

THE SINGLE TAX.

Devoted to the Cause of Taxing Land Values.

Eighth Year—No. 89.

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Notes and News.

A stranger, a man of years and experience, who was present at the Glasgow Henry George Memorial Meeting, writes to his friend, Mrs. Greig, Bearsden:—"I have often ruminated on the address I heard at the Single Tax meeting a fortnight ago, and the more I think of it the more I am impressed of the righteousness of much that was stated, and I can see things in a light I never dreamt of before. It has given me food for reflection; but with you I think the Taxation of Land Values should be used as the fulcrum to secure the passage in Parliament of a Single Tax Bill."

* * *

Overcrowding is on the increase in the Rowley district, according to the medical officer. On one occasion he served notices upon a row of houses, and a number of people had to sleep in the streets for weeks. People were unable to obtain houses. One of the Councillors on Monday suggested that the Council would have to provide refugee camps.—*Municipal Journal*, 20/9/01.

As refugee camps would require to be built on land, the Council would have to settle with the landlords before the camps were built. If access to the land was obtained, the people would find means to build houses for themselves.—W. C. M.

* * *

An esteemed co-worker, writing under the *nom de plume* of "Hans Aram" to *The New Age* of September 19th, emphasises the fact that—"To start socialising and communising anywhere away behind the land question is to start in

the middle of your task, and not only muddle the whole thing, but waste precious time and labour. People see to the ground—the foundation—before they go on building a house. To recognise that land should not be monopolised, and that its monopoly is not only an impious usurpation of life's mainstays, but the first parent of all other mischievous monopolies and economic wrongs whatsoever—to see this a man does not require to be out of the swaddling clothes of sociological science."

* * *

All of which is quite true, and very necessary to be remembered. But we fear that according to this view the majority of would-be leaders and teachers of "advanced politics" and "progressive social ethics," must be regarded as still in "the swaddling clothes of sociological science," out of which, we fear, there is little sign that they will ever emerge.

* * *

Speaking at the half-yearly meeting of the Caledonian Railway Company, held at Glasgow on the 17th September, the chairman, Sir James Thomson, said—"The railway companies of this country have to pay, and pay sweetly, for every square yard of land required for railway purposes, either in the provision of station accommodation or in the construction and improvement of the line."

* * *

The Fabian News for September contains an appreciative notice of "The Life of Henry George." Though the writer (E. R. P.) has apparently no very decided views of the value or truth of Henry George's economic doctrines, he fully recognises that "he effected a marked change on economic thinking"; and that "the commonsense and plain language of *Progress and Poverty* have taught even the erudite that abstruse subtleties do not necessarily make valuable science." "George's claim to the gratitude of the world," he contends, "rests on his moral teaching. He was for the masses what Ruskin was for the few. He showed the people that supply and demand and the other economic dicta of the Manchester School are not the only laws which can govern industry. He convinced us that the well-being of the people should be the first consideration of our lawmakers." In conclusion the writer pays a well-deserved tribute to Henry George, junr., for the manner in which he has done his work.

* * *

Mr. H. H. Welch, secretary, Echuca (Victoria) Single Tax League, writes:—"Words fail me to convey to you the effect of the contents of the July *Single Tax* has on myself as a Single Taxer. All honour to your bright little journal, so ably assisted by your co-workers throughout Britain. I note the debate in the Commons on Mr. McKenna's motion on the Finance Bill. These are the plums that fail to reach our shores in the ordinary course, being censored as not fit for publication."

* * *

Mr. P. Ramsey, Otago, New Zealand, took advantage of the recent visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to Australia, and the consequent public reference to the Royal Family, to mention that the King, as Prince of Wales, signed a report fifteen years ago in favour of the Taxation of Land Values.

Mr. Michael Davitt, writing to a Dundee Liberal, says:—"Mr. Russell is making it clear that all the harm which the Catholics of Ireland wish to inflict upon their Protestant fellow-countrymen in Ulster is to help to make them, on fair terms, the owners of their own holdings."

* * *

Just so, but what about the harm to the poor Irish labourers who will require to work these farms for the new landowners? Their fate is evidently never to escape from landlordism. The old democratic cry of the land for the people turns out to be—the land for some of the people. The masses of the Irish people are to be denied their birthright in the land. What an inglorious end to the sacrifice and struggle for Irish freedom.

* * *

At a conference on the Housing Question, promoted by the Glasgow Trades Council and the Scottish section of the Co-operative Union, held in the Co-operative Hall, Clarence Street, Glasgow, on Saturday, 28th September, a resolution in the following terms was unanimously adopted on the motion of Mr. Robert Smillie, seconded by Mr. Low:—"That this conference is of opinion that the movement for taxation of land values should be energetically pressed forward, and that the Government should be urged to make better provision for increased and cheaper tram and railway service between town and country, and that the societies here represented are strongly recommended to take earnest and direct action for the advancement of these measures."

* * *

Until land values are rated there can be no cheaper tram or railway services. The tram or rail fares may be lowered, but, as in the case of the London twopenny tube, rents will go up—land values will advance. All advances along the line of cheapening services tend to crystallise in higher ground rents; and nothing permanent can be gained until provision is made to take this value for the benefit of the people who create it. In pressing forward the taxation of land values the Trades Council and the Co-operators are doing the very best possible work for the commonweal.

* * *

Mr. W. P. Byles, speaking at the Garden City Conference held at Birmingham last month, said nothing but the taxation of land values could solve the Housing Problem. A good discussion followed.

* * *

Richard George has just produced a new bust of his father, one of Thomas G. Shearman, and has the measurements for one of Tom L. Johnson.

* * *

Mr. Taylor, London County Council, told the Glasgow Corporation Housing Conference last month that the L.C.C. had paid no less than £100,000 per acre for land for housing purposes.

* * *

Mr. D. S. Waterlow, Chairman of the Housing and Working Classes Committee, said—"That if they could buy land at 45s. per square yard, they could house people in London in a tolerably satisfactory manner. As a rule, the London County Council had to pay for clearing an insanitary area between 16s. and 17s. per square foot, and when it was cleared it was worth for ordinary commercial purposes in the more crowded and central parts of London, roughly, 10s. per square foot, and for housing purposes 5s. per square foot."

* * *

Councillor Turnbull, Sunderland, said land inside Sunderland would cost £1000 to £1500 per acre, while a couple of miles outside it could be had for £500.

Mr. A. B. M'Donald, City Engineer, read a paper, showing how houses of one, two, and three apartments, at a shilling per room per week, could be erected at a profit sufficient to pay 10s. a square foot for the ground required.

* * *

Councillor Burt stated that he had built a better house for a dog than the one described by Mr. M'Donald for the working classes.

* * *

In the course of his speech, Mr. Burt said—"Without going into detail, the one solution of the question went in the direction of imposing a tax upon the value of land whether it was held idle or whether it was used. People said this was an infringement on the rights of property; but this he denied. The value of the land was increased by the community, and they had a right to that which they created. The greater the prosperity of a city the more the value of the land around it increased. Until they settled this question they would seek in vain for any solution of the difficulty."

* * *

In an article in the *New Liberal Review* on "Local Taxation and the Liberal opportunity," Mr. Charles Trevelyan, M.P., refers to the minority Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation with enthusiasm, as another good recommendation to tax site values.

* * *

We regret that Mr. Trevelyan in such an effort should consider it necessary to go out of his way to throw stones at the Single Taxers. "No doubt," he says, "in some progressive quarters there will be dejection. This is no confiscatory tax proposed, no 20s. in the £ levy. The Dukes of Westminster and Portland are not to be made immediately and obviously to disgorge masses of their unearned profits."

* * *

No one should know better than Mr. Trevelyan that this is a deliberate misrepresentation of the "20s. in the £ men." They have unanimously welcomed this minority report, and have already published in pamphlet form the report of Judge O'Connor. The Single Taxers of Great Britain have devoted their organisations for years to make the taxation of land values understood and popular.

* * *

The literature of the movement for Taxation of Land Values is supplied by Single Taxers. They have given men like Mr. Trevelyan their education on the subject, supplied them generously with facts and figures. They have tried for years to get the Liberal Associations and the Trevelyanes to do this work, and with what success let their publications tell.

* * *

The best answer to Mr. Trevelyan is, that when Liberals (M.P.'s and candidates included) desire the facts of the case for the taxation of land values, they have to come to the Single Taxers; they cannot be obtained from Liberal Associations, or from representative Liberals, so called.

* * *

But let Mr. Trevelyan not delude himself; he also is a confiscationist, if he stands for taxation of land values, in the eyes of those who, like Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., liken the proposal to the stealing of watches. There is only a difference in degree between Mr. Trevelyan and the 20s. in the £ man. He may satisfy himself with the pleasing reflection that he is a moderate man, but it will not gain him a single vote from those interested in keeping the present system a going concern.

* * *

Mr. Trevelyan is on safer ground when he falls back on the philosophy of the Single Tax, "A standing confusion," he says, "has been fostered in men's minds by the perennial distinction between real and personal property. Included under the head of real property are houses which, after bread, are among all the products of human industry

the prime necessity of life—are mills and some parts of machinery, which are the first requisites of industry—are agricultural improvements, without which the land is useless. To class these with the land value, and to tax them equally as real property. Yet there is very little distinction between burdening with local rates the structure and machinery in mills and taxing the other capital necessary for industry. And it is hardly more excusable to levy a restrictive rate on houses than to impose a tax upon imported corn."

