, The British Library of Political and Economic Science, London
VLCS/VLCA	Vacant Land Cultivation Society (Association) Papers (HSP)
FCA	Fairhope Colony Archives, Alabama
LCC	London County Council, England
LGB	Local Government Board (LCC)
PG	Poplar Union Board of Guardians (LCC)
CUB	Central (Unemployed) Body for London (LCC)
DBP	Dan Bjørner Papers, Ehrvervsarkiv, Aarhus, Denmark
MLP	Meyer Lissner Papers, Stanford University, California
ZCA	Zionist Central Archives, Jerusalem

### 1 *The Fels Family and Fels-Naptha Soap*

1. The early history of the Fels family must be pieced together from fragmentary sources and accounts, most of which are included in the Joseph Fels Papers (JFP) at the Historical

Society of Pennsylvania (HSP). These materials include a passport, a marriage contract, birth and vaccination certificates, testaments, land deeds, letters, scrapbooks, and photographs. They contributed their bits piecemeal, as did cemetery records and inscriptions on tombstones. For later developments, the records of deeds in Baltimore County, Maryland, are informative about Lazarus Fels' financial distress, and the city directories for both Baltimore and Philadelphia give considerably more than a bare record when examined methodically over a span of years. For the background and context, consult: Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: the German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), pp. 18-27; Carl J. Friedrich, "The European Background," *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, A. E. Zucker, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 9; Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 22-24; Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951), passim; Francis J. Grund, *The Merchant's Assistant, or Mercantile Instructor . . .* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1834), pp. 54-55, 207. See Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), pp. 1-6. The London edition of 1920 has slightly condensed pagination. An unsigned draft of the first two chapters of her 1916 biography, apparently the work of another writer, is useful at this point, because it includes corrections in Mary Fels' handwriting: credited to Mary Fels and entitled "Joseph Fels," it is deposited among the Joseph Fels Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, together with an unsigned two-page "Chronicle of the Life of Joseph Fels" and a typescript by Earl Barnes, "The Real Joseph Fels." See Earl Barnes, "The Evolution of Joseph Fels," *Ground Hog* (Cleveland, Ohio), February 20, 1915.

2. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 1-24; Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), pp. 341-93; Mary Fels, "Joseph Fels," pp. 22-26; Mary Fels to Joseph Fels, May 18, 1881; unsigned memorandum in the handwriting of Mary Fels, March 7, 1901; the "Monthly Bulletin" of Miss Mary Fels' performance at St. Mary's Academy for February and March, 1881; letter to Mary Fels from a former schoolmate with signature page missing, July 28, 1914, JFP.

3. Mary Fels, "Joseph Fels," pp. 26-28, JFP; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 16-17, and her *Life of Joseph Fels* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), p. 10; interview with Dr. Elizabeth S. F. Kite, May 1, 1953; Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Conversion Story from Quakerism to the Catholic Church," (Unpublished manuscript Baltimore: Mount Saint Agnes College, n.d.), pp. 10-17.

4. Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, p. 393, and chap. 13 on "Love," passim.

5. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, p. 7; *Gopsill's Philadelphia City Directory* (Philadelphia: J. Gopsill's Sons, 1867-1907), passim.

6. *Jobbers' Private Price List of Toilet Soaps Made by Fels & Co. of Philadelphia* (undated, ca. 1890), JFP; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 6-10; interviews with Harold G. Pile, March 31, 1953, and Dale Phalen, September 20, 1965; Elizabeth S. F. Kite to Arthur P. Dudden, April 18, 1953, JFP.

7. For the original advertisements, most of which appeared many times over, and in many other publications as well, see *The Conservator*, vol. 5, (August 1894), p. 94, (September 1894), p. 110, (October 1894), p. 127, (November 1894), p. 143, (December 1894), p. 160; vol. 6, (May 1895), p. 48, rare book collections of the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, p. 9; undated press release of Fels and Company, ca. 1951, JFP. There are no comprehensive studies either of soapmaking or the soap business in the U.S.A., but see F. W. Gibbs, "The History of the Manufacture of Soap," *Annals of Science*, vol. 4, no. 2 (April 15, 1939), pp. 169-90; William H. Simmons, *Soap: Its Composition, Manufacture, and Properties*, 4th ed. (London: Sir I. Pitman & Sons, 1939); Charles Henry Wilson, *The History of Unilever: a Study in Economic Growth and Social Change* (London: Cassell, 1954); Albert Edward Musson, *Enterprise in Soap and Chemicals: Joseph Crosfield & Sons, Limited* (Manchester, England: The University Press, 1965).

## 2 Ethical Culture, Vacant Lots, and Fairhope

1. Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), pp. 922, 925; printed membership

list, April 17, 1894, archives of the American Ethical Union, New York City; Gustav Spiller, "Ethical Movement," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 5 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 412-14; *The Conservator*, vol. 2, February 1892, p. 94.

2. Henry Seidel Canby, *Walt Whitman, an American: a Study in Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), pp. 346-49; Emory Holloway, *Whitman: an Interpretation in Narrative* (New York and London: A. A. Knopf, 1926), pp. 310-11. See Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vols. 1-3 (New York: D. Appleton, 1908-14), and Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 4, ed. Sculley Bradley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953), pp. 8-9, et passim; also *The Conservator*, 1890-1900, passim.

3. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), pp. 16-19; Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Conversion Story," (Unpublished, Baltimore: Mount Saint Agnes College, n.d.) pp. 10-11.

4. *The Conservator*, vol. 1, (April 1890), p. 12; (May 1890), p. 20; (July 1890), p. 37; (August 1890), p. 45; (September 1890), p. 54; (October 1890), p. 61; (December 1890), p. 75; (January 1891), p. 84; vol. 2, (March 1891), p. 3.

5. Henry George, *Progress and Poverty: an Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth—The Remedy*, author's edition (San Francisco: W. M. Hinton, 1879), passim, but particularly bk. 5, "The Problem Solved"; bk. 6, "The Remedy"; bk. 7, "Justice of the Remedy"; bk. 8, "Application of the Remedy"; bk. 9, "Effects of the Remedy"; bk. 10, "The Law of Human Progress"; and Conclusion: "The Problem of Individual Life." See Henry George, Jr., "How the Book Came to Be Written," Introduction to the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Edition of *Progress and Poverty*, January 24, 1905, reprinted in a Modern Library edition (New York: Random House, 1938) and others; Charles Albro Barker, *Henry George* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 3-304; Paul A. Samuelson, *Economics*, 8th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 540-42 ff.

6. *The Conservator*, vol. 2, (November 1891), p. 70, (December 1891), p. 76; vol. 3, (July 1892), p. 35; vol. 4, (October 1893), pp. 118-19, (January 1894), pp. 170-71; vol. 5, (April 1894), p. 25, (May 1894), p. 43, (June 1894), pp. 60-61,

(July 1894), pp. 72-73, (September 1894), p. 108, (December 1894), p. 147; vol. 6, (April 1895), p. 27, (June 1895), pp. 60-61, (July 1895), pp. 70-71; and *The Cause*, (January 1895), passim, (May 1895), p. 24.

7. Frederic W. Speirs, et al., *Vacant-Lot Cultivation* (New York: The Charities Review, 1898), passim; Charles H. Starring, "Hazen S. Pingree: Another Eagle Forgotten," *Michigan History*, vol. 32 (June 1948), pp. 129-49; Melvin G. Holli, *Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); George B. Catlin, *The Story of Detroit* (Detroit: The Detroit News, 1923), passim; W. P. Belden, "Governor Pingree and His Reforms," *American Law Review*, vol. 34 (Jan.-Feb. 1900), pp. 36-50; Hazen S. Pingree, *Facts and Opinions: or, Dangers that Beset Us* (Detroit: F. B. Dickerson, 1895), pp. 128, 161ff; Victor Filler, "The Pingree Potato Patches: a Study in Pre-Welfare State Relief," unpublished senior thesis in history, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1965), pp. 9-15ff, JFP; Benjamin O. Flower, "A Successful Experiment for the Maintenance of Self-Respecting Manhood," *Arena*, vol. 15 (March 1896), pp. 545-54.

8. "Memoranda of Phila. Vacant Lots Cultivation Committee, 1897" (March 2, 1897), p. 2; *Report of Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Committee for the Season of 1897*, p. 13 et passim; *Report . . . 1898*, p. 3, VLCS Papers ("Society" and "Association" were used interchangeably), HSP; Frederic W. Speirs, et al., *Vacant-Lot Cultivation*, p. 26; Franklin B. Kirkbride to Arthur P. Dudden, January 26, 1953, JFP; Cornelia Hand Voorhis, "Philadelphia Vacant Lot Cultivation Association," unpublished honors thesis in history, Bryn Mawr College (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1953), pp. 16ff. See also *Philadelphia Times*, March 3, 1897; *Philadelphia Record* and *Philadelphia Ledger*, March 4, 1897; and the Wilmington, Del., single-taxers' *Justice*, March 20, 1897.

