

# The Influence of Henry George's Philosophy on Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy: The Period of Developing Economic Thought (1881-1897)

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At least from the time of Plato's *Republic*, people have longed for a simpler and more harmonious world, free of constraints and iniquities. The pursuit of social perfection has taken disparate and apparently incompatible forms, religious and secular, radical and reactionary. Often such thinking imagines the earth as a gift from a God or the gods. Utopians and dreamers believe in an interplay of air, water, and land within a transcendent or immanent system giving birth, providing sustenance, and embracing death. A humanity attuned to these forces will find peace and happiness. The harmony of nature, so utopians insist, can be discovered by observation; but it can also be discerned through introspection, for nature has implanted herself in the psyche. Those who search for utopia have recoiled from the iniquities of land monopolization, the squalor of cities, the cruelties of factories, and the quickened pace which has atomized society and alienated the individual.

Henry George and Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy committed themselves to that quest for individual and social perfectibility for a more economically and

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*Henry George*

socially just society. Both looked to a return to the land and a fervent belief in a beneficent God to strengthen this social improvement. In this instance, the New World thinker took on the role of teacher, and the Old World sage became his student, for Tolstoy regarded himself as a disciple of George. At first, Tolstoy was sceptical of George's political economy as a practical solution to the Russian peasants' suffering and land maldistribution. He then began to perceive it as a means to create a pure morality, and hence a transitional stage towards an anarchist utopia. During the 1880's and 1890's this reknowned novelist, often viewed as an impractical theorist, began to move closer to George in his effort, not only to construct a reasoned economic basis of his spiritual philosophy, but to implement it. Later he would accept George in full, or nearly so.

Henry George, who had faced hardship himself since his birth in Philadelphia in 1839, turned his attention to the causes of economic need early in life.<sup>1</sup> "Once in daylight, . . . there came to me, a thought, a vision, a call. . . every nerve quivered. And there and then I made a vow. . . It was that impelled me to write"<sup>2</sup> a work that will answer the question: why does industrial progress result not in the abolition of poverty, but in its increase? George's first and best known major effort culminated in 1879: *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want and Increase of Wealth . . . the Remedy*. A letter in 1883 reflects his piety: "when I had finished the last page, . . . I flung myself on my knees and wept like a child. The rest, was in the Master's hands. That is a feeling that has never left: that is constantly with me."<sup>3</sup>

In this tome and others George places in land the origin of wealth, concluding that the "vast majority of mankind, even in [the] richest civilized countries, leave the world as destitute of wealth as they entered it" because injustice and poverty come not of nature, but of heartless forces of production and distribution.<sup>4</sup> George concludes that, despite material progress, even in a free America, "only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of Liberty yet beamed among men."<sup>5</sup> The culprit is private property in land, especially its monopolization and speculation. "The idea that land . . . can become subject to such individual ownership as attaches to things that man produces by labor, is as repugnant . . . as the idea that air or sunlight may be so owned."<sup>6</sup> The ownership of land ultimately determines the totality of all relations in society: it is the source of food for the body and fuel for the hearth.<sup>7</sup> To produce their own sustenance, workers apply themselves to others' land in some form, and so turn themselves into slaves lower than any beast of burden.<sup>8</sup> "Our boasted freedom," George says,

Necessarily involves slavery, so long as we recognize private property in land. Until that is abolished, Declarations of Independence and Acts of Emancipation are in vain. So long as one man can claim the exclusive

ownership of the land from which others must live, slavery will exist, and as material progress goes on, must grow and deepen!<sup>9</sup>

Since land, as a fixed quantity and the primary source of all wealth, is the basis of the "industrial pyramid,"<sup>10</sup> its monopolization creates a concentration of wealth that can be maintained only by force.<sup>11</sup> This artificial scarcity brings in its wake parasitism, speculation, burdensome rents, business depressions, and war.<sup>12</sup> "The Creator showers upon us his gifts—more than enough for all. But like swine scrambling for food, we tread them in the mire . . . while we tear and rend each other!"<sup>13</sup>

George makes a radical distinction between land and possessions humans really need or enjoy. Property titles acquired by forced appropriation are a criminal fraud since they have no basis in labor. History has been a sad witness to the subversion of man's equal and natural rights to God's land. Only the individual's labor gives true title to wealth.<sup>14</sup> To "deprive a man of land is as certainly to kill him as to deprive him of blood by opening his veins."<sup>15</sup> George's political economy promoted social equality in land, production, and distribution as a prelude to a perfect cooperative world conformable to the teachings of God.<sup>16</sup> Political economy in George's rendering fought Social Darwinism and laissez-faire liberalism, which claimed that capital and not labor was the creator of wealth.

The remedy for prevailing economic and social evils and the spur to human creativity was to tax land rents based on assessed value, rather than the selling price. Any improvements on the land or on the wealth and personal possessions earned by labor would also be exempt from taxation. "We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. *It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent.*"<sup>17</sup> Those who inefficiently use large holdings will thus be forced to relinquish their excess land and captured rent. Others who can prudently use the ground, agriculturally, industrially, or otherwise will be rewarded. Freed land will be assurance that those who make improvements by the exertion of their labor will keep its whole value. Income and capital will accrue for greater production and exchange of wealth will be fostered.

George's ideas have been simplified as the "single tax."<sup>18</sup> The "land belongs equally to all, . . . [and since] land values arise from the presence of all, . . . [it] should be shared among all."<sup>19</sup> An equal distribution of the land is impossible and unnecessary. A tax based on the value of the land would be enough to make it the common property of the people.<sup>20</sup> This money would go to society, the rightful common owner since the community as a whole creates value.<sup>21</sup> Through public control, the tax collected could respond to individual and societal needs and would be more wisely disbursed by a benign government, or "cooperative association—society,"<sup>22</sup> for "the best government is that which

governs least."<sup>23</sup> The single tax would act as a balancing and stabilizing mechanism between the city and the countryside, in part by developing a love of a simpler life for people beset by great changes.<sup>24</sup> This use of ground rent tax, along with unrestricted free trade,<sup>25</sup> would distribute wealth and exchange more equitably: the farmlands would be covered with crops, the cities would prosper, and a new era, not of political and economic corruption but of true freedom and morality conformable to the laws of God, would dawn.<sup>26</sup>

All George's inquiries into the lives of people and search for an all-encompassing philosophy were essentially ethical and religious. His prophetic, but progressive vision of God, man and the land was to be realized on a regenerated earth. Through a fiery evangelical fervor and steadfast belief in the perfectability of man, George believed that his work continued Jesus's revolutionary teachings.<sup>27</sup> The earth is our mother and God is our father and we "are as much children of the soil as are the flowers and the trees."<sup>28</sup> Since harmony reigns in the heavens, we must labor for a perfect concord on earth: our life in the here and now should be emblematic of this spirit. George longs "for the promised Millennium, when each one will be free to follow . . . [his] noblest impulses, unfettered by [present] restrictions and necessities . . . when the poorest and the meanest will have a chance to use all his God-given faculties."<sup>29</sup> In *Progress and Poverty*, George intones,

