

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: AN ENIGMA

1. Letter of Sept. 15, 1879; quoted, *George, Jr.*, 321; HGC.
2. Agnes de Mille's Introduction to Anna de Mille's *Henry George* (1950), p. VII.
3. For the approval of Sun Yat-sen, see p. 173, *infra*; that of Tolstoi, pp. 173–5ff; that of Shaw, p. 177; also Notes 6, 8 and 13 to Chap. 14.
4. Galbraith's *The Age of Uncertainty* (1977), 280.

CHAPTER 2: HENRY GEORGE'S YOUTH AND EARLY CAREER

1. Letter of June 5, 1862: *de Mille*, 38; long excerpt, *George Jr.*, 129–132.
2. Letter of Sept. 15, 1861: Geiger, 38–34; complete in *George Jr.*, 115–19; HGC.
3. HG's diaries: *George, Jr.*, 150–53; *de Mille*, 42; HGC.
4. *George Jr.* 149; *de Mille*, 42.
5. *de Mille*, 42.
6. Letter of May 12, 1881 to Dr. Edward Taylor: longer excerpts, *de Mille*, 91 and *George, Jr.*, 349; HGC.
7. Letter from London, undated, 1864: longer excerpt, *de Mille*, 123.
8. Eulogy of Lincoln: *Alta California*, Ap. 23, 1865; longer excerpts, *Barker*, 69 and *George, Jr.*, 164–65.
9. HG's *Protection or Free Trade*, 53.
10. HG for eight-hour day: *Barker*, 202; *de Mille*, 68.
11. HG for women's rights: *de Mille*, 69.
12. To his friend John Swinton of the *New York Sun* in a letter of Nov. 28, 1875; fuller excerpt, *Barker*, 229; HGC.

CHAPTER 3: PROGRESS AND POVERTY AND ITS INITIAL IMPACT

1. HG's thoughts on poverty in New York, 1869: *Barker*, 121.
2. "Once in daylight. . ." is from a letter to Rev. Thomas Dawson Feb. 1, 1883; fuller quotations: *de Mille*, 82 and *George, Jr.*, 311.

3. Land policy and speculation in the West: *Geiger*, 217–25.
4. HG's flash of vision in Oakland; *Barker*, 136; *George, Jr.*, 210.
5. Publication of *P&P* by D. Appleton; *George, Jr.*, 315–22.
6. The *N.Y. Herald* review of *P&P* is of Dec. 15, 1879; that of the *N.Y. Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1879. Both are in HG Scrapbook 24, HGC. The *N.Y. Sun* review is of Mar. 14, 1880. Comment on the review by the *Irish World*; *Barker*, 322.
7. "... my faith in it. ..." is from a letter to Charles Nordhoff, Jan. 31, 1880; fuller quotation: *de Mille*, 86–87.
8. HG in Ireland, 1881: *Geiger*, 57–62; *de Mille*, Chapters XV and XVI.
9. The London *Times* review of *P&P* is of Sept. 6, 1882; see *Barker*, 374–75.
10. HG's joy at proposed land reform even in the shape of nationalization: *de Mille*, 110; his acceptance of this proposal: *George Jr.*, 382, 383.
11. HG's uncompromising attitude against compensation: *P&P*, 360–67; summary: *George, Jr.*, 423–24; analysis: *Geiger*, 145–47.
12. The review by George Dixwell is in a pamphlet, *Progress and Poverty*, Cambridge, Mass: J. Wilson & Son, 1882.
13. HG's social success in Great Britain: *de Mille*, 102–5; his connection with Henry Hyndman and Mary Gladstone; *Barker* 355–57 and 404–5 respectively; endorsements of *P&P*, by Wallace and Ruskin: *Barker*, 339 and 397 respectively.
14. The Tory newspaper was *The Standard* of London, Jan. 10, 1884. The G.B. Shaw quotation is in a letter to Hamlin Garland, Jan. 24, 1905, quoted, *Barker* 376.
15. HG's confidence in the growing success of the movement is reflected in his letters to Francis Shaw, April 28 and May 26, 1882, and Dr. Edward Taylor, June 29, 1882 (all quoted, *de Mille*, 111), also to Father Thomas Dawson, Oct. 23, 1882; all HGC.
16. The letter from J. Charles Durant is of Feb. 24, 1886; HGC.
17. HG's influence on G.B. Shaw: *Geiger*, 232–34; *Barker* 376.
18. The J.A. Hobson quotation is from *Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1, 1897; lengthy excerpt: *Barker*, 415–16.
19. "There is in true Christianity ..." is from HG's *The Land Question*, Works, Vol. III, 96; quoted, *Geiger*, 339.
20. "Is the want and suffering ..." is from the *Standard*, Jan. 1, 1890; quoted, *Geiger*, 342.

