

Public Meeting of the Henry George Congress

THE public meeting of the Congress was held on the evening of September 12. The *Times* stated the number present at 300, but there were probably more. This included quite a number of strangers and non-Single Taxers, whose presence was highly gratifying. They listened with interest through the entire programme.

Mr. Frederic C. Leubuscher, who presided, said:

"Were I not chairman I should indulge in some recollections of Henry George, because I have known him just 41 years ago this month, and I met him not only in the political campaign of that year and other campaigns that followed, but at his home, but perhaps there may be another occasion when I can make such a speech.

"The first speaker will be Mr. Jose Miguel Bejarano, Secretary of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce in the United States. That is a body of Mexicans resident in the United States, which has been instituted for the purpose of not only fostering trade relations but good feeling between the United States and Mexico. I think you will agree with me that never in the history of this country has there been so much use for such a body. Not only to foster good feeling between these two countries but between the United States and all of Latin America. One of the most heinous crimes of this century has been to my mind the attack of this great Uncle Sam of 120 million meters high on a little boy called Nicaragua.

Senor Bejarano, who has been a Single Taxer since he was 12 years of age, is secretary of this body and devotes all of his time to fostering good feeling between the two countries."

ADDRESS OF MR. BEJARANO

The following is an abstract of Mr. Bejarano's speech:

The year 1915 began a new life in the republic of Mexico and the most important achievement since 1910 was the educational campaign resulting in the establishment of 3700 rural schools throughout the country; where the percentage of illiteracy had been 85% it had now declined to 62%. The Mexican Federation of Labor was more powerful as an influence than the corresponding Federation in the United States, for it had an immense social as well as an educational and political significance.

The economic policy of the government was explained, and Mr. Bejarano stated that land banks had been established, but he deplored the still prevalent catch-as-catch-can forms of taxation and gave numerous statistics indicating the heavy burden which the income tax and others imposed upon the Mexican people.

There are three main classes of taxes in Mexico: 1, Federal, extracting 271 millions of dollars; 2, State governments, extracting 49 millions; 3, Municipalities, extracting 53 millions—a total sum of 373 millions of dollars.

It seems that the state taxes are the heaviest and most

unjust, but the speaker expressed the hope that time and education would improve the bad tax conditions.

Geographically and topographically there is great diversity in the land of Mexico. There are 500 million acres, but the cultivation amounts to about two acres per person and the most of the land remains waste.

There are four features of the land system:

1. Farms which had their origin in the Spanish grants received from the Spanish conquerors.
2. Small farms—same origin.
3. Collective holdings—held by Indians and pueblas under a system of land tenure prior to the arrival of the Spaniards.
4. Homesteads—which are of recent creation.

The irrigation system of the Indians, highly developed at the time the conquerors came upon the scene, is still of great value.

The Indian system of land tenure was more or less based on a community idea, and private ownership originated when the conqueror Cortez gave allotments of land to his followers.

Mr. Bejarano gave a summary of the way in which small land owners had been deprived of their land because they were too ignorant to know how to combat this, and how, in 1915, the first law for rehabilitation was passed and the land illegally taken away from villages was given back. One-fifth of the total population was given land by the government, and in addition farm implements, seed, new tools, etc., to supplant the antiquated implements and methods. The agricultural banks make loans on future crops (one year), on machinery and animals (three years), and upon implements (three years).

He concluded by reminding us that Mexico is only in a state of development and that we could only look for improvement in so young a republic when time and education have put in their leavening influence.

Mr. Leubuscher: When I was a young fellow I used to wait for the weekly arrival of Henry George's *Standard* as nowadays the young men wait for the *Saturday Evening Post*. In the pages of the *Standard* often appeared the name of a medical missionary in China, a man who has since translated Progress and Poverty into Chinese. Dr. Macklin, that missionary, will now address you.

ADDRESS OF W. E. MACKLIN

What China needs more than anything else is education and development. With 95% of illiterates, you are not likely to develop an ideal Single Tax republic in a few years.

The Chinese are very intelligent. They take the highest honors in our colleges and institutions. They are great philosophers and poets. But their civilization can only be compared with the civilization of ancient

Persia, Assyria and Egypt. The China of this day has shown no symptom of a republic. It has gone from Imperialism to Feudalism.

But we have many hopeful things. Mr. Garst, a missionary in Japan, Mr. Williams, missionary and professor of Chinese literature and language in Berkeley, California, have both spread the doctrines of "Progress and Poverty," with which I became familiar while in China.

When I came back to this country I met Henry George and had many conversations with him and kept up a correspondence with his followers, Dr. McGlynn, Tom Johnson and others, and I went back to China enthused.

That the missionaries are responsible for the revolution is not true—they are responsible for what we wanted but did not get. We wanted to bring about a better day—the Kingdom of God on earth, so a body of the older missionaries formed, to put into Chinese the best literature giving the political, moral and social advancement of the Christian world, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Literature. This society invited me to translate "Progress and Poverty," which I did, and they published it and circulated it without expense to me. I spent a long time at it as I wanted to have it correct and wanted to put the whole idea of the book into the translation. It went into a third edition, for which Mr. Fels paid.