Into higher, grander spheres desire mounts and beckons, and a star that rises in the east leads . . . [man] on. Lo! the pulses of . . . man [would] throb with the yearnings of the god—he would aid in the process of the suns! . . . [Man] is the mythic earth tree, whose roots are in the ground, but whose topmost branches may blossom in the heavens!<sup>30</sup>

Such eloquent sincerity was potent material. George's influence on the Anti-Poverty Society, founded in 1887 although only lasting a year was enormous. Thousands were moved to tears with his language of hope.<sup>31</sup> His numerous speeches across the United States were important events for many more thirsting for a better life. George had always kept in touch with his family in Philadelphia and frequently lectured throughout the Commonwealth. He had spent about a month in 1886 in Pennsylvania studying the coal and iron monopolies and workers' conditions. Although he condemned the system of exploitation he counseled moderation for the laborer in a series of four *North American Review* articles entitled "Labor in Pennsylvania."<sup>32</sup>

Orations at George's funeral in 1897 speak of "a veritable apostle, crusader, and martyr to God and the realization of His goodness on earth."<sup>33</sup> The man and his works helped to awaken a greater sensitivity to poverty and injustice. Intellectual currents and movements such as progressivism at the turn of the century drew on George for inspiration. Clarence Darrow claimed that *Progress and Poverty* was revolutionary in its attack on monopoly and found in George

a prophet of a new age of realizable ideals.<sup>34</sup> John Dewey extolled George as "one of the world's great social philosophers, certainly the greatest which this country has produced."<sup>35</sup>

George also established the single tax movement, which still advocates this method as the best solution for society's moral and economic problems.<sup>36</sup> Pennsylvania has proven to be the most fertile ground for Georgist activity. In 1913, the efforts of the short-lived progressive Keystone Party and the active Pittsburgh Civic Commission, led to a state law requiring that Pittsburgh steadily increase its property tax on land so that by 1925 the land tax rate was to be double the tax rate on improvements; the law also applied to Scranton. New construction, now untaxed by what became known as the Graded Tax, blossomed in both cities. Followers of George were later instrumental in passing of the McGinnis Act of 1959 (#534) which allowed the states' fifty third-class cities (a legal classification) to tax land assessments at a higher rate than buildings. At present thirteen cities and a school district (Aliquippa) have adopted this two-rate property tax reform. Studies have also shown that there have been new construction spurts following two-rate adoption in these towns. Another benefit is that most homeowners pay fewer taxes. In this respect, Pennsylvania is a progressive model for a more equitable taxation base for the rest of the country.<sup>37</sup>

Not only the United States, but the British Isles were touched by George's ideas.<sup>38</sup> George Bernard Shaw claimed that George converted him and many others to a greater social awareness, in the "Great Socialist revival."<sup>39</sup> George also left his imprint in Australia and New Zealand. Land reforms were enacted in these two countries.<sup>40</sup> Many of their cities contribute to the seven hundred worldwide that now tax land more than buildings. Some, in true Georgist spirit, only tax the former.

Even in far-off Imperial Russia the name Henry George was familiar to an intelligentsia, grappling with a solution to the suffering of the peasant and the maldistribution of the land. The persistent belief of the "dark people" of Russia, living in not much better than abject slavery, was that while their bodies belonged to the nobility or the state, the land was theirs. "We are yours, but the land is ours" was often heard. But no mechanism existed to enforce peasant rights. Serfdom was the most noticeable feature of backward and autocratic Russia incapable of competing with western Europe before the Emancipation of 1861.

The injustices of serfdom and a heartless bureaucracy incensed the intelligentsia. The thinking gentry was isolated from the government and intellectually alienated from the peasantry even on their own estates. An autocratic regime allowed no room for legal political organization. Some turned to romantic and even radical visions of recreating the world. The most noteworthy agrarian socialists were the *Narodniki*, or Populists. To hasten a

just society, the Narodniki looked to the village commune with its periodic repartition of land allotments to each household.

The Emancipation failed to provide justice and protect the peasants' use of the land. The nobility retained the best land; the peasant did not receive enough to maintain sustenance, was burdened with heavy redemption payments, and did not attain true personal freedom.<sup>41</sup> Insolvency was the rule especially with an increasing birth rate. The Narodniki were ablaze with indignation and parlor talk boiled over into action. The year 1874 witnessed the famous "going to the people" movement. Thousands of students rushed to the countryside to preach moral and economic betterment. This peaceful means to effect change failed, and the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 followed. The agrarian question contributed greatly to the downfall of Imperial Russia.

From the time of Alexander Herzen in the 1840's until that of Lenin, Narodniki along with Marxists and other intellectuals wrangled over what has been called the "cursed questions." These visionaries pored over foreign literature for answers for man's relationship to the universe and a just society. Rebels avidly read Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Marx, and Henry George, whose ideas became the objects of a vigorous Russian debate.

The Russian Marxist inclination was towards the revolutionary urban proletariat, even in a predominately agrarian Russia. Marxists rejected any attempt to refashion society on an agricultural rather than an industrial basis.<sup>42</sup> The eminent Marxist-turned-Populist economist, M. I. Tugan-Baranovskii, in an article "Henry George and the Nationalization of Land" (1897), dismisses as absurd the notion that land monopolization was the source of economic problems, or that since landowners were the real enemy labor and capital had to be natural allies. George's remedies such as rent confiscation deny class antagonisms and would favor the large industrialist. Tugan-Baranovskii labels George's ideal society a reformist "bourgeois utopia," inapplicable to Russia.<sup>43</sup> To be sure, he does regard George's writings as charming, enthusiastic, and eloquent. *Progress and Poverty* was the "first independent and original American response to the old problem which agitates the contemporary civilized world—how to eliminate poverty and the raising of economic relations to the sphere of freedom, equality and brotherhood, which was proclaimed by the French Revolution as the basis of the modern social order."<sup>44</sup>

Poorly received by the Marxists, George found a more congenial although a sceptical home with the Narodniki. Their reverence for the Russian land and the people they believed contained the energies for social and spiritual revival were similar to George's notions.

A lengthy two-part article "Relating to the Question of Poverty, its Causes and Elimination (According to the Economic Theory of George)" by S. Iuzhakov was published by *Notes of the Fatherland* in 1883. Iuzhakov finds in

George both ill and good. A "basic failure" in George's arguments was that land monopolization is the major factor in the lowering of wages and allowing the large landowners to appropriate everything for themselves.<sup>45</sup> But George's great merit lies in the active political interest he awakened in the United States and England.<sup>46</sup> That same year *Russian Wealth* printed in Russian a lecture given by George. The editors praise George as a "rising star" whom "we consider not without value, although we do not share all his views."<sup>47</sup>

Two years later in *Russian Wealth* M. M. Filippov, in the "Social Question (According to Henry George)," critically examines George's political economy. He commends George for looking beyond mere illusory political freedoms: without economic freedom there is only "slavery to capital." George's great merit, as Filippov perceives it, lies in exposing a "sorrowful page within a sick foreign civilization." For the "worshippers" of the West in Russia are "charmed by the outer bright scenery which is infected with suffering, not seeing under its scintillating rags plague infestation and death spasms."<sup>48</sup> "V. V." in the *Northern Herald* in 1886 is more favorable. In "Henry George on Protectionism," he endorses George's belief in free trade, observing that tariffs and protectionism create monopolies, are counterproductive, and burden the working class.<sup>49</sup>