CHAPTER 4: THE SUBSTANCE OF PROGRESS AND POVERTY

1. 8–9
2. 337–38

3. "Tale of the Savannah": 235-42
4. Wages determined by rent: 223-224
5. 339
6. 328
7. Land nationalization just and feasible, but not the best plan:
403-4.
8. 405
9. Proposal "to appropriate rent by taxation": 405-06
10. Proposal "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values":
406
11. Advantage of tax abolition: 434
12. 409
13. 410
14. 418
15. Book II (pp. 90-150) is wholly on the Malthusian Theory.
16. 343
17. 366
18. 447-48
19. 315-16
20. 320
21. Natural monopolies to be publicly controlled: 412
22. 320-21
23. 333
24. 508
25. 514
26. 526
27. 559

CHAPTER 5: GEORGE AS POLITICAL LIBERAL

1. *Social Problems*, 180-81, 188
2. *Ibid.*, injustice of patents, 55; of business monopolies 56-57; of private banking 178-79.
3. *Ibid.*, 202
4. *P&P*: patents, 411 note; natural monopolies, 412; stock dealing, 194.
5. *Social Problems*, 191.
6. *Ibid.*, 241, 177, 189
7. *Ibid.*, 175, 174
8. *Ibid.*, 193
9. *Ibid.*, 241
10. *Ibid.*, 184
11. *Protection or Free Trade*, 53

12. Ibid, 116
13. Ibid., 307
14. Ibid., 286-87
15. Ibid., 303 note
16. Ibid., 308
17. Accounts of the 1886 mayoralty campaign: *The George-Hewitt Campaign* compiled by Louis F. Post and Frederick Leubuscher (N.Y.: John W. Lovell Co., 1886); *de Mille*, Chap. XXI; *George Jr.*, Third Period, Chap. VIII; *Young* 95-107.
18. The Garland quotation is from his article "Memories of Henry George" in *The Libertarian*, Vol. V, 1925, 279-83.
19. Gomper's support of HG: *Barker*, 462, 477.
20. *The N.Y. Times* comment is of Nov. 4, 1886.
21. HG's break with the Socialists in 1887: *Barker*, 497-98; *George, Jr.*, 497; *Young*, 120-21.
22. HG's campaign for Sec'y of N.Y. State: *George, Jr.*, 498-504; *Young* 121-26.
23. From *The Standard*; cited, *George, Jr.*, 504
24. Speculation about HG for president: *Barker*, 483; HG's consideration of this; 502.

CHAPTER 6: THE LAST DECADE

1. Founding of *The Standard*: *Barker*, 485-86; *de Mille*, 155-56. All its weekly issues (Jan. 8, 1887 to Aug. 31, 1892) are in HGC.
2. *The Condition of Labor*, 68
3. *A Perplexed Philosopher*, 24-7
4. Shearman's initial letter to HG was written on the stationery of the Tax Reform League of New York, March 1881; HGC. Accounts of first contact with HG: *Barker*, 331; *George, Jr.*, 350.
5. Article on Shearman in *Dictionary of American Biography*.
6. Shearman's address was to the Constitution Club of New York, Jan. 1887; reprinted in *The Standard*, May 28, 1887.
7. Editorial in *The Standard*, March 2, 1889; cited, *Barker*, 519.
8. *Barker*, 510
9. The McGlynn Case: *de Mille*, 155-59; *Geiger*, 343-59. HG's chief editorials on it in *The Standard* are of Jan. 8 and Jan. 15, 1887.
10. Descriptions of Anti-Poverty Society: *Barker*, 492-93; *de Mille*, 158-59, *George, Jr.*, 491-93.
11. HG's concept of free trade as interwoven with land reform: his *Protection or Free Trade*, Chap. 25, "The Robber That Takes All That Is Left"; *The Standard*, May 12 and July 7, 1858; *Geiger*, 125.
12. Accounts of the Saratoga meeting: *Journal of Social Science* (Boston and New York) 27 (1890): pp. 8, 29-30, 34-44, 85, 89, 98; American Social Science Assoc., *Single Tax Discussion*, Sept. 5, 1890,

Concord, Mass.; 127 ff; *Henry George, Dreamer or Realist*: by Steven B. Cord (Phila: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1965) 29-33; *Barker*: 565-66. Prof. Seligman was the writer's granduncle.