9. Philadelphia VLCA *Report . . . 1897*, pp. 12-13; *Report . . . 1898*, pp. 8-9; *Report . . . 1901*, p. 5; Philadelphia VLCA "Minutes," April 6, 1899, January 16, 1902, March 11 and December 19, 1903, September 16, 1904, February 13, 1908, et passim; Samuel S. Fels to former contributors, December 2, 1928, VLCS Papers, HSP; *Philadelphia Record*, September 4, 1904; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 20-24.

10. Ernest B. Gaston, *Quarter Centennial History, Fairhope Single Tax Colony, 1895-1920, with Added Material*

. . . (Fairhope, Ala.: Courier Press, 1932), passim; Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, two dateless letters probably of early 1899, and April 25, 1899, Fairhope Colony Archives (FCA); Paul E. and Blanche R. Alyea, *Fairhope 1894-1954: the Story of a Single Tax Colony* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1956), pp. 11, 77-82, et passim; Mary Heath Lee, *History of Fairhope Public Library . . .* (Fairhope, Ala.: Courier Press, 1923), p. 1.

11. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 19-20, 25-26, 254-55, 258; Dale Phalen, *Samuel Fels of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Samuel S. Fels Fund, 1969), passim; Alfred H. Williams, "A Eulogy of Samuel S. Fels," June 26, 1950, in *Samuel S. Fels, 1860-1950* (Philadelphia: Samuel S. Fels Fund, 1950), pp. 1-4; *Report of the Samuel S. Fels Fund* (Philadelphia, 1951), passim; interview with Harold G. Pile, March 31, 1953; Joseph Fels to Marshall E. Smith, July 17, 1913, JFP; Samuel S. Fels to Miss Betty Jo Poe, December 29, 1943, copy in JFP; "Samuel S. Fels (1860-1950)," *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, 1950, pp. 285-87.

A terse handwritten agreement the third day of June, 1901, initialed J.F. and S.S.F., defined the low point of their affairs:

1. S.S.F. to take full charge of the business here until Jany. 1st next.
2. J.F. to remain away from Philadelphia until Jany. 1st next. If J.F. desires to give his time and attention to the English business, he to take full charge of same, advising of his intention to do so soon after his arrival on other side.
3. In the event of formation of a Public Company not being arrived at, nor any other form of personal and, if possible, financial separation devised by Jany. 1st next, it is mutually agreed that upon the call of either partner, a private corporation shall at once be formed on the following basis:
  - (a) Such company to be capitalized at a fair valuation, each partner to receive an equal number of shares.
  - (b) The company to buy out completely the holdings of present firm, and pay as rapidly as possible in cash the sum standing on the book as capital to the credit of each partner as on Jany. 1st next, the partner not being executive officer of the company to be paid first in full.

- (c) Only one of the partners to be executive officer of such company, the other to have no part in the business except that of shareholder. Which of the partners to retire is to be determined by lot, unless otherwise decided by prompt mutual agreement.
- (d) There must be an independent Auditor of high standing to examine the company's books, and make regular monthly reports to the shareholders.

But Joseph Fels continued the fray, in a memorandum written on a company letterhead and initialed by himself at Philadelphia on January 2, 1902:

As J.F. has strong objections to carrying out the terms of paper made June 1901 and desires to continue charge of the work in England, it is agreed that the 6 months time named in paper of that date shall be extended for an additional year with the privilege left to either party to shorten the extension. At the end of the year or after the shorter period of extension the matter shall be considered to be in the same position as it was at the end of the first six months.

It is agreed as an exception to the terms of paper of June 1901 that if either party is to be away from his post for a month or more the other has the right to take up the work after his departure to be dropped before his return carrying it on in a way to avoid friction afterwards.

The object of this paper is to avoid personal contact in business . . . and it is understood that it shall be carried out in both the letter & spirit.

Samuel Fels responded, addressing his own handwritten memorandum signed "Sam" to "Joe" on January 13, 1902:

Since talking seems to make things worse, it may be wise to review on paper.

At the first meeting some hours were consumed in trying to find a basis of settlement, without result and as you did not wish to risk getting out of the soap business and was [*sic*] opposed to drawing lots, the arrangement made before you

went to Europe had to be laid aside though it had been the result of serious thought and seemed to be the only practicable plan. After things had been talked out and as a last resort, I said that I could see nothing to do but to continue the terms of the paper drawn up 6 months ago for an additional year. This has seemed to cover what you wanted, to stay in the soap business and to continue work in England. This agreement to continue under the terms of the previous 6 months was contrary to my better judgment but there seemed to be nothing else to do at the time.

At the second meeting you insisted on coming to Phila. and taking charge while I was away though nothing of the kind was done during the previous 6 mos. or mentioned in the paper. I refused at first to modify in this way but after considerable talk agreed.

Here I drew up a paper based on our talk and to which you objected:

*1st* Because I would not bind myself to go away, though I told you I expected to do so. It would not do as you know for both to stay.

*2d* Because I refused to eliminate from it the facts which lead to putting off the settlement for another year.

Since we could not agree on the details of this extension the only thing to do was to drop it.

You said this morning that you had engaged passage for Feby. 5th, would sail then & let matters go on as they are, to which I objected as something definite is necessary. You answered my objection by asking how I could help it. I replied that if you went over in that way I would not ship any goods to England until something definite was reached. You became angry, said I was making threats & left the room. I consider the matter serious enough to lose a few dollars of sales and I knew of no other way in which to get over your threat of leaving without any settlement.

As for the plan proposed 6 mos. ago I know of no other



practicable way than for one to take the English business and one the American, permanently and without the other except in a financial way. I have offered to take either but this and the other plan has been blocked by your desire to work in both. On the surface it may be reasonable but when the fact is taken into consideration that we can not work together, it takes on another complexion.

Memorandum in Samuel Fels' handwriting, initialed "J.F." and "S.S.F.," dated June 3, 1901; memorandum hand-written by Joseph Fels initialed "J. F.," January 2, 1902; memorandum hand-written by Samuel Fels to "Jos." signed "Sam," January 13, 1902, photostats in JFP. Interviews with Harold G. Pile, March 31, 1953, and Frederick P. Gruenberg, 1952-1960; Joseph and Mary Fels' "Visitors' Book," June 1 and August 29, 1906; Joseph Fels to Earl and Anna Barnes, May 30, 1909, to Daniel Kiefer, August 15, 1909, to Earl and Anna Barnes August 16, 1909, to Samuel S. Fels, March 19 and October 17, 1913, and undated memorandum, letter to Marshall E. Smith, July 17, 1913; Samuel S. Fels to Joseph Fels, October 4, 1913, Walter Coates to Joseph and Mary Fels, January 30, 1914, JFP.

12. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 252-54, et passim.

For a fuller account of the Fels-Pretyman affair of April-May 1910, see chap. 6 of this book. For sources, see the letters from Joseph Fels April 30, May 4 and 12, the letters from Ernest G. Pretyman, May 3, and from "M.P." May 10, and the leading article or editorial May 3, *London Times*. See also letters from Joseph Fels and "One Who Knows," as well as the leading article, "The Land and the 'Country,'" *Morning Leader*, May 5 and 6; letters from Joseph Fels, *London Daily News*, May 7, and over his own date of May 11 in *The Estates Gazette*. Leading articles may also be found in the *London Daily Chronicle*, May 4; *The Christian Commonwealth*, May 11; *The Open Review*, May 1910.

### 3 *Beginning in England*

1. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916) pp. 25-26; Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Con-

version Story" (Unpublished, Baltimore: Mount Saint Agnes College, n.d.), pp. 14, 310-12; to Arthur P. Dudden, April 18, 1953; and interview with Dr. Kite, May 1, 1953; Albert Mansbridge, *Margaret McMillan, Prophet and Pioneer: Her Life and Work* (London: J. M. Dent, 1932), p. 54; George Lansbury, *My Life* (London: Constable, 1928), p. 101. For essential background see Gustav Spiller, *The Ethical Movement in Great Britain: A Documentary History*, author's edition (London: Fairleigh Press, 1934).

2. Edward Howard Griggs, *Earl Barnes: A Life-sketch and an Address* (Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Orchard Hill Press, 1935), passim; for a sketch of Griggs see *Who Was Who in America*; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, p. 250; *Democracy* (originally *The Ethical World*), vol. 4, no. 1 (Jan. 5, 1901); the "Visitors' Book" for Bickley shows the Barnes as residing there in May 1904, August 25-December 1906, and also for "Every Sunday" 1906. Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, February 26, 1904, February 21 and December 4, 1905, Earl Barnes, "J. F. as Arts Patron," undated [1904?], Edward Howard Griggs to Joseph and Mary Fels, February 3, July 25, and October 26, 1902, JFP.

3. Interview with Harold G. Pile, March 31, 1953; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 25-26.

4. The Public Baths Association of Philadelphia, *Report . . .* (Philadelphia, 1898-1905), HSP; *Philadelphia Record*, August 30, 1903.

5. Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, February 26, 1904; "To whom it may concern" from William Broomfield, 1904 [?]; Joseph Fels to Judson Harmon, July 22, 1909; "Gypsy Bill" Cortez to Mary Fels, April 13, 27, and 29, 1914, JFP.

6. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 25-26; Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Conversion Story," pp. 14, 310-12, to Arthur P. Dudden, April 18, 1953, and interview with Dr. Kite, May 1, 1953.

7. London County Council, *Lack of Employment*, being the report and minutes of the first and second meetings of the conference of Representatives of Administrative Authorities in London, held at the County Hall on February 13 and April 3, 1903, respectively, London County Council Records (LCC); George Lansbury *My Life*, pp. 99, 101. See the Board of Trade's monthly returns in the *Labour Gazette*. The definitive edition is Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 4 vols. (London: Griffin, Bohn and Co., 1861-62). An unsigned

but internally identifiable letter from George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, in which, at one point, Lansbury mistakenly attributes his first meeting with Joseph Fels to 1904 instead of the year earlier, JFP; J. Keir Hardie to Joseph Fels, December 20, 1897, JFP; *The Conservator*, vol. 6, October 1895, p. 115; Emrys Hughes, *Keir Hardie* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), pp. 77-78. Poplar Union Board of Guardians (PG), *Minute Book*, vol. 51 (1903-04), pp. 130, 156, 256, 290, 381, 401, 474, 493; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, p. 45.

8. George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP; George Lansbury, *My Life*, pp. 60, 99-101ff; Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (London: Longmans, Green, 1951), pp. 42, 60-72; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 40ff.

9. George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP; George Lansbury, *My Life*, p. 143; George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards* (London: Blackie & Son, 1935), pp. 101-9, 223-26; Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury*, p. 66; E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement* (London: Longmans, Green, 1931), p. 184, et passim.

10. George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards*, pp. 18, 23-24, and *My Life*, pp. 44-61; J. S. Davy, *Report to the President of the Local Government Board on the Poplar Union* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1906), pp. 3, 8-9.

11. PG, *Minute Book*, vol. 51, pp. 130, 156. Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury*, p. 68; George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 38-49. The Act of the 34th and 35th Vict., c. 70, under which the Local Government Board was established, transferred to that Board all the powers and duties vested in or imposed on the Poor Law Board by several earlier acts for the supervision of the laws relating to the relief of the poor, local government, and public health.

12. PG, *Minute Book*, vol. 51, pp. 381, 483, 493, et passim; and *Minute Book*, vol. 52 (1904), pp. 170, 221-22, 384-85, et passim; George Lansbury, *My Life*, p. 147; George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, October 4, 1904, Joseph Fels to G. Lowe, December 8 and 12, and to G. Fast, December 12, 1905, JFP; Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, October 26, 1904, George Lansbury Papers (GLP), the British Library of Political and Economic

Science. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 38-49; *Westminster Gazette*, October 11, 1904; *London Daily Chronicle*, October 24, 1904; *Daily Telegraph*, November 16, 1904.

13. Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Conversion Story," pp. 315-24, and interview with Dr. Kite, May 1, 1953; Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, December 29 and 30, 1904, January 11, 1905, and undated letter from Fels to Barnes of January 1905 written in pencil on back of letter dated December 22, 1904, from Charles D. Atkins to Joseph Fels, JFP.

14. Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Conversion Story," p. 321 (error in pagination), pp. 327-29; Beatrice Webb, *Our Partnership*, eds: Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole (New York and London: Longmans, Green, 1948), p. 291. J. Keir Hardie to Joseph Fels, June 7, 1905; Beatrice Webb to Joseph Fels, October 25, 1909 [?], JFP. Great Britain, Royal Commission on Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, *The Break-up of the Poor Law* and *The Public Organization of the Labour Market*, being parts I and II of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, edited by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1909).

#### 4 "You Will Have to Get Help from the Land"

1. PG, Poplar Farms Visiting Committee (PGF), "Minute Book," vol. 1, pp. 31, 34, 38-41, 78-81, et passim; PG *Minute Book*, vol. 52, pp. 12, 478; vol. 53, pp. 287, 550-54, 585; *Westminster Gazette*, October 11, 1904.

2. J. S. Davy, *Report . . . on the Poplar Union* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1906), pp. 4-6, 31-33, 37-40; Beatrice Webb, *Our Partnership*, ed. Barbara Drake and Margaret I. Cole (New York: Longmans, Green, 1948), pp. 318-319; A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918* (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1962), pp. 263-65; William Kent, *John Burns: Labour's Lost Leader* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1950), pp. 147-82.

3. PG, *Minute Book*, vol. 53, p. 606; vol. 54, pp. 236, 332, 349-50, 405-6, 480, 510, 568, 570-71, 652; vol. 55, pp. 552-53, 709, 710, 957-58, 959, 993; PGF, "Minute Book," vol. 2, pp. 3, 11, 14, 17, 38-39, 42, 48, 79-81; Local Govern-

ment Board, *Correspondence, Poplar Union* (LGB, *Correspondence, Poplar*), December 22, 1906, p. 436; June 10, 1907, p. 304.

4. George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916) pp. 50-54; London Unemployed Fund, *Preliminary Statement* . . . (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1905); London County Council *Circular* (October 10, 1905), passim; *Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905: Powers and Duties of Distress Committees and of the Central Body* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1905), pp. 9-10; London County Council, "Report of the Public Assistance Committee," *Minutes*, February 23, 1938, pp. 204-5; The Central (Unemployed) Body for London, *Particulars as to the Hollesley Bay Colony* . . . (London: E. Mitchener, 1909), passim.

5. George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP; *The Unemployed Workmen Act*, 5 Edw. VII, c. 18; Local Government Board, *Organisation (Unemployed Workmen) Establishment Order, September 20, 1905*. LCC (*Circular*, October 10, 1905), . . . *Powers and Duties of Distress Committees and of the Central Body*; The Central (Unemployed) Body for London, [CUB] *Preliminary Report* . . . (London: E. Mitchener, 1906), pp. 7-8.

6. CUB for London, Working Colonies Committee, *The Hollesley Bay Labour Colony* . . . , rev. ed. (London, 1913), pp. 5-7; *London Daily News*, April 5, 1905; *Maxwell's Talisman*, October 1906, pp. 11-12; CUB for London, *Report of Working Colonies Committee* . . . presented to the Central Body on the 19th February, 1909, p. 1. CUB for London, *Particulars as to the Hollesley Bay Colony*, pp. 2-3, 13-14; George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP. CUB for London, Working Colonies Committee, "Minutes of Proceedings," vol. 1, pp. 1d and 7a; vol. 2, pp. 2-14, LCC.

7. Letter from Joseph Fels to Local Government Board, November, 2, 1905, CUB for London, Working Colonies Committee, "Minutes of Proceedings," vol. 1, p. 3; CUB for London, *Minutes of Proceedings*, December 1, 1905, vol. 1, p. 8, LCC; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 47-49, 90-98; *Land Values*, vol. 11, June 1906, p. 2.

8. CUB for London: *Second Report* . . . (London: P. S. King & Son, 1907), pp. 7-9, 32-38; *Third Report* . . . (London, 1909), p. 50; *Tenth and Final Report* . . . (London:

Vail, 1930), pp. ix-x, 42-47; *Minutes of Proceedings*, vol. 2, p. 52. CUB for London, Working Colonies Committee, "Minutes of Proceedings," vol. 2, pp. 106-10, 151, 173-74, 213; *Report . . . Dealing with the Question of Placing Unemployed Men Trained at Hollesley Bay, or Elsewhere, on Small Holdings . . . 19th February*, 1909, passim; *The Hollesley Bay Labour Colony . . .* rev. ed. (London, 1913), pp. 5-16. A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics*, pp. 256, 259, 264-67; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 54-55. London County Council, *Minutes*, March 1, 1938, pp. 204-05; George Lansbury to the editor of *The Times*, April 2, 1907; George Lansbury to Mary Fels, June 30, 1914, JFP.

9. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, p. 56; *Kelly's Directory of Essex*, 1906, 7th ed. (London: Kelly, 1906), p. 376; PGF, "Minute Book," vol. 1, pp. 78-81; PG, *Minute Book*, vol. 53, pp. 287, 550-54; Joseph Fels to Local Government Board, November 2, 1905, CUB for London, Working Colonies Committee, "Minutes of Proceedings," vol. 1, p. 3; CUB for London, *Minutes of Proceedings*, vol. 1, pp. 8, 24.

10. *The Essex Naturalist*, vol. 15 (1907-8), pp. 280-82; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 56-60; Peter Kropotkin, "Forewords," pp. v-xii in Thomas Smith, *French Gardening* (London: Joseph Fels—Utopia Press, 1909), also pp. xxiii-xxix, et passim; "Mayland," an unsigned, undated typescript of 11 pages, probably written in 1907, JFP. See Peter A. Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories, and Workshops* (London: Hutchinson, 1899).

11. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 57-77; "Mayland," JFP; *Small Holdings and Allotments Act*, 8 Edw. VII, c. 36; Thomas Smith, *French Gardening*, pp. xxviii-xxix, 28-29; CUB for London, *Fourth Report . . . from 1st July, 1909 to 30th June, 1910*, p. 38; London County Council, *Minutes*, October 26, 1909, p. 793; *Land Values*, vol. 11 (October 1906), p. 86, and (July 1907), p. 24.

12. "Vacant Land Cultivation in England," unsigned typescript probably written in 1912, JFP; Joseph Fels to Clerk of the Council, London County Council, "Improvements Committee Papers," November 1, 1907, December 11, 1907; LCC, *Minutes*, December 17-18, 1907, pp. 1467, 1470.

13. Ernest B. Gaston, *Quarter Centennial History, Fairhope* (Fairhope, Ala.: Courier Press, 1932), passim; Paul E. and Blanche R. Alyea, *Fairhope, 1894-1954: the Story of a*

*Single Tax Colony* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1956), pp. 80-81, 136-37, n. 3; Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, two dateless letters probably of early 1899 and a letter written April 25, 1899, FCA.

14. Tom L. Johnson to Joseph Fels, March 13, 1906; Joseph Fels to Tom L. Johnson, March 30 and May 2, 1906, to Townsend P. Lyon, Treasurer of the Fairhope Improvement Co., October 2, 1907, FCA.

15. Paul E. and Blanche R. Alyea, *Fairhope*, pp. 91-130.

16. Prescott A. Parker to Joseph Fels, January 12, 1906 with certificate enclosed dated January 2; Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, January 13 and 17, to P. A. Parker, January 17, 1906, FCA.

17. James G. Parsons to Joseph Fels, February 8 and March 7, 1906; Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, to Daniel Kiefer, and to *The Public* Publishing Company, February 16, to James G. Parsons, February 19, to Ernest B. Gaston, March 15 and 23, April 20, May 25, July 15, 1906, FCA.

18. Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, February 16 and May 7, 1906, FCA; Walter Coates to George Lansbury, March 13, 1907, GLP.

19. Joseph Fels to Booker T. Washington, September 25 and October 25, to Ernest B. Gaston, October 24, 1907; Booker T. Washington to Joseph Fels, October 12, 1907, FCA.

20. C. E. Littlefield to Joseph Fels, January 23 and H. B. Slaughter to Joseph Fels, July 28, 1906; Joseph Fels to E. B. Gaston, February 16, May 25, June 7 and 29, July 9, August 3 and 28, 1906, August 19, September 3, 12, and 30, November 11, 1907; Joseph Fels to Dr. Rowe, June 29, and to H. B. Slaughter, July 9 and August 3, 1906, to Townsend P. Lyon and Paul Y. Allbright, October 2, 1907, FCA.

21. Reported from the *Fairhope Courier*, February 28, 1908, in *Land Values*, vol. 11 (May 1908), p. 234. See "A Visit to Fairhope," *ibid.*, vol. 12 (June 1908), p. 6. Joseph Fels to Bolton Hall, May 19, 1908, JFP.

22. Ernest B. Gaston printed letter to "Friends & Neighbors," May 29; Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, June 24 and August 3, to H. S. Greeno, June 24 and July 31; H. S. Greeno to Joseph Fels, July 14; Dr. C. M. Carr to R. F. Powell, August 15, 1908, FCA. Paul E. and Blanche R. Alyea, *Fairhope*, pp. 131-45.

23. Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, August 3, 22 and 24, September 22, October 5, 16 and 27, December 14, and to Frank Brown, October 30, 1908, FCA. Ordinance of the Town of Fairhope, October 1, 1908.

24. Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, August 22, 1908, January 8, 17 and 20, February 19, 1909; to Marietta Johnson, January 13 and March 4, 1909; to Upton Sinclair, April 9, 1910; Ernest B. Gaston to Joseph Fels, January 4, 1909; Upton Sinclair to Joseph Fels, March 24, 1910, FCA. *Land Values*, vol. 12 (March 1909), p. 187; Paul E. and Blanche R. Alyea, *Fairhope*, pp. 146-47, 154-59.

25. Joseph Fels to H. S. Greeno, n.d. [1909?]; to John W. Ettel, March 31; to Ernest B. Gaston, April 22, May 25, and 28, July 9, December 27; to Messrs. Van Bavel & Koopman, July 9, 1909; John W. Ettel to Joseph Fels, March 15, 1909, FCA.

## 5 *Reformers and Revolutionaries*

1. Mary Fels to Anna Barnes, May 5, and to George Lansbury, December 6, 1907; Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, undated letter [December, 1906?], January 5, April 30, and June 5, 1907; to Robert Joseph Barnes [Joseph Fels Barnes], October 1, 1907; Edward Howard Griggs to Joseph Fels, March 21, 1907, JFP; Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, January 20 and undated letter of late January or early February, 1908, GLP; Walter Coates to Mary Fels, March 25, 1908; "Visitors' Book," April 20, 1908, JFP.

2. "Visitors' Book," passim, JFP; George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards* (London: Blackie & Son, 1935), pp. 224-25.

3. Interview with Efreim Zimbalist, February 5, 1953; Mary Fels to Earl Barnes, June 14, 1909; Mary Fels' notes for a biography of her husband, undated [1914-15?], Joseph Fels to Daniel Kiefer, October 22, 1910; "Visitors' Book," June 10, 1908, JFP; Mary Fels, *Life of Joseph Fels* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), pp. 10-11; Marcia Davenport, *Too Strong for Fantasy* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1967), pp. 54-55, 62-63, 69-71.

4. Unidentified newspaper clipping, July 20 [?], 1908;



Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, November 26, 1908; to George and Bessie Lansbury, June 22, 1909, JFP; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), pp. 208-216; George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards*, p. 224; Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (London: Longmans, Green, 1951), pp. 104, 130-32.

5. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 202-8; J. B. Priestley, "Foreword," pp. 9-10 in Walter D'Arcy Cresswell, *Margaret McMillan: A Memoir* (London: Hutchinson, 1948), and pp. 123-25; Albert Mansbridge, *Margaret McMillan, Prophet and Pioneer: Her Life and Work* (London: J. M. Dent, 1932), pp. 53, 131.

6. A chronological discrepancy must be resolved arbitrarily in favor of dates given by official records. Mary Fels writes of Miss McMillan's approach to her husband: "This was in May, 1904. In November of the same year they went together to interview the Education Committee of the London County Council, and made an offer of £5,000 to assist in carrying out a plan of health centers," *Joseph Fels*, pp. 203-4. Apparently at least one biography relied on Mrs. Fels, thus, Albert Mansbridge, *Margaret McMillan*, p. xviii. But Fels and Miss McMillan first enter into the public accounts July 19, 1905, when Fels attended a meeting of school managers to support Miss McMillan's scheme. For the next year developments are consistently dated. See LCC, Education Committee, Day Schools Sub-Committee, *Agenda Papers*, November 21, 1905, p. 16 (61), September 25, 1906, p. 7 (108); LCC, Education Committee, Day Schools Sub-Committee, "Minutes of Proceedings," vol. 5 (November 28, 1905), pp. 1026-27.

7. LCC, Education Committee, *Minutes of Proceedings*, July 25, 1906, pp. 2565-66, 2664-66; LCC, Day Schools Sub-Committee, "Minutes," vol. 6, pp. 1413-14, 1579-80 with Enclosure W (February 7, 1906), 1909; LCC, *Minutes of Proceedings*, July 31, 1906, pp. 476-77, and October 9, 1906, p. 655; LCC, Day Schools, *Agenda Papers*, September 25, 1906, p. 7 (108); Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 204-6; Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, June 29, 1906, GLP; Walter D'Arcy Cresswell, *Margaret McMillan*, pp. 125-28.

8. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 252-54; Elizabeth S. F. Kite, "A Conversion Story," (Unpublished manuscript Baltimore: Mount Saint Agnes College, n.d.), pp. 338-45, and interview

with Dr. Kite, May 1, 1953. Another work in French, *La Cité Chinoise*, embodying useful agricultural advice, was also considered for translating by Miss Kite. Edward Carpenter to Joseph Fels, December 10, 1905, JFP.

9. Joseph Fels to Governor Edward Casper Stokes, March 12, 1906, copy; to William MacQueen, March 23, 1906; to W. H. Vredenburg, April 2, 1906; to Alfred W. Wishart, May 23, 1906; Alfred W. Wishart to Mary Fels, April 28, 1914; "Visitors' Book," JFP; Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, June 29, 1906, GLP. H. G. Wells, "Two Studies in Disappointment: The Riddle of Intolerance," no. 9 in his series "The Future in America," *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 505 (September 8, 1906), pp. 1279-83.