* * *

Mr. Trevelyan may not know it, but this is the pure unadulterated doctrine of Henry George, the first and foremost of the men who stand for 20s. in the £. It is the philosophy of the Single Tax in all its strength and purity. That Mr. Trevelyan should grasp the truth clearly, and at the same time openly quarrel with its political application, is one of these things that make politicians the despair of men of principle.

* * *

We heartily agree with Mr. Trevelyan when he says: "This report is one of the many opportunities which offer themselves to any Liberal statesman who would arouse himself to express the yearnings for social progress which are only reluctantly latent in our working people, and to labour at the practical framing of proposals which will convince our middle class business men."

* * *

The taxation of land values is ripe for bold treatment, and now is the time for any man worthy the name of statesman to impress it upon the public mind with clearness and courage as a measure of justice and expediency.

* * *

At the bye-election in North-East Lanarkshire last month to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. John Colville, the question of taxing land values came in for a more than usual share of interest and discussion. Mr. Harmsworth, the Liberal Imperialist candidate, devoted the greater part of his addresses to the subject, and by the circulation of thousands of explanatory leaflets. The Socialist candidate, Mr. Smillie, also stood for the question in a surprising manner. The democratic vote was split between these two candidates. Many Liberals and the Irish electors refused to support Mr. Harmsworth, with the result that the Conservative candidate, Sir William Rattigan, had the seat practically presented to him.

* * *

Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., told the Economic Science and Statistic Department last month, that "a tax on land values would raise the price of houses to buyers, and consequently rent to the tenants. It was quite evident that land values being exposed to a special rate would affect the buyers and tenants of houses very severely, for the builders would require to get as much additional inducement from the buyer of the house as would counterbalance the lessened amount they would receive from ground rent buyers."

* * *

This argument or idea is quite beyond us. We do not quite see where the ground rent buyers come in. A tax on land values would, by destroying monopoly or speculative prices, enable the builder to secure land cheaper than at present. He could therefore build cheaper houses, and the buyers would benefit. If it is any consolation to Mr. Corbett, the latest from New Zealand is that local bodies now rate land values, and the building trade there is booming along with other industries.

* * *

Mr. Corbett's chairman, Sir Robert Giffen, said "that what he liked in Mr. Corbett's paper was his defence of the present system, by which it was possible to create ground rents which were exempt from local rates. Those who had

raised the question of the taxation of land values were not doing good service to the community. We ought to make the best of the existing system, and not be ready to change it."

* * *

Sir Robert is better employed at providing us with statistics than talking such old-fashioned nonsense. He ought to put himself in communication with Lord Balfour of Burleigh and the treasury experts, who wish to tax land values to stop the agitation.

* * *

"I shall therefore advocate and support by every means in my power, such an amendment of the present system of rating, as will secure to the burgesses that increase in the value of land, which their own exertions and sacrifices have created, so that the burdens of taxation may be borne by all classes in proportion to the advantages which they derive from such public improvements.—*From the election address of Councillor Wm. Thomson, Keighley.*

* * *

Mr. W. P. Byles writes to the *Bradford Observer*, congratulating the local Liberal Association on a programme and manifesto just issued, a plank of which is 'Taxation of Land Values.

* * *

In sending a subscription of £20 to the League, Mr. H. S. Murray writes:—"It is rather disheartening work fighting our battle in these reactionary times; but we must keep our cause before the public, in the hope that when the public mind has been rendered sick of war through this miserable South African business, it may turn with greater readiness to domestic reform. I hope that the Bazaar may also help to put our League on a better financial basis, as well as help our propaganda."

* * *

The Treasurer has also to acknowledge a subscription of £20 from Mr. H. C. Fairlie, and one of £10 from "A Sympathiser."

THE LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The law of human progress, what is it but the moral law? Just as social adjustments promote justice, just as they acknowledge the equality of right between man and man, just as they ensure to each the perfect liberty which is bounded only by the equal liberty of every other, must civilisation advance. Just as they fail in this must advancing civilisation come to a halt and recede. Political economy and social science cannot teach any lessons that are not embraced in the simple truths that were taught to poor fishermen and Jewish peasants by One who eighteen hundred years ago was crucified—the simple truths which, beneath the warpings of selfishness and the distortions of superstition, seem to underlie every religion that has ever striven to formulate the spiritual yearnings of man.—*Henry George.*

SUCH an immense part is played in current literature by CAPITAL that it requires a positive effort to keep one's attention to the fact that capital is a spade, and can do nothing. How were the Pyramids of Egypt built? By capital? Absurd. By whom, then? By co-operating labourers of a dusky complexion. Who built the warehouses, factories, and wharves of England, America, and Australia? Co-operating labourers of a light complexion. To whom did the Pyramids belong? To the masters of the dark-skinned toilers. To whom do the warehouses of England belong? To the lords and masters of the light-skinned labourers. What a strange delusion that a "thing" should be thought to do things which a being was obviously performing. When Australian editors warn Labour Unionists not to drive capital out of the country, they must mean, "Do not depopulate the colony." They must mean, "Do not go away, Labour Unionists, and leave us in the lurch."—*Cinderella*, an Australian pamphlet, by A. K. Watson,

GLASGOW CORPORATION CONFERENCE on the HOUSING PROBLEM.

A two days' conference, under the auspices of the City Improvement Department of the Corporation of Glasgow as to cheap dwellings, was held in the City Chambers on the 24th and 25th September. The Hon. the Lord Provost (Mr. Samuel Chisholm, LL.D.) presided, and there was an attendance of about 160 delegates representing other corporations and bodies in the United Kingdom.

Papers were read on "How to acquire land for the erection of cheap dwellings," "The construction of houses for the poor," "The caretaking of the houses," "Slum properties," "How to clear congested areas," and "Cheap means of communication." At the close of the two days' discussion, it was resolved "that further and immediate general or private bill legislation is necessary and expedient in the directions following, viz. :—(1) That simpler and less costly machinery should be devised and sanctioned by Parliament for enabling Local Authorities to put in force and carry out the provisions of the Housing of the Working Classes Acts; (2) that authority should be given to Municipal Corporations and other Local Authorities to acquire, at its market value, by as simple and inexpensive a method as possible, and without any allowance for compulsory purchase, land, for the present or prospective erection and maintenance of dwellings for the population to be displaced by the abolition of slum properties; (3) that any sinking fund required to be set apart for repayment of moneys borrowed for such purposes should apply to the cost of buildings only and not to land, and should be extended over a period of not less than sixty years; (4) that Municipal Corporations and other Local Authorities be empowered to build such buildings in accordance with their own bye-laws, and not be required to satisfy the requirements of the Local Government Board."

THE HOUSING REFORMER.

(With apologies to W. S. GILBERT).

If you're eager for to shine in the philanthropic line,
And win fame that will endure,
You must act on my suggestion and dabble with the question
Of the housing of the poor;
But be very circumspect, or you'll spoil the whole effect;
You must clearly understand
That at Conf'rence or Convention you must always dodge
all mention
Of the Landlord and the Land.
And everyone will say,
You're a statesman of the day,
And those who know that two and two make five
Will be perfectly sure
That you're a most particularly sensible man
On the Housing of the Poor!

You must reckon up the sums it will take to buy the slums,
And the money it will take to build;
And discuss the ways and means for transforming ugly scenes
To homes with comfort filled;
You must talk of grass and flowers, and designs for pleasant
bowers,
In a manner smooth and bland,
But, lest you'd cause confusion, avoid the least allusion
To the Landlord and the Land.
And everyone will say, &c.

When you meet a man like Burt, who the obvious truth will blurt,
That you're adding to the landlord's pile,
For that every copper spent will simply raise the rent,
Your better plan will be to—smile;
Or, if you must reply, then assume a manner high,
And coolly wave your hand,
And talk of "George's fad"—for you see the outlook's bad
For the Landlord and the Land.
And everyone will say, &c.

If you'd really stand alone, get a theory of your own,
Here is one thought out with care—
That houses for the masses be erected by the classes
Away up in the air;
Castles sometimes, as you know, are quickly fashioned so,
And cottages could thus be planned,
Only thus the Housing Question can be freed from all
suggestion
Of the Landlord and the Land!
And everyone will say, &c.
Glasgow, 25th Sept. J. W. BENGOUGH.

The Kernel of the Labour Problem.

"'Sir,' said to me a Minnesota farmer, 'the curse of this country is that we have too much land;' a phrase which I have heard again and again; among the iron-masters of Pittsburg, among the tobacco-planters of Richmond, among the cotton-spinners of Worcester. Indeed, this wail against the land is common amongst men who, having mines, plantations, mills, and farms, would like to have larger supplies of labour at lower rates of wages than the market yields. There have been times in which a similar cry was raised in England by the Norfolk farmers, by the Manchester spinners, by the Newcastle coal men. Those who want to get labour on the lowest terms must always be in favour of restricting the productive acreage of land [or rather the available supply of land]."—*New America*. W. Hepworth Dixon (1867).

Good Advice to Land Reformers.

Prior to delivering a lecture on the Land Question, one of our London co-workers received the following pertinent and suggestive letter from our veteran co-worker, known as John Wheelwright. His advice is so good that we reproduce it for the benefit of all lecturers on the Land Question, by whom, we are sure, it will be greatly appreciated:—

DEAR SIR,—Judge O'Connor, member of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, says, in his Report to the King, that "no man is in law the absolute owner of lands," and frequently forgets himself by referring to land-holders as land-owners. No man can give what is not his to give, therefore there can no more be a land-owner than an air owner.