Later I translated Protection or Free Trade, The Theory of Human Progression, Herbert Spencer's Social Statics, the same society publishing all the books. I translated Green's History of the English People to make them understand the development of political freedom.

In China we have a few things to encourage us. A gentleman, a musk expert in China, came to Nankin and lived in a temple. He was a great botanist. He had a mule which threw him and kicked him insensible. I took him into my home for a month to recuperate and gave him "Progress and Poverty" to read. This German friend of mine, Karl Smidt, taught Dr. Schrameyer, the first governor of Kiaochau, and Admiral Diedrichs how to prevent the new colony being ruined by land speculations. A tax of 6% on land values was adopted, displacing other taxes, the land being reassessed every three years. With German thoroughness, they tried to kill, bury, embalm and cremate land speculation and if a holder did not use the land they added 3% for every three years that the land was held idle. It worked so well that Dr. Schrameyer went home to Germany to devote his life to the propaganda for justice in land.

We have got an object lesson and it is still going.

When Sun Yat Sen came to China I had many visits with him. Prof. Bailie of Nankin University and I worked up a colonization association that was endorsed by all the leading men of both the revolutionary and reactionary parties. It is fashioned on the Single Tax method. It has been tried with success, but in the feudalism following the revolution it has been impossible to do much. I went

to call upon Dr. Sun when he was president in regard to this colonization, and he gave us letters to convert the parliament to Single Tax. We gave a copy of "Progress and Poverty" to all the members. They were quite willing to read it.

The Famine Relief found that no permanent good came from distributing food, or providing employment only, and then they adopted a Single Tax method. They planned to borrow money enough to put in dykes and drainage and permanently improve the famine area, and then charge up the expense to the increased land values, thus turning charity into business methods.

Dr. Sun started an English paper with Mau Su as editor and they have a platform for Single Tax, but are not very clear on it.

The platform of the Single Tax is now part of the nationalist programme and it is up to us to see that they get it.

My idea of working for the Single Tax is that it leads the way to the Kingdom of God on earth. The Sixth Chapter of Matthew looks foolish when you read "Take no thought for the morrow," but we can make a condition, and we can strive to bring about a state of affairs, where this would be possible.

And if there be Jews in this audience, the fifth chapter of Matthew states that when a cry was made about the taxes, the command was "Every man shall have his fields and vineyards; restore their lands; require nothing of them."

Rawlinson says that the landlords of Egypt were the worst kind of oppressive landlords, demanding six-tenths of the crops. Joseph, however, confiscated the land and rented it to the people at 20%. Looks like a great land reform, doesn't it?

We may fail on it, but still it is what we think and feel and it makes us enthusiastic, and if we don't succeed why the fellows that don't believe in it are the fools.

Mencius, the great philosopher, said in China there should be a site value tax, no tax on the building but just a site value tax. An early scheme was to divide the land into nine squares, the center square being the government square and the eight families had the outer squares. They had to cultivate the government land as a tax. In this way all men got the advantage of the land.

We are descendants of the ancient Danish and Saxon pirates and have not lost their piratical tendencies. We are loyal to our ancestors, but the Single Tax will stop us. There is a sort of evolution of depravity. When you have a state where a man kills and eats his neighbor, later he will reason, if I kill my neighbor I lose all; I will keep him and make him work. Then he reasons, keeping him as a slave I have to feed him. So he gets his land and makes him work.

I can see very hopeful signs in the Chinese. But we cannot think of them as a nation that will get a republic immediately. I have made tracts with Henry George ideas in them. I have circulated a great many.

There has been much Bolshevism in China and the government has had much trouble in keeping the mobs down, but lately they have been fighting among themselves. It is hard for them to unite. Supposing they did unite, 95% of absolute illiteracy is a problem requiring a process of education through generations, so we can not be too optimistic, but only hope that slow, Christianizing education will have its effect.

Mr. Leubuscher: It is refreshing to hear a missionary preaching this worldliness as well as other worldliness.

Today I received a cable as follows:

British United Committee and International Union for Land Values Taxation and Free Trade, send fraternal greetings to American brethren and ask Senator Hennessy to tell inspiring story of world progress.—JOHN PAUL.

Senator Hennessy stepped on the shore of America three hours ago. Will you, Senator Hennessy, answer this question?