In 1892, L. Slonimskii's "Henry George and His Theory of Progress" appeared in the *Herald of Europe*. Slonimskii admires the eloquence and ingeniousness of George's arguments, but finds George a bit optimistic in thinking that a landowner would voluntarily give up his holdings. He also questions George's reliance on a beneficent government serving society as a whole. "George wonderfully ascertains and analyzes the sickness, but the suggested means of cure would not even touch its essence."<sup>50</sup> In a piece in the *Northern Messenger* published the same year, Ivan Ianzhul discusses George's response to the Papal *Rerum Novarum* in "An Open Letter of Henry George to Pope Leo XIII." He considers George a "naive bourgeois" lacking in logic and theory. The single tax would be class robbery and is incapable of providing proper funding for any government. Bad harvests would dot the land and economic crises would multiply. George's "perverid fantasy, . . . proposes a new Eden, a door to heaven."<sup>51</sup> An article entitled "Henry George as Economist" by B. Efrusi came out in *Russian Wealth* in 1898. Efrusi rejects George's concept of harmony between capital and labor. The substitution of the single tax for all other taxes would slow down production, burden the poorer classes, ruin the small landowners, enrich the capitalists, and fail to provide adequate state funding. George's attempt "to solve the great problem of contemporary society would end up as a complete failure."<sup>52</sup>

By World War I, all of George's works had been translated into Russian, primarily by S. D. Nikolaev, who was a close friend of Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy. The famed novelist greatly facilitated his colleague's work by actively supporting

their publication and distribution. Ever since he was a young man the distaste for the artificialities of urban society and an interest in man's relation to nature had grown in Tolstoy. *The Cossacks* (1863) is his romanticized vision of a pristine society amidst the Caucasus inhabited by mountaineers, people living in unison with nature, who struggle against the incursions of an alien and artificial gentry society. Tolstoy, like other conscience-stricken members of the intelligentsia, was concerned with the exploited serf. Even prior to the 1861 Emancipation Tolstoy was preoccupied with the peasants on his estate.<sup>53</sup> In *A Landlord's Morning* (1856) we meet for the first time the autobiographical Prince Nekhludov.<sup>54</sup> This *barin* has left the university to devote himself to bettering the peasants' lot. Tolstoy's plans for land reform failed. He established, however, a school for peasants where his progressive methods and writings were a success. To facilitate a fair land distribution provided by the Emancipation provisions and to smooth relations between gentry and peasantry, Tolstoy served in the official capacity as an "arbiter of peace." His fellow nobles were chagrined that Tolstoy at times sided with the peasantry: frustration brought his resignation.

Between 1863 to 1869 Tolstoy published *War and Peace*, a paen to life and a triumph of realism. Pierre Bezukhov's painful search for the meaning of existence can be seen as Tolstoy's own agonizing quest for the good. The peasant Platon Karatayev is the "unfathomable, rounded, eternal personification of the spirit of simplicity and truth."<sup>55</sup> Higher knowledge came not from books, but from living plainly in harmony with nature, for nature is one with man and with God. Tolstoy's second most famous work *Anna Karenina*, published in 1878, is more somber than *War and Peace*. Tragedy and psychological turmoil reflect Tolstoy's own growing doubts. Levin, like Bezukhov, eschews the superficialities of society and seeks a grander purpose in the harvest and simple life of the peasant.

Tolstoy, always the inveterate questioner of humanity's purpose, became extremely depressed, almost to the point of suicide, during a profound spiritual crisis in 1879. He rejected art for art's sake: works of creativity had to have a morally uplifting purpose.<sup>56</sup> Tolstoy adopted manual labor so as not to exploit others and became a vegetarian. His religious vision had become sensitized and shifted, although not so precipitously as many have believed, for most of the elements of his later philosophizing are present in his early writings. In his *Confession* of 1880, Tolstoy lays bare his soul and his search for self-perfection. He gives the formula for understanding

life, . . . not . . . the life of the parasites, but the life of the simple working people, the life that gives life . . . its meaning. . . . This meaning . . . is . . . [that] every man has come into this world by the will of God, and . . . every man can ruin or save his soul. The problem of man's life—is to save his soul according to God's word: . . . he must renounce all the pleasures of life, must labor, be humble, endure, . . . The [Russian] people derives

... its entire faith [from this], ... meaning ... [which is] near to my heart.<sup>57</sup>

Tolstoy was plagued by the difficulty of reconciling reason and faith, science and the masses. But he preferred the childlike faith of the people and their closeness to the soil. The rationality of the savants is empty: innocent faith unlocks the mysteries and laws of life.<sup>58</sup> In the pristine countryside, far from corrupting urban influences, technical progress, and institutional authority, there is goodness and peace, and the possibility of universal communal love.<sup>59</sup> The Russian peasant has a holy mission to be the foundation of a future utopia. This concept then became Tolstoy's *idée fixe*.

Fraternal amity, Tolstoy believed, can be achieved through an uncoerced individual moral transformation. Within each person dwells an infinite moral and a finite physical force. But a "terrible brake" resists these forces, "the love of self or rather the memory of self which produces powerlessness." The need is to "tear oneself away from this brake ... [to] obtain omnipotence. ... the best salvation from memory of self, the most conformable with the life common to all mankind, is salvation through love for others."<sup>60</sup> The "world is a huge temple in which light falls in the center. All people who love light strive towards it. ... Unity is attained only ... when [one] seeks not unity, but the truth. . . . Seek the truth and you will find unity."<sup>61</sup> Unity will arrive with a spiritual revolution of the heart that reaches out from the self to humanity, all living creatures, the universe, and God.<sup>62</sup> If everyone "will believe in the spirit [that is] within him, then all will be joined together. Everyone will be himself, and everyone will be united."<sup>63</sup>

Tolstoy looked to love as an earthly means of overcoming selfishness and the fear of death.<sup>64</sup> The renunciation of desire and of self, their replacement with love and self-perfection will create a transitional state between an earthly paradise and a spiritual eternity. Tolstoy presents Jesus' teachings as a rational basis of truths for liberation. In essence, through his reinterpretation of the Gospels, especially the Sermon on the Mount, he concludes in *What I Believe* (1884) that the ultimate goal is to unite man through love and nonresistance in the face of evil with God the Father.<sup>65</sup> [One must] "open, ... what closed the source of living water—the *divine life, which is in us*."<sup>66</sup>

This new world cannot be restrained by any human institutions, laws, or coercion. Tolstoy writes that "of all the godless ideas and words there is no idea and word more godless, than that of a church. There is no idea, which has produced more evil, there is no idea more hostile to Christ's teaching, than the idea of a church."<sup>67</sup> The foundation of governmental authority is physical violence, whether the ruler is an elected president or a Genghis Khan.<sup>68</sup> States are like "a gang of thieves" and incompatible with God's commandments.<sup>69</sup> Thomas Masaryk, Czechoslovak President and scholar, writes in 1919 of Tolstoy

envisioning a "society to be the city of God in the strictest sense of the word. He means all men to be united in an invisible church. His failure to find perfection in society and himself led him to the conclusion that salvation is within you, and this amounts to little less than ethical and religious anarchism."<sup>70</sup>

In his search for universal absolutes, purer spiritual values, and a solution to society's moral and economic problems Tolstoy scrutinized thinkers ranging over millenia and over the globe. The United States contributed: Tolstoy avidly read Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Edward Bellamy (the author of *Looking Backward*), and William Lloyd Garrison (the abolitionist). Henry George, however, most fired his imagination.