The law of England permits a man to have an estate in land, that is, the loan or use of it at a rent. Land rent at first was our revenue, for the words are synonymous—rent is short for rendered, and revenue is the Norman revenue, both meaning that which returns or comes back to the State for the use of the soil. Rent was paid in cash or in personal service; and by the condition of land tenure our war in South Africa ought to be paid for by the land-holders, as our old wars and battles were—Poitiers, Crescy, and Agincourt. But the land-holders, and their friends or parasites, the lawyers, usurped the power of making laws, and, by a system of doles, they gave themselves our rents and left us to make up the revenue. The habit of calling land-holders land owners grafts a wrong impression on the mind difficult to be uprooted. Land is held of the Crown, the symbol of the people's sovereignty—it is in tenure, landlords are the people's tenants, and should pay all rates and taxes in return for the use of the soil. Do tell the meeting never to call a land-holder a land owner—it is not correct, even in law. By so doing they are giving their case away. When the landed classes perceive by the change that the people have got hold of the secret, they will mend their ways, and Lord Salisbury will think twice before he again tells them to go to the circus, and not think about the rights of property.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT.

HENRY GEORGE MEMORIAL MEETINGS.

GLASGOW.

To celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Henry George, a special meeting was held in the rooms of the Scottish Single Tax League on Thursday, September 3rd, 1901. Mr. W. D. Hamilton, vice-president, occupied the chair, and the speaker for the occasion was Mr. Lewis H. Berens (co-author of *The Story of My Dictatorship*), of the Land Restoration League. In opening the proceedings the Chairman alluded most feelingly to the object of the gathering. In Henry George, he contended, they recognised a great moral teacher, who had been instrumental in reviving their faith in eternal justice and goodness, in the Christian conception of a just God, the beneficent Father of all the children of men, in which the prevailing conditions of human life had almost forced even religious men to doubt. Henry George had conclusively demonstrated, however, that such conditions were not attributable to inevitable and immutable natural causes, to which mankind must perforce submit, but rather to unjust human laws and institutions, begotten of ignorance and selfishness, against which it was, he considered, their almost sacred duty strenuously and unceasingly to protest.

On being called upon to address the meeting, Mr. Berens first expressed the pleasure he felt at being again amidst his Scottish co-workers in the Single Tax movement. Continuing, he said that he had passed the forenoon of that day in the beautiful Art Gallery of their city. Turning from the splendid collection of pictures, he was attracted by the groups of people manifestly thoroughly enjoying the artistic treat that had been provided for them, and he could not but reflect on what a rational, enjoyable, full life all might now lead. Returning to the city, passing through the streets, his thoughts travelled from the possibilities to the stern realities of life, and he felt his soul filled with bitterness and despair, as if it had lost its faith in mankind and in the possibility of progress. Finally, however, he in imagination compared what is with what was; and again he felt that the heroic struggles of the past had not been in vain; that, in truth, the Golden Age, of which philosophers had speculated and poets had dreamed, lay, not behind, but before us, and that even now it was well within the reach of mankind. Enough wealth could to-day be easily produced for all, enough leisure secured to all, if only we took steps to establish our basic social laws and institutions on the safe and sure foundations of Justice. And he rejoiced to know himself associated with a steadily-increasing body of men who had seen this truth and were devoting their lives to its proclamation. It was to such endeavours that all the progress of the past was due, and by means of such endeavours that any future progress was alone to be hoped for.

It was, he continued, good for them to recognise that the Single Tax movement was not something separate and apart from all other movements; it was, in reality, but the necessary continuation of the great struggle which had commenced with the dawn of society and of government, and of which the history of civilisation is but the record. The most superficial study of universal history reveals the fact that it is but the story of an incessant struggle between two opposing and irreconcilable principles of social life, between might and right, between slavery and freedom, between license and liberty, between privilege and justice,—or, briefly, between Aristocracy and Democracy. Between these two principles of social life every society must necessarily choose, and fortunately, as he believed, there was no half-way house in which man could permanently abide; hence it must necessarily choose one or the other of these conflicting and opposing principles.

Aristocracy, he contended, was based upon privilege, upon the recognition and enforcement of the *special* claims of some; Democracy, upon justice, upon the recognition and enforcement of the *equal* claims of all. Aristocracy involves the license and the rule of might; Democracy involves liberty and the rule of right. Equal liberty, a liberty limited only by the equal claims of others, can be secured to all; privilege and license can only be secured to some, not to all, and can only be secured to these by trampling on the equal claims, infringing the equal rights, of the rest of the community. Aristocracy was the product of the primitive, predatory instincts of the race; Democracy of its ethical or social instincts. Slavery, serfdom, limitation and inequalities of political and civic rights, private ownership, by a privileged few, of those natural bounties and opportunities to the use of which all had equal claims, if all had equal claims to existence: such were the typical fruits of Aristocracy. It was against such fruits that the heroic struggles of Democracy were directed, and the record of social and political progress is but the record of its victories. To-day the equal right of all to dispose of their activities and of the fruits of their activities, and to a voice in the making of the laws they are expected to obey, is respected, or rather recognised in the abstract, by all political thinkers; the one question that remains to be settled—and unsettled questions, as Abram Lincoln pointed out, have no regard for the repose of nations—is as to the right to the use of the Earth: Are the equal claims of all to the use of the Earth to be recognised and respected as Democracy demands, or are the special claims of some to control the use of that upon which all must live and work to be continued, as Aristocracy requires? This is the question which this generation is called upon to consider, and which the next will probably be called upon to answer. And it is the special glory of the great man in whose honour they were assembled to have raised this question in a manner which admitted of no evasion, and which forced it upon the attention of mankind.

Just as there were Democrats before Henry George, so too, there were land-reformers, land-reformers who recognised the injustice of, as well as the social miseries produced by, the private ownership of land just as thoroughly and keenly as did our great Master. (Here the speaker dwelt upon the views held by such men as Gerard Winstanley, of the Commonwealth period, John Locke, Thomas Spence, Dove and Earnest Jones.) Henry George's special merit, the basis of his claim to immortality, to be ranked amongst the social saviours of our race, rests on the fact that not only did he voice the aspirations and formulate the philosophy of Democracy, but he indicated the means by which these aspirations may be realised and the philosophy given practical effect. Henry George realised the absolute necessity for the strictest obedience to the dictates of Justice, which demands that the equal rights of all to the use of the Earth shall be respected and enforced. He also realised, however, that, in the present state of civilisation at least, the private possession of land was necessary in order to secure to the individual his exclusive rights to the products of his own industry. His greatness and originality as a moral, social, and political teacher rests on the fact that he showed us the way by which these apparently irreconcilable demands could be reconciled. As he expressed it—"To combine the advantages of private possession with the justice of common ownership it is only necessary to take for common uses what value attaches to land irrespective of any exertion of labour on it." This is the proposal known as the Single Tax; this is the proposal they were gathered together to support, as the easiest, most speedy and most effective means of laying the foundations of our social system on the safe and sure foundation of Justice.

Mr. Berens then dwelt on the recent most satisfactory progress of the movement in every part of the English-speaking world. He referred to the reports of the Royal

Commission on Taxation and the Colorado Commission, both of which he claimed as undoubtedly great gains for the Single Tax cause. He dwelt on the marvellously beneficial results of the small instalment of the Single Tax policy which had been carried into effect in both New South Wales and New Zealand, results more beneficial than even the most enthusiastic advocate of the Taxation of Land Values would have dared to predict. From Canada, South Africa, and other parts of the Globe came good tidings of the gradual strengthening and growth of their movement. In conclusion, he expressed his firm conviction that the Single Tax movement had come to stay. No one could come to realise what the Single Tax meant, or gain any insight into its fundamental principles, without becoming not only a wiser but also a more moral man. And he was convinced that but very few of those who had once openly espoused their great cause could ever turn back. The torch Henry George had lighted at such a sacrifice would never be extinguished; it would act as a beacon light to the generations that were to come, who, living under social conditions which his genius had made possible, would love and revere his memory even as they did.

An animated discussion followed the lecture, and a most enjoyable evening was brought to a close by the usual votes of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman.

HALIFAX.

Our co-workers of Halifax called a special meeting at the Liberal Club, King's Cross, to commemorate Henry George Day. Mr. Whitley, M.P., occupied the chair, and Mr. John Paul, of Glasgow, gave an address on "Henry George's Solution of the Labour Problem."

In introducing the lecturer, Mr. Whitley first referred to the report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, remarking that this report would rank as an extremely important document in the future history of our country, not because of the report signed by the majority of that Commission, but because of the striking conversions which were made on the Commission to the policy which a number of them in Halifax had been advocating for many years. This was, that at any rate a large part of the burden of taxation should go on those increasing site values that were created, not by any individual, but by the industry of the community that lived and worked round about them—(hear, hear). It was certainly a very extraordinary thing to find that two Tory members of the House of Lords, Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Lord Blair Balfour, should be even partially converted. It was only the beginning, it was true, but apparently it was the beginning of an honest conviction on this subject. Even more important than these conversions was that two of the leading financial civil servants—men of the highest possible experience, Sir Edward Hamilton and Sir George Murray, in the Government Department—joined in signing the minority report which recommended that, at any rate, part of the local taxation should be placed on the site value of land. Concluding, the hon. member observed that, of the work of Henry George in this direction, he had not time to enter. Suffice it to say that a man who had a great new message was hardly ever, or never, received in his own life time. It was long afterwards that people began to discover that there was a great deal of truth in what he said, and this, he believed, would be the case with the teachings of Henry George—(applause).