ADDRESS OF CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

I am happy to be able to bring you good tidings of the progress of the ideas and ideals of Henry George in countries across the sea. On the night before I boarded the ship which landed me in New York today, I was privileged to address a fine gathering of the Liverpool League for Land Value Taxation, which was to me a most inspiring culmination of a series of meetings that I had participated in during the last month. The significant thing about this Liverpool meeting in particular, as about others, was the presence of so many *young* men, and the speeches that some of them made; speeches not only informed with the whole philosophy and economics of Henry George, but filled with zeal and determination to go forward with the work. This fine spirit was especially illustrated to me by my contacts with the talented young vice-president of the League, J. H. Eastwood, who is blessed with a beautiful, charming, and highly intelligent young wife, who is as keen a Georgist as her husband. Mr. and Mrs. Eastwood, on their holidays and at other times, make bicycle and tramping journeys through the surrounding countryside, putting up on roadside rocks or other exposed places attractive posters advising the passer-by to read "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George. As a result of a recent holiday trip through Wales by this young couple, many copies of a cheap edition of the book have been sold by the Liverpool League.

My journey to Europe this year was undertaken, as most of you may know, to consult at Copenhagen with members of the Advisory Committee of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade relative to our international work, and especially to determine the question of the time and place of the next international conference. I travelled from New York by a Scandinavian steamer that stopped for 18 hours at Oslo, the capital of Norway. There I was taken off the ship by a group of active Henry George men, some of whom

had attended the Copenhagen conference of last year. I found them keen for the work of our Union, and they showed me with pride a copy of our Memorandum to the League of Nations Economic Conference at Geneva, which is now circulating in the Norwegian language as well as in seven other European languages. Since last year they have formed a Norwegian League for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, and have undertaken the publication of a quarterly journal. Incidentally, they showed me with pride a really beautiful monument to Abraham Lincoln, erected in one of the City Parks. These Norsemen are a liberty loving people, and we may hope that some day they will be able to point with pride to a public monument to that international democrat and lover of men, Henry George.

From Oslo I went to Copenhagen for the formal meeting of our committee, where were assembled the secretaries, Folke and Brink, with the leading men of the Danish movement, Madsen, of the British Secretariat, who is the linguist of our Union, Ashley Mitchell, the Treasurer, Dr. Otto Karutz, of Berlin, Dr. Paul Dane, of Melbourne, Australia, and representatives of Norway and Sweden. Two days were spent in discussions relative to the next International Conference. Letters of encouragement and advice were read from the French, Austrian, Spanish and Greek members of the committee, as well as from Louis F. Post, Mrs. deMille, Mr. Leubuscher, Dr. Milliken and Chester C. Platt of the Committee membership on this side of the ocean. After a full canvas of the views expressed, the decision as to the time for holding the next conference was all but unanimously settled. The Conference will be held during the last week in July, 1929. Great diversity of opinion developed as to the place for the Conference, finally ending in a sort of deadlock between Hamburg, Germany, and Edinburgh, in Scotland. The President was authorized, after consultation with prominent supporters of the Union in Germany, England and Scotland, to announce the place determined upon as soon as practicable after his return to America.

Well, I have talked with our friends in Germany and England and Scotland, since I left Denmark, and I have had talks with American members of the Committee and may now tell you that the next Conference of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade will be held in Edinburgh during the last week of July, 1929. Already I have reason to believe it will be, in point of numbers and of nationalities represented, the greatest gathering of the followers of Henry George ever assembled. I hope you all will determine here and now to be at that conference. Commence to plan for it tomorrow. I need hardly tell you that Edinburgh, which I visited only a few weeks ago, is one of the most beautiful and historically interesting cities in Europe. It is worth a visit for itself alone, aside from the happiness and inspiration you will get from four days of association with

lovers of justice and liberty who will come there from all parts of the world.

But to get back to Copenhagen again. Besides our Committee meetings there last month, there were three interesting events. The first was a well-attended public meeting of the friends of Henry George, well reported by the press. A feature of this reporting was the publication *verbatim* to the extent of a whole page in the *Politiken*, the leading liberal daily paper of Denmark, of the address made by the President of our Union. This address dealt chiefly with the failure of the Economic Conference of the League of Nations to deal with the obvious causes of industrial depression and the unemployment of millions of people on the European continent. Before adjournment, the committee on motion of Mr. Folke, a Dane, seconded by Dr. Otto Karutz, a German, adopted a resolution which was published in the Danish press, of which this is a translation:

"Whereas the failure of the recent Economic Conference of the League of Nations at Geneva to offer any solution of the economic difficulties which are contributing to the misery of millions of European peoples through denial of free opportunities both for capital and labor, and which threaten the permanence of world peace,

"Be it resolved that, more than ever before in history, it is needed that all friends of peace and economic freedom throughout the world should be awakened to the dangers of the existing situation, which might easily lead, through the horrors of class war, to the approach of catastrophe to orderly social development in all civilized countries.

"We appeal, therefore, to our friends and associates in all parts of the world to renew their labors for the establishment of a social order that may insure peace and prosperity through the destruction of unjust private monopoly, wherever it exists. This, we believe, can only be brought about through the adoption by the nations of the policies advocated by this Union—the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade, as taught by Henry George."

Another interesting event was the demonstration made for us by the heads of the government land valuation department of the completeness and scientific accuracy of the system by which the land of Denmark, both urban and rural, is now being assessed for the purposes of taxation, both national and municipal. The governmental machinery in Denmark, in the shape of land value maps, for an application and exemplification of the theories of Henry George, appears now to be working on a scale of completeness unequalled anywhere else in the world.