13. Tom Johnson's life: *Dictionary of American Biography*; his autobiography, *My Story* (New York: Huebsch, 1911).

14. Johnson's first contact with HG: *de Mille*, 139-40.

15. *Protection or Free Trade* in the *Congressional Record*: *George, Jr.*, 571-74.

16. Johnson as mayor of Cleveland: *Barker*, 624-25.

17. Johnson's influence on Post, Baker and Progressives: *Barker*, 623, 626-27; *de Mille* (on Post), 95-96.

18. *George Jr.*, 546.

19. 1893 Conference: *Barker*, 588-89.

20. HG's reasons for opposing McKinley: *George, Jr.*, 582-83.

21. HG's willingness to die in the campaign: *George, Jr.*, 594-607.

22. 1897 mayoralty campaign: *de Mille*, 224-34; *George, Jr.*, 593-607.

23. Death and funeral: *de Mille*, 235-41; *George, Jr.*, 607-11.

24. *Barker*, 618.

CHAPTER 7: ASPECTS OF GEORGE'S PERSONAL INFLUENCE

1. *N.Y. Journal*, Oct. 30, 1897. Fuller quotation, and excerpt from the *N.Y. Times* obituary editorial: *de Mille*, 236-37.

2. HG on unproductivity of lawyers, etc: *Social Problems* 79; on wrong counsels of clergymen, 38; Shearman defends professionals: *Barker*, 331.

3. Letter to son Richard, Dec. 17, 1880; HGC. Excerpt: *Geiger*, 23.

4. Agnes de Mille's Introduction to *de Mille*, p. VII.

5. A friend's opinion of HG's lack of artistic sense: *George, Jr.*, 599.

6. HG's Scrapbooks, HGC.

7. HG's appreciation of George Eliot: *George, Jr.*, 289.

8. HG's acquaintance with Henry Adams, Robertson James: *Barker*, 590; with W. D. Howells, 591.

9. Markham and Carman among HG's followers: *Geiger*, 465; Garland's discipleship: *Barker*, 591-92.

10. Nock's *Henry George*, 119, 192, 215.

11. See pp. 138-39 *infra*.

12. To Father Thomas Dawson, Feb. 1, 1883; HGC. Fuller quotation: *George, Jr.*, 311-12.

13. T. Roosevelt's remark in letter to Brander Matthews, Nov. 2, 1892; quoted in *Theodore Roosevelt—A Biography* by Henry Pringle, 113.

14. *P&P*, 549.

15. *The Condition of Labor*, 9.

16. Confusion of religion with economics detrimental to each: *Young* 15.
17. The poetess was Frances Milne to whom HG wrote March, 7, 1888; HGC. This letter quoted, *de Mille* 196; *George, Jr.*, 507.
18. To HG's friend, Dr. Edward Taylor, March 1, 1898; HGC.

CHAPTER 8: GEORGE'S RESPONSE TO MARXIST SOCIALISM

1. Political support of HG by Edward and Eleanor Marx Aveling: Barker, 471. Eleanor was Aveling's mistress, not wife: Robert Payne, *Marx* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968) 499
2. To Thomas Walker, 25 Sept. 1890; HGC.
3. To Henry Hyndman, 22 June 1884; quoted, Geiger, 239. n.
4. Letter #175 in *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Correspondence* translated and edited by Dora Torr (New York: 1934?) 394-96: to Friederich Sorge, 30 June 1881; For fuller excerpt, Barker, 356.
5. *The Science of Political Economy*, 198.
6. *Ibid.*, 197
7. Same letter as in Note 4.
8. *P&P*, 321.
9. Communism's appeal to sufferers from economic depression and social crisis: *The Appeals of Communism* by Gabriel Almond (Princeton U. Press, 1954), 233; *The God That Failed* edited by Richard Crossman (New York: Harper & Bros. 1949), 4-6. The appeal of collectivism to the psychologically frustrated: *The True Believer* by Eric Hoffer (New York: Harper & Bros. 1951), 58-59; its appeal to the resentful, Almond, *op. cit.* 260-61. How people frustrated by desperate economic conditions fell to Nazism: 176 *infra* (quotation from Bruno Heilig); Hoffer, *op. cit.*, 43.
10. Crossman, *op. cit.*, especially essay by Stephen Spender.
11. In "The Present Time", one of his *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (No. 1 - 1850), Carlyle presents a supposed speech of a Prime Minister which urges "access to land" for the poor, as being disapproved by the economists, the "professors of the dismal science". He himself recommends free land for workers. (pp. 43-45).