10. This section of the chapter draws upon a previous presentation of its data: Arthur P. Dudden and Theodore H. Von Laue, "The RSDLP and Joseph Fels: a Study in Intercultural Contact," *American Historical Review*, vol. 61 (October 1955), pp. 21-47. Permission to use this article is gratefully acknowledged, and recognition of Professor Von Laue's contributions as translator, historian, and collaborator is stressed. The most useful general accounts of the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP are to be found in: K. Gandurin, *Epizody podpolia* (Moscow, 1934); M. N. Liadow, *Iz zhizni partii nakanune i v gody pervoi revoliutsii* (Moscow, 1926); E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly s'ezdov i Konferentsii Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (b). Piatyi s'ezd RSDRP, May-June 1907*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Izd. Kom. un-ta im. Ia, M. Sverdlova, 1935); N. N. Popov, *Outline History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, vol. 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934); Elia Levin, "Conference of Russian Socialists in London," *London Justice*, May 18, 1907; "D" [Leo Deutsch?], "The Russian Social-Democratic Congress," *London Justice*, June 8, 1907; H. N. Brailsford, "The Russian Congress," *London Daily News*, June 4, 1907; Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1938); Maxim Gorki, *Days with Lenin* (New York: International, 1932); Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution: A Biographical History* (New York: Dial, 1948); Lionel Kochan, "Lenin in London," *History Today*, vol. 20 (April 1970), pp. 229-35.

11. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 236-37; H. N. Brailsford, "When Lenin and Trotsky Were in London," *Listener*, vol. 39 (January 1, 1948), p. 30; Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a*

*Rebel*, p. 70; interview with Rafael R. Abramovitch, January 20, 1954; Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat* (Melbourne and Cambridge at the university presses, 1967), pp. 117-20.

12. *London Daily News*, May 14 and June 4, 1907; interview with Rafael R. Abramovitch, January 20, 1954; Maxim Gorki, *Days with Lenin*, pp. 4-6, 11-17, 29; Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, pp. 384-85; K. Gandurin, *Epizody podpolia*, p. 46; Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, pp. 72-74; H. N. Brailsford, "The London Congress," *London Daily News*, June 4, 1907; N. N. Popov, *Outline History of the CPSU*, vol. 1, pp. 208-9; Elia Levin, "Conference of Russian Socialists in London," *London Justice*, May 18, 1907; "D," "The Russian Social-Democratic Congress," *London Justice*, June 8, 1907; E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly*, passim.

13. E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly*, pp. 686-92; Leon Trotsky, *My Life: An Attempt at Auto-biography* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1930), p. 202; Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, p. 74; H. N. Brailsford, "When Lenin and Stalin were in London," *Listener*, vol. 39 (January 1, 1948), pp. 29-30; *London Justice*, June 1, 1907; *London Free Russia*, June 1907, and January-March 1908; David Garnett, *The Golden Echo* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1953-62), vol. 1, pp. 113-20; "Visitors' Book," September 7-9, 1907, JFP. Official Bolshevik history levies blame for the shortage of funds upon the opposition. Thus: "The conduct of this Congress strikingly revealed the incapacity of the Menshevik Central Committee to arrange a congress in an organized manner. . . . In spite of its contacts with the bourgeoisie the Menshevik Central Committee failed to provide sufficient funds to conduct the Congress," N. N. Popov, *Outline History of the CPSU*, vol. 1, p. 205.

14. E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly*, pp. 693-96; Andrew Rothstein to Arthur P. Dudden, January 12, 1954; H. N. Brailsford, "When Lenin and Trotsky Were in London," *Listener*, vol. 39 (January 1, 1948), p. 30; H. N. Brailsford to Arthur P. Dudden, April 12, 1953. For more of the same from Henry Noel Brailsford but in other contexts see Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury*, pp. 69-70; David Garnett, *The Golden Echo*, vol. 1, pp. 116-17; and upon the occasion of the death of Stalin, *Manchester Guardian*, March 7 and 9, 1953, and *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, March 12, 1953. Although Brailsford

repeatedly erred in characterizing Fels as a Russian Jew anxious to combat the pogroms in the land of his birth, and also in itemizing the amount of the loan at £500 instead of £1700, he is apparently more to be trusted than accounts pieced together from Soviet sources which attempt to claim all credit for the Bolsheviks in general for getting the money and Maxim Gorki in particular. See, for example, V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniia*, 4th ed., (Moscow: Gos. izd-vo polit. lit-ry, 1941-1950), vol. 34, p. 415, n. 262; Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, p. 385; Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, pp. 74-75, and *Impressions of Lenin*, trans. Isotta Cesari (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), pp. 23-25; and J. Anthony Marcus, "Lesson for Millionaire 'Angels,'" *American Mercury*, vol. 78 (April 1954), pp. 67-71. The last item cited not only provides a remarkable illustration of the hazards of indiscriminately employing inadequately evaluated Soviet sources to demonstrate one's own anti-Communism—in that it is filled with the kind of substantial errors of fact by which the Bolsheviks have distorted the history of the Russian Revolution to their own propaganda purposes—but emphasizes in addition by its own shortcomings the pitfalls of lifting past events out of their historical context.

15. M. N. Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii*, p. 204; K. Gandurin, *Epizody podpolia*, p. 46; E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly*, p. 695; Leon Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 202.

16. Leo Deutsch, *Sixteen Years in Siberia . . .*, trans. Helen Chisholm (London: J. Murray, 1903); George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards*, p. 225; *London Jewish Chronicle*, February 27, 1914; Peter Kropotkin to Joseph Fels, September 11, 1908; Joseph Fels to Daniel Kiefer, October 22, 1910, to C. N. Macintosh, August 21, 1912, and to Nicola Fantini, September 24, 1912, JFP. The original note is now preserved in Moscow by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, with a photostatic copy displayed at the Museum of the Revolution. A reproduction is in E. Iaroslavskii, ed., *Protokoly*, pp. 696ff. Andrew Rothstein to Arthur P. Dudden, January 12, 1954. See also Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, p. 385; J. Anthony Marcus, "Lesson for Millionaire 'Angels,'" *American Mercury*, vol. 78 (April 1954), pp. 68-69.

17. H. N. Brailsford, "When Lenin and Trotsky Were in London," *Listener*, vol. 39 (January 1, 1948), p. 30; H. N.

Brailsford to Arthur P. Dudden, April 12, 1953, JFP; interviews with Rafael R. Abramovitch and I. Tseretelli, January 20, 1954; M. N. Liadov, *Iz zhizni partii*, p. 204; K. Gandurin, *Epizody podpolia*, pp. 45-46; David Garnett, *The Golden Echo*, vol. 1, p. 118; "D," "The Russian Social-Democratic Congress in London," *London Justice*, June 8, 1907. But see N. N. Popov, *Outline History of the CPSU*, vol. 1, pp. 206-8.

18. Joseph Fels to F. A. Rothstein, September 28, 1907, in possession of Mr. Andrew Rothstein; *London Times Weekly Edition*, June 21, 1907; N. N. Popov, *Outline History of the CPSU*, vol. 1, pp. 208-9; Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, pp. 393-94. V. I. Lenin to F. A. Rothstein, January 29 and July 8, 1908, *Sochineniia*, 2nd ed. (Moscow-Leningrad: Gos. izd-vo polit. lit-ry, 1926-32), vol. 28, pp. 514-15; 549, n. 2; and 4th ed., vol. 34, p. 415, n. 262; Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Russia to Joseph Fels, September 18, 1908, and Andrew Rothstein to Arthur P. Dudden, June 29, 1954, JFP.

## 6 Agitating the Land Question

1. Katherine F. Ross to Arthur P. Dudden, April 19, 1955; J. Keir Hardie to Joseph Fels, December 20, 1897, JFP; *The Conservator*, vol. 6, (October 1895), p. 115; Emrys Hughes, *Keir Hardie* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), pp. 77-78.

2. Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957), pp. 3, 75-139; Edward R. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society* (London: Fabian Society, 1916), pp. 11-20; R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 334; A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics, 1884-1918* (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1962), pp. 29-30, 38-40; A. W. Madsen, *Land Value Taxation in Great Britain: Parliamentary Survey Covering Years 1906 to 1951* (London: International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, 1952), pp. 1-4; Joseph Edwards, ed., *Land and Real Tariff Reform . . . (The Land Reformers' Handbook)* (London: Clarion Press, 1909), pp. 73-75.

3. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), passim; *Land Values*, vol. 12 (February

1910), p. 183; George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards* (London: Blackie & Son, 1935), pp. 223–26. Joseph Fels to the editor, *London Tribune*, November 6, 1907.

4. *Land Values*, vol. 12 (November 1908), p. 101, and (February 1910), p. 183; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 65–77, 142–55; Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, pp. 129–51. For the Fels-Pretyman controversy, see the references in fn. 12, chap. 2, of this book.

5. Joseph Fels to Booker T. Washington, September 25, 1907, and to William Stimson, October 30, 1908, FCA. Robert Pollok to George Lansbury, December 12; Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, December 14, 1907, GLP.

6. Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, May 19, 1908, to Daniel Kiefer, June 19, 1909, to Peter Kropotkin, May 23, 1912, to Sidney Webb, June 14 and 20, 1913; Mary Fels to Anna Barnes, April 19, May 15, June 17, and July 9, 1907, and to Earl Barnes May 10, 1908; Sidney Webb to Joseph Fels, May 6, 1908, and June 21, 1913; Frank Smith to Joseph Fels, December 3, 1908, and to Mary Fels, March 17, 1910; H. G. Wells to Joseph Fels, unspecified date 1912, and undated [1913?]; Keir Hardie to Mary Fels, November 21, and to Joseph Fels, December 6, 1908; Peter Kropotkin to Joseph Fels, September 11, 1908, January 22 and April 25, 1910, and May 20, 1912; George Bernard Shaw to Joseph Fels, March 23, 1909, and July 8, 1910, JFP.

7. Standard histories of Great Britain between 1909 and 1911 cover the struggle initiated by the People's Budget, as do biographies of Asquith and Lloyd George among the leading participants. See also Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, pp. 129ff; *The City Club Bulletin* of Chicago, vol. 3 (March 16, 1910).

8. Rev. R. J. Campbell to Joseph Fels, May 8; Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, May 28, to Earl and Anna Barnes, May 30 and August 16, and to Daniel Kiefer, June 19, August 15 and 19, 1909, JFP. Joseph Fels, "On the Advantage of High Wages," and editorial, with Fels' reply, *Westminster Gazette*, April 22 and 26; also "An Interview with Mr. Fels," *London Daily News* and *The Christian Commonwealth*, June 9, 1909, p. 640.

9. B. Seebohm Rowntree to Joseph Fels, with the latter's petition returned, September 7; Joseph Fels to Louis

Post, September 8, to Ernest B. Gaston, November 25, December 16 and 27, and to Earl Barnes, December 1, and an undated note to "Darling Folks," 1909, JFP.

10. John Orr to Joseph Fels, January 22, 1910 (misdated 1909); John Paul to Joseph Fels, February 14, 1910, JFP; Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, February 15, 1910, GLP. Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (London: Longmans, Green, 1951), p. 103; *Land Values*, vol. 12 (February 1910), p. 183.

11. Program for complimentary dinner to Joseph Fels and Tom L. Johnson, April 11, 1910, GLP. Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, pp. 149-50. *Land Values*, vol. 12 (April 1910), p. 231, and vol. 13 (August 1910), pp. 49-50.

12. Charles Albro Barker, *Henry George* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 531; Halvdan Koht, *The American Spirit in Europe: a Survey of Transatlantic Influences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), pp. 202-3; Joseph Edwards, ed., *Land and Real Tariff Reform*, pp. 63-65; *Land Values*, vol. 13 (August 1910), pp. 49-50; Joseph Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Year Book . . .* (New York: Single Tax Review, 1917), passim. Joseph Fels to John W. Ettel, June 24, 1908 and to Messrs. van Bavel and Koopman, July 9, 1909, FCA; William E. Macklin to Joseph Fels, June 27, 1912, May 12 and December 22, 1913; "In Memoriam: Joseph Fels," February-March 1914, JFP. Signe Bjørner to Joseph Fels, undated, pre-November 1909, Dan Bjørner Papers (DBP), Danmarks Erhvervsarkiv.

13. John Danstrup, *A History of Denmark*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Wivel, 1949), pp. 120-50. Jakob E. Lange, "Danish Agrarian and Social Evolution and the Influence of Henry George's Ideas Thereon," paper no. 2, Fourth International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade . . . New College, Edinburgh, July 29-August 4, 1929; Signe Bjørner, *En Verdenstankes Vækst i Vort Folk . . .*, (Copenhagen: NYT Nordisk Forlag-Arnold Busck, 1934), pp. 5-18, 50-57; "Den Historiske Baggrund," *Betænkning Vedrørende Fuld Grundskyld . . .* no. 110 (Copenhagen: S. L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri, 1954), pp. 1-6; Erik Rasmussen, "Georgeismen som Element i Det Social-Radikale Idekompleks indtil o. 1922," *Jyske Samlinger Tidsskrift for Danmarks Historie*, n. s. vol. 4, no. 4 (Aarhus at Universitets Forlaget, 1958), pp. 249-70.

14. *Land Values*, vol. 13 (August 1910), pp. 49-50; "An American Philanthropist to Visit Our School in Odense," trans., *Husmanden*, June 5, 1910; Sophus Berthelsen, "Økonomisk Frihed," *Ret*, vol. 5 (June 1910), pp. 162-65; "Fra Fels-Festerne," *ibid.* (July 1910), pp. 187-89.

15. *Land Values*, vol. 13 (August 1910), pp. 52, 69; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 173-78. Louis F. Post, July 5, and John de Witt Warner to Joseph Fels, July 6; Joseph Fels to Senator Robert M. La Follette, July 7, to L. R. Ehrich, July 7, to John de Witt Warner, July 18, and to Earl Barnes, August 20, 1910, JFP. Joseph Fels (written by W. Phillips), "A Few Words on the Full and True Meaning Underlying the Taxation of Land Values," *Christian Commonwealth*, July 27, 1910 (see typescript, JFP).

16. Senator Robert M. La Follette to Joseph Fels, June 4; Joseph Fels to Robert M. La Follette, July 7, to *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 28 (published October 9), to Louis F. Post, October 5, and to Daniel Kiefer, October 22, 1910, JFP. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 176-78; *Land Values*, vol. 13 (December 1910), pp. 128, 156.

17. Joseph Fels to George Lansbury, November 29 and December 2; Mary Fels to George Lansbury, December 6, 1910, GLP.

18. Mary Fels to George Lansbury, January 18, 1911, GLP. Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, pp. 149-60; *Land Values*, vol. 14 (November 1912), pp. 262-63; A. W. Madsen, *Land Value Taxation in Great Britain*, pp. 4-5. "Land and Taxation Reform Memorial . . . 18th May, 1911," *Leaflet* no. 58, United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values.

## 7 *Israel Zangwill and Zionism*

1. This chapter draws upon a previous presentation of its data: Arthur P. Dudden, "The Single-Tax Zionism of Joseph Fels," *Publication* of the American Jewish Historical Society (*American Jewish Historical Quarterly*), vol. 46 (June 1957), pp. 474-91. Permission for use of this article is gratefully acknowledged.

2. Israel Zangwill, "Zionism and Territorialism," *Liv-*



ing Age, vol. 265 (June 11, 1910), pp. 663-67. For general accounts and bibliography of sources for the Jewish Territorial Organization, see Mark Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety: the Story of Jewish Migration since 1800* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948), pp. 134-38; Leo W. Schwarz, ed., *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 437-40; Isaac Gruenbaum, *The History of Zionism* (Tel Aviv: The Zionist Library, 1947), vol. 2; Joseph Leftwich, *Israel Zangwill* (New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1957); Alex Bein, *Theodore Herzl: a Biography*, trans. Maurice Samuel (Cleveland and New York, Philadelphia: Meridian Books and The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962); Yonathan Shapiro, "The Zionist Faith," *American Jewish Archives*, vol. 18 (November 1966), pp. 107-27. See also Robert G. Weirbord, *African Zion: the Attempt to Establish a Colony in the East African Protectorate, 1903-1905* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968); and Zionist Central Archives, Jerusalem (ZCA).

3. Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), p. 918. But Fels wrote otherwise: "If my memory serves me right, I first saw Mr. Zangwill at the home of a London gentleman, who had invited a number of people to meet him. During the evening, there was a good deal of discussion more or less informal as to the advantages of a special country for the Jews, as compared with the haphazard dissemination of the chosen tribe through all the civilized countries." Joseph Fels, "Israel Zangwill: the Man and His Dream," typescript, JFP. See also *Philadelphia Jewish Exponent*, August 24, 1906.

4. Joseph Fels to Israel Zangwill, May 5 and July 16, JFP, and September 7, 1906, ZCA; Morris D. Waldman, "The Galveston Movement," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. 4 (March 1928), pp. 197-205.

5. Joseph Fels to C. N. Macintosh, August 21, 1912, JFP; Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), p. 918.

6. Joseph Fels to Clement Salaman, October 28 and November 12, 1906, JFP.

7. Joseph Fels to Israel Zangwill, December 9 and 19, 1906, April 7, JFP, and May 25, 1907, ZCA; to Earl Barnes, January 5, 1907; to C. N. Macintosh, May 4, 1911, and August

21, 1912, JFP; D. R. Stevenson to Joseph Fels, February 18, 1907, ZCA; C. N. Macintosh to Joseph Fels, October 4, 1911, JFP. Israel Zangwill "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June, 1920), p. 921.

8. Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, April 19, November 12 and 13, December 18, 1907, February 22, 1909, and J. R. Von Milligan to Joseph Fels, April 15, 1907, JFP; Morris D. Waldman, "The Galveston Movement," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. 4 (March 1928), pp. 198-99; Israel Zangwill, "Zionism and Territorialism," *Living Age*, vol. 265 (June 11, 1910), p. 666.