The reflection that came forcibly to me in this connection was that if you want this sort of work done with intelligence and integrity you must put Henry George men on the job; for the two government officials most responsible for the perfection of the land valuation system of Denmark are K. J. Kristensen and Abel Brink, both of them disciples of our friend, Dr. Jakob Lange; both of them unblushing and undisguised Single Taxers. And it made me think how much we in this country are indebted to our own Lawson Purdy for the system inaugu-

rated by him during his splendid public service in this city, under which more land value is now collected for public purposes than anywhere else in the world.

The third most interesting event of my visit to Denmark this year was the public meeting at Aarhus, the second city of the country, which is sometimes called the Glasgow of Denmark, because of the devoted and militant group of Henry George people to be found there. It was a crowded meeting, full of vim and spirit, electric with enthusiasm for the cause of Free Trade and Land Value Taxation.

From Aarhus, we set out for Hamburg, and on the railroad train that took us toward Germany, ran into a happy incident of real significance. With me were travelling Madsen and Mitchell from England, and Dr. Dane from Australia. We were joined on the way by Dr. Karutz, of Berlin, who had been visiting Dr. Lange's home city of Odense. He told us that one of the passengers on the train was Mr. Bramsnaes, the late Finance Minister of Denmark, on his way to attend the Congress of the Interparliamentary Union at Paris. Mr. Bramsnaes, whom I met at Copenhagen last year, graciously accepted an invitation to join our party. He expressed a high opinion of our Memorandum to the League of Nations Economic Conference last May, and expressed a willingness to see that it was distributed at the Interparliamentary Union meeting at Paris. Secretary Madsen immediately telegraphed to John Paul at London, and 300 copies of our Memorandum each in German, French and English were soon on their way to Paris.

At Hamburg we were greeted by an enthusiastic group of friends, and here also I was particularly impressed with the fact that the chief exponents of our policy, especially Paletta, Schar, Swartz and Karutz, are all young and intellectually able and scholarly men. Here, also, besides conferences, there was a good public meeting well reported in the local newspapers.

Our next journey was through Germany and Holland and across a stormy North Sea to England, where John Paul had assembled the veterans of the United Committee to meet us at London, including W. E. Jacobs, Charles E. Crompton, Rev. Mervyn Stewart, Fred Verinder, and F. C. R. Douglass, the able draftsman of our now classic Geneva Memorandum. The feeling unanimously expressed at this meeting was that the present circumstances of public and economic life in Great Britain are rapidly forcing our policies into the realm of practical politics in that country as never before. The unsolved problems of business depression, of unemployment, of housing, and of taxation, are acutely visible *all over the place*, to use a British expression. The Tory government, despite its nominally large majority in parliament, is plainly losing ground, as a result of attacks from within as from without, and it seems entirely likely that a general election may be forced some time during the coming year.

There are active groups of our friends working within both the Liberal and the Labor parties. Each of these parties will contend for the control of the next Government. Each is now pledged to advances along the line of land value taxation, in a way that must inevitably force political discussion toward the very fundamentals taught by Henry George.

The only unsatisfactory aspect of the situation that I could discern was the sadly inadequate financial resources of the United Committee, due to the death of some generous supporters within recent years and the bad trade conditions in the country that have forced further reductions of the income of the headquarters of the movement at Tothill Street, which is now also the headquarters of our International Union. In organizing this international work at Copenhagen last year, I find that we builded better than we knew, for it has brought to the office in England a burden of work and of correspondence in many languages with followers of our cause in all parts of the world that has greatly increased the difficulties of those able and devoted men, John Paul and Arthur Madsen, and their small staff. A close study of the situation moved me to make certain pledges of definite financial support for the International work during the coming year, which I will confidently rely upon our friends in this country to help me to redeem.

From London I went to Keighly in Yorkshire, where Ashley Mitchell, Charles Smithson, and Fred Skirrow had organized a splendid meeting at which again I was made happy by finding many young and able men engaged in the work of spreading the light.

Then I moved over the Scottish border into the country which, as it seems to me, holds some of the most loyal, determined and uncompromising followers of Henry George to be found anywhere on earth. After helpful conferences with a group of Edinburgh friends, I went on to Glasgow, to be greeted by a meeting which in point of numbers and enthusiasm exceeded anything experienced in Great Britain. It was presided over by Bailie Peter Burt, a highly respected and successful manufacturer of the city, who has been connected with its public life for many years. Mr. Burt, vigorous in mind and body, despite his 70 years, is one of the narrowing circle of men who enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Henry George during his life time, and has been loyal and faithful throughout the years. He is one of the mainstays of the Scottish movement, a fine and respected figure in the business and public life of the city. Through his influence the President of the International Union was the luncheon guest of the Lord Provost of the City, a number of the prominent city councilmen being invited to meet me at that function. Among many fine speeches made at that public Glasgow meeting, to which I have referred, was one by that old veteran, Richard McGhee, ex-M. P. and old time

friend of Henry George and his family, now in his 77th year and still active in the cause.