The first indication that Tolstoy knew George's work is in a letter to his wife Sonya Andreyevna. While suffering from the flu in Moscow on February 20, 1885, he declares that he preferred reading George to doing his own writing.<sup>71</sup> Another letter to her on the 22nd reports:

I read my George. . . . [*Progress and Poverty*] is an important book. This step is an important one on the road towards the common good, as the freeing of the peasant and liberation from private property. . . . [George] has clearly and definitely presented this problem. It is impossible to equivocate after reading this, . . . My demands go much farther than his, but this step is one on the first rung of the ladder that I am climbing.<sup>72</sup>

Another letter of the same day informs V. G. Chertkov, a close associate, that reading George had made Tolstoy wiser.<sup>73</sup> The next day he had finished reading *Progress and Poverty*. Tolstoy thought that George's works should be translated and he wanted to write to the American. George's political economy became a lively topic of discussion.<sup>74</sup> On the 24th, Tolstoy wrote again to Chertkov:

I was sick for a week but consumed by George's latest [*Social Problems*] and the first book *Progress and Poverty*, which produced a strong and joyous impression on me. . . . This book is wonderful, but it is beyond value, for it destroys all the cobwebs of Spencer-Mill political economy—it is like the pounding of water and acutely summons people to a moral consciousness of the cause and even defines the cause. There is weakness in it, as with anything created by man, but there is a genuine humanitarian thought and heart, not scientific trash. . . . I see in him a brother, one of those who according to the teachings of the Books of the Apostles [has more] love [for people] than for his own soul.<sup>75</sup>

Still consumed by *Progress and Poverty* Tolstoy in a letter of February 25 advises Prince L. D. Urusov, an avid disciple, to read it. George is "a marvelous writer—a writer, who will usher in an epoch."<sup>76</sup>

Tolstoy initially held certain misgivings about a government's applying George's tax project. *What Then Must We Do?* (1886), which grapples with the problem of poverty, warns that the state is a coercive institution: "as long as there will be violence maintained by the bayonet, there will not be a distribution of wealth among the people, but all the riches will go to the oppressors."<sup>77</sup> Tolstoy observes in this book:

As a striking illustration of the truth of this assertion, Henry George's project . . . will serve. George proposes to recognize all the land as the property of the state, and therefore to substitute the land rent for all taxes. . . . anyone who utilizes the land would have to pay to the state the value of its rent. What would be the result? . . . land would belong to the state . . . there would be slavery . . . .

After a bad harvest, the farmer's rent would be exacted from him by force because he could not pay it . . . and to maintain his land, he would have to enslave himself to the person with money. . . .

As long as there is an armed man with the recognized right to kill another man, there will be an inequitable distribution of wealth, that is, slavery.<sup>78</sup>

Since Tolstoy was an international celebrity, his name was more than familiar to the American reading public. Henry George himself, in the pages of his weekly single tax newspaper *The Standard*, acquainted his readership with the great Russian novelist. On March 26, 1887, an English translation of Tolstoy's short story *Ivan the Fool* appeared, depicting a kingdom of love, honest toil, and non-resistance where "all the sensible departed" and "only fools remained. And no one had any money. They lived and labored and fed themselves and all good people."<sup>79</sup>

The next year on January 28, an article entitled "Charity and Justice" graced page one in *The Standard* demanding the establishment of social justice, the end of class robbery, and all welfare as inimical to the development of individual integrity. George buttresses his argument by citing what he describes as the "eloquent words" of *What Then Must We Do?*<sup>80</sup> An item in *The Standard* for December 15, 1888, quotes W. T. Stead of the *Pall Mall Gazette* of London. Stead reports that Tolstoy was mesmerized with George's vision of a Christianized program of land nationalization. Tolstoy had explained to Stead that the peasants with whom he talked received George's ideas warmly. Tolstoy favored expropriation of the land without compensation and still preferred communalization rather than nationalization, which implied state authority.<sup>81</sup> "Of course, I do not hold with George about the taxation of the land. If you could get angels from heaven to administer the taxes from the land you might do justice and prevent mischief. I am against all taxation."<sup>82</sup> Yet despite these misgivings, Tolstoy thought that George "has indicated the . . . next step that

must be taken. His ideas will spread—nay, they are spreading.”<sup>83</sup> Rarely had the novelist been so taken by another person’s thinking.

Meanwhile, in 1889 Tolstoy published the play *Fruits of Enlightenment*. This farce, which poked fun at the nobility, depicts the gulf between them and the poor land-hungry peasantry. Four years later Tolstoy’s *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* appeared, his most important statement concerning nonviolence, passive resistance to evil, and the condemnation of war-mongering institutions. Tolstoy looks forward to the day of a spiritually perfected society.<sup>84</sup> *The Kingdom of God* condemns the possession of land by the few for bringing starvation to the masses. The individual must renounce this crime, serve the Lord, and establish a union with all beings.<sup>85</sup> In the period following his spiritual crisis, echoes of George’s thought became more manifest in Tolstoy’s artistic and didactic writings.

At the beginning of the 1890’s Tolstoy experienced much stress. Family disputes over his rejection of property and copyrights to his works, tsarist persecution of his followers, censorship, and an intense personal involvement with relief for a famine which was raging over Russia dispirited him greatly.

During the early 1890’s Tolstoy also reconsidered his hesitations about George. At the beginning of 1894, the Berliner Bernhard Eulenstein, an ardent land reformer and devotee of George, reporting to “To our beloved Prophet, My dear Mr. George,” asked of him: “Count Tolstoy,—by the way,—did you ever correspond with him? He is our man, He has been reading *Progress and Poverty* to his peasants.”<sup>86</sup> Tolstoy felt a profound spiritual kinship, deepened by a further consideration of George’s works through his involvement in the translation of an article entitled “Equal Rights and General Rights” by George.<sup>87</sup> There is no evidence why Tolstoy’s views shifted, but it probably was the famine with its great hardships and society’s lukewarm response, along with his continuing search for a practical means of social and economic amelioration that was transforming him into a whole-hearted supporter of the American. Writing *The Kingdom of God* no doubt intensified his response to the massive suffering of famine-stricken Russia. George’s religious sincerity also attracted Tolstoy and paralleled his own spiritual anarchism. This passage from George’s “The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII” could have come from Tolstoy’s pen:

It is not clear that the division of men into classes rich and poor has invariably its origin in force and fraud; invariably involves violation of the moral law; and is really a division into those who get the profits of robbery and those who are robbed; those who hold in exclusive possession what God made for all, and those who are deprived of his bounty? Did not Christ in all his utterances and parables show that the gross difference between rich and poor is opposed to God’s law?<sup>88</sup>