Mr. John Paul followed. After outlining the Georgian philosophy, he pointed out that some found fault with its advocates because they went too far; others because they did not go far enough. The Georgian philosophy was based on those eternal principles of justice which appealed to every man no matter what his intellectual powers or his social standing might be. When given practical effect, as

he was convinced it ultimately would be, it would produce greater changes in our social and individual life than even its most pronounced advocate dared prophecy. The Single Tax or the Taxation of Land Values was no mere fiscal reform, but the inauguration of a radical change in social life, views and aspirations, which when carried would materially alter our whole social life. In conclusion, he urged his audience to study the question for themselves so that they at least might understand and become worthy disciples of the great man in whose memory they had gathered together that evening.

The usual vote of thanks to the speaker and the chairman brought the meeting to its close.

KEIGHLEY.

On Saturday, September 7th, a public meeting to commemorate the anniversary of the birthday of Henry George was held in the Devonshire Hall, Keighley, and was well attended. Mr. J. Brigg, M.P., Keighley, occupied the chair, and Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P. (Halifax), Mr. E. Adam, M.A. (Edinburgh), and Mr. John Paul (Glasgow) were the principal speakers.

In opening the proceedings the Chairman dwelt upon the fact that a new idea might be of more value than many riches; for the world, as some wise man had said, was governed by ideas, and it was the men who formulated new and true ideas who were, in truth, the leaders of the world. Such a man was Henry George, to commemorate whose memory they had gathered together that evening. But he had come as a learner rather than as a teacher, and so called upon Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P. for Halifax, to address the meeting.

After a few words commending the pluck of the Chairman in continuing his duties as the representative of the Keighley Division, despite a condition of health which would have justified him in giving up such work, Mr. Whitley referred to the recent horrible attack on President McKinley. He was, he continued, quite certain that everyone in this country reprobated any action of that kind (hear, hear). He felt the more satisfaction in speaking to them and prefacing his remarks with an avowal of his deep abhorrence of a crime of that kind, because the man they were celebrating that night—Henry George—was of an exactly opposite type. Those misguided persons who thought that by such violent means they would be advancing any part of humanity were sadly misconceiving what was either possible or probable. Henry George was a man of construction and not of destruction. It was only on the lines of construction that forward progress would be made. The problems which Henry George attacked were those which confronted every serious and earnest man in the country. The ethics and motives of his whole series of books were—examine the problems in front of us, and then ask ourselves this question—Are not many of the conditions which some men in a light-hearted way attribute to Providence the result of bad laws and bad customs applied by what are called civilised communities (applause)? What was of great importance was the result of Henry George's work—it was the realisation that we were confronted with conditions of life and labour, especially in the big cities, with which he thought no thinking man could remain satisfied (hear, hear). As to the cure, there were good and honest men who found what they considered the only remedy in Socialism—the nationalisation of all the means of production and exchange. He only wished to God he could believe in this solution of the difficulty—it implied a faith in the immediate improvement of human nature that he was not confident of. The other remedy was that of Henry George; and wherein was the difference? It was that Henry George recognised that the individuality of man was given by some higher power than man, and therefore should not be suppressed, but encouraged; that the evil

was not in individual action or work, but in the social conditions which prevented individual effort and individual capacity having fair play (hear, hear). He believed it to be possible to retain the good in individualism whilst removing the evils which had caused the mad and unfair competition which was sometimes identified with individualism. If he were asked to choose between the teaching of Henry George and that of Karl Marx—which promised the greatest benefit to the nation which adopted one or the other—he would unhesitatingly say it was to the plan of Henry George that he would turn (applause). The practice of this method was coming nearer in this country, and the experience of New Zealand and South Australia showed that the taxation of land values was beneficial.

Mr. E. Adam followed with a stirring address, which roused the audience to great enthusiasm. He made the proposition that the product of a man's individual labour ought to belong to him against the whole world (hear, hear), and afterwards went on to point out that this was impossible under the present condition of land holding. But by placing taxation upon land values the owners of land could not afford to keep it idle. Such a course would be merely returning to the community what the community had made. It would have a great effect in meeting the difficulty of the housing problem, and it would also be an instance of honest taxation—not the system now whereby 2s. 6d. was obtained at a cost of 5s. It was said the working man was taxed to give him an interest in the Empire, and it was done in such a way that he did not know he had that interest (laughter). There was a moral truth behind political questions, and it was this moral truth that Henry George had forced upon them—he had not only put political economy on a sound basis, but had given a sound basis for politics. Mr. Adam also went on to argue that land was national, only the tenants-in-chief were paying no rent to the Crown, and what was needed was that the old conditions under which land was held should be re-enforced in money. The existing condition of things under which men suffered was not the result of God's power, but was the result of man's sin. As a nation it was their duty to exert themselves to put these things right, and all other things would then follow. If every man had his rights there would be no need of old-age pensions, and our young men would think education desirable. Our churches might yet be filled if in them was preached a Gospel of justice (applause). Just as it was necessary in the years back for the people to prevent the priest interposing himself between man and his God, so it was necessary that the people should now prevent the holder of the land from clouding up the hand of the Heavenly Father as He reached out the sustenance of His people. In fighting for the principles of Henry George they certainly fought for what was good, and true, and beautiful, and of good repute.

Mr. John Paul, who followed Mr. Adam, dealt mainly with the economic teachings of Henry George. Dealing with the question of free trade, he emphasised the fact that real free trade involved freedom to produce as well as freedom to exchange; and he asked his audience how such freedom, such free trade, was possible so long as the natural sources, the fountain springs of production, were allowed to remain the private property of a privileged section of the community? Henry George advocated the common ownership, or rather the equal rights of all to the use of the land; and the Single Tax was only the means to attain this end. Property, he argued, was not respected in this country, and could not be respected so long as land, the free gift of Nature to all the children of men, was regarded and treated as the private property of a class; what was respected in this country was robbery. The Land Values of this country were produced by the people, consequently in equity belonged to the people; he, therefore, advocated the taxation, not only of the value of unoccupied land in towns, but of all land, whether in use or withheld from use, whether occupied or idle, as the best means of securing

to the people what in equity belonged to them, viz., the full value of the land of the country in which they lived and worked.

The usual votes of thanks to the speakers and the chairman terminated the proceedings.

The Sunday evening following the Henry George Memorial Meeting the local Single Taxers met and discussed the Religion and Philosophy of the Single Tax. Mr. Dion Whitehead, of the Financial Reform Association, and Mr. John Paul, Glasgow, were the principal speakers.

PORTSMOUTH.

The members of the Portsmouth Single Tax Union had an enjoyable outing to Warsash. An enjoyable tea was provided, after which Mr. Trodd, the president, and Mr. Stevens spoke on Henry George's life and work. Song and sentiment, contributed by Messrs. Hillyer, Trodd, Santills, Freeman, Lee and McGuigan, filled in the remaining part of a very pleasant evening.

Mr. Lewis H. Berens recently visited Portsmouth and addressed a couple of good meetings organised by the Portsmouth Single Tax Union. The members desire to thank Mr. Berens for his visit. His encouraging account of the work being done and the progress of the movement in so many parts of the world was highly appreciated.

Newcastle-on-Tyne Land Values Taxation League and the Coal Tax.

The financial policy of the present Government hit the inhabitants of the North-east of England very hard. Four-fifths of the coal brought to the surface in Northumberland is sent abroad. It is no wonder, therefore, that the miners of this county in conjunction with their fellow-workers in Durham resented bitterly the proposal to single out their industry for taxation. They were perfectly willing to pay their fair share of the national burdens, but they naturally objected to the attempt to place almost the whole of the additional weight on their shoulders. A vigorous agitation against the Coal Tax was at once instituted. In this agitation the Land Values Taxation League of Newcastle-on-Tyne and district played a by no means unimportant part. With the assistance of the local miners' lodges they organised several very successful open-air meetings at Throckley, Blaydon, Leadgate, Seghill, Ashington, Prudhoe and Seaton Delaval. The Liberal Associations of Bardon Mill, Newcastle-on-Tyne (East Elswick Ward), and Tyneside also invited the speakers of the League to address their members, and the invitations were gladly accepted. At almost every meeting the following resolution was proposed and carried, in most cases unanimously:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the financial proposals of the Government are opposed to every principle of sound political economy, and that the required revenue should be raised by a tax on Mining Royalties and Land Values, such values being due to the presence and enterprise of the whole community."

The members of the League who took the most prominent part in speaking at these gatherings were Messrs. Philpott, Veitch, Wakinshaw and Dakers. Special stress was laid upon the fact that the Duke of Portland and the Marquis of Hastings were receiving as royalty rents from Northumberland a sum equal to the annual earnings of 600 miners. It was also pointed out that a tax of 2d. per ton on mining royalties would yield more revenue than the proposed export duty on coal.

Altogether nearly 2000 persons would listen to those who took part in this attack on land monopoly, and there are not wanting signs that the seed sown is destined to bear good fruit in the not very remote future.

THE NEW ZEALAND SINGLE TAX MANIFESTO.