At Manchester, where I spoke on the evening following Glasgow, there was another fine gathering with much of the spirit of youth and vim in the proceedings. One of the best speeches made at this meeting was by another gentleman named Eastwood, a town councillor of Bolton, and official secretary and organizer of the Labor Party which has declared for Land Value Taxation. The *Manchester Guardian*, perhaps the most influential paper in Great Britain, in connection with this meeting, devoted a column to an interview with your speaker of this evening.

From Manchester, I went to Liverpool for the final meeting to which I have referred, before my departure on the steamer for New York. A feature of this meeting was an optimistic little speech by one of the veterans of the movement in our own country, James Malcolm, of Albany, who returned to this country on the same ship with me.

A warm hearted group of English people, led by John Paul, came down to the pier to wish us God Speed on the homeward journey, and to ask me to deliver messages of good cheer and affection to Mrs. deMille and other American friends. I thought as I left them what a fine lot of men and women are following the gospel of Henry George, not only in England and Scotland but everywhere in the world. I don't believe there is any other movement or mission in the world that can boast of so many fine and unselfish spirits; men and women who have been brought to see the vision of a better day for all humanity and who follow it loyally and unselfishly—because they can't help themselves. This International Union of ours is now helping to seek them out in every civilized land, and to bind them together in common sympathy for common effort for the common good.

I have been greatly heartened by reading in our London office some of the letters that have come in during the last year, especially since the circulation of our Geneva Document. We have found new and helpful points of contact in Italy, in Switzerland, in Czecho-Slovakia, and elsewhere. From a long letter that came recently from Carl Marfels, a noted watch manufacturer of Heidelberg, let me quote this: "It would have been a great happiness to meet your leading men, for you have done me extraordinary pleasure by letting me see how actively and how rightly you take hold of our question. I was quite in despair when I saw how the German Land Reformers had gone in a wrong direction and were spending their forces on side issues. They seem to avoid Henry George's name deliberately. I began to give up hope of human progress and even to be bitter when I thought about the way in which the sublime thoughts of George had been so obscured and "Progress and Poverty" itself had seemingly been written in vain. I thank God that my faith has been

restored, and you cannot imagine how happy it has made me to see what able, alert and devoted people you have to lead the movement. Now I am convinced that the great thoughts of Henry George can never be lost!"

I, too, have come to the conviction, my friends, not only that the great thoughts of Henry George can never be lost, but that they are destined in the near future to influence the thinking of the world and the action of governments as never before since "Progress and Poverty" was published 49 years ago. It is a sign of the times when a great educational leader like Prof. John Dewey (who, I find, is respected in Europe as he is here) should publicly rate Henry George as among the great social philosophers of all history, while commending his simple and practical plan for restoring justice and prosperity to a troubled world by liberating labor and capital from the shackles which now bind them. It is a sign of the times when the Economic Conference of the League of Nations last May should discover and declare, however timidly, that the misery of millions of people on the European continent was the result of the shackles that selfish and ignorant statesmanship had created to interfere with the production and distribution of wealth.

Plainly the world needs the wisdom and the sanity of the philosophy of Henry George. Philosophy has been defined as critical and reflective thinking. No other man in the world's history has ever produced a message relating to the constitution and maintenance of just social relations for the human family which has been marked by such critical and reflective thinking as that which Henry George has given us. In it, to quote the happy phrase of Prof. Dewey, we find "the analysis of the scientist combined with the sympathies and aspirations of a great lover of mankind."

It is the absence of this philosophy, in the minds of the leaders of men, or the unwillingness to apply it, that is responsible for the great social ills of the world today.

Let me illustrate this thought by a further reference to that Economic Conference of the League of Nations last May, to which our International Union submitted, without visible results, a respectful and dignified Memorandum demonstrating "The Interdependence of the Economic Causes of War and of Industrial Depression."

The Conference had been called into being by a resolution of the League Assembly to search out the economic ills of the world (and especially of Europe) and to offer recommendations for their cure. There was no difficulty about diagnosis. The sources of the troubles of Europe were plain enough. It was revealed that as a result of the new political nationalities set up by the Versailles Treaty, there are now 27 frontier obstructions to trade, where only 20 existed in 1914. There are 6000 more miles of traffic barriers than there used to be. One of the unanimous conclusions of the Conference was expressed in these words:

"The obstacles of all kinds placed on the circulation of goods and capital have had deplorable results, by hampering the normal play of competition and by imperilling both the essential supplies of some nations and the not less indispensable markets of others."

Reviewing the proceedings of the Conference, the President, Mr. Theunis of Belgium, declared, in effect, that they had uncovered the fundamental source of Europe's economic misfortunes. He expressed it concretely in these words:

"The main trouble now is neither any material shortage of the resources of nature nor any inadequacy in man's power to exploit them. It is all, in one form or another, a maladjustment, not an insufficient production capacity, but a series of impediments to the full utilization of that capacity. The main obstacles to economic revival have been the hindrances opposed to the free flow of labor, capital and goods."