CHAPTER 9: HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT 1887-1932

1. Early organization of the movement: Barker, 520-21, *Young*, 125-26, 136-37.
2. Single taxers workers for free trade: *Young*, 129, 131.
3. Barker, 520; *George, Jr.*, 496 n.
4. The "single tax limited": Barker, 539-40; Louis F. Post, *The Prophet of San Francisco* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1930) 143; Thomas G. Shearman, *Natural Taxation* (New York, 1895) 133-34, 157; *Young*, 262-65.

5. HG's tolerance of the single tax limited: *Barker*, 540; *Post*, op. cit., 143.
6. First National Conference, Sept. 1, 1890 in Cooper Union: *Barker*, 550-51; *Miller*, 21-22; *Young*, 139. HG's address on free trade, not the single tax: *Barker*, 551.
7. Final clause of conference platform inserted by HG: *Miller*, 426-27; *Post*, op. cit., 146.
8. The petition to Congress: *Post*, op. cit., 143-45; *Young*, 133-36.
9. The 1893 Single Tax Conference: *Barker*, 588-89. The last clause of the platform which was altered against HG's wishes: *Miller* 423. The significance of this as a mark of cleavage between two sides of the movement: *Barker*, 589; *Post*, op. cit., 148-50.
10. HG's benefactors were Tom Johnson and August Lewis.
11. *Barker*, 510-11.
12. The Delaware campaign: *Miller*, 35-37; *Young*, 147-52.
13. The enclaves: *Geiger*, 441-45; *Miller*, 66-80. HG's view that the enclaves were not meaningful: *The Standard*, Nov. 2, 1889, 2-3.
14. The Colorado campaign: *Miller*, 26-34; *Young*, 156-89.
15. Newspaper reports of Fillebrown's banquets: *The Single Tax Movement* by Charles B. Fillebrown (Boston: published by author, 1910), 12-26; report on the Dec. 8, 1902 banquet for the American Economic Association: 21-24.
16. F.H. Monroe's Henry George Lecture Association: *Young*, 247.
17. John Z. White a single tax protagonist: *Post*, op. cit., 251.
18. Manhattan Single Tax Club: *Barker*, 521; *Young*, 215-16. Its growth into an agent of business propaganda: *Post*, op. cit., 52. Purdy's achievement in having land assessed separately: *Barker*, 622-23; *Geiger*, 436.
19. *The Single Tax Review*: *Miller*, 466; *Young*, 249. *The Public*: *Barker*, 623-24; *Miller*, 463; *Young*, 249.
20. Fels' support of the single tax: *The Life of Joseph Fels* by Mary Fels (New York: Doubleday Doran & Co., 1940) Chap. XI. *Young*, 163-68.
21. Dubious effectiveness of Fels Fund work: *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1931) 641-43.
22. Single tax campaigns in Oregon: *Young*, 169-83.
23. Missouri farmers against the single tax: *Young*, 195.
24. Fels' apparition to his wife: *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. XLVI, No. 4, June, 1957, p. 487, in an article, "The Single-Tax Zionism of Joseph Fels" by Arthur Dudden.
25. Land-tax legislation enacted in Pittsburgh: The Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan by Percy R. Williams (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation; Reprinted from *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 1962-3); *Geiger*, 435-36; *Miller*, 62-65; *Young*, 209-15.
26. Attempted legislation in New York City: *Geiger*, 436-39; *Young*, 215-29.

27. The irrigation districts of California: *Geiger*, 439.
28. Fiscal orientation of Shearman's *Natural Taxation*: *Barker*, 589.