WE would draw the attention of our readers to the above Manifesto, which appears in full in another part of this issue, and which is well worthy of careful perusal and serious study. Our co-workers in New Zealand seem to us to appreciate the full meaning and purport of the Single Tax Philosophy, and to be intent on making others appreciate it also. They are certainly making a brave and strenuous effort to save their country from the worst effects of those social ills which afflict the older communities—from whom it has necessarily borrowed its social customs, laws, and institutions—and symptoms of which have already appeared in their midst.

Everywhere the same causes are producing the same results; but, fortunately for the future of New Zealand, in newer communities the results of social customs or laws are more readily traced to their causes than in the older ones. The iniquitous and unequal distribution of wealth, to which they refer in their Manifesto, is the direct and inevitable fruit of Land Monopoly, of that insane policy which places the natural forces and opportunities, inherent in the soil of a country, in the hands and under the control of a privileged section of the community.

It is against this insane policy—we can use no other qualifying term—that Single Taxers are everywhere protesting, and with no uncertain sound. They realize that nothing can avail permanently and materially to ameliorate and elevate the condition of the masses of the people until this policy has been discarded, and the equal rights of all to the use of the soil of the country they inhabit has been recognised and enforced. This is the reform which will make every other necessary reform possible and beneficial; and until this reform has been accomplished, nothing effective can be secured. To the superficial observer, the necessity for radical changes may not be so apparent in New Zealand as they are in the older countries of Western Europe.

Single Taxers, in New Zealand as elsewhere, however, are concerned not so much with the present as with the future. They realise that the fundamental changes they advocate can only be effected gradually. They see that—in New Zealand as in America and the rest of the civilized world—to use the eloquent and impressive words of Henry George:—

“In our times, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her, or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this,

or Liberty withdraws her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very force that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in justice, the social structure cannot stand.”

To lay the foundations of the social structure in justice, is the aim of the Single Taxers of New Zealand, as it is that of their brother-reformers in every part of the civilized world. Much has been done in New Zealand; but much still remains to be done. The great necessity, however, seems to be, not so much to hurry on legislation, but rather to see that such legislation as necessity makes possible is based upon sound economic principles, and will really do something permanently to remedy the evils against which it is avowedly directed.

This does not seem always to have been the case in New Zealand; pseudo-reforms have been foisted on the people as real, radical reforms. And it is against such measures that our fellow-workers in New Zealand find it necessary seriously to warn their fellow-citizens.

“Legislation,” they say, “may be so devised as to have merely the appearance of a reform without the reality. It may seem to overturn the old system, and yet foster all its abuses in a new and subtle form, less apparent, and therefore more dangerous. We are of the opinion that the so-called land policy now obtaining in New Zealand, instead of being a remedy, perpetuates everything vicious in the old system, and at the same time places the lands of the colony beyond the control of the people.”

Of course it may be urged that such mistakes are almost inevitable; but we regret to have to express our conviction that they are more probably the result of subtlety than of ignorance. We sincerely hope we are mistaken; but if so our views of the class of men who fatten on corruption and are enriched by unjust privileges, is also a very mistaken one. In any case we would congratulate the New Zealand Single Taxers on their eloquent and instructive Manifesto, and wish their future efforts every success.

Personally, doubtless, they will reap an abundant harvest of hatred, scoffing, and abuse; but still the work is its own reward; and they must find encouragement and inspiration in the knowledge that their heroic efforts on behalf of Truth, Justice and Humanity are being closely watched and keenly appreciated by their fellow-workers in every quarter of the English speaking world.

Utilitarian materialism, barren well-being, the idolatry of the flesh and of the “I,” of the temporal and of mammon, are they to be the goal of our efforts, the final recompense promised to our race? I do not believe it. The ideal of humanity is something different and higher. But the animal in us must be satisfied first, and we must first banish from among us all suffering which is superfluous and has its origin in social arrangements before we can return to spiritual goods.—*Amiel's Journal.*

BAZAAR TO PROMOTE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

To be held under the auspices of The Scottish Single Tax League in the Trades House, 85 Glassford Street, Glasgow, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, 20th, 21st, and 22nd March, 1902.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

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- Ex-Provost WATSON (Falkirk).
- Coun. J. C. WHITELEY (Sheffield).
- " D. WILLOX (Glasgow).
- Bailie ROBT. WILSON (Pullochshaws).

GRAND PRIZE DRAWING.

A few friends have given several articles to the value of £105, to be devoted to a **Prize Drawing** in connection with the Bazaar. They are as follows:—

- 12 Prizes, - - value £105.
- 1. Upright Grand Piano, - value £45 0 0
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- 12. Case of Pipes—Meerschaum and Briar, - - - - " 1 0 0
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Books containing 21 tickets at Sixpence each (United States and Canada, 12½ cents) now ready. The Bazaar Committee hope to have the assistance of all concerned, both at home and abroad, in promoting their sale.

10/- per book of 21 tickets.

Send for at least one Subscription Book now, and so give this special feature of the Bazaar a good send-off.

District News.

Sheffield.

APPRECIATION OF LAND VALUES.—Owners of the soil in our great manufacturing centres are, says "Vulcan" in this week's *Ironmonger*, under no temptation to envy the good fortune of the Rhodeses, the Reits, and the rest of the South African magnates, as a case from Sheffield which has been related to me goes to show. The lease of some works and other property in the neighbourhood of Sheaf Street in the city named recently expired. Under the old lease, the land was let for thirty five years at a rental of 2d. per square yard, but the tenants received notice from the agent of the Duke of Norfolk (who owns most of the land occupied by the principal steel and other factories in Sheffield) that the charge would be increased to 11s. 6d. per square yard for the future. No one will be surprised to learn that the tenants promptly sought cheaper premises. I have no doubt that this instance of remarkable appreciation of the value of land in Sheffield is an extreme and exceptional one, and may be due in part to public improvements and tramway extension in the vicinity, but it enables one to realise how enormously the wealth of our landowners is augmented by industrial enterprise.—*Sheffield Independent*, 16/9/01.

Keighley.

A municipal bye-election has just been fought and won by a well known and respected Keighley Single Taxer, Mr. Wm. Thomson. It was a straight uncompromising fight for the taxation of land values. As the *Keighley News* says:—"The chief plank in Mr. Thomson's platform has been the taxation of land values in relation to the high rates of the borough, and, as an enthusiastic follower of Henry George's Single Tax teachings, he has pressed the subject home with thoroughness." Mr. Thomson's opponent was a local Socialist, Mr. George Town. The campaign was maintained with great vigour on both sides. The result of the poll was declared on Tuesday evening, 10th September—

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Thomson, | 467 |
| Town, | 392 |

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| Majority, | 75 |
|-----------------|----|

The position of the leading Socialists in Keighley on the Single Tax is very well expressed by one of them, Alderman H. Horner, in a bitter speech after the result of the poll was known. Mr. Horner said:—"Thomson has no programme. He has only one idea, the Single Tax, and that is impracticable; it is visionary; it is highway robbery."

Speaking at the Liberal Club after the declaration of the poll, Mr. Thomson, who was received with hearty cheering, said—I do not know that I have the slightest desire to leave the Liberal party, as I am perfectly convinced that the bulk of opinions I hold to-day will become the main opinions of the party in a few years. I daresay some of you may regard my views as revolutionary. It has ever been so. All reforms in their early stages have been looked down upon as revolutionary. I daresay that would be the feeling in the early days of Cobden and Bright; they would not receive general support for a long time. I am satisfied—and if I were not satisfied I would not be a Liberal—that the Liberal party is sound at the bottom, and that it only needs a little more thought and a little longer time, it may be, to get us up to the standard which I think I see before me. But I don't know that you need a speech from me.

Mr. John Clough, a local Liberal and millowner, in the course of a breezy speech, referred to the fact that Mr. Thomson had fought the seat for the fourth time, and stated, amid cheers, that if he had been beaten to-night he would have fought a fifth time. Thomson is not the man to be beaten, and he is certainly not the man to retire after a beating by 7 or 11 votes (applause). It would have required a majority of 200 to deter him, and to night he has got a majority in his favour of 75 (applause). He has at once

wiped out the three majorities against him; he may be said to have achieved four victories in one (applause). There is, I think, an intelligent principle as fought for by Mr. Thomson, that in my opinion is qualified to demolish socialism. In regard to Thomson and taxation of the land values, there is no danger in regard to that matter. Thomson as a Single Taxer is quite within his rights in going with the Liberal party as far as taxation of land values, and if the Liberal party will not go any further he will be equally within his rights in walking past them.

We regret that pressure on our space does not permit our giving some of Mr. Thomson's speeches on the taxation of land values. He fought well on the question, showing a keen intelligent grasp of it and its relation to the rating, housing, and labour problem. We heartily congratulate him and the Keighley Single Taxers on their splendid victory. They have worked valiantly for years, and are not slowly making the people of Keighley and district realise that the taxing of land values has come to find an abiding place as a question of paramount importance.

Auckland, New Zealand.

The ratepayers of Auckland by a majority of 944 decided on 6th August not to adopt the local Rating of Ground Values Act. Of the 4872 persons entitled to vote only 2477 exercised their privilege. This vote tells the Auckland Single Taxers where they are in that city. There will be renewed activity to win a different result three years hence when the poll can be again taken.