These statements helped to account for the facts stated at the Conference that there are ten million workers out of employment in Europe, and the governments, eight years after the *War that was to end War*, are raising by taxation and spending two and a quarter billion of dollars annually to maintain the machinery of war.

Well, the penalties that the world must continue to suffer from the guidance of leaders who cannot lead because they have no philosophy, were revealed by the action of the statesmen in concluding this Economic Conference. The social disease had been accurately diagnosed. The economic life of a continent was crippled and bound in shackles. The remedy, plainly, was Freedom. But all that the Conference felt moved to do about it was to feebly recommend *that tariff barriers be made no higher*.

In a word, the Economic Conference of the League of Nations was a failure, and Europe with its 27 hostile trade frontiers, is left to the policies that serve only to increase human misery, while sowing the seeds of new national animosities and new wars.

I think that one of the most significant events in international politics, although it may not have been noticed on this side of the ocean, was the recent resignation of Lord Robert Cecil from the British Cabinet, which involved his retirement from official connection with the League of Nations. He was, I believe, one of the authors of the Covenant, and a sincere and devoted champion of the League since its inception. In spite of his aristocratic lineage and Tory party affiliations, I believe he is respected in England by men of all parties for his patriotism, his sincerity and his constant efforts to find a basis for the establishment of permanent world peace. There is almost a note of despair in his letter of resignation which seems to have been precipitated by the failure of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva—perhaps to some extent by the futility of the Economic Conference. In his letter to Premier Baldwin he strikes this solemn note:

"I believe that a general reduction and limitation of armaments is essential to the peace of the world, and that on that peace depends not only the existence of the British Empire, but even that of European civilization itself."

To the followers of Henry George it must seem that the trouble with Lord Cecil and with other sincere men who are seeking the way to world peace, is the lack of a philosophy, the absence of the faculty for critical and reflective thinking. It seems to us the very height of futility to seek the road to disarmament through such a Conference as we have witnessed at Geneva; meticulous discussions by uninformed and professional warriors relative to the number of battleships more or less, or the length and tonnage of the armed cruisers that this or that nation is to be permitted to maintain. It all seems like children playing a game of Peace or War, especially when we reflect that in all probability the next world war will be fought not by battleships or massed armies, but out of the sky by death-dealing explosives and chemicals rained down upon helpless civilian populations.

That critical and reflective thinking which is philosophy would teach statesmen that wars will end only when the causes that lead to wars are ended and that these causes, as our International Union is seeking to make plain to the world, are economic in their character. We must seek disarmament in men's minds. We believe that if lasting peace between nations is to be maintained, if contentment and happiness are to come to the distressed peoples of the Earth, these ends are not to be attained by mere formulas, or by the most solemn of covenants and treaties that unenlightened statesmanship can bring about. So long as greed and selfishness and passion and ignorance are allowed to rule the nations of the world, covenants and treaties may be broken as easily as they are made. Gestures of worthy intention and good-will like that of Locarno are not sufficient while the conditions that make for ill-will still remain to menace mankind with the shadows of new world wars.

Mr. Leubuscher: The pleasantest recollection of my visit at Copenhagen is that of introducing my wife to Jakob Lange and she said, "Why that is my maiden name—and so I can claim kinship with Jakob Lange."

Dr. Jakob E. Lange who will now address you, is at the head of the great high-school system of Denmark, which is an example to all the world, where they teach practical things. He is the translator of "Progress and Poverty" into Danish.

ADDRESS OF JAKOB E. LANGE, OF DENMARK

I know that in selecting this subject for my lecture, Henry George and Denmark, I unite something grand with something very small. Still I do it because I want to tell you what influence our great leader has had upon the life of Denmark, and because our experience may tell you something in what ways and by what means the philosophy of Henry George may be carried all over the world.

When you compare the two great minds within social economics for the last seventy years (the only two ones that can be compared), Karl Marx and Henry George, you will see a remarkable difference, and you will find the reason for it not so much in the personality of the men as in the conditions of the times. Most of you know that when Karl Marx was quite a young man he wrote (in 1848) the famous "Communist Manifesto." The first thing in this Manifesto that he says to the proletariat of all countries is—"You must nationalize rent, take over land values. This is the cornerstone of the New World." But then Karl Marx went to England and never came back to his own country. He lived in England and what did he see there? He saw a great country whose millions had lost their land, and had lost at the same time any initiative. When Karl Marx wrote "Das Kapital" he, therefore, instead of beginning with *man* and *nature*, always sees the beginning of everything in the *capitalist*, the employer. "A capitalist, who owns 20,000 pounds, builds a factory, installs machinery and hires some men." That is how he sees things and from that standpoint, from that experience, he built up his whole philosophy and ended by creating a universal state-capitalism which is now called Socialism.