No longer did Tolstoy reject the single tax and its implementation as an intrusive governmental coercion. He could see it, like man's inward transformation and mutual love, as a way station to a perfected world—a common brotherhood of love with a living Father.<sup>89</sup> *Progress and Poverty* also insists that the functions of government would be greatly simplified and purified. And

who shall measure the heights to which our civilization may soar? . . . It is the Golden Age of which poets have sung and high-raised seers have told in metaphor! It is the glorious vision which has always haunted man with gleams of fitful splendor. . . . It is the culmination of Christianity—the City of God on earth, . . . It is the reign of the Prince of Peace!<sup>90</sup>

Tolstoy's lengthy letter to Eulenstein written in the spring of 1894 declares that George's ideas are practical and endowed with an "exceptional Christian spirit." George is the "pioneer and leader of the movement that clearly defines the nature of immoral land slavery and [how] to end its perniciousness." The promulgation of these truths is a "sacred duty."<sup>91</sup>

An entry of June 14 in Tolstoy's diary reports that he has just written "an exposition of . . . George's project."<sup>92</sup> Upon rereading George's *Perplexed Philosopher* soon afterwards, he exclaimed to a visitor: "How wonderful. I again became vividly aware of the sin of land possession. It's amazing how [people] do not see it. It would be necessary to write about this—to write a new Uncle Tom's Cabin."<sup>93</sup> V. F. Lazurskii, a tutor at Tolstoy's estate Yasnaya Polyana, reports a conversation in which Tolstoy was in low spirits but quickly perked up at a discussion of his then-favored theme, George's plan of land nationalization. "The possession of land as such," Tolstoy observes,

is illegitimate, like the possession of serfs. Whoever controls the source of food has also enthralled the poor. For me, it is now so obvious. . . . But how long will it take for this idea to enter into the general consciousness! I have lived twenty years [since the Emancipation of 1861] without realizing this. And here is Henry George, who for thirty years has clearly and simply explained everything.<sup>94</sup>

During this summer one of Tolstoy's daughters, Tatiana, became enraptured with Georgist philosophy. Moved by the poverty of the peasants on her estate Ovsyannikovo, took her father's advice to charge them a nominal rent for the land. The money was to go into a general fund for communal needs. Tolstoy gave a speech to the peasants explaining these arrangements.<sup>95</sup> All went well for a while. After a few years, however, the peasants stopped all payments and even engaged in land speculation.<sup>96</sup> This failure did not dampen Tatiana's or Tolstoy's ardent belief in George.

In September, 1894, Tolstoy wrote to "an American Lady," thanking her for bringing him George's books. Here Tolstoy likens George's mission to that of Moses's unselfishness in striving for the betterment of people without seeing the "Promised Land." George "was the first [one] to lay a firm foundation for the building of the future economical [sic] organization. . . . those who desire to build the social life of mankind or juster foundations will not be able to avoid Henry George's plan."<sup>97</sup>

At this time Tolstoy was assisting Chertkov in a presentation of T. M. Bondarev's (a peasant sectarian writer) work ethic—that people should labor for themselves without taking advantage of others, which ties in with George's views. "I am so pleased," Tolstoy says, that your present work brings you joy for it [contains] a profound truth with the highest significance."<sup>98</sup> Tolstoy wrote to Ernest Crosby, an American disciple, on November 24,

The more I know of him [George], the more I esteem him, and am astonished at the indifference of the civilized world to his work.

If the new Tsar [Nicholas II] would ask me what I would advise him to do, I would say to him: use your autocratic power to abolish the land property in Russia and to introduce the single tax system; and then give up your power and [grant] the people a liberal constitution.

I write this to you, because I know that you are one of the coworkers of H. George, and that you . . . [believe in] his ideas.

I wish you success in your work."<sup>99</sup>

In the meantime, Eulenstein was making arrangements for George and Tolstoy to meet in Berlin in 1896 for an international land reform conference. At the beginning of 1896 Eulenstein wrote to George, "It seems to be almost certain, that Count Tolstoy will also give us the honor of his presence."<sup>100</sup> George had to decline because of prior commitments during an election.<sup>101</sup> In a letter dated March 15 he expresses his delight that Tolstoy sympathized with his views and his wish to see his Russian admirer on a later visit to Europe.<sup>102</sup> Tolstoy enthusiastically responded in English,

The reception of your letter gave me a great joy, for it is a long time that I know you [sic] and love you. Though the paths we go by are different, I do not think that we differ in the foundation of our thoughts.

I shall wait with great impatience for the appearance of your new book, which will contain the so much needed criticism of the orthodox political economy. The reading of every one of your books makes clear to me things which were not so [evident] before and confirms me more and more in the truth on [the] practicability of your system. Still more do I rejoice at the thought that I may possibly see you."<sup>103</sup>

During the summer of 1896 Jane Addams visited Tolstoy. A letter from William Lloyd Garrison, Jr. to Henry George reports that she "spent a day

with Tolstoi last summer who spoke warmly of you. Said he should break through his habit of non-travelling, hating to journey in a box, as he calls a railroad car, and go to Berlin to see you. He expected you might be there according to rumors of your intended European trip."<sup>104</sup>

In 1897, Tolstoy adumbrated to T. M. Bondarev an outline of George's ideas. This succinct description of the single tax plan explains that the land will belong to the whole nation, everyone paying to the state a share for the benefit of the public good without other burdensome taxes. No idle people would own the land, which would be available only to those who use it. The exploitation of labor would end.<sup>105</sup>

Tolstoy, the most famous disciple of George, was never to meet his beloved teacher. On the morning of October 29, 1897, during the New York City mayoral campaign, in which he was a candidate, George collapsed and died.<sup>106</sup> His untimely death was a blow to Tolstoy. "Yesterday," he laments in a letter to his wife

Seryozha [Tolstoy's brother] told me that Henry George died. No matter how . . . this could be said, his death struck me, like the death of a very close friend. . . . One feels the loss of a real comrade.<sup>107</sup>

George's proclamation of man's equal rights to the land and the joys of the Creator formed a spiritual affinity that allowed Tolstoy to bend his adamant strictures against the state. Many of Tolstoy's works and letters bespeak his love for George, as man, as altruist, and above all as religious economic theorist.<sup>108</sup>

Following Tolstoy's spiritual crisis many people came to regard him as a "crackpot anarchist" espousing odd ideas, such as vegetarianism, nonresistance, and a doctrine of love. After the death of his American friend in absentia, Tolstoy, however, became the world's most noteworthy exponent of George's ideology. During the remaining thirteen years of his life Tolstoy's formative economic thinking became transformed into a coherent system. This philosophy contained one simple formula: God, land, and Man. The basis for a harmonious society was the relationship between these three components. God created the land and mankind. It was therefore the duty of all people to live a simple natural life peacefully tilling the soil far away from the corrupting influence of cities. It was also incumbent upon all to develop a personal relationship with God. What held this union between God and Man together was love. What enabled Man to equitably and fruitfully work the land was the moral purity inherent in George's political economy: a body of thought, in Tolstoy's estimation, that partook of God's blessing.