9. Joseph Fels to Lord Rothschild, October 29, 1907; to Israel Zangwill, October 31 and November 2, 1907; Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, November 1 and 4, ZCA, and November 12, 1907, JFP.

10. Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, November 12, December 12 and 18, 1907 and January 10, 1908; Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, November 25, 1907; to Israel Zangwill, November 30, 1907, JFP. Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, August 22, October 27, and December 14, and to R. F. Powell, October 27, 1908, FCA. Thomas A. Lilley, "Soap Works," *Journal of the Chartered Insurance Institute*, vol. 19 (1916), pp. 67-68.

11. Morris D. Waldman, "The Galveston Movement," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. 4 (March 1928), pp. 199-200; Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, November 12, 1907, January 10, February 25, April 15 and 24, 1908; form notice from Joseph Fels to the Executive Committee members of the Vacant Land Cultivation Society, January 29, 1908; Joseph Fels to Mary Fels, March 2, 1908, JFP, and to Israel Zangwill, October 27 and November 2, 1907, ZCA, and April 12, 1908, JFP. Also Joseph Fels to Ernest B. Gaston, March 2, 1908, and a postscript for Kiefer and Gaston on a copy of a letter from Joseph Fels to Bolton Hall, March 27, 1908, FCA, and to George Lansbury, March 8, 1908, GLP. Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), p. 920. See sketch of Zangwill in Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, eds., *Twentieth Century Authors* (New York: Wilson, 1942), pp. 1568-1569.

12. Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, July 5, August 20, 27, and 29, 1908, JFP; Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), p. 920.

13. Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, September 6, 1908, February 22, April 2 and 5, July 22, and December 8, 1909, JFP. The purpose of Zangwill's American trip is inferred from Morris D. Waldman, "The Galveston Movement," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, vol. 4 (March 1928), pp. 200-05.

14. Joseph Fels to Daniel Kiefer, August 15 and 19, and to Earl and Anna Barnes, August 16, 1909; Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, July 22, August 25 and 28, 1909, JFP.

15. Joseph Fels to Louis F. Post, June 11, 1909, and unsigned copy of a letter to Joseph Fels from Lord Northcliffe's spokesman, June 25, 1909; Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, July 22 and December 8, 1909, June 10, September 22, and December 27, 1910, and October 15, 1912, JFP. Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), pp. 919-22.

16. Joseph Fels to Mary Fels, with her comments May 17, 1911; Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, November 15, 1911, February 29, August 2 and 17, 1912, JFP.

17. H. G. Wells to Joseph Fels, unspecified date 1912; Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, November 15 and 25, 1912, JFP. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), pp. 229-30; Israel Zangwill, "Joseph Fels," *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 107, n.s. (June 1920), p. 920.

18. Israel Zangwill to Joseph Fels, December 31, 1912, JFP, May 1, ZCA, September 5, JFP, and October 30, 1913, ZCA; Joseph Fels to Israel Zangwill, April 30, 1913, ZCA, September 10 and 11, 1913, JFP. Israel Zangwill, "Zionism and Territorialism," *Living Age*, vol. 265 (June 11, 1910), p. 664.

19. Joseph Fels to Prof. G. Deutsch, September 18 and November 27, 1912, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Joseph Fels to Rev. R. J. Campbell, October 4, 1912, to Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen, June 30, 1913; "The Religion of Joseph Fels," (1912?) passim; undated address by Fels to the employees of Fels and Company, undated memorandum in the handwriting of Mary Fels, JFP. Rev. Levi M. Powers, "My Christian," *Farm and Fireside*, July 20, 1912. An undated and otherwise untraceable clipping in the Joseph Fels Papers identifies Lincoln Steffens as the interrogator, but this anecdote crops up elsewhere as in Herbert S. Bigelow's "Jew and also Christian: a Memorial Address on Joseph Fels the Christian," delivered at

the People's Church, Grand Opera House, Cincinnati, March 8, 1914.

## 8 *Still Agitating the Land Question*

1. Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels: His Life-Work* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), pp. 183-98; Arthur Nichols Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States* (Princeton at the University Press, 1916), pp. 163-83; Joseph Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Year Book* (New York: Single Tax Review, 1917), p. 440. Tom L. Johnson to Joseph Fels, November 13 and December 3, 1907, February 6, 1908; Joseph Fels to Louis F. Post, September 14, 1911, JFP.

2. *Philadelphia Press*, January 10, 1907; "Franklin and Freedom," an address by Joseph Fels to the Poor Richard Club of Philadelphia, January 6; *Boston Globe*, February 21; *City Club Bulletin* of Chicago, March 16, pp. 244 and 247; *St. Louis Republic*, March 11, and *St. Louis Mirror*, March (dateless clipping, JFP); *Reynold's Newspaper*, April 17, 1910; *Land Values*, vol. 12 (April 1910), p. 231; Tom Loftin Johnson, *My Story*, ed. Elizabeth J. Hauser (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1911), pp. 295-300. Joseph Fels to C. W. Post, October 5 and November 18, to Senator Robert La Follette, November 30, 1909; Mary Fels to George Lansbury, January 25 and February 15, 1910, JFP.

3. Joseph Fels to Earl Barnes, August 20, to the editor, *Human Life* magazine, September 12, to Dan Kiefer, September 29, JFP, to George Lansbury, November 29 and December 2, 1910, GLP. *Washington Times*, December 1, 1910.

4. Tom L. Johnson, *My Story*, pp. 308-10; *Den lige Vej*, vol. 1 (March 31, 1911), p. 115; *Land Values*, vol. 13 (January), p. 165; (February), p. 202; (March), p. 229; (April), p. 266; and (May 1911), p. 273. *Edmonton Journal*, January 19, *Vancouver Daily Province*, January 24, *Los Angeles Examiner*, February 10, 1911. Joseph Fels to Meyer Lissner, March 2, 8, 13, 17, and 30; Meyer Lissner to Joseph Fels, March 25, 1911, Meyer Lissner Papers, Stanford University (MLP). Joseph Fels to A. W. Roebuck, April 1; to the editor of the *New York Times*, written May 6, 1911, JFP.

5. *Land Values*, vol. 13 (May 1911), pp. 273-74; (June 1911), pp. 16, 18; vol. 14 (August 1912), pp. 100-101. Edwin Markham to Joseph Fels, February 20, and John Paul to Joseph Fels, December 5, 1910; Joseph Fels to C. H. Ingersoll, June 27, 1911, JFP. Interview with A. W. Madsen, August 11, 1953. W. G. Fowler to *London Times*, January 20, 1911.

6. *Land Values*, vol. 13 (February 1911), pp. 210-11, and (August 1911), pp. 51, 76-78; Signe Bjørner, *En Verdenstankes Vækst i Vort Folk* (Copenhagen: NYT Nordiske Forlag-Arnold Busck, 1934), pp. 50-57; Heinrich Freese, *Die Bodenreform . . .* (Berlin: A. Weichert, 1918). Viggo Starcke to Arthur P. Dudden, July 7, 1961, Joseph Fels to Signe Bjørner, July 16, 1911, DBP; to W. S. U'Ren and Meyer Lissner, July 24, 1911, MLP. Joseph Fels to Adolph Damaschke, August 31, and to W. Schrameier, September 19, 1911; Adolph Damaschke, August 21, and W. Schrameier to Joseph Fels, August 31 and September 1, 1911; Joseph Fels to W. Schrameier, April 11, and W. Schrameier to Joseph Fels, March 2 and April 15, 1912, JFP.

7. *Land Values*, vol. 13 (October 1911), pp. 115-22, 139, 148-49. Joseph Fels to Louis F. Post, September 14, to George C. Mosses and Eduard Lauterburg, September 19, to John Paul, November 1, 1911, JFP.

8. Clarence H. Cramer, *Newton D. Baker: a Biography* (Cleveland: World, 1961), pp. 46-63; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 240-45; *Land Values*, vol. 13 (December 1911), p. 180, (January 1912), p. 207, (February), pp. 234-35, (March), p. 262, (April), pp. 302-3. Joseph Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Year Book*, pp. 21-25; *Report of the Second Annual Single-tax Conference*, Chicago, November 24, 25, and 26, 1911 (Cincinnati, 1912); *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, January 11, 1912. Joseph Fels to George Fowlds, September 15, 1911, to A. W. Roebuck, January 27 and May 2, to Sir James P. Whitney, May 1, 1912, JFP.

9. *Land Values*, vol. 13 (April 1912), pp. 302-3. Joseph Fels to A. G. Huie, April 21, to A. W. Roebuck, May 2, 1912, JFP.

10. *Land Values*, vol. 14 (July 1912), pp. 78, 90-91; (September 1912), p. 196; *Den lige Vej*, vol. 2 (June 22, 1912), pp. 169-76. Joseph Fels to A. W. Roebuck, May 2, 1912, JFP. Signe Bjørner to Joseph Fels, May 26 and June 1,

1912, and an illegibly dated copy of a letter from Mrs. Bjørner to Fels, probably of January, 1913, DBP.