CHAPTER 10: ORIGIN AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE NAME SINGLE TAX

1. "Single tax" as name for the movement first used by Shearman: *Barker*, 518; *de Mille*, 160; *Young*, 110. The two *P&P* passages where the term occurs are on pp. 427 and 450.
2. *P&P*, 404-5.
3. *Barker*, 518.
4. *P&P*, 434.
5. *P&P*, 410, 320.
6. *Protection or Free Trade*, 323.
7. *Condition of Labor*,
8. *A Perplexed Philosopher*, 210.
9. Book VIII, Chap. 3, pp. 408-21 deals with taxation.
10. HG's belief that the land tax would suffice: *P&P*, 406; *Barker*, 292-93.
11. *P&P*, 406.
12. *Protection or Free Trade*, 282-83.
13. Shearman's opposition to taxes: his *Natural Taxation*, Chapters, II, III and IV.
14. The "single tax limited": *supra*, 107; *Barker*, 539-41; *Young*, 262-65.
15. Shearman's dislike of surplus public funds: *Natural Taxation*, 133. His view of the single tax as a hedge against socialism: *Barker*, 539.
16. HG's favoring of government spending: *P&P*, 456.
17. Shearman's financing of *Protection or Free Trade*, *Barker* 540; of *The Standard*, *Barker* 535. He and HG opposed in the Bryan campaign: *George, Jr.*, 581-82.
18. HG's first canon of a good tax that it should not hamper production: *P&P*, 406, 410-12; *Geiger*, 153.
19. HG's coolness towards the name "single tax": *Barker*, 520; *George, Jr.*, 496.
20. The single tax not George's chief aim: *supra*, 110; *Barker*, 508, 511, 611.

CHAPTER 11: THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL: ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE

1. *Social Problems*, 243.
2. A detailed account of the origin of the School is to be found in *A Seed Was Sown* by Robert Clancy, former Director of School head-

quarters in New York (New York: Henry George School, 1952). This is the story of the life, work and philosophy of Oscar Geiger; Part III recounts the founding of the School. See also Cord, op. cit., 146-47.

3. This episode was told to the writer by a faculty member teaching at the School at that time; Chodorov's dismissal was in 1941, after a directorship of over four years.

4. Chodorov's 1959 essay is *The Rise and Fall of Society* (New York: The Devin-Adair Co.); the acknowledgment to Nock is on p. xi.

5. *Letters from Albert Jay Nock, 1924-45* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1949), 111-12.

6. Chodorov's opinion that HG was unaware of "the power problem": in his autobiography *Out of Step* (New York: The Devin-Adair Co. 1962), 59-60.

7. An obituary article on Chodorov is in *The Henry George News* of Feb. 1967. (Many back issues of this monthly, which is a national Georgist house-organ as well as the magazine of the School in New York, are available at 5 East 44th St., New York).

8. The *H.G. News* of March 1974 contains a "Portrait of Lancaster Greene"—a longtime vice-president and current president of the School which gives considerable information on the past history of the School. Other good sources on it are its Annual Reports, especially the anniversary issues of 1957 (25th), 1962 and 1967.

CHAPTER 12: IN THE P&P CLASSROOMS, 1950-70

Only the classrooms at School headquarters in New York and a few in Chicago (see *infra*, pp 204-5) were visited, and so the ambiance in other cities and certainly the personalities of the teachers may have been rather different from what is depicted here. However, judging from the reports at the annual conferences, the discussion-method of teaching and the assumption that *P&P* embodied the basic tenets of "fundamental economics" were the same all over the United States.

1. The law of rent: *P&P* 168-69.

2. The law of wages: 213.

3. Difference in wages on land that is free from that on land subject to tenancy: 213.

4. All wages dependent on those in the primary occupations: 212.

5. Land speculation the main cause of depressions: 263-64.

6. Speculation lowers the margin of cultivation and reduces wages: 256, 259.

7. Inability of economy in government to cure poverty: Book VI, Chap. I, Section I.

8. Limited efficacy and disadvantages of union power in raising wages: Book VI, Chap. 1, Section III.

9. The remedy to poverty: 328.

CHAPTER 13: METHODS OF APPLYING THE LAND TAX

1. Features classed as "improvements": *Land-Value Rating* by Lord Douglas of Barlock (London: Christopher Johnson, 1967) 15, 45, 48; *Land Value Taxation Around the World*, ed. by Harry Gunnison Brown, Harold S. Bottenheim, Philip H. Cornick, Glenn E. Hoover (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1955) 9-10; *Economics of the Property Tax* by Dick Netzer (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1966) 204.