## Notes

1. There are a number of biographies of George. Among the standard works are: Henry George, Jr., *Henry George*, American Men and Women of Letters Series, gen. ed. Daniel Aaron (New York: Chelsea House, 1981) and Charles A. Barker, *Henry George* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955). Mere words cannot express my gratitude to the following for their assistance: Dr. Oscar Johannsen, Susan Klinghoefer, and the staff of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation; Dr. Steven Cord; Dr. Thomas West; Lillian Griner, Patricia Heron, Tim Pyatt, Terry Saylor and the interlibrary loan staff at the University of Maryland's McKeldin Library; the librarians of the Slavic and Baltic Division and of the Economics and Public Affairs Division of the New York Public Library; Lindy Davies, Michael Curtis, Richard Willard, and Pat Aller. The spelling of names traditionally accepted in English have been retained, such as Tolstoy, rather than Tolstoi. Otherwise, I have used transliteration based on the Library of Congress system without the ligatures. All translations are mine.
2. Letter, Henry George, New York, to Father Dawson, Ireland, Feb. 1, 1883; Henry George Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of The New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation (Hereinafter cited as HGP).
3. *Ibid.*
4. Henry George, *The Science of Political Economy* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1981), 312.
5. *Ibid.*, "The American Republic: Its Dangers and Possibilities," in *Our Land and Land Policy*, vol. 8, *The Complete Works of Henry George* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904), 178.
6. *Ibid.*, *A Perplexed Philosopher*, vol. 5, *Complete Works* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904), 175.
7. *Ibid.*, *Progress and Poverty* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1955), 295 and "The Land Question," in *The Land Question* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1935), 27-28.
8. *Ibid.*, *Progress*, 284-285.
9. *Ibid.*, 357.
10. *Ibid.*, 269.
11. *Ibid.*, *Protection or Free Trade*, vol. 4, *Complete Works* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904), 326; *Progress*, 295, 326, 517-518, 541, and 544; and "Our Land," in *Our Land*, 86.
12. *Ibid.*, "Land Question," in *Land Question*, 22; "Thy Kingdom Come," in *Our Land*, 283-287; *Progress*, 370, 379-382, 528, 542-543, and 549-550; "Land Question," in *Land Question*, 39-40 and 81; and "Peace," *The Standard*, Sept. 21, 1889, 4-5; General Research Division of The New Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation (Hereinafter cited as GR).
13. *Ibid.*, *Progress*, 550.
14. *Ibid.*, "Salutatory," *The Standard*, Jan. 8, 1887, 1; GR.
15. *Ibid.*, "The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII," in *Land Question*, 26.
16. *Ibid.*, *Protection*, 8 and *Science*, 451-452.
17. *Ibid.*, *Progress*, 405. Emphasis in original.
18. *Ibid.*, "Justice the Object-Taxation the Means," in *Our Land*, 297-321.
19. *Ibid.*, "Land and Taxation," in *Our Land*, 230.
20. *Ibid.*, "The Land for the People" (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, n.d.), 6. See also *Ibid.*, "The Single Tax: What It Is and Why We Urge It," (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, n.d.) for a succinct view of the benefits of the single tax.
21. *Ibid.*, "Condition of Labor," in *Land Question*, 9-10 and Steven B. Cord, *Henry George: Dreamer or Realist?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 63.
22. *Ibid.*, "Land Question," in *Land Question*, 83-84.
23. *Ibid.*, "American Republic," in *Our Land*, 172; "Land and Taxation," in *Our Land*, 229; and *Progress*, 454-457.
24. John L. Thomas, *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and the Adversary Tradition* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1983), 123.
25. *Ibid.*, "To Workingmen," in *Our Land*, 265-276.
26. *Ibid.*, *Perplexed Philosopher*, 209-210; *Progress*, 433-453; "Our Land," in *Our Land*,

- 111-115; "Land Question," in *Land Question*, 80-86; and "Condition of Labor," in *Land Question*, 16-17. See also "The Study of Political Economy," in *Our Land*, 153.
27. *Ibid.*, "Anti-Poverty: The Society Musters to Welcome Judge Maguire," *The Standard*, Oct. 8, 1887, 2: GR.
28. *Ibid.*, "Justice the Object," in *Our Land*, 303.
29. Letter, George, San Francisco, to Annie Fox, June 5, 1862: HGP. See also *Progress*, 552 and "Ode to Liberty" (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, n.d.). Elsewhere, George predicts that the age of material deprivation and enslavement, which Moses foresaw on Mt. Pisgah, will give way to an era of prosperity, peace, and love ("Moses," [New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, n.d.]).
30. *Ibid.*, *Progress*, 136-137.
31. His fiery disciple, the excommunicated Catholic priest, Dr. Edward McGlynn was also an imposing speaker for the cause. McGlynn held that "there is a marriage by nature sanctioned . . . and given a sacramental value by . . . the teaching of Christ, between land and labor, . . . between the children of this footstool of God and their Father" (Rev. Edward McGlynn, "Anti-Poverty: The People's Answer to the Papal Court," *The Standard*, June 4, 1887, 2: GR). The single tax, according to McGlynn, would lay the basis of true justice as a precursor of pure love, where everyone would be "endowed not merely with the power of knowing Him, but with the royal liberty of a child of God" (*Ibid.*, "Anti-Poverty: A Crowded Meeting Ratifies the Syracuse Platform," *The Standard*, Aug. 27, 1887, 2: GR). Please also consult: Stephen Bell, *Rebel, Priest, and Prophet: A Biography of Dr. Edward McGlynn* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1968).
32. George, Jr., *Henry George*, 456 and Barker, *Henry George*, 446-447.
33. Edmund Yardley, ed., "Address of John Sherwin Crosby," in *Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George* (Chicago: The Public Publishing Company, 1905), 47.
34. Clarence Darrow, "Henry George," *Everyman* 9, 7-9 (Sept.-Oct., 1913): 17-22.
35. John Dewey, in George G. Geiger, *The Philosophy of Henry George* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), xiii.
36. Barker, *Henry George*, 307-312 and 620-635 and Geiger, *Philosophy of Henry George*, 424-475.
37. Many thanks to Dr. Steven Cord for his knowledge of the Keystone State. See Percy R. Williams' pamphlet "The Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan: Its History and Experience," (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 1963) and Arthur N. Young, *The Single Tax Movement in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1916), 210-215.
38. Consult George, Jr., *Henry George*, 522-542 and Geiger, *Philosophy of Henry George*, 381-424.
39. George Bernard Shaw, "Geo. Bernard Shaw's Tribute to the Work of Henry George," in *The Single Tax Review*, Apr. 15, 1905, 26-28.
40. Barker, *Henry George*, 594-595.
41. The Emancipation of 1861 was the most important reform during the 1860's initiated by Tsar Alexander II in order to forestall revolutionary activity by trying to create a more favorable political, social, and economic status for the peasants. This particular reform concerned itself with the distribution of the land to the former serfs. It has been the subject of lively debates among historians as to its effectiveness and contribution to revolution.
42. Karl Marx himself regarded George with disdain. In a letter to Friedrich Sorge, the American's thinking is described as a "cloven hoof (at the same time ass's hoof)" for it is "theoretically . . . total arrièrè [retrograde]." It is "simply an attempt, trimmed with socialism, to save capitalist rule and indeed to re-establish it on an even wider basis than its present one. . . [George] has the repulsive presumption and arrogance that distinguish all such panacea-mongers." (Letter, Marx to Sorge, London, June 20, 1881, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to Americans: 1848-1895* [New York: International Publishers, 1969], 127 and 129). Emphasis in original.
43. Michael Ivanovich Tugan-Baranovskii, "Genri Dzhordzh i natsionalizatsiia zemli" [Henry George and the nationalization of land], *Novoe slovo* 6, 9 (June 1897): 117 and 121-123: Slavic and Baltic Division of the New