11. *Land Values*, vol. 14 (July 1912), p. 91; August 1912), pp. 144-45. Mary Fels to Signe Bjørner, June 18, 19, and 27, July 1, and her inexactly dated recollection of Arvika, Sweden, DBP, Mary Fels to Anna Barnes, June 20 and 24, 1912, JFP; Joseph Fels to Signe Bjørner, July 3, DBP, and to Earl Barnes, July 25, JFP; flyer for lectures by Joseph Fels, July 2, 3, and 4, 1912, JFP. *Stockholm Aftonbladet*, July 2, 1912.

12. W. Schrameier to Joseph Fels, March 2, April 15, July 12, August 25, September 2 and 11; Joseph Fels to W. Schrameier, April 11, August 31, September 6 and 19; to Meyer Lissner, July 17, to Earl Barnes and to Sir William Lever, August 10; Jacob Epstein to Joseph Fels, undated letter and September 19, 1912, JFP. Joseph Fels to Signe Bjørner, November 26, 1912, DBP. *London Calling*, February 25, 1954, p. 13. Interview with Jacob Epstein, August 24, 1953. *Land Values*, vol. 14 (August 1912), p. 100, (September 1912), pp. 184-95. For a sample of reactions to Fels' offer of £20,000, see "The Apostle of the Single Tax," *Manchester Daily Dispatch*, August 14 and cartoon "Soap Deferred," August 23, Joseph Fels to *London Daily Mail*, August 23, "Financier of the Land Crusade," *The Weekly Dispatch*, September 8, 1912.

13. Meyer Lissner to Joseph Fels, June 29, August 24, and December 13, 1912, January 31 and June 30, 1913; Joseph Fels to Meyer Lissner, July 16, 17 and 24, December 6, 1912, January 24, April 23, May 8, June 18, and July 16, 1913, MLP. Joseph Fels to Solomon Solis-Cohen, August 14, and to George Fowlds, August 20, 1912. Cf. Joseph Fels to Peter Kropotkin, May 23, and to C. Sarolea, August 19, 1912, JFP. Norman Angell, *After All* (London: H. Hamilton, 1951), p. 301.

14. Lincoln Steffens to Laura Steffens, November 11, 1912, *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, eds. Ella Winter and Granville Hicks (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 311-12; Raymond Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (London: Longmans, Green, 1951), pp. 118-33; Joseph Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Year Book*, p. 25; *Mobile Item*, December 30, 1912. Joseph Fels to Signe Bjørner, November 26, 1912, DBP. Mary Fels to George Lansbury, October 29, November

26 and 27, December 30, 1912, GLP. Annie Williams to Joseph Fels, October 18, 1913 [?], JFP.

15. Joseph Fels to J. N. Mackintosh, May 4, 1911, to A. G. Huie, February 9, to George Lansbury, February 10, to Samuel S. Fels, March 19 and drafts of three letters—the first written at the summer's end, the second October 17, the third afterward; to Adolph Damaschke, April 23, to Baron von Schwerin, May 10, and to Marshall E. Smith, July 17; John Gorman to Daniel Kiefer, March 6, and to Meyer Lissner, May 21; W. Schrameier to Joseph Fels, April 30, and Samuel S. Fels to Joseph Fels, October 4, 1913, JFP. George Lansbury, *Looking Backwards—and Forwards* (London: Blackie & Son, 1935), p. 113.

16. *Land Values*, vol. 15 (July 1913), pp. 70–74; *Melbourne Progress*, August 1, 1913. Alberto Albendin to Joseph Fels, September 14, 1911, August 27, September 1 and 18, 1912, and June 19, 1913; Nicola Fantini to Joseph Fels, September 24, 28, and 30 and November 5, 1912. Joseph Fels to Nicola Fantini, September 21, 24 and 27, and October 10, 1912; to Mauricio Jalvo, June 16, 1913. Mary Fels to “dears” [?], May 31, 1913, uncompleted letter, JFP. Mary Fels, May 26, and Joseph Fels to Signe Bjørner, June 13, 1913, DBP.

17. Joseph Fels to Sidney Webb, June 14 and 20, to Charles Smithson, June 23, to Patrick Geddes, July 7, to Fred Henderson, July 8, to Earl Barnes, July 14, to W. W. Bailey, July 15, and to Mrs. G. Rosenthal, August 5; Sidney Webb, June 21 and J. J. Pastoriza to Joseph Fels, July 17, 1913, JFP. *Land Values*, vol. 15 (August 1913), pp. 92, 116, (September 1913), pp. 131, 136–37; *Single Tax Review*, vol. 13 (January–February 1913), pp. 43–46. *Everyman*, vol. 9 (September–October 1913), pp. 5–16.

18. Joseph Fels to R. L. Outhwaite, August 15, to Felix Moscheles, September 4, to C. H. Stearns, October 30, to David Lloyd George, November 10, to Adolph Damaschke, November 15, to Samuel S. Fels, undated draft of a letter written after October 17; to Norman Angell, October 4, Alberto Albendin, October 7 and November 10, Adolph Damaschke, October 22, Annie Williams, October 18, undated memorandum to Marshall E. Smith, July 17, and John L. Spargo to Joseph Fels, November 11, 1913, JFP. Walter D'Arcy Cresswell, *Margaret McMillan: A Memoir* (London: Hutchinson, 1948),

p. 139; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels*, pp. 263-71; *Land Values*, vol. 15 (November 1913), pp. 229-38, (January 1914), p. 321. Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957), pp. 163-64. Interview with A. W. Madsen, August 11, 1953.

## 9 "A World to Live and Love In"

1. Joseph Fels to David Lloyd George, November 10, 1913, Samuel S. Fels to Joseph Fels, October 4, 1913; Joseph Fels to Samuel S. Fels, October 17 (on back of Sam's letter of October 4) and undated drafts, and to Earl Barnes, December 17, 1913; affidavit of Samuel S. Fels, December 20, 1922, copy; Walter Coates to Joseph and Mary Fels, January 7 and 30, 1914, JFP. Joseph Fels and Mary Fels to Signe Bjørner, January 13, 1914, DBP. Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1957), pp. 163-64; Mary Fels, *Joseph Fels* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1916), pp. 248-51; James Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Year Book* (New York: Single Tax Review, 1917), p. 25.

2. *Philadelphia North American and Philadelphia Record*, February 23, *Philadelphia Public Ledger and Philadelphia Record*, March 9, 1914, *The Public*, vol. 17 (February 27, March 6 and 27, 1914), pp. 199-200, 226-27, 298; *Single Tax Review*, vol. 14 (March-April 1914), pp. 6-22; *Land Values*, vol. 15 (April 1914), pp. 454-59, and (May 1914), pp. 503-9. Signe Bjørner and Mrs. Johan Hansson to Mary Fels, February 24; Joseph S. Kornfeld to Mary Fels, July 13, 1914, JFP. *Detroit News*, July 6, 1914; C. R. Ashbee, "Joseph Fels and the Guild of Handicraft at Chipping Campden," unpublished typescript (1914<sup>?</sup>), JFP.

3. Frank W. Garrison, "Joseph Fels, Single Taxer," *Single Tax Review*, vol. 14 (March-April 1914), pp. 1-6; Frederic C. Howe, "Personals," *Survey*, vol. 31 (March 28, 1914), pp. 812-13; Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931), vol. 2, p. 643; Charles Albro Barker, *Henry George* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 626-28; *Land Values*, vol. 15 (April 1914), p. 455, and (May 1914), pp. 504-5; Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles*, pp. 164-68.



4. *The Public*, vol. 17 (March 27, 1914), p. 298; Joseph Dana Miller, ed., *Single Tax Year Book*, p. 440; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, p. 273. "The Joseph Fels Fund Commission to the Friends of Joseph Fels," March 14, and Mary Fels to the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, April 15, 1914, JFP. Mary Fels to Signe Bjørner, December 20, 1916, DBP. Interview with A. W. Madsen, August 11, 1953. *Philadelphia North American*, April 26, *Colorado Springs Gazette*, May 17, *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, November 19, *Daily Oklahoman*, December 7, *Wichita Eagle*, December 10, 1914, *New York Tribune*, February 22, 1915, *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, July 8, 1916, *The Maccabean*, February 1917, *American Jewish News*, June 13, 1919, *New York Herald Tribune*, April 11, and *Jewish Tribune*, November 20, 1925. Angelica Balabanov, *My Life as a Rebel*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1938), pp. 74-75. Leon Trotsky, *My Life: an Attempt at Autobiography* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1930), p. 202. But see Marcus, who states that 1919 was the year of repayment, which is unlikely because British troops were still in Russia, "Lesson for Millionaire 'Angels,'" *American Mercury*, vol. 78 (April 1954), p. 69; Mary Fels, *Toward the Light* (New York: George Dobsevage, 1927).

5. George Bernard Shaw, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (London: Constable, 1928), p. 127; Joseph Fels to Anna Barnes, February 10, 1911, JFP.