When Henry George, twenty or thirty years later, looked out on the world, he looked out on Young America. He did not see the capitalist building houses, putting in machinery and hiring men. That great spectacle, that wonderful event in the history of the world, the conquering of America, was not done either by capitalists or by government officials; it was done by John Smith and Jim Jones and many others from many countries. It was done with a plow, a sack of wheat and a team, but everywhere, wherever it was done, on the prairies or in the woods, it was a man who worked with or without capital—chiefly without—but with the land, and who succeeded roughly in creating out of the wilderness, if not a rose garden, at least a corn-field.

When Henry George built up his social economics on this foundation, he had to begin—was forced to begin—with *land* and *labor*. He did not look out upon proletarians; he looked out upon men who had not lost initiative, and he saw that if we could re-create this easy access to nature in America, the World, following this example, would not only be a corn-field but a rose-garden.

Whenever and wherever you find a country where some of the same spirit of independence exists in the common man, as it did in America at the time of Henry George, you have the right field for sowing the seed. And because in my country some of this spirit to some extent existed among my countrymen, even the lowliest, the seed would take root there and germinate, although occasionally it would fall among thorns and stones.

Denmark is different from most of the other countries of Europe in that the people never lost the land. Especially when compared with England you see this great difference, that by laws dating back several hundred years

it was absolutely forbidden to unite two or more family-farms in order to create big manorial properties, and we never experienced the great enclosures by which the peasantry and yeomanry of England were annihilated. While England preserved pheasants, we took care of our peasants.

And when the first dawn appeared on the European horizon, when those French philosophers (the Physiocrats) who invented the term "Single Tax" about 1760—when their ideas overran Europe in a remarkable way, the only place where their ideas struck root to germinate and produce practical results was in Denmark where by the influence of these ideas the peasants were liberated and were given such conditions on the land that they were enabled to build for the future; they had the opportunity of working out their own salvation. And they rapidly began to do that. So you can go more than one hundred years back and see that the ideas of the Single Tax were actually arising in Denmark.

And so with Free Trade—not in that clear and absolute form in which our great leader presented it to the world, but in the limited form advocated by Cobden and Bright. It opened up to us the best market in the world. And the Danish peasant-farmer, just started on his uphill course, here found his future—the possibility for doing his best. And very soon after, having realized this, he went in for that purpose and attained if not actually to the leadership in farming, at least to a place in the front.

Other conditions which I shall not here at this late hour speak of in detail, stirred up new problems and were introduced among the farmers. Europe was placed in a position of dire need under which other countries than Denmark almost lost their commercial and financial balance. You know how in the seventies, America, especially the broad Middle West, began to send over by cheap transportation, cheap corn, cheap wheat, and the European farmers did not know what to do. Now our cousins, they said, send us wheat and other things from these broad acres at prices which will not suffice for what we can raise on our limited strips of land. What are we to do? In Germany Bismarck by a master-stroke of what you may call "policy," united the great landowners' interests and the new capitalistic manufacturers' interests, "yunkers and smokestack-barons." The small landowners followed the lead of the big ones and consequently Germany was given over to that policy misnamed protection.

In England they did not dare to do that, and the farmers let their hands sink down. They do not know what they are going to do even now except sell the land for golf-links to rich Americans.

But in Denmark we did otherwise. Not because we had keener minds, but because we were Democrats, and did not want to follow the lead of the big landowner and capitalist. As soon as our big landowners said protection, we said free trade. But we had to say something more. So we said: Why shouldn't we use this cheap corn, cheap

wheat and cheap grain for feeding hogs, for producing milk and butter for the use of our other cousins beyond the North Sea? Plain thinking for the common man. Not philosophy—just plain thinking. And when we began to put into operation this plan we did it on straight democratic lines. Those engaged in a political war with the great landowners and capitalists became democratic cooperators, and that is why Danish cooperation was a success, built on the theory that we must all do our best. Cooperation and this new form of agriculture worked well together, but this created a new phase of the land problem.

We had kept by wise policies the land in the hands of the peasantry and the farmers. We had through the nineteenth century made them proprietors, and consequently to these farmers the land problem did not exist in an acute phase for them. But now there had come into being a new strata: the landless or quasi-landless farmer, the owner of three, four, five or ten acres. Here was the new land question in Denmark. The keenest minds saw that problem. The way some people thought it would be solved (especially from the aristocratic standpoint) was by advising them to immigrate to America. "There is plenty of land over there," they said. But of course this is not the true solution and even if it were then it is not today, when America is practically closed to the common man. And naturally this forced to the front the claim for a new and better solution: That of settling them on the land of Denmark to create the "New America" at home.