- York Public Library; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations (Hereinafter cited as SB).
44. *Ibid.*, 114.
45. S. Iuzhakov, "K Voprosu o bednosti, eia prichinaxh i ustraneniï" [On the question of poverty, its causes and elimination], *Otechestvenniya zapiski* 226 (Jan. [?] 1883): 133-134: SB.
46. *Ibid.*, 267 (Feb. [?] 1883): 452.
47. "Izuchenie politicheskoi ekonomii Genri Dzhordzha" [The Study of Henry George's political economy], *Russkoe bogatstvo* 3 (1883): 609: SB. This speech was delivered at Berkeley on March 9, 1877 (See Barker, *Henry George*, 240-243).
48. M. M. Filippov, "Sotsial'nyi vopros (po Genri Dzhordzhu)" [The Social question according to Henry George], *Russkoe bogatstvo* 5-6 (May 1885): 316 and 319: SB.
49. V. V., "Genri Dzhordzh o protektsionizm" [Henry George on protectionism], *Severnyi vestnik* 12 (Dec. 1886): 35: SB.
50. L. Slonimskii, "Genri Dzhordzh i ego teoriia progressa" [Henry George and his theory of progress], *Vestnik evropy* 4 (1990): 344: SB.
51. Ivan Ianzhul, "Otkrytoe pis'mo Genri Dzhordzha k pape L'vu XIII" [Open Letter of Henry George to Pope Leo XIII], *Severnyi vestnik* 1 (January 1892): 283: SB. See 255-292.
52. B. O. Efrusi, "Genri Dzhordzh, kak ekonomist" [Henry George as economist], *Russkoe bogatstvo* 1 (January 1898): 201: SB. See 179-202. Tolstoy was aware of this debate. A number of his works had appeared in some of these journals.
53. N. N. Gusev, *Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoi: materialy k biografii s 1881 po 1885 god* [L. N. Tolstoy: material for a biography from 1881 to 1885] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo nauka, 1970), 51-58.
54. Prince Nekhludov will figure prominently in *Resurrection* over forty years later.
55. Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy, *Voïna i mir* [War and peace], *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [Complete works], vol. 12 (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1928-1964), 50 (Hereinafter, Tolstoy's complete works will be cited as *Pss*).
56. *What is Art?* [Chto takoe isskysstvo?] (1897) argues that art must be accessible to everyone and must have a higher moral purpose. See *Pss*, 30:27-203.
57. Tolstoy, *Ipoved* [Confession], *Pss*, 23: 47.
58. Henry Troyat, Tolstoy, trans. Nancy Amphoux (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1969), 460 and V. A. D'iakov, "L. N. Tolstoi o zakonmernostiakh istoricheskogo protsessa, roli lichnosti i narodnykh mass v istorii" [L. N. Tolstoy on the regularity of the historical process, the role of personality and the people in history], *Voprosy istorii* 8 (Aug. 1978): 33-34.
59. *How Much Land Does a Man Need?* [Mnogo li cheloveky zemli nuzhno?] (1886) gives a wonderful portrayal of the vanity of gross materialism and avariciousness. See *Pss*, 25: 67-78.
60. Tolstoy, "Otryvok dnevika 1857 goda: putevye po Shneitsarii" [Extract from the diary of 1857; travel notes through Switzerland], *Pss*, 5: 196.
61. *Ibid.*, "Dnevnik i zapisnye knizhki" [Diaries and notebooks], *Pss*, 50: 92.
62. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 51: 88.
63. *Ibid.*, *Voskreseniia* [Resurrection], *Pss*, 32: 419.
64. *What Men Live By* [Chem liodi zhivy?] (1882), for instance, depicts the strength of love. See *Pss*, 25: 7-25.
65. See *What I Believe* [B Chem moia vera], *Pss*, 23: 304-465.
66. Tolstoy, "Dnevnik, zapisnye knizhki i otdel'nye zapiski" [Diaries, notebooks and individual notes], *Pss*, 54:39. Emphasis in original.
67. *Ibid.*, *Tserkov' i gosudarstvo* [Church and state], *Pss*, 23: 477.
68. *Ibid.*, *Tsarstvo bozh vnutri vas* [The Kingdom of God is within you], *Pss*, 28: 131-132.
69. *Ibid.*, "Dnevnik i zapisnye knizhki" [Diaries and notebooks], *Pss*, 44: 10 and *Khristianstvo i patriotizm* [Christianity and patriotism], *Pss*, 33: 65.
70. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia: Studies in History, Literature and Philosophy*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul, vol. 3 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1961), 183. Tolstoy, Lenin writes, "in succeeding with remarkable force in conveying the moods of

the broad masses who are oppressed by the . . . system, in depicting their condition and in expressing their spontaneous feelings of protest and indignation. . . . [Tolstoy was a veritable] slap in the face of bourgeois liberalism. . . . [and] his heritage which he has left departs from the past and belongs to the future. This heritage will prevail and the Russian proletariat can work with it" (Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, "L. N. Tolstoi," *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [Complete Works], vol. 20 [Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1958-1965], 20 and 23). Even the contradictions in Tolstoy's writings reflect those of Russian life itself—though immature and hence incapable of understanding the proletarian struggle towards socialism, they were a correct protest against advancing capitalism, tsarist coercion, and the ruination of the peasantry (*Ibid.*, "Lev Tolstoi, kak zerkalo russkoi revoliutsii," [Les Tolstoy, as a mirror of the Russian revolution], *Pss*, 17: 209-210). Despite Tolstoy's unMarxist approach and deficiencies, if his works are studied, then the proletariat will assuredly "learn to know its enemies better" (*Ibid.*, "Tolstoi i proletarskaia bor'ba" [Tolstoy and the proletarian struggle], *Pss*, 20: 71).

71. *Ibid.*, "Pis'ma" [Letters], *Pss*, 83: 479.

72. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 83: 480-481.

73. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 83: 482.

74. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 83: 483.

75. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 81: 144. *Social Problems* was read before *Progress and Poverty*.

76. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 63: 212. According to one of Tolstoy's Russian biographers, it was the introduction to *Progress and Poverty* that produced "the strongest and most favorable impression," especially those lines in which George declares: I propose to beg no question, to shrink from no conclusion, but to follow truth wherever it may lead. Upon us is the responsibility of seeking the law, for in the very heart of our civilization today women faint and little children moan. . . . If the conclusion that we reach run counter to our prejudices, let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural, let us not turn back (See Gusev, *Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoi*, 387).

77. *Ibid.*, "Tak chto zhe nam delat'" [What then

must we do], *Pss*, 25: 290. Material concerns, the class structure, landownership, labor extortion, charity, and money are condemned, but self-sufficiency is extolled.