Schedule of Boroughs, Town Districts, Counties and Road Districts, New Zealand, in which "The Rating on Unimproved Value Act, 1896," has been adopted, either directly or indirectly, to date—

| | For | Against. |
|---|-----|----------|
| Hokianga County | 109 | 25 |
| Devonport Borough | 356 | 109 |
| Grey Lynn Borough | 140 | 71 |
| Maratai Road District | 16 | — |
| Papakura Road District | 30 | 1 |
| Hunua Road District | 60 | 2 |
| Hamilton Borough | 77 | 52 |
| Tauranga County | 90 | 13 |
| Woodville Borough | 175 | 7 |
| Waipawa County | 252 | 28 |
| Normanby Town District | 82 | 56 |
| Feilding Borough | 238 | 56 |
| Palmerston North Borough | 402 | 12 |
| Onslow Borough | 140 | 8 |
| Karori Borough | 93 | 3 |
| Melrose Borough | 236 | 40 |
| Manawatu Road District | 82 | 56 |
| Pahiatua Borough | 136 | 38 |
| Eketahuna County | 149 | 12 |
| Taratahi-Carterton Road District | 261 | 53 |
| Pelorus Road District | 92 | 41 |
| Greymouth Borough | 146 | 28 |
| Hokitika Borough | 212 | 53 |
| Inangahua County | 239 | 11 |
| Cheviot County | 165 | 41 |
| Sydenham Borough | 353 | 193 |
| Linwood Borough | 276 | 38 |
| Spreydon Road District | 141 | 8 |
| Waimate Borough | 235 | 11 |
| Waimate County | 358 | 162 |
| Invercargill Borough | 386 | 174 |
| Stratford County | 399 | 23 |
| Pahiatua County | 350 | 31 |
| Gore... .. | 122 | 67 |

Durban, Natal.

As we go to press, we learn by cablegram that Mr. Henry Ancketill has been elected Member of Parliament for Durban at the General Election. As we reported in our July issue,

Mr. Ancketill was defeated at a bye-election held on 22nd May last by 152 votes. He is known as an uncompromising Single Taxer, and made the taxation of land values the foremost plank in his platform. We heartily congratulate Mr. Ancketill and his co-workers on this signal victory.

Canada.

The Single Tax Association of Toronto is undertaking a series of meetings, and will be glad to hear from our best speakers who could give them a visit. Any British Single Taxer visiting America is requested to communicate with the Toronto Association. Address A. W. Roebuck, Secretary, 16 Rathnally Avenue, Toronto. We were pleased to hear personally from Mr. Malcom Kerr and Mr. J. W. Bengough of the efforts of our co-workers in Canada.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Striking Victory for the Taxation of Land Values against Socialism.

At the meeting of the Trades Congress (Friday, 6th September) held this year at Swansea.

Mr. W. C. Steadman moved a resolution which declared the present basis of taxation to be wrong in principle and unsound in policy, and asked for the taxation of land values and of mining royalties.

To this an amendment was moved by Mr. O'Grady, of the Cabinetmakers' Society, to the effect that the delegates were asked to agree with the principle of taxation of unearned increment, to add that this reform was merely palliative, and that it "is necessary that all the means of production, distribution, and exchange should become the common property of the nation."

The amendment was first defeated on a show of hands, and a demand having been made for a vote by cards, it was afterwards shown that delegates from union with 685,000 members were opposed to the amendment, and others from unions with 264,000 members were in favour of it, a majority against it of 421,000.

This is a significant vote. The Socialists are struggling hard against the rapid advance of the movement for the taxation of land values. At first they violently opposed it, as many of their representative men are doing even now. But this new move to defeat it by hitching on their "Nationalisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange" proposal can never succeed. The taxation of land values can never be nobbled for Socialism. As a matter of fact it is going to kill the cry for Socialism, which is born of hunger and hardship.

The philosophy of the Single Tax is to give men freedom to work out their own salvation; the philosophy of Socialism is the very opposite of this—to give men salvation through State control and direction. The Single Tax will bring freedom by abolishing land monopoly, and thereby setting free the natural avenues to the production and distribution of wealth. The taxation of land values is now being recognised as a genuine political step in the direction of freeing industry from the fetters and plunder of landlordism.

The Socialists have now as ever an opportunity to help to ripen and advance it in the public mind; but they can only do so one way, and that is by keeping it free from State Socialism. We are not sanguine of their doing this; but Single Taxers everywhere must see to it that the Single Tax, or the taxation of land values, is kept clear of all economic heresies. What we stand for is a straight tax upon the value of land, apart from the value of improvements, and the remission of taxation upon industry and the earnings of industry. This victory for the taxation of land values at the Trades Union Congress shows the question in a foremost place among men who have great influence, but who have hitherto been slow to recognise it as a true measure of economic and industrial freedom. It is a healthy sign of the times, which we cordially appreciate and welcome.

ALLOTMENTS AND SMALL HOLDINGS.

From Notes just issued by The Allotments and Small Holdings Association, 35 Moor Street, Birmingham.

A Parliamentary return just issued shows that very little action has yet been taken in **Scotland** under the Allotments Acts.

Applications were made by 1,342 persons to the authorities of 34 parishes, but allotments were only obtained in 14 parishes.

With the exception of 25 in Wigtownshire all the applications in the Lowlands were unsuccessful. The total number of allotments held under Parish Councils is 157, having an area of 752 acres of arable, and 27 of pasture land situated in the five counties of Sutherland, Ross, Caithness, Argyle, and Wigtownshire. The usual extent appears to be one to two acres, but in consequence of the exceptionally large size of those in three Highland parishes the average is as much as 7 acres each. In Invernessshire there were no less than 644 applications for allotments, but not one provided. In the case of Harris we are told that the "proprietor granted croft instead." Requests for compulsory orders were made by the parishes of Barra and South Uist in the Hebrides, but the County Council took no action though garden land is urgently required by the unfortunate residents in these islands who are now fenced out of the inland districts which are kept waste for sporting purposes.

Unlike that for England issued three years ago, the Scotch return is very imperfect, no information being given as to the reason, nothing was done by 13 of the Parish Councils to which application was made.

Just before the general election, Mr. Chaplin, then at the head of the Local Government Board, issued a circular recommending Boards of Guardians to give adequate outdoor relief to the destitute poor. Now that another election is in the far distance, the Board has returned to the old policy of harass and annoyance to Guardians who follow this course. The district auditor has just surcharged the individual guardians of Hunslet Union with the amount that they have paid for the relief of non-resident widows and children.

In pursuance of the same line of policy, the Local Government Board have ordered the suppression of Guilt-cross Union in which there are 478 adults and children in receipt of outdoor relief with only 57 in the workhouse. Two years ago the Board tried to suppress another Norfolk Union, that of East and West Flegg, in which the Guardians insisted upon giving outdoor relief to fishermen's widows. In this case no doubt the Board hope that the remoteness of another general election will enable them to carry out the course of action in which they had previously been unsuccessful.

In one of the recent articles in the *Daily Chronicle*, on the Agricultural Rating Act, there appears the following in reference to allotments:—

"Lord Brownlow has allotments at Berkhamstead rated at £31, this means that he gets £2 6s. 6d. in relief of the rates payable on them. Mr. Leopold de Rothschild has allotments at Wing rated at £44 15s. 6d., relief to Mr. Rothschild, £3 6s., and so on."

The writer assumes that no allowance is made to the allotment holders on account of the reduction in rates; this is probably in most cases correct, though we believe there are a few landowners like Lord Carrington who deal fairly with the allotment tenants.

I CAN well imagine a great proprietor of ground rents in the metropolis calling attention to the habitations of the poor, to the evils of overcrowding, and to the scandal which the inquiry reveals, while his own income is greatly increased by the causes which make house rent dear in London, and decent lodging hardly obtainable by thousands of labourers.

—Thorold Rogers.

HOW TO AID THE CAUSE.

51 Polmadie Street,
Polmadie, Glasgow.

DEAR SIR,—Enclosed please find Postal Order for 10/-, my contribution to the *Single Tax* Bazaar.

As I have no opportunity otherwise of expressing my views in reference to the Single Tax, I take the liberty of writing a few words, hoping that it will not be considered amiss for me to make suggestions.

I think the Single Tax movement is a movement not only deserving, but also requiring, all the forces which can be brought into action to attain the end for which it exists. No doubt it must be true that men who have searched well the regions of thought must understand best the true gospel of political economy, but I do not think it is best that they only should do all the work of the Single Tax movement. Had the work of the Salvation Army been left to its most talented promoters, would it be the gigantic organisation that it is to-day? I think that less enlightened men and women could do a great deal for the cause, working in an organised manner under the auspices and guidance of the League.

All mankind are not what may be termed philosophers. The majority are what they are because they were educated to what they are. That which is called bigotry in men is not inherited by nature, neither is it the result of ignorance. It is the result of education, and none understand this better than monopolists. The enemies of civilisation may grieve at the progress of the awakening sense of justice, but they can console themselves with the thought that although the adult mind is less impressionable than that of the young, the young mind is like wax which can be moulded into any form, and they have the press and the religious and educational institutions of the country very much at their command to execute this kind of moulding.

The outbursts of insanity which have occurred since the war began, in itself, is an evidence of the great power they have of moulding the public mind.

In the face of the great strength of the enemy, the Single Tax organisation does not appear to me to be so powerful as it ought to be. I think the executive of the League should make it their utmost endeavour to find work for all who are willing to do it. To work for the object of one's wish is a natural desire in human nature, and I think that those who are willing to work for the Single Tax are not so few but that the organised strength of the movement could be very much extended.