At the same time it became practically possible to solve it to a certain extent because under intensive cultivation even some few acres might be of value and the man who had only five or six acres began to think of becoming a farmer, not only a farm laborer. He knew that even if he had only one horse and two cows he was just as well a member of the corporation as the man with one hundred cows. Naturally there also the question arose: How can the landless get land and how can the quasi-landless get land? This happened almost at the same time that "Progress and Poverty" was translated into Danish, not only the *book* but the *ideas*. And I must say that those followers of Henry George who managed to introduce this philosophy among the small holders of Denmark (I refer especially to Mr. Berthelsen), by a masterstroke introduced at the right moment the right ideas within the right group of men. The small holders of Denmark became the stout supporters of land value taxation and free trade, and this is the strength of the Danish Georgism. This is what prevented the movement among the small holders from degenerating into a class movement, but broadened it to universal importance so that it even stamped to a very large extent Danish politics and legislation.

Here lies the chief difference between Denmark and other countries in Europe where the ideas of Henry George are known. With us they are firmly rooted in the broadest

strata. We have not gone very far, but we have a good valuation system. We have got perhaps the *best* valuation. We do not hear any more the words—"it is impossible to value the land." Anyone who knows anything knows that it is easier to value land correctly than to value improvements. In attaining to this it was a great help to us that we have had a kind of land valuation in Denmark for 200 years, so that in Denmark you can ask in any registration office, "What is the taxable appreciation of this bit of land since 1688," and the officer can tell you on a map that "that square is three acres and a half, and is valued at so much."

We also have more *free trade* and more *free traders* than in any other country in Europe, and we have absolutely stopped any deal between capital and organized industrial labor in introducing during these difficult times more *protection*. A policy in the direction of more protection cannot be carried because "Progress and Poverty" was translated thirty years ago!

We have adopted a certain amount of land value taxation, but besides this we also introduced the right principle in another way. When we cut up some of the overgrown family-estates, we transformed them into a kind of practical Henry George settlement, by not selling the land, nor leasing it, but giving it to the men as proprietors (they become proprietary farmers like the rest of us), but we tell them "the land value you cannot touch." "You will have to pay interest forever—4½% on the value of the bare land." We have divided the proprietary rights in two—the land belongs to the worker, the land value belongs to the community. It was not the leaders of the movement of Henry George who realized this; it was the small holders and their own leaders, but you see the influence of the ideas of Henry George. The instinct of the Danish peasant was for "property." He looked back upon the tenancy of the eighteenth century as a kind of slavery, and he wanted to be a proprietor. But he accepted the fundamental idea of Henry George; he saw the common rights as well, and tried to make provision for this.

This is the little we have done. Not much, certainly, but I wanted to tell you of it, chiefly because I wanted to make you feel that it is not the individual agitator or preacher who does this or that, but chiefly the conditions of the times. Seeds of economic justice can only germinate where people have the will to work out their own salvation, to become their own masters. That is why the industrial multitudes in very few cases are alive to these problems. The industrial multitudes have organized a war against employers. I look forward to the time when they will organize to do *without employers*. This will be the time when they too will see.

In conclusion. People speak very much about the debt of Europe to America—whether it should be cancelled or not. There is one debt which can never be cancelled and that is a debt which Europe owes to America

as the country of Henry George. But I want to tell you as countrymen of Henry George and, so to speak, his heirs, that you also owe to Europe a debt. Senator Hennessy mentioned how Europe is split up by innumerable tariff barriers. Now America, the United States, the strongest economic power of the world, owes it to Europe to demolish their own protective tariff. Now is the time for you to do this, to set the example to the old world.

Address of Joseph Dana Miller at the Henry George Congress

IN opening this, the first session of the Second Annual Henry George Congress under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation, we desire to reiterate our conviction that the leader whose fame we commemorate is destined to take his place as the greatest of Americans, and one of the great men of all time.

He is the greatest of Americans, since the influence of no other man born on these shores has permeated so far, has stirred the thoughts and aspirations of so many people, and is determining even now the legislation of so many nations. The name of Henry George is known where the name of no other American is spoken. His works have been translated into almost every known language; his disciples are at work in nearly all the cities and towns of all the lands.

This man was a prophet of the type of the Hebrew prophets whose vision of a better world was shaped by an intense practical knowledge and the wisdom that is the soul of all realizable dreams. Something of the fervor that stirs all deeply religious men was his. He read the hand of God in the destinies of nations.

It is the purpose of the Henry George Foundation to band together in one great brotherhood for effective work the men and women to whom the teachings of this man are the breath of life. Without prejudice to those holding diverse views as to methods we are offered an opportunity for effective organization to bring this message of our leader to the people of the country, to make it a living issue, and to leave no stone unturned in preparing the ground for the harvest.

When Henry George presented to the world his "Progress and Poverty" he bequeathed a manual that deals with its social and economic structure. He gave us a document that declares a new economic gospel; he sent forth a message of emancipation for mankind.

Now it is the height of folly to pretend that this message is interpretable to the minds of men only in fragmentary and piecemeal dosage, or that the complete and rounded message is best served by timid or hesitating propaganda. We are to remember that a civilization that is threatened with perils that beset its very life is not to be rescued by dilettante preaching, or by soft words spoken under our breath.