2. Separate assessment of land and buildings easy: *Henry George, Dreamer or Realist?* by Steven B. Cord (Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1963), 52.

3. Tax theoretically best laid on annual rental value: Barloch, op. cit., 46-47.

4. The unearned-increment method: *Young*, 276-80; Netzer, op. cit., 212-13; as applied in Denmark: *Land Value Taxation Around the World*, 53-54.

5. The inheritance-tax method: *Applied Economics* by Raymond T. Bye and William W. Hewett (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1928 and 1960) 212.

6. The limited-duration monopoly was proposed by Harry G. Brown in "The Effective Answer to Communism" (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, pamphlet, 1958) 34-36.

7. Table of oil and gas revenues in Alberta, Canada, showing 22 times as much as in 1930 was government-collected in 1954: *Land Value Taxation Around the World*, 65.

8. *The Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan* by Percy R. Williams (New York, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation: reprinted from *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 1962-63).

CHAPTER 14: UNRECOGNIZED ENDORSEMENTS

1. Thomas Paine as forerunner of HG: *Geiger*, 188-90.

2. Jefferson's letter to Madison: Sept. 6, 1879; quotation from this and another letter of his on land: *Geiger*, 191.

3 T. Roosevelt quoted: *Geiger*, 466 n. (from "The Progressive Party," *Century*, Oct. 1913 Vol. 86, 834-35).

4. Quotation from F.D. Roosevelt: in a 1929 letter to the Schalkenbach Foundation, which had sent him a copy of *P&P*.

5. Churchill's support of, and later loss of interest in, land taxation: *Geiger*, 415 n; his House of Commons speech: May 4, 1909; the Edinburgh speech, May 17, 1909.

6. Sun Yat-sen influenced by HG: *Geiger*, 461-62; equalization of

land ownership as the most significant aspect of Sun's *Third Principle: The Political Doctrine of Sun Yat-sen* by Paul M. Linebarger (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937), 256.

7. The Wang Ching-wei quotation is from *N.Y. Times*, Sun. Sept. 11, 1927, p. 5 of feature section.

8. Tolstoi converted by HG: *Barker*, 311, 597-99; *Geiger*, 459-61. Letter from him to HG: *Barker*, 598; de Mille, 219-20.

9. Georgism in Russia: *Barker*, 599.

10. Influence of George on Tolstoi: *Geiger*, 461n.

11. Bruno Heilig's "Why the German Republic Fell" (London: Hogarth Press, 1940).

12. "From the point of view of . . .": *Capital* III, 901-902; fuller quotation, *Geiger*, 252. "The capitalist performs . . .": *Capital*, III, 748.

13. From "Transition to Social Democracy" in *Fabian Essays in Socialism* (1889 London Fabian Society edition), 177-80.

14. From *Why Men Fight* (New York: Century Co., 1917) 133-35.

15. Norman Thomas' approval of HG: *Geiger*, 267 n; his quotation "I think socialists . . ." from his pamphlet *Democratic Socialism—A New Appraisal*, (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1953) p. 29.

16. Dewey's radio address: WEVD, April 28, 1933.

17. Introduction to *Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty*, compiled by Harry Gunnison Brown (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1929).

18. Hutchins said that the H.G. School, which was giving free courses, could charge \$100 just for reading *P&P*.

19. In the foreword to Huxley's *Brave New World*.

20. HG's influence on Seabury's life: *The Man Who Rode the Tiger* by Herbert Mitgang (Phila. & N.Y.: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1963) 28-35, 43, 359.

CHAPTER 15: ATTITUDE OF THE COLLEGES

In the notes for this chapter many textbooks and a few other books will be cited without giving page numbers, since the passages referred to may easily be found by consulting the respective indexes under "George, Henry" and/or "Single tax".

1. Detailed account of HG's lecture at the U. of Calif: *George, Jr.*, the whole Chap. VII of the Second Period.

2. From Walker's *Political Economy* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1883)

3. From Walker's "The Tide of American Thought", *Reports of the Proceedings of the American Economic Association*, 4th Annual Meeting, 1890, p. 24.