All the kind of work that the laity—male and female—do for the churches could also be done for the Single Tax, and I am sure no better work for Christianity can be done in connection with any church than can be done in connection with the Single Tax movement.

It is a mistake, I think, to let the churches claim Christ exclusively for themselves. Religion is only but a part of Christianity. Christ was a teacher of morals, a political economist, and social reformer. It was the gospel of political economy, His gospel of right-doing, that made the people lay their garments before Him when He entered Jerusalem. It was the gospel of avarice that made the sycophants of the monopolists cry, "Crucify Him." Surely His words, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you," proclaim Him a political economist, and surely His words, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," proclaim Him a social reformer. This is the twentieth century. May I ask how far the churches have advanced this Christian principle of social reform? and how much do they understand Christ as a political economist? Had Christ confined His teaching to religion He never would have been crucified. I question very much if religion was ever a real motive for putting anybody to death. Christ was tried for sedition, and put to death under Roman law. At that time the Romans would put nobody to death for his religion. They were proud of

their power, and made it their boast that within their dominion all the gods were worshipped.

As it is easy to make suggestions, I will take the liberty of naming a few things I would like to see in connection with the Single Tax League. I would like to see everything done that can be done to encourage beginners to cultivate Single Tax oratory.

I would like to see political economy taught to the young of both sexes by teachers of both sexes.

I would like to see a staff of letter writers, under the direction and guidance of a qualified Single Taxer, for the purpose of attacking every error opposed to the Single Tax to be found in the public press

I would like to see a staff of ladies and gentlemen, whose duty it would be to visit friends and sympathisers for the purpose of keeping alive their interest in the Single Tax, and to induce them to attend lectures and be subscribers to the *Single Tax*, and also to collect weekly or monthly contributions.

I would like to see a page of the *Single Tax* devoted to women and edited by a woman.

I would like to see anything that would induce women to make our social movement a woman's movement as well as a man's.

I would like to see a page of the *Single Tax* for juvenile letters, in charge of an editor who would criticise their productions.—Yours truly,
ARCHD. M'DONALD.

We are obliged to Mr. M'Donald for his thoughtful letter, which, we trust, will be appreciated and considered by every Single Taxer desirous of doing something to advance the movement. We agree that the executive of the Scottish Single Tax League, or the executive of any kindred society, should have no monopoly of the work, nor, we are glad to say, have they any such monopoly. If that were so it would be a hopeless movement indeed.

Single Taxers of both sexes are continually among their friends, in their home, and in their business life, at work, instructing, arguing, and pleading the cause of the Single Tax, the cause of Truth and Justice. We should like to see this work extended, and, where possible, better organised.

The Scottish Single Tax League is but an organised body of men and women devoted solely to the work of education and guidance. All within its ranks welcome all outside to join in making it strong and more potent to carry on the propaganda; but every effort outside the organisation is heartily appreciated and welcomed. We have never contended that all who see and believe in the Single Tax must proclaim it in, or through our organisation. It must be proclaimed in the highways and byeways, and on those who see the truth must rest the responsibility of making others see and believe.

Our organisation exists to encourage and assist all who are active in this work. We welcome all individual and organised effort. We are deeply conscious that the League is not so powerful as it ought to be, and we cordially invite all who agree with the work of the League to join in increasing its power. There is work for all, and the League is at the service of every Single Taxer willing to undertake a share of it.

To speak on the Single Tax one must understand it, and its relationship to other proposals and ideals; the League is always prepared to give whatever instruction and counsel it can to bring forward new speakers.

All Single Taxers are expected to expose or correct errors in the press; members of the League are constantly at work in this important service, but there is more than room for new recruits.

The League has always urged the importance of studying political economy, and is ready at any time to form a special class on the subject.

The League will be glad to hear from Single Taxers of both sexes who would take up the work of visiting friends with a

view to creating greater interest in the movement, and to assist by financial contributions.

The ladies are welcome to a page for themselves in the *Single Tax*. Such a department would, we believe, make the paper more interesting, and thereby help to increase its circulation. Any lady Single Taxer is welcome to undertake this special duty.

Our juvenile friends are cordially invited to send letters or ask questions, which we will undertake to see answered or dealt with as Mr. M'Donald suggests.

Press and Postal Propaganda.

A SINGLE TAXER AT WORK.

From time to time many of our readers write asking us how they can aid our cause otherwise than by making contributions to Single Tax societies, organising lectures and conferences, or attending public meetings and so on. Our answer has always been to aid in the distribution of literature. The importance of this work cannot be overestimated, and, to encourage our readers to do likewise, we would draw their attention to Mr. A. M'Donald's well-timed letter, and to a method lately adopted by our enthusiastic co-worker, Mr. F. Batty, of 5 Cholmeley Villas, Highgate, London. In reply to our inquiry *re* his methods, he writes us:—

Thinking it might do some good, and reach people not easily reached in any other way, I started my postal propaganda. The necessary requirements were—

- (a) Sell's Press Directory.
- (b) A form of letter to newspapers, calling attention to some current event bearing on the taxation of land values, and offering to send pamphlets post free to anyone sending me their address.
- (c) A stock of suitable literature, attainable at wholesale rates from the English Land Restoration League, 376-77 Strand, London; or the Scottish Single Tax League, 13 Dundas Street, Glasgow.
- (d) Newspaper wrappers and a supply of stamps.

Accompanying letters to the editors for insertion in the columns of their papers, I enclose specimen copies of the literature to be sent. Even if the letters get no further than the editors' eye it seems to me good business, for editors, as a class, are receptive of new ideas and new standpoints.

At the present moment the parcels of literature contain—

- (a) "Land Values and Local Taxation"—Judge O'Connor.
- (b) "Taxing Land Values," by Henry George.
- (c) "How the Taxation of Land Values would relieve overcrowding."
- (d) "Reasons for Taxing Land Values."
- (e) "The Robber that takes all that is left."
- (f) "The Bible and the Land Question."
- (g) Circular advertising the Glasgow *Single Tax*.
- (h) Form of enrolment of the English Land Restoration League.

These do not exceed 2 oz. in weight, and go out enclosed in half-penny postal wrappers.

From first to last I have written to 350 editors of newspapers up and down the country; and have received applications for literature from 1500 people, drawn from every rank of society.

Anyone who may take up this work should not be deterred if there are scarcely any applications in response to letters in from local papers. In my experience, the best responses have come from the great London papers and the more important of the provincial ones.

Our readers will be interested to know that Mr. Batty keeps a register of all addresses he receives, and is arranging to have sample copies of our paper sent to each one of them.

We hope to hear that some of our readers have taken up this splendid means of propaganda work. The field is a vast one, but every letter helps; the strength of our position is such that diffusion of knowledge of our questions must bring us new converts, and every convert is a distinct gain

to our cause. In this field of work each one can help according to his powers, his means, and his opportunities. For such work the Scottish Single Tax League will be pleased to supply suitable literature at merely nominal prices.

The London County Council and the Housing Question.

The following letter was sent last month to the editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, but was not inserted:—

SIR,—I am glad to see that you express the hope, in one of your "Notes of the Day," that "the consideration of the housing problem will be pushed on without unnecessary delay."

May I call attention to one point upon which the delay has already far exceeded any limits that can be considered necessary?

On November 8th, 1898, the Housing of the Working Classes Committee of the London County Council reported to the Council as follows:—

"The valuer has called our attention to the effect that the present system of levying local taxation has upon the erection of working class dwellings. We are considering this matter, and will report thereon at a later date."

Although thirty-two months have elapsed since this promise was made, the report is not yet forthcoming. The Executive of the English Land Restoration League have more than once called the attention of the Housing Committee, collectively and individually, to the above quoted paragraph, but has either failed to elicit any reply, or has been put off with a reply that can only be described as evasive. I understand that the Metropolitan Radical Federation has been equally unsuccessful in its efforts to get the Committee to redeem a promise, voluntarily made, on a matter of vital interest to the overcrowded workers of London.

The frequent references to the Housing Question in the Reports of the Royal Commissioners on Local Taxation have lately emphasised the importance of the considerations to which the Committee long ago admitted that its attention had been called by one of the responsible officers of the Council.

Will not some member of the Council ask the Committee why it persists in ignoring one of the most important aspects of the great Housing Problem? Is it that the Committee is looking for what it does not want to find? It appears to some of us, who have given not a little study to the Housing Question, that someone is afraid of discovering that the Housing Problem is not so much a question of building as of LAND.—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

FREDK. VERINDER, Gen. Secy., E.L.R.L.
376 Strand, London, W.C.

Tom L. Johnson is a millionaire whose recreation is politics. He is a remarkable man in many respects. He is an ironmaster, and owes his great fortune to the protective system; but, despite that, he has always been a pronounced Free Trader, and when in Congress voted and spoke in favour of abolishing the duties on iron and steel. He is the owner of many valuable patents, which have given him a monopoly in certain articles, and added to his wealth; yet he is opposed to monopolies in every form, patents included. He is a Single Taxer, and was one of the late Henry George's most liberal and enthusiastic supporters. He believes in municipal ownership of public utilities and other reforms which some people term Socialistic, which naturally have given him the support of the masses. But while holding them, he has not alienated the capitalists, who have a profound admiration for his great business abilities. He is not a Silver man, and he does not advocate the Radical doctrines which have twice led Mr. Bryan to defeat.—A. MAURICE LOW in the *National Review*.

NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

A Manifesto to the People.