78. *Ibid.*, George was against land nationalization. His scheme would employ no force. All people, especially in time of need, would be provided with sustenance. In the event of a poor harvest the single tax would also be lessened and even eliminated.

79. *The Standard*, Mar. 26, 1887, 6-7: GR. Another short fable by Tolstoy simply labelled by *The Standard* as "A Russian Folk Lore Story" appeared in 1892 (*The Standard*, Aug. 31, 1892, 10-11: GR). The real title is *The Worker Emelian and the Empty Drum*.

80. *The Standard*, Jan. 28, 1888, 1: GR. I have not been able to ascertain George's reactions to Tolstoy's condemnation of his own ideas!

81. *Ibid.*, In the August 13, 1890 issue of *The Standard* appears a short blurb entitled "Tolstoy's Opinion: Thomas Stevens' letter to the World." "In the matter of land ownership Tolstoy is a great admirer of the theories of Henry George. He considers George the greatest American citizen of the present time. He believes, however, in a system of communal, rather than a national ownership of the land. The ideal state of society is the simple, rural communes, in which every family would have the right to till soil enough for its own support. There would be no taxes and no government. The Count believes that all forms of government are humbugs, and that the whole machinery of law and lawyers, court and judges, is a barbarity, and an excuse for setting one man above another, and enabling the privileged few to rob the many" (*The Standard*, Aug. 13, 1890, 7: GR).

82. *Ibid.*

83. *The Standard*, Dec. 15, 1888, 1: GR. In another article entitled "Tolstoy at Home: James Creelman in Harper's Weekly" reports that Tolstoy's "library is selected with catholic taste, and contains the works of every philosopher from Plato to Henry George" (*The Standard*, June 22, 1892), 12: GR).

84. Tolstoy, *Tsarstvo bozh vnutri vas* [The Kingdom of God is within you], *Pss*, 28: 1-293.

85. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 28: 266-267 and 291-293.

86. Letter, Bernhard Eulenstein, Berlin, to Henry George, Mar. 24, 1894, 3: HGP.
87. See S. Rozanovoi, ed., *Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoi perepiska c Russkimi pisateliami* [L. N. Tolstoi, correspondence with Russian writers], (Moscow: Gosudartsvo izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoe litatury, 1962), 661. In a letter to M. M. Lederle on October 25, 1891, Tolstoy rated the influence of books at various stages of his life. For the years after fifty *Progress and Poverty* received a rating of "very large," but not "great." I think that this work would move up a notch if reconsidered three years later (Tolstoy, "Pis'ma" [Letters], *Pss*, 66: 68).
88. George, "Condition of Labor," in *Land Question*, 83. Monopolization of land and the unjust distribution of wealth was just as much slavery as the owning of bodies (*Ibid.*, 7 and 86-88 and *Progress*, 339-340).
89. *Ibid.*, "Thou Shall Not Steal," in *Our Land*, 251-252 and "Thy Kingdom Come," in *Our Land*, 289-291.
90. *Ibid.*, *Progress*, 455-456 and 552.
91. Letter, Tolstoy, Moscow, to Bernhard Eulenstein, Berlin, Apr. 27, 1894; in *The Public*, Aug. 28, 1908, 521-522. As stated in footnote no. 78 George did not believe in land nationalization. Tolstoy reinterpreted *Progress and Poverty* to mean that all land would become the common property of the community without the retention of individual ownership. In May Tolstoy wrote to his wife that the American Ernest Crosby, whom he had advised to assist the "remarkable George" later learned that Crosby had become an "energetic fighter for Georgist affairs." (P. Biriukov, *L. N. Tolstoi: Biografiia* [L. N. Tolstoy: biography], vol. 3 [Moscow: Posrednik, 1913], 384).
92. Tolstoy, "Dnevnik i zapisnye knizhki" [Diaries and notes for books], *Pss*, 52: 120. This writing was for T. M. Bondarev who wrote in *Industry and Idleness* that everyone should labor for his own bread.
93. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 52: 131. Mrs. MacGahan had brought an autographed copy of *A Perplexed Philosopher* inscribed with the words: "To Count Tolstoy with respect from Henry George" (*Ibid.*, *Pss*, 52: 362).
94. V. F. Lazurskii, *Dnevnik* [Diary], June 24, 1894, in S. N. Golubova, et al, eds., *L. N. Tolstoi v vospominaniakh sovremennikov*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Gosudartsvo izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoe litatury, 1960), 10-11. This conversation also referred to Ivan Ianzhul's above-mentioned article "Orkrytoe pis'mo Genri Dzhordzha K pape L'vu XIII." See footnote no. 51.
95. This speech was later used in *Resurrection* (T. L. Sukhotina-Tolstaia, *Vospominaniia* [Remembrances] [Moscow: Khudzhestvennoi literatury, 1976], 357).
96. *Ibid.*, 357-360.
97. Letter, Tolstoy, Yasnaya Polyana, to an American Lady [MacGahan], Sept. 22, 1894; in *Single Tax Review*, July 15, 1901, 17.
98. *Ibid.*, *Pss*, 87: 301. In October Tolstoy was trying to obtain copies of George's newspaper [*The Standard*] although at this time he did know its name (Tolstoy, "Pis'ma" [Letters], *Pss*, 87: 300).
99. *Ibid.*, Moscow, to Ernest Crosby, Nov. 24, 1894, in R. F. Christian, ed., *Tolstoy's Letters, 1880-1910*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978), 512. Economic progress was unthinkable without an inheritance tax, a tax on the wealthy, and the application of Georgist ideas (*Ibid.*, "Dnevnik i zapisnye knizhki" [Diaries and notes for books], *Pss*, 53: 97-98).
100. Letter, Bernhard Eulenstein, Berlin, to Henry George, Feb. 29, 1869: HGP.
101. Barker, *Henry George*, 597-598.
102. Tolstoy, "Pis'ma" [Letters], *Pss*, 69: 77. Apparently no copy of this letter exists.
103. Agnes George de Mille, *Henry George: Citizen of the World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 219. See also Tolstoy, "Pis'ma" [Letters], *Pss*, 69: 77. It is dated April 8, 1896.
104. Letter, William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., Brookline, Mass., to Henry George, Feb. 14, 1897, 3: HGP.
105. Letter, Tolstoy, to T. M. Bondarev; in David Redfearn, *Tolstoy: Principles for a New World Order* (London: Shepherd-Walwyn, 1992), 92-93.
106. The *New York Journal*, in a journalistic hoax to increase sales (taking advantage of the great outpouring of feeling for the deceased) reproduced Stead's article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which had appeared in *The Standard*

in November 1888. The *Journal* claimed that it was Tolstoy's cabled response to a request for commentary on George. An editorial in this newspaper declares that Tolstoy has abandoned "the peculiar features of his own ideas of community ownership of land in favor of the single tax theory of Henry George. It is an extraordinary example of self-abnegation

on one side and convincing power on the other."

107. Tolstoy, "Pis'ma" [Letters], *Pis'ma*, 84: 298.  
108. In a proposed second article entitled "Tolstoy's Spiritual Economics," the years 1897 to 1910 will be covered, including the development, analysis, and critique of Tolstoy's Georgist economic system.