4. HG's controversy with Walker: *Barker*, 427-30. Also Cord, op. cit., 39-47.
5. For H. G. Brown's refutations of Ely's position on HG, see indexed references to Ely in Chapter IV of *The Economic Basis of Tax Reform* by Harry Gunnison Brown (Columbia, Mo., Lucas Bros., 1942); for specific reference to Ely's change of attitude: 356-57. For flaws in Ely's estimate of HG's theory: Cord, op. cit., 68-69.
6. "Property Taxation and Urban Development" by Mary Rawson (Washington, Urban Land Institute, 1961) Research Monograph #4, p. 7.
7. For the Saratoga debate see pp. 70-73 *supra* and note 12 of Chap. 6.
8. Seligman's views on HG: Cord, op. cit., 82-92; *Critics of Henry George* (ed. by Robert Andelson, Fairleigh Dickenson U. Press 1979) Chap. 19.
9. Personal rather than intellectual support of HG by college presidents Arthur Hadley, Seth Low, E. Benjamin Andrews and Edward James: Cord, op. cit., 51. Columbia University's President Nicholas Murray Butler's appreciation of HG's theory: *Geiger*, 470-71.
10. *The Science of Political Economy*, 203-05.
11. *Ibid.*, 208
12. *Ibid.*, 98.
13. *The Prophet of San Francisco*, 127. For HG's views on currency, see also *Barker*, 100-01, 204-05.
14. *The Science of Political Economy*, 465.
15. On the superciliousness of single taxers: *Henry George and the Economists* by Charles B. Fillebrown (Boston, 1914), 6-7; *Young*, 296 n.
16. For taxation of future increments, especially in cities: *Elementary Economics* by Fairchild, Furniss and Buck (New York: Macmillan, 1930; 2nd edition) 154-55; *Principles of Economics* by Frank W. Taussig (New York: Macmillan, 1911; 3rd edition) Vol. II, 108. For semi-approval of this: *Economics* by Arthur Hadley (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1896), 273.
17. Support of the land tax by Prof. Commons: *Geiger*, 439-41; 469. By Prof. Davenport: Cord, op. cit., 100-03; *Geiger*, 105 n., 107 n., 144-47, 469-70. Qualified support by Prof. Carver: Cord, op. cit., 130-31; *Geiger*, 468.
18. Remark by Prof. Fisher: *Geiger*, 468 n.
19. H.G. Brown's enthusiastic endorsement: Cord, 131-32; *Geiger*, 467. His comments on disdain of HG's theory among academicians: "The Challenge of Australian Tax Policy", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, July, 1949, 96-97; (reprinted as a pamphlet, New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1949); see also Cord, op. cit., 164-65.

The book in which Prof. Brown gives most attention to the land tax is his *Economic Basis of Tax Reform*; Chapter III analyzes the tax, and Chapter IV refutes the objections to it.

20. *Getting and Earning* by Raymond T. Bye and Ralph H. Blodgett (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1937). *The Economic Process* by Bye and William W. Hewett (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1952). *Applied Economics* by Bye and Hewett (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts 1947 and 1960) 536.

CHAPTER 16: THE NATIONAL CONFERENCES—1950–70

1. This chapter is based largely on personal attendance at about twelve of the Henry George School conferences between 1952 and 1970. Accounts of these occur in the August, September and occasionally later issues of the *Henry George News*; principal addresses are reprinted in full, or in digest form.

2. "The Southfield Story" is available as a pamphlet at the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation in New York.

3. The annual bulletins of these organizations describe their current work, while occasional anniversary reports, either published separately or written up in the *H.G. News*, also sum up their history. Among these are a booklet "25 Years of Progress" published by the Schalkenbach Foundation in 1950; a 40th anniversary report of its work in the July 1965 *H.G. News*, and a booklet of the Lincoln Foundation put out on its 20th anniversary in 1967.

4. For Senator Douglas' admiration of HG see his autobiography, *In The Fullness of Time* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1971), 445–46; comment on the work of the Commission and his own recommendation, 604. Details of this report: pp. 163–4 *supra*.

5. "The Forgotten Man: Henry George" by George R. Geiger, in *The Antioch Review*, Fall 1941, 305.

CHAPTER 17: IN THE 1970's

Material for this chapter was derived from attendance at two complete *P&P* courses, from listening in on a few other classes, and from attendance at four of the annual conferences. Descriptions of these summer meetings are published in the autumn issues of the *HG News* and the *HG Journal* (many numbers available at the HG School in New York). These magazines, as well as *Equal Rights*, bulletin of the HG Foundation, also carry news of Georgist legislative and other activities.