The National Single Tax League of New Zealand have just issued a manifesto, from which we quote as follows:—

The time has arrived when your attention should be directed to the importance of the allied questions of land and taxation as affecting this country. We admit that much good has been done, but we do not see that our legislation contains those principles which will save this colony from the social ills of older countries, from the impoverishment and degradation of the masses of toilers, and from that unrest and fear which, as is now universally admitted, springs from an iniquitous and unequal distribution of wealth, coupled with crushing indirect taxation, the latter falling almost wholly on the working classes. Already the symptoms of these evils have shown themselves among us. Even New Zealand has had its cycle periods of industrial and commercial depression, necessitating relief works and the distribution of food and clothing.

Legislation may be so devised as to have merely the appearance of a reform without the reality. It may seem to overturn the old system, and yet foster all its abuses in a new and subtle form, less apparent, and therefore more dangerous. We are of opinion that the so-called land policy now obtaining in New Zealand, instead of being a remedy, perpetuates everything vicious in the old system, and at the same time places the lands of the colony beyond the control of the people.

Single Taxers contend that the unearned increment of land should be acquired yearly by the State, and that the yield therefrom should be substituted for all other forms of taxation. The users of land both in town and country are in this position: They must in the nature of things either pay rent to an individual landlord or to the State. If to the State, it becomes a common fund to which all contribute, and it is therefore really not a tax at all, because it will be given back in some form or other; hence we say that the Single Tax is the negation of all taxation. In a word, we propose, not suddenly but gradually, to absorb the whole of the unearned increment in taxation.

The land for settlement policy shows that there is a demand for reform, and whilst regarding it to that extent as a step in the right direction, this League holds that all unearned increment should be secured to the community, to whose presence and industry that value is due. It is proposed to assess it by means of a tax on unimproved land value, such tax to be gradually increased, at the same time remitting other taxes which fall at present on labour and capital, beginning with the remission of taxes on the necessities of life, until all taxes are levied on unimproved land values only—hence the name "Single Tax."

The present annual unimproved value of land in New Zealand is about £4,000,000, so that the yield would be beyond our requirements.

The justness of such a tax is not only admitted in theory, but is recognised in our legislation, and endorsed by the people who have voluntarily adopted this method of local taxation in almost every district where it has been proposed. We have also for State revenue purposes a tax on the unimproved value of land; and although it is not so perfect in its form as that in use by local bodies, it has, nevertheless, met with general approval, and it is believed that its adoption ten years ago was the principle cause of the comparative prosperity which has continued since that time.

All the machinery necessary to give effect to an increased land tax exists. The valuation rolls show the improved and unimproved value of every perch of land in the colony, together with areas, descriptions, ownership, etc.; and it should be borne in mind that any further increase in the land tax would add absolutely nothing to the cost of collection.

It will be seen that our proposal to tax land values has passed from the theoretical stage into practical politics. But in order to obtain the full benefit of the system, the principle must be carried to such an extent that mere holding of land without using it will become impossible.

If this were done there would be plenty of land available for settlement without paying exorbitant prices to speculators and others. The present system of purchase tends to maintain land values at a fictitious level. Our proposal would cheapen land and lighten the burdens of the community generally.

The cry of "land for the people" is now all but universal. In the Commonwealth of Australia the question commanding perhaps the greatest attention at present is that the territory of the Federal City should be retained by and for the Commonwealth—that it should not be alienated. In view of this New Zealand should not lag behind. The eyes of the world are watching our social experiments, and we should strive to show ourselves worthy of the title of leaders in social reform.

We, of the National League of Single Taxers, invite you, therefore, to co-operate with us in carrying to a successful issue this fundamental reform, so as to make our country truly a land where all people shall enjoy equal rights and equal liberties.

THE LAND QUESTION IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

Translation of Leading Article in the "Reichspost" (Vienna).

"An independent daily paper for the Christian people of Austria-Hungary."

Land Reform and House Property.

Vienna, 13th August, 1901.

The meeting of the Central Union of the German societies of urban house-owners took place last week at Hanover. There were many fine speeches and endless debates, but the ideas expressed were such as to move a Berlin tenant to request the President of the Union "to explain publicly whether it was only the house-owners in Berlin, or also those in other German towns who had gone mad." The man who put this awkward question signed himself, "A Berlin tenant whose rent has been raised 40 per cent. three times within a year and a-half." And he was not without justification; for at the Hanover meeting such monstrosities came to light uncontradicted that, considering the prevailing views of German householders, as expressed on this occasion, no one need be surprised if, in spite of the efforts made by many German towns and several rural authorities, nothing worth speaking of has been achieved with regard to the housing problem in Germany. From this point of view the meeting at Hanover has many warnings for us also. It is a remarkable and sad sign that no single measure for relieving the house famine in Germany has escaped the opposition of the Central Union of house-owners. Their deliberations afford an involuntary confession of the want of intelligence with which a large class of owners still confront the most important requirements of the social problem.

Just a few episodes from the debates. A Mr. Schultz took upon himself to support a resolution of the South Berlin House-owners' Society to the effect that any interference by public authorities with the supply of houses by giving encouragement or preference to the building of dwellings for private persons or officials, must be branded as an injustice towards the other non-preferred sections of society. The task was not an easy one, and Mr. Schultz discharged it by declaring categorically that it is "completely untrue that bad housing conditions exist in the big towns;" that, "in general, there is no such thing as a house famine;" and he concluded with the original idea that the housing question in general had been invented by the Social Democrats. The speaker was not laughed down, but, according to the reports, received vigorous applause, and

the succeeding speakers exerted themselves to accentuate his remarks. One speaker, described as an architect, threatened that if encouragement continued to be given to the building associations, the house-owners of Germany would "go over in a body to Social Democracy." A builder from Dresden named Hartwig delivered the sage judgment that better housing conditions could only be brought about if workmen would spend less on beer and cigars and strike funds, and more on their houses. Mr. Hartwig's ideal would be, no doubt, for a workman to pay for his dwelling, not a fifth nor a quarter, but a half of his earnings. The worthy builder is not concerned with the fact that in a well ordered household what is paid for rent ought properly to be a tenth, or, at the very most, a seventh of the net income. Another speaker, from Elberfeld, made a violent assault on the building associations, and declared that their efforts were futile, because there are immutable, inevitable causes for the house famine, and that there always will be "house famines." The meeting agreed with him so far as to resolve to circulate a pamphlet against the German building associations, which are doing so much good. The bias of the pamphlet can be recognised from the explicit demand which it contained, that building associations should be prohibited from themselves building houses, and from admitting workmen or officials as members.

The meeting of the German house-owners at Hanover stands as a monument of that blind obstinacy which opposes social reform out of selfishness, and so evokes still more serious social disturbances.

While the house-owners at Hanover deny the existence of any house famine, the Reports of the Prussian factory inspectors draw a gloomy picture of the miserable want of house accommodation in Germany. For Berlin and Charlottenburg the Reports show a continuous increase in the price of house accommodation, so that the working people are being driven from wretched to still more wretched accommodation. The Potsdam industrial officer complains bitterly about the land speculation, which adds greatly to the difficulty of erecting cheap houses, and chokes building enterprise. A well-known instance is the Berlin Kurfürstendamm Company, which was founded in the year 1882 with an original capital of £10,000, possessed a nominal capital of £400,000 fully paid shares, and on that realised £675,000 in profits and dividends.

The Inspector's Report for East Prussia states as follows: "The condition of the working people as to housing still leaves much to be desired, and rents are relatively high. It is not uncommon for a workman to have to give a quarter and more of his year's earnings as rent for his dwelling." The Report for West Prussia gives the following information: "The majority of the dwellings inspected in Elbing consisted of a single room, and on the floor there was a bricked-in stone pillar on which the people cooked with an open fire in the manner of days long gone by. For such dwellings rents of £3 10s. to £5 were paid. When one considers the bad condition of these dwellings—many of them scarcely 6½ feet high—one can only characterise these so-called cheap dwellings as very dear." In the province of Schleswig the want of accommodation is so great that the town of Kiel was obliged to shelter 101 roofless families—650 heads—in gymnasiums, garden sheds, barracks, &c. Equally sad pictures are contained in the Reports from Frankfort-on-Oder, Cologne, Münster, and Hanover. All this is moonshine to the Hanover meeting, at which some of the house-owners denied the possibility of fighting against the house famine, and others denied its existence!

One wonders how, in such a class as that represented by the body of house-owners, such unfortunate ideas could be maintained. The explanation is that the majority of house-owners in Germany entirely misconceive the ends and means of a sound Land and Housing Reform. Such reform does not mean a curtailing of the private ownership of houses as such, but only of land speculation in the forms in which it

confronts us as land usury, exploitation of ground values, and overburdening of urban house property. If these phenomena were effectively dealt with, the genuine industry of house-owners would not suffer, but would gain an actual advantage in being freed from dangerous parasites. The interests of decent house-owners are directly opposed to the interests of land and house speculators. This conviction must penetrate the mind of the people, and then protective measures against the speculation swindle will not be considered as an injury to an honest industry. **The conviction will then continually gain ground that the State must as soon as possible commence dealing actively with the urban housing question by means of an adequate expropriation law and A LAW FOR THE TAXATION OF URBAN GROUND VALUES.** As "Hanoverian" views come up in our country also now and then, we thought it necessary to take their true measure.

In our time, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us once again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounties of Nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in justice the social structure cannot stand.—*Henry George.*

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A MEMBER OF THE
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