1. In the Jan. '74 issue of *Equal Rights*, Perry Prentice pointed to reports favorable to LVT issued during 1973 in six states. But by 1980 it had not been adopted in any part of any of them.

2. By Sydney Mayer, in an article in the Dec. '79 issue of *Fragments*, a Georgist magazine.

CHAPTER 18: THE MAIN COUNTERARGUMENT

1. Most economists and economic historians assume that land is not the only great source of unearned increments, and that private profit from land is not a major source of poverty. But in refuting George they often don't state these assumptions explicitly. The few references to follow have been chosen not because the opinions given are in any sense peculiar to the writers, but because the latter have expressed with clarity what many others have taken for granted.

George Soule in his *Ideas of the Great Economists* (New York, Viking Press, 1953) 116, says that statistics show that the income of labor has kept pace with increased productivity, contradicting George's statement that the share of property income has increased at the expense of wages increased. The same point is made by Raymond T. Bye in his *Applied Economics*. (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 4th ed. 1947), 530, when he says George's theory "greatly exaggerates the importance of land rents in the distribution of wealth."

That most unearned profits, contrary to George's belief, are due to causes other than land ownership is asserted by Edwin R.A. Seligman in *Essays in Taxation* (New York: The Macmillan Co. 8th ed. 1915) 79-82. Jacob Oser in his *Henry George* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974) 67, writes: "Ownership of capital gives far more wealth and power to a small group of people than ownership of land."

Robert Heilbroner in *The Worldly Philosophers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 3rd ed. 1968) 171, refutes George's thesis thus: "For landlords are not the only passive beneficiaries of the growth of society. The stockholder in an expanding economy, the workman whose productivity is enhanced by technical progress, the consumer whose real income rises as the nation prospers, all these are also beneficiaries of communal advancement."

2. *P&P*, 283.

3. From "The Influence of Henry George in England" in *The Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1897, 840-41. Hobson's belief of the falsity of the claim that landowners take all residual profit is also expressed in his *Work and Wealth* (London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1914, revised ed. 1933) 181.

CHAPTER 19: THE MISSING PROVISIO IN GEORGE'S THEORY

1. See Note 10 of Chap. 3

2. *P&P*, 408-14, 416-18

3. *P&P*, 446

4. *P&P*, 320
5. *Social Problems*, Chap. 6: "The Wrong in Existing Social Conditions."
6. On utilities and transportation: *P&P*, 412; *Social Problems*, 188. On patents: *P&P*, 411; *Social Problems*, 55.
7. *P&P*, 453; *Social Problems*, 40, 42, 47.
8. *Social Problems*, 53, 57.
9. This writer was in contact with the School and related organizations for over twenty-five years, but declined all offers to become a teacher or director, since she was in sympathy only with general Georgist aims, not with their specific outlook. Such a position can result in more informed opinions than if one were unconnected with the movement, yet more objective insights than if one were committed to it.
10. *P&P*, 412; *Social Problems*, 201
11. This point too has never been made by George's appraisers.
12. *Protection or Free Trade*, 308
13. *George, Jr.*, 582-83

CHAPTER 20: WHAT GEORGISTS COULD DO

1. *P&P*, 411-12.
2. *Social Problems*, 55, 57.
3. Many other political leaders, including Senators Kennedy, McGovern, Harris and Hart, Rep. Udall and Barry Commoner, have deplored the unearned profits of natural-resource corporations.
4. Examples of proposed curbs to utilities: 1) studies aimed at the possible public takeover of Consolidated Edison were proposed by County Executive Alfred DelBello and Borough President of Manhattan Andrew Stein, of Westchester County, N.Y. and New York City respectively; 2) in 1976 Senator Jackson suggested the Federal government take over the railroad beds and lease them back; 3) the National Citizens' Committee for Public Television proposed that commercial sponsors give part of their profits to support public TV.

CHAPTER 21: CONCLUSION

1. The phrase "the all-devouring rent thesis" was coined by history professor Steven Cord, president of the Henry George Foundation: *Critics of Henry George* (op. cit.) 381. That Prof. Cord denied the validity of this concept is shown in his *Henry George, Dreamer or Realist*, 224-28.
2. *P&P*, 405. Prof. Barker's opinion that it is not necessarily true that "great changes can best be brought about under old forms": *Barker*, 297.